

Aryanisation of India: A Review

Synopsis of the thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts of Jadavpur
University in partial fulfillment for the Award of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Submitted by

Achintya Kumar Pal

Registration No.: A00SA1501521

Department of Sanskrit

Jadavpur University

Supervised by

Prof. Ashok Kumar Mahata

Professor, Department of Sanskrit, Jadavpur University

Department of Sanskrit

Jadavpur University

Kolkata

2025

Preface

India's cultural landscape is marked by distinct traditions in the north and south, shaped by different external influences. Northern India absorbed elements from Central Asia, Persia, and the West, while southern India, with its maritime connections, interacted with Southeast Asia. This is reflected in the region's religious practices, art, languages, and cuisine.

Northern India is often linked to the Aryans, while southern India is associated with Dravidians. Scholars like F. Max Müller and H.H. Risley support the Aryan migration theory, while others, such as B.B. Lal and M. Danino, argue for the Aryan indigeneity to India. Vedic texts describe conflicts between Aryans and groups like the Dāsas, Dasyus, and Asuras, often identified as Non-Aryan or indigenous populations. These groups, considered ancestors of Ancient South Indians, were eventually assimilated into Aryan society, shaping modern Indian culture.

This dissertation examines the assimilation of Pre-Aryan and Non-Aryan groups into Aryan culture, exploring how their customs influenced Vedic traditions, as seen in texts like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. The research aims to analyse the contributions of ancient nomadic tribes to the cultural and genetic heritage of modern India.

Abbreviation

A. Br.- Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

A.Ā.- Aitareya Āraṇyaka.

ABROI- Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Aṅg. N. - Aṅguttara Nikāya.

Antag- Antagaḍa Dasāo.

Anu. P. – Anuśāsana Parva.

Aranya. K. – Aranya Kaṇḍa.

Aśv. Ś. Sū- Aśvalāyana Śrautasūtra.

AV – Atharvaveda.

Ādi. P.- Ādi Parva.

Āp. Dh. Sū. - Āpastamba Dharmasūtra.

Bāla. K.- Bāla Kaṇḍa.

Bau. Dh. Sū.- Baudhayana Dharmasūtra.

Bau. Ś. Sū.- Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra.

Bhāg. P. – Bhāgavat Purāṇa.

Bhiṣma. P. – Bhiṣma Parva.

Brahmāṇḍa. P.- Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa.

Bṛh. U.- Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.

Cānd. U. – Cāndogya Upaniṣad.

E.R.E.- Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.

G. Br. – Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.

Gau. Dh. Sū.- Gautama Dharmasūtra.

Hir. Ś. Sū.- Hiranyakeśi Śrautasūtra.

HOS- Harvard Oriental Series.

IHQ – Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

Jai. Br. – Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.
Jai. Br.- Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.
Jai. Mī. Sū. - Jaimini-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra.
Jai. U. Br. – Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa.
JAOS – Journal of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore.
Jāt. – Jātaka.
JBBRAS- Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay).
JBORS- Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
JBORS- Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JBRs- Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.
JESHO- Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Leiden.
JRAS – Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, London.
Kālikā. P. – Kālikā Purāṇa.
Kāt. S. – Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā.
Kāt. Ś. Sū.- Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra.
Kau. Br.- Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa.
Kau. U.- Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad
Kau. Ā.- Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka.
Lāt. Ś. Sū. – Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra.
M.S. – Manu Saṃhitā.
Mai. S. – Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.
Majj. N.- Majjhima Nikāya.
Mārk. P. – Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.
Mbh. – Mahābhārata.
ML- Magadhan Literature.
Ni.- Nirukta.

P. Br.- Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa.
Pā.- Pāṇinīya Aṣṭādhyayī.
Pā. Śi.- Pāṇinīya Śikṣā.
Padma. P. – Padma Purāṇa.
Pār. G. Sū.- Pāraskara Gr̥hyasūtra.
PIHC- Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
Rām. - Rāmāyaṇa.
ṚV. – Ṛgveda.
Ś. Br. – Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
S.B.E.- Sacred Book of the East.
Samy. N.- Saṃyutta Nikāya.
Śāṅkh. G. Sū. - Śāṅkhāyana Gr̥hyasūtra.
Śāṅkh. Ś. Sū.- Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra.
Śānti. P. – Śānti Parva.
Sūya- Sūyagaḍam.
SV – Samaveda.
T. Ā.- Taittiriya Āraṇyaka.
T.Br.- Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa.
T.S. – Taittiriya Saṃhitā.
Tā. Br.- Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa.
Uttar. K.- Uttara Kaṇḍa.
V. Dh. Sū.- Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra.
Vāj. S. – Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā.
Vayu. P.- Vayu Purāṇa.
Vin.- Vinaya Piṭaka

Contents

Title Page

Preface..... i

Abbreviation.....ii-iv

Contents..... v

Chapter I: The Aryans 1-10

Chapter II: Non-Aryan India 11-16

Chapter III: Process of Aryanisation 17-21

Chapter IV: Newly formed Society and Caste System..... 22-24

Conclusion..... 25-26

Bibliography..... 27-33

Chapter I

The Aryans

1.1. Aryan Theory

The Vedas reference the Aryans as central figures in their religious practices. While Brahminical interpretations often translate 'Ārya' as 'respectable men', the Vedic context suggests it functions as a patronymic term referring to a specific group. According to D.D. Johan Wilson, even in the *R̥gveda*, 'Ārya' connotes 'high' or 'respectable', possibly as a metaphor. The term also underlies the name of a country, implying meanings like 'highlands' or 'noble territory'.¹

The term 'Ārya', though present in some Indo-European languages, is not widespread and may originate from a Near Eastern source, such as Ugaritic, meaning 'kinsman' or 'companion'. It appears in the eastern Indo-European tradition, notably in the *R̥gveda* and the *Avesta*. King Darius of Persia also identified as an Aryan. In the *R̥gveda*, 'Ārya' denotes a cultural group, encompassing speakers of Indo-Aryan and Indo-Iranian languages.

Zenaide A. Regozin explains, "The Sanskrit root 'Ar', of which the general and original meaning is 'plough', appears intact in various languages: Latin and Italian 'Arere' (to plough), Slavic 'Arati' (to plough), Greek 'Arotron' ('plough'), Latin 'Aratrum' (plough), Tchekkh (Bohemian, a Slavic language) 'Oradlo' (a plough), English 'Arable' (fit to be ploughed), Greek 'Aroura' (ploughed field), and Latin 'Arvum' (ploughed field). Regozin further asserts that the Aryans referred to themselves as 'people who plough', distinguishing themselves from their sheep-raising, steppe-roaming, and raiding neighbours,

¹ D.D. Johan Wilson, *India three thousand years ago*, p. 17.

the Tura. At the time they are first known, 'Ārya' had evolved to mean 'noble', 'exalted', and 'venerable', attaining an almost sacred status.²

In the *Ṛgveda*, worshippers of Indra, called 'Ārya', conflict with the Dāsas and Dasyus in a clash between civilisations—one adhering to the Vrātya tradition and the other violating it. The *Gāthā* of the Avesta similarly records struggles between Zarathushtra's followers and their opponents in Iran.

Ṛgvedic society, unlike earlier tribal systems, lacked rigid class divisions but featured ranks.³ Military leaders and priests gained prominence alongside farmers and artisans skilled in crafts like weaving, tanning, and carpentry, with terms rooted in Indo-European origins.⁴ The shared Indo-European term for chariot implies knowledge of chariot-makers, though the *Ṛgveda* does not explicitly mention them.⁵

The Ṛgvedic people celebrated their mastery of horses, chariots, and wagons, linking equestrian skills with rulers, priests, and gods. They captured elephants, though their use in warfare is debated.⁶ Skilled in medicinal plants, they prepared Somalatā (*Sarcostemma viminale*) for an intoxicating drink consumed by gods and humans. Clarified butter (Ghṛta) and fermented barley beverages were also highly valued, showcasing their expertise in alcohol production.

1.2. Home and ethnological alignment in India

² Z. A. Ragonzin, *The Story of Vedic India as embodied Principally in the Rigveda*. pp.61-62.

³ G. Landtman, *The Origin of the Inequality of Social Classes*, instances quoted on pp. 5-12. He also refers to the absence of classes among the Nāgas and Kookies of Eastern India (p.11).

⁴ Carl Darling, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*, for leather (carman) see p. 40, for weaving, p.408, for 'Takṣan', pp.589-90, and for plaiting pp.621-622. Cf. Childe, *The Aryans* p. 86.

⁵ G. Childe, *The Aryans*, pp.86 and 92.

⁶ Among non-domestic animals the Vṛika, or wolf, and the Varāha, boar, and *Sinha*, lion, are frequently mentioned.

The origins and movements of the Aryans are debated through various theories. The *Aryan Invasion Theory* (AIT) suggests they originated in the Central Asian steppes or Europe and invaded India, influencing the Indus Valley Civilisation. The *Aryan Migration Theory* (AMT) proposes a migration into India seeking fertile lands, coinciding with decline of the Indus Valley. Conversely, the *Out of India Theory* (OIT), also known as the *Indian Urheimat Theory*, posits India as the Aryan homeland, with migrations spreading Indo-European culture to Europe and the Middle East.

Scholars propose various Aryan homeland locations: W. Schroeder and W. Brandenstein suggest the southern Soviet steppes, ideal for horse grazing and chariot use. Gordon Childe supports this view based on burial fossils. Maria Gimbutas identifies Don and Dnieper rivers in Ukraine (4500–3500 BCE) and the Volga River (3500–2500 BCE). Brandenstein highlights the southern Ural grasslands, R.P. Giles Hungary, T.V. Gamkrelidze and V.V. Ivanov the southern Caucasus, encompassing eastern Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia. and Colin Renfrew Central Asia.

The evolution of Indo-European culture unfolds in four phases. J.P. Mallory outlines the first three: the Sredny Stog Complex (4500–3500 BCE) in Ukraine with earth-built dwellings. The second, the Yamnaya Complex (3600–2200 BCE) extending from the Black Sea to the Volga-Ural region. The third phase, the Andronovo Culture (circa 2000 BCE) in Central Asia, featuring cattle herding, horse use, cremation, and sacrificial altars. A subset, the Sintashta Culture (circa 1700 BCE), near the Urals, introduced war chariots, spoked wheels, horse sacrifices, and Soma rituals. Asko Parpola adds the fourth phase, the Bactria-Margiana Complex (1900–1500 BCE), spanning Turkmenistan to northern Afghanistan, marking Pre-Indo-Aryan movements toward India, influencing the Gandhara Grave Culture.

1.3. Indo-European Language Family and Proto-Indo Europeans

In the mid-19th century, the Aryan Invasion Theory gained support through Comparative Philology, with Max Müller as a key advocate. This theory traced Indo-European languages to a common ancestor, Proto-Indo-European (PIE). Koenraad Elst⁷ posits that PIE speakers lived in Punjab around the 6th millennium BCE, expanding into Bactria and Kamboja. One branch migrated to Central Asia and northwestern China, forming the Tocharian language group, while another evolved into the Proto-Indo-Iranian family during the Indus Valley Civilisation. Elst, along with Talageri, Lal, and Kazanas, faced criticism from scholars like Michael Witzel and Edwin Bryant, often through personal attacks rather than substantive debate.⁸

R. Hoernle proposed that the Vedic Aryans lived in Eastern Punjab, North Rajputana, and the western region of Uttar Pradesh. His theory of two separate Aryan migrations posits that one group settled in these areas, while a second group migrated to regions like Gujarat, Central India, South Bihar, and Bengal. This theory, which is further developed by Chanda, suggests two distinct waves of Aryan immigration into India.⁹ Scholars like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Hermann Jacobi, Sri Aurobindo, and T.V.S. Iyengar studied Vedic astronomical references to explore the Aryan homeland. Professor Iyengar highlights the “false moon”, a phenomenon observable at the North Pole. The Vedic recitation starting

⁷ Koenraad Elst. *Update on Aryan Invasion Debate*. 1999.

⁸ আযদিগন্তে সিন্ধুসভ্যতা-রজত পাল, 30-31

⁹ R. Hoernle, *The Oldest Indian Manuscripts and the Early Indo-Aryan Migration*. pp.37 ff.

‘कृत्तिकानक्षत्रं भवत्यग्निर्देवता’ suggests the Veda’s final arrangement occurred around 3600 years ago, aligning the Sun with Krittikā at the Vernal Equinox.¹⁰

The period from 2500 to 500 B.C. is studied through archaeological and literary evidence, including Vedic literature. Early archaeological cultures, such as the Pre-Harappan Sothi culture¹¹ in the Sarasvatī Valley and Chalcolithic sites in Baluchistan and Sindh, preceded the Harappan civilisation (2300–1750 B.C.), which spanned southern Punjab, Sindh, the Narmada delta, coastal regions, and the upper Ganga-Yamuna Doab.¹² The geographical center of the *Ṛgveda* is the ‘Sapta Sindhu’, spanning the Kabul to Sarasvatī River.¹³ The *Nadīsūkta* (*Ṛgveda* 10.75), often cited against migration theories, is from the later tenth Maṇḍala. *Ṛgvedic* society was pre-urban, utilising copper¹⁴ and possibly iron (*Ayas*), though its exact meaning is uncertain.

In his paper “The Sarasvatī: The Mother of Indian Civilisation”, Prof. B.B. Lal identified the *Ṛgvedic* Sarasvatī with the present-day Sarasvatī-Ghaggar river system in India, not Afghanistan’s Helmand. The Harappan or Indus-Sarasvatī Civilisation thrived in this basin, dating back to the 5th millennium BCE (e.g., Bhirrana). Evidence shows the Sarasvatī dried around 2000 BCE, placing the *Ṛgveda* earlier, as it describes the river as powerful. *Ṛgveda* 10.75.5–6 situates Vedic Aryans between the Ganges-Yamuna and the Indus, coinciding with the Indus-Sarasvatī Civilisation, linking it to the Vedas

¹⁰ T.V. Srinivasa Iyengar, *The History of the Aryans*, p.10.

¹¹ A. Ghosh, “The Indus Civilisation – Its Origin, Authors, Extent and Chronology” in V.N. Misra and N.S. Mate (Ed.), *Indian Pre-history*, 1964. An attempt has been made to try and identify the Sothi Culture with the *Ṛgvedic* people by A.D. Pusalkar, “Pre-Harappan, Harappan and Post-Harappan culture and the Āryan problem”, *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol.7, No.4, 1967-68, p.233 ff.

¹² T.V. Srinivasa Iyengar, *The History of the Aryans*, p.10.

¹³ There are incidental references to migration in the *Ṛgveda*, in verses such as 1.30.9; 1.36.18; 8.6.46; and they read clearly as for example, 6.45.1, ‘य आनयत्परावतः सुनीती तुर्वशं यदुम् इन्द्रः स नो युवा सखा॥’

¹⁴ L. Gopal, *Uttar Bharati*, IV, no. 3, p.71 ff.; N.R. Banerjee, *the Iron Age in India*, p.158 ff.

and establishing both as indigenous. This challenges theories of Aryan immigration or invasion and highlights cultural continuity in Indian civilisation, though tensions with groups like the Dasyus and Paṇis are noted.¹⁵

1.4. The Aryan Invasion or Migration Theory

When the Indus Valley Civilisation was discovered in the 1920s, colonial archaeologists linked it to a pre-Vedic society, claiming it was destroyed by Aryan invaders from the Northwest, seen as the ancestors of Hindu India. While the *Aryan Invasion Theory* (AIT) is largely rejected today, historians still view Vedic civilisation as the successor to the Indus Valley Civilisation.

The prevailing view holds that the creators of the Indus civilisation were displaced or subjugated by the Aryans, with the civilisation predating the Vedic period. While debate exists about a gap between the Indus decline and Aryan arrival, Vedic texts suggest a connection, referencing the destruction of cities by war-god Indra (Purandara) and fire-god Agni. This aligns with evidence of fire-related destruction in many Indus cities, indicating possible Aryan involvement.¹⁶

T. Burrow acknowledged that the Aryans originated outside India, though the Aryan invasion lacks direct written or archaeological evidence. Comparative philology, however, supports this theory, with shared practices like fire-worship and the Soma cult in India and Iran. Sir William Jones suggested Aryan migration from a central origin, likely Iran, with later scholars favouring Central Asia. M. Wheeler linked archaeological findings, such as a charred wall at Harappa, to the Aryan invasion, associating it with ‘Purandara’, the god of destruction, and cited evidence from Mohenjo-Dāro.

¹⁵ Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History*, p. 191.

¹⁶ This statement may not apply to Mohenjo-Dāro in Sind, where strong evidence has been produced to show that the city decayed owing to frequent disastrous floods. Mohenjo-Dāro, however, was not in the main line of Āryan advanced. (Ed.)

1.5. Contradictions about Aryan Migration Theory

G.R. Sharma, in *History to Pre-history: Archaeology of the Vindhyas and Oriental Studies*, presents evidence of domesticated horses in the Son Valley, Ganga Basin, dating back to 6570–5430 BCE, challenging the idea that horses originated in Bactria around 1800 BCE. Hemfil and Christenson found no genetic evidence of human migration to the Indus Valley before 1800 BCE, suggesting domesticated horse movement was unlikely without such migrations, though later migrations did occur.¹⁷

R.S. Sharma acknowledged the presence of horses around 5000 BCE. The *R̥gveda* mentions 34-ribbed horses (*Equus caballus* Linn.),¹⁸ often identified as the Arabian 36-ribbed horse. However, Bhagavan Singh in *The Vedic Harappans* suggests it may refer to an ass species (Namadikas), with the term ‘Gardava’ later distinguishing these from faster horses. The *R̥gveda* also mentions two distinct types of horses.¹⁹

1.6. Cultivation and Farming

Indologists like Childe and Winternitz viewed Aryan civilisation as pastoral, contrasting it with the Harappans. However, the *R̥gveda* includes prayers on farming and horticulture, emphasising agricultural practices. Sāyaṇa explains the term ‘कृष्टयः’ as meaning ‘people’, possibly derived from a term linked to farming. *R̥gveda* hymn 1.110 discusses farming and plough use

¹⁷ Rajat Pal, *Āryadigante Sindhusabhyatā*, p.246.

¹⁸ RV-1.62.18.

¹⁹ अविप्रे चिद्वयो दधदनाशुना चिदर्वता। इन्द्रो जेता हितं धनम्॥ (6.45.2); मुषाय सूर्य कवे चक्रमीशान ओजसा। वह शुषाय वधं कुत्सं व्यासास्याशैः॥ (1.175.4)

(Lāngala), while Sāyaṇa connects ‘अर्यः’ in 1.33.3 to farming and the Vaiśya occupation, deriving it from the root ‘ऋ’ (to cultivate).

1.7. Cremation and Burials

While cremation was predominant, the Aryans also practiced burial. R.S. Sharma, in *In Search of the Aryans*, cites evidence from the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* describing burial practices and underground dwellings for the deceased.²⁰ The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* describes a four-cornered monument for Aryans and a rounded one for Asuras,²¹ also mentioning burial of remains.²²

1.8. Rakhigarhi DNA Study has debunked the Aryan invasion theory

Rakhigarhi, located in Haryana's Hissar District, 150 km northwest of Delhi, was a mature Harappan town during the second and third millennia BCE. By 2014, with additional mounds discovered, it surpassed Mohenjo-Daro in size, covering approximately 550 hectares. Radiocarbon dating in 2014 estimated the settlement to date back to 4470 BCE, around 6500 years ago.

DNA analysis of a 4,000–5,000-year-old skeleton from Rakhigarhi, the largest Indus Valley Civilisation site, provided insights into ancient migration patterns in Asia. Researchers compared this DNA with 11 other global samples and existing data to trace these complexities.

1.9. Vedic References to Iranian Migration into India

The *Ṛgveda* and the *Avesta*, sister texts from the Middle to Late Bronze Ages, reflect the activities of early Vedic and Avestan speakers in the Indo-

²⁰ ṚV-7.89.1; Av-5.30.14

²¹ Ś.Br.-13.8.1.1.

²² *Ibid.* -13.8.3.2.

Iranian region. A shared figure, Viṣṭāśpa, is notable as Zarathustra's patron, appearing in three contexts: as Darius the first's father in an inscription, in Avestan texts, and in the first Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda*. The third mention of Viṣṭāśpa involves the son of a merchant, who features in a trade-related context that helps approximate the period of both Viṣṭāśpa and the *Ṛgvedic* poet who opposed him. This poet, Kakṣivān, composed hymns to the gods for various chiefs, receiving valuable gifts in return. Meanwhile, his merchant father gained profits through trading surplus goods. The family, likely displaced in the Sindh region, may have originated from Viṣṭāśpa's homeland in southeastern Iran, traveling along the Makran Coast to reach the lower Indus Valley's coastal areas.²³

Kakṣivān,²⁴ who resented Iṣṭāśva (or Viṣṭāśpa), accompanied his merchant father to the lower Indus Basin. There, he composed several *Dānastūti* hymns in praise of Bhavya Svanaya, a local Asura chief who ruled near the Indus River.²⁵

1.10. Ancient Indians

Dr. A. N. Chandra argues that the prehistoric and proto-historic culture of India is inadequately documented, relying on relic materials to trace the origins of Indian culture and human history. The timeline of human evolution and the fully developed Indus Civilisation, especially its Chalcolithic phase, remain uncertain.²⁶ Herbert Risley categorised Indian society into seven anthropological groups: 1) Turko-Iranian, 2) Indo-Aryan, 3) Scytho-Dravidian, 4) Aryo-Dravidian, 5) Mongolo-Dravidian, 6) Mongoloid, and 7) Dravidian. He

²³ R.N. Nandi, *Ṛgveda and Its Historical Setting*, p. 37

²⁴ *ṚV*-1.122.9, 13-15.

²⁵ *ṚV*-1.126.1-2.

²⁶ A. N. Chandra, *The Rig Vedic Culture and the Indus Valley Civilisation*, p. 16.

also ranked people by nasal index, a classification that reinforced the Aryan Invasion Theory in Western historical thought.

Chapter II

Non-Aryan India

2.1. Pre-Aryan and Non-Aryan Communities and their Introduction

According to the *Ṛgveda*, various indigenous communities coexisted with the Vedic people. Over time, the names of these groups became more prominent as the *Ṛgvedic* people interacted with them. These Pre-*Ṛgvedic* groups were often identified by their regions or professions, though their lifestyles were vaguely described.

These groups have been classified based on their interactions with the *Ṛgvedic* people: some were seen as hostile, others as neutral, and a few possibly as supportive. While some groups were openly hostile and significant enough to be mentioned in the texts, others appeared neutral, neither cooperative nor hostile. One group, however, stands out as more clearly defined.

2.2. The Connotation of Dark Complexion

Indra's enemies are described with terms such as 'dusky brood' (Kṛṣṇagarbhāḥ)¹, 'swarthy' (Kṛṣṇa)², 'darksome creatures' (Kṛṣṇajāḥ)³, 'dusky skin' (Tvacam Kṛṣṇām)⁴, and 'originating from darkness' (Kṛṣṇayoniḥ)⁵.

¹ RV-1.101.1

² *Ibid.*-4.16.13.

³ *Ibid.*-6.47.21.

⁴ *Ibid.*-1.130.8.

⁵ *Ibid.*-2.20.7.

These descriptions reflect a negative perception of their complexion.⁶ In contrast, Indra's allies are characterised as 'fair-complexioned'.⁷

Skin colour differences were once seen as racial distinctions. Buffon argued that races developed from an original white form influenced by climate, while Montagu and Castle showed that increased pigmentation protects against the sun in hot climates. This likely explains why Iranians regarded the people of the Indian plains as 'black', as seen in the Persian use of 'Hindu'. D.R. Bhandarkar suggested the Dāsas might have been of Iranian descent.

2.3. Physical Structure

In the *Ṛgveda*, Dasyus is referred to as 'Anāsa'.⁸ Macdonell and Keith note the term 'Anāsa' as follows: 'The sense of this word is not absolutely certain'.⁹ Both the pada text and Sāyaṇa interpret 'Anāsa' as 'without face' (An-āsa). Some suggest it refers to flat-nosed, Dravidian-type aborigines, like the Brāhūīs, whose language persists. Sāyaṇa splits 'Anās' into 'An-ās', meaning 'without face'. There is no reason to favour recent interpretations based on the idea that pre-Aryan India's population was composed of snub-nosed Dravidians. 'Anās', meaning faceless, is a term of censure, similar to 'Kṛṣṇayoniḥ' discussed earlier.

The opponents of Indra are referred to as 'Śiśnadeva', meaning 'phallus-worshipper.' Griffith interprets this term in the *Ṛgveda* as 'lewd'¹⁰ or 'lustful'.¹¹ However, it is clear that 'Śiśnadeva' does not strictly refer to a phallus-

⁶ *Ibid.*-2.12.4.

⁷ *Ibid.*-1.100.18

⁸ RV- 5.29.10.

⁹ A.A. Macdonell & A.B. Keith, *The Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. 1, p.347.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*-7.21.5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*-10.99.3.

worshipper, however rather to a person characterised by sensuality or lustfulness.¹²

2.4. Non-Aryan Society and Life-style

Non-Aryan civilisations in ancient India, distinct from the Āryan Vedic traditions, encompassed a variety of native societies that thrived before and alongside the rise of Vedic civilisation. These civilisations differed from the Indo-Aryan perspective in terms of social structures, religious rituals, and cultural practices. The Dasyus, Dāsas, and other native groups mentioned in Vedic literature were among them. Though often depicted as hostile or deviating from Aryan practices, these portrayals are biased and fail to capture the full complexity of these communities.

2.5. Cities and Citadels

According to the *R̥gveda*, the primary opponents of Indra were the Dāsas and Dasyus, who lived in fortified towns (Pura) and citadels (Niṇya).¹³ Indra, aided by Agni, is credited with demolishing ninety of the Dāsas' forts in a single act.¹⁴ Described as a fierce warrior with his thunderbolt, Indra destroyed the strongholds of the Dāsas,¹⁵ including the hundred forts of the Dasyu Śambara,¹⁶ to help Divodāsa in battle. These forts, often made of stone (*Aśmanmayī*),¹⁷ were fortified with ramparts and gates,¹⁸ enduring long sieges¹⁹ and considered nearly

¹² A.D. Pusalkar, *The Vedic Age*, p.191.

¹³ ṚV-4.16.13.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*-3.12.6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*-1.103.3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*-6.31.4.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*-4.30.20.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*- 6.18.5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*- 1.53.8; 1.33.12.

indestructible.²⁰ After defeating the Dāsas, Indra took the wealth stored within these strongholds.²¹ The forts and cities in the *Vedic* texts hold cosmic significance and reflect real settlements, with the Indus Valley cities resembling the Dasyu's towns. Archaeological evidence, such as five skeletons found in the Harappa mound among tumbled brick, ash, and pottery, suggests the victims perished in a sudden calamity, as they were not buried according to customs. Many towns and cities were destroyed by fire, a theme reflected in the *Ṛgveda*,²² where Agni is praised as the destroyer of towns. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*²³ also depicts Agni Vaiśvanara driving citizens from these ruined towns.

2.6. People

The Vedas explore several Pre-Aryan adversaries of the Aryans. Among these, the Paṇis, Asuras, Rākṣasas, Dāsas, and Dasyus are well-known and considered major opponents as generally mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

The Vedas describe the Dāsas or Dasyus (also called Paṇis) as Pre-Aryan adversaries involved in commerce and usury. They monopolised economic resources, controlling irrigation systems and cattle wealth in rural areas. They extended influence through high-interest loans, waterworks, and industrial production in cities.²⁴

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*²⁵ mentions notable Asuras like Namuci, Svarvanu, and Kālakāṅga, suggesting it was composed during Asura dominance. Although the Asura and Deva languages originated from the same

²⁰ *Ibid.*- 1.51.11.

²¹ *Ibid.*- 1.130.7; 6.20.7.

²² ṚV-3.15.4, 4.26.3, 6.19.39, 7.5.3.

²³ T.Br.- 2.4.6.8.

²⁴ Buddhaprakash, *Ṛgveda and Indus Valley Civilization*, pp.86-87.

²⁵ *Ibid.*-3.2.1.24.

root, the text condemns the Asura language, advising against polluting the Deva language. The Dāsas and Dasyus, Indra’s Vedic foes,²⁶ are further explored, with the term ‘Dasyu’ appearing in the Avestan as ‘Dainyu’, ‘Dakhyu’, and ‘Dapyu’, and as ‘Dahyu’ in Achaemenian inscriptions.²⁷

2.7. Non-Aryan lifestyles as depicted in Vedas

When Indo-Aryan priests failed to conquer or convert the Māgadhas and Andhras, they adopted Dravidian deities, rebranding them with Indo-Aryan names and integrating them into their worship. This inclusive practice helped foster empathy, gradually incorporating the Dravidian people into the Indo-Aryan religious framework.²⁸

Historians like Wheeler cited Ṛgvedic hymns about the Aryans’ conflict with the Dāsas or Dasyus, linking them to the Harappans. However, they dismissed references to the Vedic people as urban builders, farmers, and warriors, contrasting them with native populations.²⁹

2.8. Non-Aryan socio-economic status

The remnants of the Indus Valley Civilisation suggest that immigrants encountered a socially stratified and economically wealthy population, with inequality likely based on wealth and occupation. Despite this, their spiritual lives held meaning.³⁰ It is plausible that individuals with advanced material culture were organised in a defined social hierarchy, supported by various types of housing.³¹

²⁶ ṚV -1.51.5.

²⁷ Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 12.

²⁸ R.D. Banerjee, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, p.32.

²⁹ Georg Feuerstein & et.al. *In Search of the cradle of Civilization*, Ch. 6, p.102.

³⁰ Goswami, *Prāgaitihāsik Mohenjodaro*, pp.141-42; Kosambi, *An Introduction to Study of Indian History*, p.55; S. Piggott, *Pre-historic India*, pp.168-70;

³¹ P. Mukherjee, *Beyond the Four Varṇas*, p.23.

2.9. Indus Valley civilisation and its traces in Vedic Literature:

Fairservis argues that while the Indus Valley Civilisation is fundamentally Indian, its roots are linked to Iran.³² No formal burials have been found at Mohenjo-Dāro, but skull analysis from street remains reveals a diverse population, with three proto-Australoid, six Mediterranean, one Mongoloid, and four possibly Alpine. Similar skeletal features from Cemetery H at Harappa also align with the proto-Australoids in Mohenjo-Dāro.

³² W. A. Fairservis, "The Harappan Civilization-New Evidence and More Theory". *American Museum Novitates*, No. 2055, November 17, 1961, p. 11.

Chapter III

Process of Aryanisation

Evidence from physical anthropology, such as shorter stature and broader noses among Aryan settlers in the Gangetic plains, suggests intermingling between Aryan and non-Aryan populations. This likely occurred as the Aryans spread across the plains, gradually integrating with local peoples over an extended period through both ceremonial and natural processes.

3.1. War and Slavery

The *Ṛgveda* portrays Dasyus and Dāsas as enemies of the Aryans,¹ with some adopting Aryan customs. *Ṛgveda* 8.51.9 shows both Dāsas and Aryans worshipping Indra. Trasadasyu, leader of the ‘black complexioned’ men,² signifies Aryan dominance over Dasyus.³ The term ‘Adevāḥ’ (*Ṛgveda*. 8.96.9) refers to the Asura tribe, and in *Ṛgveda* 1.31.1, Dyaus, an Asura, acknowledges and submits to Indra.

3.2. Political strategies

During early Aryan settlement in the Gangetic plains, concerns over blood purity arose due to the presence of local Non-Aryans. The Brāhmaṇas promoted exclusivity from Śūdras to maintain Aryan blood purity, becoming largely endogamous, however, allowing some intermarriage with Kṣatriyas and, less so, with Vaiśyas, perceived as having a less ‘pure’ bloodline.

3.2.1. Co-operation and helpfulness: When the Aryans arrived in northern India, they encountered an existing society with unknown structure, wealth, and

¹ ṚV-4.30.18; 2.20.8,1.103.3, 3.12.6, 4.32.10, 1.31.4.

² *Ibid* -8.19.36-37

³ R.S. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p.15.

occupations. They engaged in conflict with various regional and occupational groups. As their power grew, the Aryans shifted from invaders to settlers, needing to build relationships with locals for survival. In the early Vedic period, a few Ṛṣi clans—like the Aṅgirasas, Atharvans, Bhṛḡus, and Vasiṣṭhas—founded the Vedic sacrificial tradition, later expanding to include other groups into the emerging Brāhmana class.⁴

In the early Vedic period, Aryans were at war not only with Dāsa enemies but also with other Aryans. Scholars like Macdonell and Keith suggest that the term ‘Vṛtra’ refers to conflicts both among Aryans and between Aryans and Dāsas. By the time of the Ṛgveda, Aryan communities had moved beyond simply conquering aborigines. Later Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas reflect mostly Aryan conflicts, likely resulting from the merging of Ārya and Dāsa communities.⁵

3.3. Deprived Aryans and their anti-Aryan activities

Magadha was considered an undesirable region (agamyā),⁶ inhabited by outcasts, inferior Brāhmaṇas (Brahma-bandhu), and Non-Aryans, where Brāhmanisation made no progress. The region was so detested that it was associated with a type of fever. Other groups, such as the Andhra, Puṇḍra, Pulinda, Mutība, and Śabara, were also seen as living beyond the boundaries of Vedic civilisation. In anger, the sage Viśvāmitra exiled his sons to these remote regions for not following Aryan customs.⁷

⁴ Ramaprasad Chanda, *The Indo-Aryan Races: A Study of the Origin of Indo-Aryan People and Institution*, p. 17-20.

⁵ A.A. Macdonell & A.B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol.I, p. 65.

⁶ Bau. Dh. Sū.-1.2.14-15.

⁷ A.Br.-7.18, 33.6; A.B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 307; N.K. Dutt, *Aryanisation of India*, p. 68.

3.4. Special rituals for deprived Aryans

The ‘Vrātyastoma’ was a significant social movement aimed at converting the nomadic eastern deprived Vrātyas, who were seen as outsiders by those with a settled religious structure. It enabled their integration into society, allowing them to shed their status as Vrātyas and join the social order on equal terms. Widely regarded as a mass conversion, the ‘Vrātyastoma’ was also a tool for political control during the later Vedic period. It facilitated the consolidation of royal power by integrating the Vrātyas and their lands into the growing political structure.

3.5. Cultural Campaign towards Eastern and Southern India

In later Vedic literature, there is a notable shift in the geographical horizon of the composers, moving gradually southeast from the earlier region around the Sindhu (Indus) River and the seven rivers (Punjab). The *R̥gveda* composers were unfamiliar with symbols like the lotus, Nyagrodha tree, tiger, and rice, as these were not native to the northwestern region. However, in the Atharvaveda, the geographical focus shifts further east and south, where the tiger becomes a symbol of power, and its skin is associated with royalty.⁸

By the time of the Brāhmaṇas,⁹ the focus had shifted to Brahmāvarta, or the land of the Kurus (Kurukṣetra), situated between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī, as well as to the territory of Pāñcāla, located between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā (the Doab). This area gained prominence in the Vedic context. The story of Videgha Mādhava in the *Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa*¹⁰ clearly indicates the eastward expansion of the Vedic Indians.

⁸ AV-4.8.4-7.

⁹ Ś.Br.-9.3.1.8; A.Br.-3.44.3.

¹⁰ Ś.Br.-1.4.1.10.

Sāyaṇa, in his commentary on the relevant passage from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, refers to a lexicon (Nighaṇṭu) to identify the river Sadānīrā as the Karatoyā.¹¹ Both the *Kālikāpurāṇa*¹² and *Yogatantra*¹³ also mention the river Karatoyā as the western boundary of Kāmarūpa.

3.6. Mutual commerce of Language

The spread of Aryan languages across India indicates a large-scale migration of their speakers. Although numerous Proto-Munda and Dravidian words appear in Sanskrit from the Vedic period, the pre-Aryan inhabitants of northern India were largely overwhelmed and unable to preserve their languages. The Śūdras and Vaiśyas, who formed the majority of the population, likely spoke Aryan languages. However, even today, Aryan-speaking populations have not displaced non-Aryan languages, some of which have remained resilient and robust.¹⁴

3.7. Acceptance of Non-Aryan customs

Initially, the Māgadhas and Andhras were regarded as outcastes. However, as the Indo-Aryan priests realised, they could not conquer or convert these groups, they began integrating Dravidian deities into their religious practices. By adopting Dravidian gods and giving them Indo-Aryan names, they facilitated a shared religious worship that fostered a connection between the two cultures. Over time, this helped draw the Dravidians into the Indo-Aryan religious fold.¹⁵

¹¹ “तथा च निघण्टुः - करतोया सदानीरा बाहुदा सैतवाहिनी इति”- Sāyaṇabhāṣyam of *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*-1.4.1.17

¹² Kālikā. P.-78.7.

¹³ YT-11.16-18.

¹⁴ R.S.Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p.29.

¹⁵ R.D. Banerjee, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, p.32.

As the Indo-Aryan religion reformed, non-Brāhmaṇas were sometimes accepted into the Brāhmaṇa caste due to shortages of Brāhmaṇas.¹⁶

3.8. Remaining of Non- Aryan customs and manners

Many Dravidian goddesses retained their original forms even after being integrated into Indo-Aryan worship, as seen in images of Yogamāyā at Vindhyaçhala, Kirīteśvarī near Murshidabad, and Kāmākhyā near Gauhati.¹⁷ Bardic rivalries over priestly authority, dating back to the Ṛgvedic era, were likely influenced by ethnic factors. Composers came from diverse backgrounds, leading to both fair-skinned and dark-skinned poets, which may have impacted status within Aryan society.

3.9. Fusion of Races

The fusion of races was facilitated by evolving religious practices among Dravidian settlers and Indo-Aryan invaders. Shared worship of Dravidian deities, changes in rituals, and the gradual absorption of non-Aryan priests and magicians into the Brāhmaṇa caste helped integrate different groups. Inter-marriage between Indo-Aryan Brāhmaṇas and Dravidian women further contributed to this fusion, with offspring considered fully Indo-Aryan.

¹⁶ E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. 1, p.54.

¹⁷ R.D. Banerjee, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, p.36.

Chapter IV

Newly formed Society and Caste system

4.1. Introduction

Agriculture did not emerge universally at the same pace; some societies adopted it more rapidly than others. While the agricultural revolution influenced the development of complex societies, there is debate over why some agrarian societies advanced while others did not. Factors such as governance, irrigation, conflict, trade, geography, and competition all contributed to societal complexity, with each society evolving based on its unique environmental, social, and political context.

4.1.1. Larger social group formation: Complex societies or civilisations emerged in regions like the Tigris-Euphrates, Nile, Indus, and Huang River basins. These societies shared traits such as dense populations, agriculture-based economies, social hierarchies, division of labour, centralised governments, monuments, writing systems, and complex belief systems.

4.1.2. Formation of governments and social classes: Civilisations go beyond physical structures like stone walls and monuments; they also involve the creation of social infrastructures, including economic, political, and religious organisations. These structures established new social hierarchies to manage and organise large, dense communities. Specialised roles, such as officials, farmers, artisans, traders, and spiritual leaders, were integral to these hierarchies.

4.1.3. Challenges of Ancient states and their social classes: A clan consists of hundred to two-hundred people divided into six to twelve families, with intra-clan disputes centered around resource management, labour division, authority, and protection. These conflicts tend to be less violent than external ones. As clans sought to minimise conflict and secure resources, they began to explore

connections with other clans. Conflicts arose when these mobile groups began to overlap. Over time, some communities organised to secure land for cultivation and adopt more settled lifestyles, such as pastoralism or fishing, leading to the emergence of more stable groups.

4.1.4. Social mobility in Aryan Social Structure and acceptance of non-Aryans: The Aryan aristocracy emerged around 1500 B.C. as Aryan-speaking peoples migrated south of the Vindhya. This migration altered social dynamics, especially with the shift from endogamy to accommodate hypergamy. The Varṇa system, based on factors like pollution and labour specialisation, reinforced ethnic and regional distinctions. While some limited horizontal mobility might have been allowed for the elite, upward mobility was difficult and restricted, while downward movement was more accessible.

The Niṣādas, Cāndalas, and Paulakas are described as Non-Aryan mixed peoples, with the earliest mention found in the *Yajurveda*.¹ Though the *Dharmaśāstras* suggest mixed origins, they are depicted as primitive races with a low cultural level, living in unhygienic conditions and engaged in hunting and fishing when the Aryans encountered them. Over time, these groups were incorporated as tribes and castes in later works.

4.2. Place of Non-Aryan people in new society

The hierarchical system likely originated from tribal culture to address the Aryans' needs. They divided society into conquerors and those conquered. The Aryans formed the first three Varnas, with local gentry possibly joining them.² The Śūdra Varṇa likely originated from conquered, non-wealthy, and hostile groups, such as the Dāsa, Dasyu, or Rākṣasa of the *Rgveda*.³ The

¹ T.S-4.5.4.2.

² D.D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, p.96-98; S. Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, p.286-88.

³ P. Mukherjee, *Beyond the Four Varṇa*, p. 24.

Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas constituted Aryan society, while Śūdras served as slaves, with no rights to participate in Aryan rituals or ceremonies.

4.3. Developments of mixed castes and untouchables

The emergence of untouchables as a distinct group occurred after the Ṛgvedic society became entrenched. Over time, the category of untouchables expanded, with existing groups being included or excluded. As society became more stratified, the untouchables formed residual groups. The Dharmasāstras vary on the number, names, and classifications of mixed castes. Gautama lists eleven (or twelve), Baudhāyana mentions fourteen, Vasiṣṭha identifies six, and Āpastamba refers to only three.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the first chapter of this dissertation explores the origins and culture of the Vedic Aryans, reviewing various theories about their racial alignment and origin. It also examines their lifestyle, agricultural practices, religious beliefs, social stratification (including mixed castes), economic conditions, and trade networks.

The first chapter highlights the coexistence of both Aryan and non-Aryan populations in ancient India, as reflected in the Vedas.

The second chapter examines the socio-cultural status of Non-Aryan or Pre-Aryan inhabitants of India, focusing on communities such as the Dāsas, Dāsyus, Paṇis, Rākṣasas, and Asuras, as described in Vedic texts. It explores their racial composition, anthropological origins, and connections to the Indus Valley Civilisation. The chapter categorises these groups into those with advanced technology and fortified settlements, and forest-dwelling tribes. It also identifies geographical regions of Dravidian civilisation and examines cultural and socio-economic aspects, offering insights into their role in ancient India.

The third chapter focuses on the process of Aryanisation, detailing how Aryans influenced and assimilated non-Aryan groups into their culture. It examines the shift from Aryan cultural dominance to the integration of non-Aryan elements, especially during the Epic-Puranic periods. Figures like Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, Vyāsa, and Kaṇva, originally associated with non-Aryan traits, became central to religious narratives, suggesting intermingling between Aryans and non-Aryans. The chapter explores factors such as *Pañcajana*, conflicts, political strategies, cultural integration, and linguistic exchange that facilitated Aryan dominance and assimilation.

The fourth chapter traces the evolution from hunter-gatherer societies to more structured, stratified communities. It explores the development of towns, governance, and social classes based on occupational specialisation. The rise of social stratification and its associated challenges is examined, particularly in Vedic society, where indigenous cultures were gradually absorbed into a rigid caste system. This process led to the creation of mixed castes and untouchables, significantly transforming the social landscape and impacting the aboriginal populations.

Limitations: Vedic literature connects several figures, like Agastya, Viśvamitra, Kṛṣṇa, and Rāma, to later epic poetry, indicating continuity between the Vedas and texts like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, and *Purāṇas*. For example, Droṇa in the *Mahābhārata* is the son of Bharadvāja, and Rāma, an Ikṣvāku king, was a disciple of Viśvamitra. Kṛṣṇa, depicted as a black-skinned king, is portrayed in conflict with Indra in both the *Ṛgveda* and the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam*. In the *Ṛgveda* (1.130.8 and 8.96.13-16), the Asura Kṛṣṇa, described as black-skinned and radiant, is in conflict with Indra, who defeats him with Bṛhaspati and the Marutas. A similar narrative appears in the *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam* (Canto 10, Chapters 24-25), where Kṛṣṇa also opposes Indra. Both texts depict a struggle between Kṛṣṇa and Indra, though with differing portrayals of the hero or victor. The legends of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* have roots in the Vedas, though later texts reflect localised influences.

The dates of the Vedas and epics are likely closely aligned, with the Aryans believed to have originated from the Hindu Kush or Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex. The Vedas were likely composed after their arrival in the Indian subcontinent. Further research is needed, and while this dissertation offers a comprehensive view, it leaves room for future exploration.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with the commentary of Sāyaṇa. A. Weber (Ed.). Bonn. 1879. M. Haug (Eng. Trans.) Bombay (now Mumbai). 1863.

Aṅgūttara Nikāya. Ed. R. Morris and E. Hardy. 5 vols. London: Pali Text Society. 1885–1900.

Antagaḍa Dasāo and Aṅuttarovavāiḍa Dasāo. Ed. P.L. Vaidya. Bombay. 1932.

Āpastamba Dharmasūtra. Edited by G. Būhler. Vol. II & VIII. Bombay: Government Central Book Depot. 1892-94.

Āpastamba-Śrauta-Sūtra : Text with English Translation and Notes. Ed. & Tr. Ganesh Umakant Thite. Delhi: New Bharatiya Book Corp. 2004.

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. Ed. & Comm. T. Gaṇapati Śāstru. 3 Vols. Trivandrum. 1924-25.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad with the commentary of Śaṅkarācārya. Tr. Swami Madhavanda. Almora: Advaita Ashram. 1950.

Dharmaśāstras: The law codes of Āpastamba, Goutama, Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha. Ed. with Eng. Trans. by Patrick Olivelle. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd. 2003.

Digha Nikāya. Ed. T.W. Rhys Davids and J.E. Carpenter. 3 Vols. London: Pali Text Society. 1890-1911.

Divyāvadāna. Ed. E.B. Cowell & R.A. Neil. Cambridge: University Press. 1886.

Gautama Dharmasūtram. Ed. with Hindi commentary by Pramodavardhan Koundinyayan. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Vidya Bhawan, 2015.

Hymns of the Atharvaveda. Ed. Maurice Bloomfield, Vol. 42, *Sacred Books of the East*, edited by F. Max Müller, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1963.

- Hymns of the Rg Veda.* Tr. Ralph T.H. Griffith. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass. 1986. (Reprint)
- Jaimini Gṛhyasūtra belonging to the Samaveda. Ed. with Eng. Trans and introduction by W. Caland. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd. 1991.
- Kātyāyana Srautasūtra.* Ed. & Hindi Comnt. Lakshmiswar Jha. Varanasi: Chaukhamba Publishers. 2021.
- Lātyāyana Srautasūtra.* H.G. Ranade (Ed. & Eng. Trans.). Delhi: Indra Gandhi National Center for Arts. 1998.
- Maitrāyani Saṃhita.* L. V. Schroeder (Ed.). Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz. 1923.
- Majjhima Nikāya.* Ed. V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers. 3 Vols. London: Pali Text Society. 1888–1896.
- Niruktam.* (Ed. & Tr.) Amareswar Thakur. Vol. 1-4. Calcutta (now Kolkata): University of Calcutta. 1970.
- Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa.* W. Caland (Ed. & Trans.). Kolkata: Asiatic Society of Bengal. 1931.
- Pāraskaragr̥hyasūtram.* Ed. Mahadeva Gangadhar Bakre. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Pvt. Ltd. 1982. (2nd ed.; 1st ed. 1917)
- Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya.* Ed. N.S. Sontakke & C.G. Kashikar. 5 Vols. Poona (now Pune): Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala. 1946.
- Rigvedasanhita.* Ed. H.H. Wilson. London: WM. H Allen & Co. 1850.
- Sūyagaḍam.* Ed. P.L. Vaidya. Bombay. 1928.
- The Hymns of the Samaveda.* Ralph T.H. Griffith (tr.). Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office .1971.

- The Jataka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*. Ed. E. B. Cowell. 6 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895–1907.
- The Kausītaka Gṛhyasūtras with commentary of Bhavatrāta. Ed. T. R. Chintamani. Madras (now Chennai): University of Madras, 1944.
- The Mahabharata*. Eds. Sukthankar, Vishnu S., Shripad Krishna Belvalkar, and P. L. Vaidya. 19 vols. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. 1933-1971.
- The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. Ed. G. H. Bhatt. 7 Vols. Baroda: Oriental Institute. 1960-1975.
- Vinaya Piṭka*. Ed. H. Oldenberg. 5 Vols. London: Pali Text Society, 1879–1883.
- Yajñavalkya Smṛiti with the Commentary Mitaksara of Vijñaneśvara* Ed. Wasudev Laxman Shastri Pansikar, Bombay: Pandurang Jawaji 4th Revised Edition, 1936
- Zend-Avest, Pt. I Vendīdād*. Tr. James Darmesteter. *Sacred Book of the East*. Vol. IV. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1880.

Secondary Sources:

- Agarwal, D. P. "C-14 Dates, Banas Culture and the Aryans." *Current Science*. vol. 35. no. 6. Bangalore: Indian Academy of Sciences. 1966.
- Allchin, Bridget, and Raymond Allchin. *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1982.
- Balabushevich, V. "Some Problems of History of India." *Papers Presented by the U.S.S.R. Delegation to the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists*, 1963, p. 3. Moscow, Nauka.
- Balter, Michael. "India's Fragmented Society Was Once a Melting Pot: Genetic analysis finds evidence of massive intermarriage before caste system took

hold" *Science*, 8 Aug. 2013. <https://www.science.org/content/article/india-s-fragmented-society-was-once-melting-pot>

Banerjee, N. R. *The Iron Age in India*. New Delhi: Aryan Books International. 1993.

Banerji, R.D. *Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India*. Bombay (now Mumbai): Blackie and Son (India) Limited 1939. (Rpt. Of 1st ed. 1934).

Bhandarkar, D.R. *Some aspects of Ancient Indian culture*. Madras (now Chennai): University of Madras. 1940.

Buck, Carl Darling. *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages: A Contribution to the History of Ideas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949.

Buddha Prakash. *R̥gveda and Indus Valley Civilization*. Hosiarpur: Vishveshvaranand Institute. 1966.

Burrow, Thomas. 1945. "Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit." *Transactions of the Philological Society*, reprinted in Burrow, 1968.

_. "Some Loanwords in Sanskrit." *Transactions of the Philological Society*, reprinted in Burrow, 1968.

Chanda, R. *Indo-Aryan Races*. Part-1. Rajshahi: The Varendra Research Society. 1916.

Chanda, R. P. *Indo-Aryan Races*. Kolkata: University of Calcutta, 1916. \

Chandra, A. N. *The Rig Vedic Culture and the Indus Valley Civilisation*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications. 1990.

D.D. Johan Wilson. *India three thousand years ago*. Varanasi: Indological Book House. 1962.

- D.D. Kosambi. *An Introduction to the study of Indian History*. Bombay (now: Mumbai): Popular Prakashan, 1956.
- Dani, A. H. "Gandhara Grave Culture." *Ancient Pakistan*. Vol. III. Lahore: Pakistan Archaeological Society. 1967.
- E. Macay. *Further Excavation at Mohenjodaro*. Government Of India. Vol. I. 1938.
- Elst, Koenraad. *Update on the Aryan Invasion Debate*. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1999.
- Fairservis, Walter A. "The Chronology of the Harappan Civilization and the Aryan Invasion: A Recent Archaeological Research." *Man*, vol. 56. London: Royal Anthropological Institute. 1956.
- Fedrich, Maxmuller (Ed.). *Sacred Book East*. Vol. 4. Part.I. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1880.
- Ghosh, A. (ed.). *Indian Archaeology- A Review*. New Delhi: Department of Archaeology. 1955.
- Ghosh, A. "The Indus Civilisation – Its Origin, Authors, Extent and Chronology." *Indian Pre-history*, Ed. V. N. Misra and N. S. Mate. New Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan. 1964.
- Gupta, S. P. "Indian Copper Hoards." *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*. Vol. 49. Patna: Bihar Research Society. 1963.
- H. W. Bailey. "Iranian Arya and Daha". in *Transactions of the Philological Society*. London: 1959.
- Hale, Wash Edward. *Ásura in Early Vedic Religion*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited. 1999 (Rpt. of 1st ed. 1986).

- Iyengar, T. R. Sesha. *Dravidian India*. Vol. I. Madras (now Chennai): T.R. Sesha Iyengar. 1925.
- Iyengar, T. V. Srinivasa. *The History of the Aryans*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services. 2001.
- Jha, D.N. *Ancient India in Historical Outline*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributor. 1997. (8th Rpt.).
- Knapp, S. *Proof of Vedic Culture's Global Existence*. New Delhi: Voice of India. 2005.
- Kosambi, D.D. "The Autochthonous Element in the Mahābhārata". *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Vol. 84. 1964.
- Lal, B. B. "Protohistoric Investigation." *Ancient India*. no. 9. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India. 1953.
- Lal, B. B. *Indian Archaeology – A Review, 1959-60*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India. 1960.
- Landtman, Gunnar. *The Origin of the Inequality of Social Classes*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd. 1938.
- Macdonell, A.A. & Keith, A.B. *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*. Vol. 1 & 2. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited. 2007 (Rpt. of 1st ed. 1912).
- Macdonell, A.A. & Keith, A.B. *Vedic Index*. 2 Vols. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishing House. 2007.
- Mitra, Dr. Priti. *Indian Culture and Society in the Vedas*. Calcutta (now Kolkata): Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar. 1985. (1st Ed.).

- Mitra, Priti. *Life and Society in the Vedic Age*. Kolkata: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar. 1966 (1st Ed.).
- Nandi, R. N. *R̥gveda and Its Historical Setting*. New Delhi, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1996,
- Sharma, R.S. *Śūdras in Ancient India*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishing House. 2014.
- Sharma, Ram Sharan. *Śūdras in Ancient India: a social history of the Lower order down to circa A.D. 600*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited. 2014 (2nd rpt.).
- Wheeler, M. *The Indus Civilization*. London: Thames and Hudson. 1968.
- Wheeler, Mortimar. “Civilizations of the Indus Valley and Beyond”. *The Dawn of Civilization*. Ed. Stuart Piggot. London: Thames and Hudson. 1961.
- Wilson, D.D. *India Three Thousand Years Ago*. Varanasi: Indological Book House. 1858.
- Witzel, M. “Early ‘Aryans’ and their neighbours outside and inside India”. *Journal of Biosciences*. Vol. 44. no.3. 2019.
- Witzel, Michael. *The Home of the Aryans*. Harvard: Harvard University. 2000.
- Anirvan. *Vedimimāmsā*. Vol.1. Kolkata: Sanskrit Book Depot. 2017 (2nd Ed.).
- Pal, Rajat. *Āryadigante Sindhusabhyatā*. Kolkata: Khori Prakashani. 2022.
