

is not understood, and that *mṛdhra-vāc* means 'speaking an enemy's speech,' though not necessarily with reference to non-Āryans.¹⁰ In two passages¹¹ the Paṇis appear as *Dāsas*, and in one¹² a Paṇi is mentioned in connexion with *wer-geld* (*Vaira*), being apparently regarded as equal to a man merely in the price put on his life, but in other respects as inferior.

It is difficult to be certain exactly who a Paṇi was. Roth¹³ thinks that the word is derived from *paṇ*, 'barter,' and that the Paṇi is properly the man who will give nothing without return, hence the niggard, who neither worships the gods nor rewards their priests. This view is accepted by Zimmer¹⁴ and by Ludwig.¹⁵ The latter scholar thinks the apparent references to fights with Paṇis are to be explained by their having been aboriginal traders who went in caravans—as in Arabia and Northern Africa—prepared to fight, if need be, to protect their goods against attacks which the Āryans would naturally deem quite justified. He supports this explanation by the references to the Paṇis as *Dasyus* and *Dāsas*. It is, however, hardly necessary to do more than regard the Paṇis generally as non-worshippers of the gods favoured by the singers; the term is wide enough to cover either the aborigines or hostile Āryan tribes, as well as demons. Hillebrandt,¹⁶ however, thinks that a real tribe is meant, the Parnians of Strabo, and that they were associated with the Dahae (*Dāsa*). Moreover, he finds them associated in one passage¹⁷ with the *Pārāvatas*, whom

¹⁰ See Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. 2, 1, 23; Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, 2^d, 114; Davidson, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 37, 23; Eggeling, *Sacred Books of the East*, 26, 31, n. 3.

¹¹ Rv. v. 34, 5-7; Av. v. 11, 6.

¹² Rv. v. 61, 8. Cf. Roth, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 41, 673; Max Müller, *Sacred Books of the East*, 32, 361, who thinks that the Paṇi is compared unfavourably with a generous woman, but this is unlikely; Hillebrandt, 1, 92, n. 3;

Sieg, *Die Sagenstoffe des Rgveda*, 58, 59 Oldenberg, *Rgveda-Noten*, 1, 364.

¹³ St. Petersburg Dictionary, s.v. Cf. Yāska, *Nirukta*, ii. 17; vi. 26.

¹⁴ *Altindisches Leben*, 257. Cf. Macdonell, *loc. cit.*; Geldner, *Rgveda, Glossar*, 103.

¹⁵ Translation of the *Rigveda*, 3, 213-215. Cf. Bergaigne, *Religion Védique*, 2, 319.

¹⁶ *Vedische Mythologie*, 1, 83 et seq.; 3, 268; *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1894, 648.

¹⁷ Rv. vi. 61, 1-3.