The Ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists:
Toward a Pre-history of the Brahmans

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Title: The Rṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-history of the Brahmans

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Abstract: I have shown (2007, 2008) that a plausible history of Brahman migration to peninsular India from their Vedic homes in the Kuru Pāṇcāla area can be constructed from epigraphy and other literature, using the three Vedic markers common to all Brahmans, their śikhā, the style of the traditional male tuft; the Śūtra affiliation, a specific Veda caraṇa followed by a Brahman, and the Gotra lineage, a specific family line stemming from a rṣi-singer of the Ṛgveda. My present attempt is to arrive at a prequel to the above, a prehistory of the Brahmans, by conceiving them strictly and neutrally as the corporate agency of the Vedic oral tradition(s) before its transformation into the historical Brahman caste grouping.

The concordance between the Rṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara index of the Gotra affiliations will be our primary data. I will be arguing that the rṣi index provides the earliest picture we can form of the Vedic oral agency, made up now of a large number of poet-families and their collections, of different sizes, each archived in the name of a notional First Singer. The collection of the Ṛgveda as the ten-maṇḍala samhitā brings together these 50-odd disparate collections into a samāna or an ecumenical body, including their erstwhile different oral agencies.

Manuscripts of the different collections did not come together, in this period before writing, to form the ten-maṇḍala corpus; the different oral agencies did, becoming through the process a pan-Vedic agency to sing a pan-Vedic corpus. The 50-odd pre-collection First Singer labels, each an autonomous oral agency erstwhile in charge of a collection of rks and their praxis, do not die out, although they are now redundant and superseded by the pan-Vedic collection and praxis. Rather, they become the irreducible elements, the backbone, of a pan-Vedic oral agency, each equal to the next, becoming bound into a biological body through the endogamy-exogamy regulations of the Gotra institution: marriages must occur across the fifty-odd Gotra groups, but not within one, welding thus an e pluribus Unum and creating the “caste” of the Brahmans.
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The Ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-history of the Brahmans¹
(vedarakṣārtham: for Nambūrik-Kiṭṭan)

Section I. i. Introduction

I have shown in earlier work (2007; 2008) that a plausible narrative of Brahman migrations to the peninsular South Asia from their Vedic homes in the Kuru-Pāṇcāla area can be constructed from epigraphy and other literature by using the three Vedic markers common to all Brahmans, their śikhā, the style of the traditional male hair tuft; their Śutra affiliation, a specific Veda carana followed by his family; and their Gotra lineage, a specific family line into which a Brahman is born, stemming from a ṛṣi singer of the Ṛgveda (RV). Such an approach yielded a coherent story about the arrival in the peninsula of two groups of Brahmans, the first, ca 200-100 BCE, at the eve of the Sangam period of the Tamil country; the second, half a millennium later, in the historical period, during the Pallava reign first (5th to 10th CE) and later in the Cōla-Pāṇṭiya-Nāyaka period, upto 16th CE.

I seek to extend here the above study, but backward in time and arrive at a “prequel” to the above, a pre-history of the Brahmans. Can we arrive at such a pre-history? I believe that it is possible, and the concordance between the two Vedic discourses, the ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara index of the Gotra system, will supply our primary data. In essence it extends the third Vedic marker above, that of the Gotra affiliation, back to its origins as far as evidence would allow. In this perspective and for the time period under review, the Brahmans will be regarded strictly and neutrally as the corporate agencies of the Vedic oral traditions, a
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sort of guild or collegium united in the praxises and discourses of a techne, that of the arts and sciences of the oral compositions of metrical verses used in formal rituals. They are not yet the familiar social or caste group, subsumed into the rubric, Brahman.

I will be arguing that the ṛṣi index provides the earliest picture we can form of the Vedic oral agency as such a neutral entity; and that its concordance with the Pravara list marks the beginnings of it as a social or caste unit—a construct, coloured, even clouded, by its later history. And the ṛṣi index suggests that it was made up at this time (ca. 1500-1100 BCE) of a large number of poet-families and their collections, forming a sacerdotal adjunct to a prince or chieftain as part of the well-known brahma-kṣatras grid. We will see that they were of different sizes, of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, each archived in the name of a notional First Singer and listed in the ṛṣi index. When a global collection of these individual collections, in the form of the ten maṇḍalas RV-saṃhitā known to us, comes into formation, it brings together these disparate, diverse collections into an ecumenical saṃhitā, along with the erstwhile different human agencies behind these oral archives.

We should note that it cannot be otherwise in an oral tradition, literacy in the form of the Brāhmī scripts appearing in South Asia only ca. 4th BCE (Salomon 1995; 1998), well after the end of the Vedic period, properly so called. Thus, manuscripts of the different collections—family, personal—did not come together to form the ten-maṇḍala corpus; the different human oral agencies behind the respective collections did, becoming through the process a pan-Vedic agency to sing a pan-Vedic corpus. And as we know, the Rgveda and the ancillary discourses, the two liturgical saṃhitās and the Brāhmana-Āranyaka-Upaniṣad compositions never ceased to be oral; they
remained in an oral tradition and do so even today strictly in an oral tradition,\(^2\) acquiring thus the rubric śruti (literally, “sound,” thus a “sound track” or “tape recording.”)

The key evidence--very little addressed in literature\(^3\)--that the concordance between the ṛṣi index and the Pravara list provides us is that the once disparate and various oral agencies, although now made part of a pan-Vedic system, retained nevertheless their pre-collection identity labels embodied in the First Singer figure--already perhaps centuries old at the time of the collection of the ṚV as a ten-maṇḍala saṃhitā. This must be recognized as a major phase of Vedic history, the transition of the many individual personal and family collections into one saṃhitā and, simultaneously, their erstwhile oral agencies into a pan-Vedic agency, both the saṃhitā and its human agency ecumenically conceived and arranged. I argue below that the ecumenism is of special significance: as we will see, the different individual poetic agencies that form the pan-Vedic agency are of different sizes, some the sizes of “Family” books, some personal collections of ten hymns or less, some even just one hymn. Yet all fifty collections and agencies have due presences in the ṚV, marking the formation of both a pan-Vedic oral agency and its oral correlative, the ten-maṇḍala corpus—or, crucially, vice versa: an oral archive and its human agency are indivisible. The concordance between the ṛṣi index and the Pravara list provides concrete evidence that some fifty such earlier oral agencies pass through the transition, giving rise to the Gotra affiliations of the pan-Vedic oral agency, each a primus inter pares, regardless of the sizes of their original collections.
Sometime now and earlier (ca. 1000 BCE), these different poetic agencies and their praxises were still neutral and open to the non-Vedic indigenous peoples of South Asia, an aspect of Vedic history that has not been fully engaged or considered. The Vedic people did not arrive at an empty space: a wealth of evidence, collectively designated today as “linguistic area,” tells us that the region, from northern Afghanistan to the Panjub plains of the Indus river, was inhabited by many non-Vedic and non-Aryan populations, when the Vedic speaking people begin to arrive in the Panjub. I will argue that we can postulate that a pan-Vedic oral agency is thus forged from composite and diverse human groupings, the nucleus of the later social group of Brahmans.

Of central importance to my argument is that it becomes closed at this point, certainly with the Pravara list, ca. 900-800 BCE, the near-end of our two lists. The Pravara lists rise in effect to meet this contingency: it sets out who may marry whom, and who may not whom. The exogamy-endogamy regulations we see in the historical Gotra system cement the once open and “neutral” poetic agencies into a closed body, the Brahmans. Marriages outside one’s Gotra affiliation are mandated by the exogamy rule of the Gotra institution, cohering the fifty–odd pre-collection diverse oral agencies into an *e pluribus Unum* body; the other rule, that of endogamy, that marriages are possible only among Gotra affiliates, further conserves the *e pluribus Unum* body into a closed agency. The Gotra institution plays a biological role thus in forging an eminently successful human agency, subordinating it as “mnemonic automata” of an oral tradition. So complete is this process that the Gotra institution may be thought, I
will be arguing, of as a biological “spandrel,” a co-evolutionary mechanism, sustaining the oral agency in different parts of South Asia.

Further, the RV is fully conscious of this accomplishment. It proclaims and forecasts this body as a samāna (Macdonald 1929: 337; s.v. samāna “same, combined, homogenous”) entity in the last hymn of the ten maṇḍala RV (10.191), clearly by design a hymn of benediction and equally clearly, a hymn added later to mark the benediction: “samāna” appears eight times in the last two verses of the hymn, one in Triṣṭubh (TR) and the other in AN, each samāna added to signify, equally, the ten maṇḍala corpus and its oral agency. Well-omened, we should add, in light of its great success as a historical body.

Our primary text is the rṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system, a list of some 500-odd singers of the RV (Mayrhofer 2003). The Anukramaṇī system consists of three strands of informational index, the list of the rṣi-singers being only one. The deity addressed or invoked in the hymn or the verse forms another strand and the meter of the verse or the hymn, the third. Outside one hymn, and that too part of the khila or appendix of the RV (8.58), every verse, every hymn of the ten-maṇḍala RV has come to us objectified in an indexical discourse, what the deity of a verse or hymn is; what its meter is; and finally, who its rṣi-singer is. These three elements supply, as we will see, the basic rules—what I would designate below as the Bergaigne-Oldenberg laws—of arranging hymns and verses into an individual or family collection; it is such Bergaigne-Oldenberg collections, archived along three axes, that give rise to the ten
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maṇḍala RV. Indeed the ṛṣi index is “obsessive”7 to the extent of registering joint
authorships of hymns with “and” or “or” copula.

The Pravara index of the Gotra system8 is our second main source. We have
here some fifty descent formulas, linking a remote and perhaps mythical First Singer
figure often through an intermediary figure to a current singer. Kaśyapa-Avatsāra-
Nidhruva is a typical example, implying that Kaśyapa is the remote First Singer of the
family, Avatsāra an intermediate figure after Kaśyapa and Nidhruva the one nearest to
us, the last one, putatively historical and actually so in some instances (Brough 1953:
24). All three names occur in the Anukramaṇī ṛṣi index as well, giving us what I have
called above concordance between the two, Kaśyapa at 1.99 etc; Avatsāra at 5. 44 etc;
Nidhruva at 9.63 (see Appendix I for a complete breakdown of the RV along the
Anukramaṇī attributions.) I will be arguing that such a concordance between the ṛṣi
index and the Pravara list shows that a coherent set of Bergaigne-Oldenberg Kaśyapa
collections (altogether 41 hymns; 352 verses), including those by other Kaśyapa poets
than the three in the Pravara formula and distributed through Books 1, 5, 9 10 of the
RV, was edited into the ten maṇḍala RV saṃhitā, mirroring a similar “edition” of the
Kaśyapa oral “Gotra” agency into the pan-Vedic oral agency. This can be said for all the
50-odd collections and their oral agencies—all now beholden to the global 10-maṇḍala
saṃhitā and its praxises and forming thus the nucleus of the historical Brahmān group.

Third, we will depend upon an entire group of texts, from the Brāhmaṇa-type
liturgical discourses of both poems and poets of the RV, in the Saṃhitā and the
Brāhmaṇa works9 of the immediate post-RV period; they will serve as our referee
literature. We will see that the singers of the RV go through a steady process of
“depersonalization.”

However, in the Brāhmaṇa literature, the singers are still within their Vedic aura, and there is much information in these sources about individual poems and poets, enough in fact to lead to a radically new picture about the singers of the RV on the one hand and the Vedic archival systems, on the other. Increasingly, however, they begin to appear in the ritual realm, as the orthoprax ṛtviks of the Śrauta rituals, as the Hota, the Adhvaryu, the Udgāta, and the Brahman “priests.” Increasingly as well, they are almost cardboard figures, invested with supernatural powers, accrued from years of austerities, generalized in the term tapas, mystical “heat,” part of the mythology of the Brahmans of their Vedic past, receding back in time.

The *terminus a quo* of our inquiry is the very start of the Vedic age, 1500 BCE, with the arrival of the Vedic-speaking tribes in the Panjab plains; our *ad quem* is the Brāhmaṇa-Śūtra period, ca. 800 BCE, a time period divided by Michael Witzel (1999: 57-59), broadly into five levels, from the philological features of the “Vedic” language, as evidenced in the texts of the period. The corresponding geographical area will cover the region all the way from eastern Afghanistan to the Kosala region, the Indus plains in the west and the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab in the east—also schematized, by Witzel, into four distinct areas (with considerable interfaces): West, Central, South and East. Thus our first level text, the RV, is a Level 1 W item; our fifth level text the Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra (ĀŚ), Level 5 E item. All texts relevant to this investigation are bounded by these two.

I present my findings in three broad sections:
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Section I shows that the ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system is an
authentic archive, with the Gotama hymns as the example. I show that we can arrive at
a global output of the Gotama poetic tradition, as collected into the ten-manḍala ṚV. I
address then the concordance between the ṛṣi index and Pravara list for the Gotama
family, suggesting by extension that some fifty pre-collection families and groups can
be similarly arrived at, forming eventually the samāna pan-Vedic oral agency, by now
the beginnings of the historical Brahman group. I provide corroboration for this from
the Brāhmaṇa discourses, our referee literature.

Section II addresses the diverse, pre-collection world of the fifty-odd Vedic oral
agencies, Level 1 W, how we may postulate arguments about their formation and their
continuance or survival, later, in the Gotra society—their prehistory, in other words.
The central tendency to be noted is progressively from “many” to “one,” e pluribus
Unum, the “pluribus” part taking us to the world the singers of the ṚV proper. I show
that what has been called a “breakthrough” (Frits Staal 2000) in Vedic studies makes
this world explicable through its several broad constituents, riveted together later as a
samāna (“same or uniform”) body, a Unum.

Section III turns attention to the immediate post-collection world, Level 2 W-C-S,
presenting evidence in support of the above, how such a samāna world is created from
the many collections and the many agencies. We will see that this comes minimally
from three processes: formation or standardization of liturgies into a uniform pan-
Vedic type created from erstwhile individual family praxises; creation of liturgies that
foreground the pre-collection identities, no longer divisive, but each now a primus inter
pares category, one among many and equal in status to each other; and finally, the
transformation of the pre-collection labels into the Gotra affiliations, institutionalizing the new kinship regulations of exogamy and endogamy, further riveting the earlier individual components into a biological or genetic body.

In section IV, I come to the significance of these findings and draw the conclusion that the Vedic oral traditions constitute perhaps the most important “point of departure” to arrive at a longitudinal history of the Brahmans, from their origins in the remote Vedic period (Level 1, W) as individual oral agencies to their extant historical collaterals throughout South Asia.

Section I. ii. Authenticity of the ṛṣi index of the Anukramaṇī system

I will first show that the ṛṣi index possesses enough internal consistency to pass a prima facie test of authenticity, as data stored in coherent and regular order as the rubric anukramaṇī (Macdonnell 1929 [1971]: 15; s.v. anukramaṇī, “a table of contents”) signifies. Good evidence for this comes from RV 1. 58-64, seven hymns, shown by Jamison (2007: 60-68), to possess a real and concrete poetic voice behind them, all seven, the composition of one poet in any meaningful sense of the word.

The seven hymns constitute a “Bergaigne-Oldenberg saṃhitā,”11 a collection following specific but global laws of arrangement of hymn collections of the RV: as a rule, such a collection begins with an Agni hymn, decreasing along the collection both in length of the hymn and that of the meter (usually long JG-TR starting the series), till a change of deity, usually to Indra, occurs, with the longest hymn to this deity starting the series to him, first, again, in the long meter(s) (JG-TR) then decreasing in lengths of both, that of the hymn and the meter, the pattern repeating itself with other
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collections addressing other deities, Viśve Deva or the Maruts, being a usual deity of
transition to a subsequent new series. That is, a collection of hymns as we have it in
the extant RV is itself made up of smaller collections, each already organized along,
verifiably so, at least along two Bergaigne-Oldenberg criteria, that of deity and meter--
along two of the three strands, in other words, that make up the Anukramaṇī system. It
is natural to suppose that the Ṛṣi index would also be part of such an archiving system
and as such, this was the rationale and status quo, as we will see, behind the collection
of the RV as a global saṃhitā: such pre-fabricated units came together to make up the
10-maṇḍala RV, already collected along the Bergaigne-Oldenberg laws in the individual
family and Ṛṣi collections. And it is not probable that these archival principles arose
only when the global ten-maṇḍala RV was devised; we cannot doubt that individual
collections were already archived in the form of Bergaigne-Oldenberg units.

Along the third strand of the Anukramaṇī system, Nodhas Gautama is indexed as
the singer of the collection, the 1.58-64 saṃhitā, and it is one of the classic collections
showing the Bergaigne-Oldenberg rules in full play. It begins with a 9-verse hymn to
Agni in JG (6)-TR (3), a 7-verse TR hymn following and the Agni run ending with a 5-
verse hymn in TR. The change of deity occurs with 1.61, a 16-verse hymn in TR to
Indra, then a 13-verse hymn in TR, followed by a 9-verse TR hymn. A third change of
deity occurs at 1.64, to Maruts, with a 15-verse hymn to them in JG (14) and TR (1).
Three individual levels of archival are discernable here under one Ṛṣi singer: 5 Agni
hymns, in JG-TR meters; 3 Indra hymns also in the JG-TR meters and one Maruts hymn,
also still in the long meters—all three making up the Nodhas collection.
What may thus be called the Naudhasa saṃhitā occurs between two other such Bergaigne-Oldenberg collections, 1.51-57 and 1.65-73, showing these two saṃhitās coming to the RV “editors,” like the Nodhas collection, as prefabricated units. That is, they are also, already, arranged as saṃhitās of seven hymns (1.51-57) and nine hymns (1.65-73) and eventually edited into the 10-maṇḍala RV allowing us two important deductions regarding the entire archival system of the Vedic oral traditions that results in the 10-maṇḍala RV: first, all such collections, from a single verse to single hymns to multiple hymn collections like that of Nodhas to the book-length family collections that form the Family Books, all possess pre-redaction existences and histories hitherto ignored or thought inaccessible; second, if the meter and deity, two of the three items about a verse listed in the indexical system of the Anukramaṇī discourse, form two of the criteria of a Bergaigne-Oldenberg saṃhitā, and verifiably so, it is illogical assume that the ṛṣi-list, the third rail of the Anukramaṇī index, was also not a criterion in ordering the collections that make up, globally, the RV. The Anukramaṇī system represents, in other words, a “formal index,” as in Macdonnell’s “table of contents” noted above. Book 1 of the RV gives us 21 such distinct saṃhitās, each given to a singer.

We have Oldenberg’s imprimatur that this is indeed how Book 1 of the RV came together: he notes that the Anukramaṇī system has “preserved correct awareness” (1888 [219] 208) for the attributions of all Bergaigne-Oldenberg saṃhitās or collections of Book 1: 1.1-11; 12-23; 24-30; 31-35; 36-43; 44-50; 51-57; 58-64; 65-73; 74-93; 94-115; 116-126; 127-139; 140-164; 165-191. It must follow that the later fabled efficiency and economy of the system was always and already wired into the system, along the three
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axes of the Anukramaṇī system, even at its most formative and radical beginnings, part
of what Witzel (1995b: 91) has suggestively called the “taping” of a hymn or verse after
composition, an archival system, moreover, natural to an oral society: as we know, it is
part of the formal praxis of the recitation of the ṚV to cite the three items, as a proem,
before reciting the verse or the hymn.¹³

In further evidence of the authenticity of the Ṛṣi index, Nodhas Gautama himself
appears in one of them (1.61.14c: sadyo bhuvad vīriyāya nodhāḥ)¹⁴ and tagging six of the
seven songs with his refrain, prātar makṣu dhiyāvasur jagamayāt. Although Nodhas does
not appear in every song, nor his refrain, Stephanie Jamison shows that a distinctively
Naudhasa poetic voice animates the whole group, transcending the individual song to
cohere the seven hymns into his saṃhitā through common “structural devices” bearing
the poet’s signature.¹⁵

And, these are not the only poems of Nodhas Gautama in the ṚV. According to
the Anukramaṇī index, Nodhas Gautama is also the singer of two other hymns in the
ṚV: 8.88.1-6 and 9.93.1-5. The Nodhas refrain appears at 9.93.5b, thus justifying the
Anukramaṇī attribution, the song itself appearing in Book 9 as its devatā, deity, is Soma
Pavamāna. ṚV 8.88 does not have an internal Nodhas marker: a personal appearance
or refrain. However, its presence at 8.88 is justified, as Oldenberg (1888: [265] 256)
noted, because of its strophic mode: its meter is BR/SB, not found elsewhere in the
Nodhas collection, a meter suitable besides for the strophic mode. Moreover, as
Jamison shows (60-61), 8.88 shares, as does 9.93, the common “structural devices” of the
principal Nodhas saṃhitā (ṚV 1. 58-64).
All the ambient hymns of 8.88 are strophic. Indeed, as we know, Book 8 is globally strophic and most of these hymns are attributed to the Kaṇva singers in the ṛṣi index of the Anukramaṇī system: the Nodhas hymn (8.88) is placed outside the basic Kaṇva repertory of strophic hymns, along with other such miscellaneous strophic hymns. One of these miscellaneous items, we find, is attributed in the Anukramaṇī index, to Gautama Nodhas’s “son,” Ekadyū Naudhasa, and he helps us in this determination by first appearing in the song at 8.80.9d (ekadyūr devā uta yās ca devīḥ) and then appending his “father’s” refrain at 8.80.10d for good measure.

A skeletal, behind the scene, narrative of the Naudhasa collection that we may form from the above would be: we have here a father-son team with ten songs, the father first with a Bergaigne-Oldenberg saṃhitā of seven songs in Book 1 of the RV and then two more hymns by him placed elsewhere but in appropriate contexts in the RV. His son follows, with one hymn and possibly, presenting the whole as a family repertory to the “editors” of the RV. The family repertory then finds its way into the ten maṇḍala corpus, at appropriate niches, the father’s saṃhitā (1. 58-64) in Book I along with other such personal saṃhitās, and the isolated strophic hymns, both of the father and son, in Book 8. We must note that the ṛṣi index already makes such a narrative logical. In recent work, Stephanie Jamison’s reading of the main Nodhas collection gives the ṛṣi index the presumption.

Section I. iii. An inclusive scheme for Gotama ṛṣis

Can we add to the above? Is it possible to further embellish, flesh out, the picture of Nodhas family and its collection, their back story? From his name, Nodhas
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Gautama, it is clear that he is an epigone, at least by one generation, bearing a name derived from Gotama. We have Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, putatively of the parental Gotama generation, with a “personal” collection in the RV at 1.74-93, at one remove from the Nodhas collection, that of Parāśara Śāktya 1.65-73 intervening. The Gotama Rāhūgaṇa sāṃhitā, like that of Nodhas Gautama, is a Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection—indeed, as already noted, all are from 1.51-191 (Oldenberg 1888: [220] 209)—but containing significant additions made later to it, altering its original Bergaigne-Oldenberg form.

The Gotama Rāhūgaṇa collection is much bigger than that of Nodhas, 204 verses against 73. Outside this series in Book 1, Gotama Rāhūgaṇa has a hymn in Book 9 (31), one of the series of 22 (9. 25-46) 6-verse (GA) Soma Pavamāna hymns. Like Nodhas Gautama, Gotama Rāhūgaṇa also has strophic hymns, at RV 1.91, 92, 93 (Oldenberg 1888: [221] 210, n. 4), but they are not collected, as with the strophic hymns of Nodhas and son in Book 8 (88; 80), the globally strophic book.

Further, we find that three hymns (9.37-39) in the series (9.25-46), where Gotama Rāhūgaṇa’s pavamāna hymn (31) appears are attributed in the Anukramaṇī index to Rahūgaṇa Āṅgirasa, putatively Gotama Rāhūgaṇa’s father—a First Singer, as I will designate such figures. We see the same pattern as in the Nodhas collection, a father-son team, with a collection in Book 1 and isolated hymns in Book 9.

Can we expand this picture still further? Briefly at present but elaborated below, we can, by addressing the concordance between ṛṣi index of the Gotama singers and those of Pravara list. The Brāhmaṇa-type discourses—our referee literature—also help us in this. We first see that both Gotama Rāhūgaṇa and Rahūgaṇa Āṅgirasa appear
in the Pravara lists, an Āṅgirasa-Rahūgaṇa-Gotama line, with a specific descent formula Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Śāradvata (see below and Appendix II). As we know, Gotama Rāhūgaṇa commands an iconic presence in the Brāhmaṇa texts: the Kuru-Pāñcāla orthodoxy-orthopraxy spreads eastward to the Kosala area in his name, the rṣi singer represented as sacerdotally accompanying his prince Videgha Māthava, a type scene of the brahma-kṣatra scheme of colonization, led by and leading Agni, Fire, eastward beyond the Sadānīrā river (ŚB 1.4.1.14-17). As we will see, he supplies the largest number of verses from the Gautama saṃhitās to the two liturgical Veda saṃhitās, the Yajur-and the Sāmaveda.

The Nodhas/Naudhas name itself, however, does not appear in the Pravara index, but we see that we can forge from the Brāhmaṇa-type discourses (Level 2 W->C) of the immediate post-Vedic period a link for it between the two, between the rṣi index and the Pravara list. Nodhas has a significant presence in the Brāhmaṇa texts, the Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇas linking him to other branches of the Gautama family and discoursing about the Naudhasa Sāman, as a part of a complex liturgy in the post-Vedic period. Generally, we will see that the Brāhmaṇa texts help us link a singer to a Gotra lineage of the Pravara lists, and this will in turn lead us to rṣi index and the First Singer of the lineage. The Brāhmaṇa texts thus serve as our referee literature, providing us with cross indexations and evidences. For instance, we learn at PB VII: 10\(^{20}\) that Nodhas was the son of Kakṣīvat. Kakṣīvat is himself attested in the Pravara lists (see below for fuller discussion.) We learn there that Kakṣīvat is, plausibly, a third generation descendant along a lineage, originating in Ucathyā Āṅgirasa (a First Singer
The Ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-
and eventual Gotrakāra) through his immediate descendant, Dīrghatamas Aucathya.
We also learn from the Anukramaṇī index that Kakṣīvat is Dīrghatamas Aucathya’s son
through an alliance (niyoga?) with Usij, a dāsī consort.

We must note that the above Brāhmaṇa evidence places them squarely in the
world of the RV through the concordance of the relevant names between the ṛṣi index
and the Pravara list: their saṃhītās are all present in RV as Bergaigne-Oldenberg
collections:

Ucathya Āṅgirasa: 9.50-52
Dīrghatamas Aucathya: 1.140-164; 9.74
Kakṣīvat Dairghatamasa: 1.116-126

The First Singer of the line is clearly Ucathya Āṅgirasa, a Soma poet (like the other First
Singer Gotama singers: see below) with three 5-verse (GA) hymns in a set of six such
hymns (9.47-52). His immediate descendant is Dīrghatamas Aucathya, with one 9-
verse (9.74; 8 JG 1 TR) hymn in the Soma book and a substantial collection in Book 1, 25
hymns, nearly the length of a regular Family book. The series begins with Agni
addressed in 11 JG-2 TR 13-verse hymns (1.140; 141) decreasing to a 7 JG-1TR 8-verse
hymn (1.143) then to 7-JG 7 hymn (1.144) to three JG-TR 5-verse hymns (1.145-148). (1.
142, a 13-verse AN hymn, as an Āprī hymn, is exempt from the Bergaigne-Oldenberg
rules of arrangement, but kept customarily, as Oldenberg (1888: 184 [194]) noted, with
the Agni hymns). Two more Agni hymns (1.149-50) in VI and UṢ and a deity change at
1.151, a 9-verse hymn (to Mitra (1) and Mitrā Varuṇa (2-9) with the meter reverting to
JG meter and a new cycle, the entire collection ending with the monster 1.164, 52
verse-hymn, in itself a collection, a saṃhitā.
The other 11-hymn collection is attributed to his son, Kakṣīvat Dairhatamasama through Usij, a dāsī, and it is marked by a significant devotion to the twin-deities, the Aśvins. It is also a Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection, but starting with Aśvins as the first deity (1.116-119 in TR; 1.120 in multiple meters), presumably because of the singer’s special relationship to the twin-gods (1.116. 7). The collection goes on to other deities, again following the Bergaigne-Oldenberg rules with respect to the meters and lengths of the hymns.²²

Nodhas and his son, the family with which we began this analysis, may themselves be part of the generation of the epigones of these RV singers, along with other such Kākṣīvata poets of Book 10 as Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī (10.39-40), Suhastya Ghauṣeya (10.41), carrying on the family adherence to the Aśvins. Lastly we have two more singers, Sukīrti Kākṣīvata (10.131) and Śabara Kākṣīvata (10.169), linked by their names to the Kakṣīvata line, but appearing in late strata of the RV, in the latter part of Book 10, in the appendix, as it were, of the Grosse Aufert, Great Appendix.

We see thus that our core source, the ṛṣi index of the Anukramaṇī system, satisfies several criteria of authenticity: first, its singer actually sings the songs attributed to him in the index; second, his saṃhitā displays rational and meaningful criteria of archival, which are also the global criteria for all the collections that make of the RV—from Family saṃhitās to those of individual singers; third, it reveals a father-son matrix as the irreducible archival discourse that reappears in the Pravara index, undergirding it; fourth, such an archival system seems to be natural to an oral society,
The ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-
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organizing its repertory through three different criteria, the ṛṣi singer, the deity lauded
in the verse and its meter.

Section I. iv. The Pravara index: an algorithmic discourse of the ṛṣi list of the
Anukramaṇī system

We may now consider the Pravara index in detail, already introduced above, to
further extend the above picture of the Vedic world. It is so strongly linked to the
Anukramaṇī index as to be its précis; some 90 names out of the roughly 500 names of
the ṛṣi index, form a concordance—that is, generated from the ṛṣi index as if from a
template. The Pravara index itself adds just a handful of new names so that almost all ṛṣi names of the Pravara index are also singers of the RV.

As I noted above, typically, the Pravara index is a list of lineages (see Appendix
II for a complete list), expressed as a patrilineal descent formula, ranging, at one end,
from an ekāṛṣi or One ṛṣi formula (rare; e.g., Vāsiṣṭha for the Vāsiṣṭha lineage), or at the
other end, a paṅcāṛṣi or Five ṛṣi formula (rare, but not as rare as the ekāṛṣi; e.g.,
Bhārgava-Cyāvana-Āpnavāna-Aurva-Jāmadagnya), but most falling in between, trīāṛṣi
or Three ṛṣi formulas, like Kāśyapa-Āvatsāra-Naidhruva. Some fifty-odd such pravara
formulas are seen to be in existence by the Brāhmaṇa-Sūtra period, Level 4-5; C->E.

The concordance between the ṛṣi index and Pravara list is global and robust. In
the case of the Kāśyapas, for example, all the three ṛṣis of the Pravara formula are, as
noted above, attested in the ṛṣi index: first, Kaśyapa Mārīca is the ṛṣi singer of 1.99 (1
hymn; 1 verse); 9.64 (1 hymn; 30 verses); 9.91-92 (2 hymns; 12 verses); 9.113-114 (2
hymns; 15 verses); 9.67.4-6 (0 hymn; 3 verses); 10.137.2 (0 hymn; 1 verse). Second, the
middle singer Avatsāra Kāśyapa appears as the ṛṣi of 5.44 (1 hymn; 15 verses); 9.53-60 (8 hymns; 32 verses). Then we have the third Kaśyapa, Nidhruvi Kāśyapa, at 9.63 (1 hymn; 30 verses), the nearest figure to us, an epigone and closest to being a historical figure. The father-son team, Asita and Devala, with a Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection of 20 GA hymns (9.5-24), Rebhā and sons (9.99-100), and Bhūtāṃśa (10.68) complete the Kaśyapa register of the RV.

It must be noted that the last singer, Bhūtāṃśa, a late singer appearing in Book 10 with a late-possibly even post-Vedic name, is considered by Kuiper (2000) to be a bilingual ṛṣi, possibly a non-Vedic singer but finding a niche in the Vedic society through the Kaśyapa family, a pattern of acculturation to which I come in greater detail below.

As we know, the first formal “redaction” of these descent formulas occurs as the appendix to the BŚS (Level 4/5; E), the earliest of the Śūtra texts, ca. 7th BCE. It seems to set up a pattern followed by the other Śṛauta Śūtras, like ĀŚS and ApŚS. The BŚS list is the largest, and it numbers roughly forty-nine. I showed in earlier work (2007) that they represent two distinct groups, nineteen of them forming a primary category—what I have designated as the Brough-19—and the other thirty descended generally from the nineteen, a later charismatic epigone engendering a new line, beyond his primary Brough-19 lineage but always as an off-shoot of the primary descent line. That is, the root ṛṣi of the secondary lineage remains the same as that of its Brough-19 lineage, the new lineage thus often a pañcāṛṣi formula, beyond the usual triāṛṣi of a Brough-19 group. A typical example is Āṅgirasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja-Gārga-Śaina, the Gārga-Śaina part engendered by Garga, himself already of the Bhāradvāja family.
The Ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-

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and the triāṣi pravara formula, Āṅgirasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja (see below for fuller
discussion.)

The secondary pravara formula may also be a triāṣi type, the third name, the
one nearest to us, replaced by an alternate name, Asita, Devala or Rebha replacing thus
Nidhrūva in the Kaśyapa family above in the secondary proliferations—Bhūtāṃśa,
Kuiper’s bilingual ṛṣi, failing to do so. Śaṇḍīla engenders such a secondary Kaśyapa line;
he is also one of the rare new names of the Pravara index without an algorithm in the
ṛṣi index.25 This is in accord with the great prominence of Śaṇḍilya, bringing the
Agnicayana to east from the Kuru-Pāñcāla area to the Kosala region (Witzel 1989: 24).

We must note as well that, as with the example of the Kaśyapas, a Brough-19
lineage often gives rise to more than one secondary pravara, the Viśvāmitras with the
largest, nineteen, (see Appendix II and below.) It should be further noted that the
exogamy rule applies between a Brough-19 branch and its secondary off-shoot, as well
as among the several secondary pravara lineages themselves. That is, a Garga-
Bhāradvāja may not marry a Garga-Bhāradvāja, nor a Brough-19 Bhāradvāja, nor
another Bharadvāja secondary lineage, for example, the Āṅgirasa-Bārhaspatya-
Bhāradvāja-Duvasya-Vāndana, a line engendered, like the Garga line, by Duvasyu
Vāndana, the singer of 10.100,26 a 12 verse hymn (11 JG-1 TR).

As we know (Mahadevan 2007), a number of “families” is listed under each of
the 49 lineages in the BŚS, totaling altogether 796, the Brough-19 group claiming 549
(70%) and the other 247 (30%). The Brough-19 branch of the Bharadvājas leads the list
with 88, the Kaśyapas following close behind, with 86. These families contain many of
the famous Vedic names of the Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad period (4; C and E). A partial list would include:

Aśmaratha, Āgniveṣya. Āpātanamba, Ārtabodha, Ālekhana, Āśvalayana, Āruṇi, Kātyāyana, Kāmakāyana, Kṛṣṇātreyā, Kohala, Kautilya, Kauśītaki, Garga, Jābāla, Jaimini, Tārakāyana, Tittiri, Dhūmarāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇa, Paila, Patañjala,
Bādarāyaṇa, Bāskala, Baudhāyana, Maṭhara, Māṇdukeya, Märkhaṇḍeyya, Yaska, Yaṇjavalkya, Śākalya, Śāṅkhāyana, Sumantu, Śaiśiriyaṇī, Vaiśampāyana.

If these names signify the historical personages behind these names, the list represents the Vedic world that BŚŚ knew, but as a layered accretion, collected as a synchronic redaction, of the significant Vedic personages and their Gotra affiliations. Some, like Yaṇjavalkya, are associated with Saṃhitā texts; some, like Kauśītaki, Brāhmaṇa texts; some like Āgniveṣya, Śūtra texts.

What do these names tell us? Clearly, they constitute the honor roll of the Vedic world. We have already seen how such charismatic figures often engendered secondary branches from the Brough-19 group. Names like Śaṅḍila still do seem to generate a pravara affiliation. But we have also have “false starts”: Kauśītaki, another Brāhmaṇa period figure, seems to engender a pravara which does not hold out and reverts back to the parental Brough-19 Kaśyapa label. He is localized to south-east of the Kuru-Pāṇcāla state (Witzel 1989; 1997), and the Brāhmaṇa text named for him forms through its Śūtra text, the ŚŚŚ, a special relationship with the BŚŚ (Mahadevan 2008), giving rise to an active and extant Śrauta tradition. The BŚŚ ascribes to him an independent Gotra affiliation at BŚŚ 2.3, but it has not survived as such among the extant adherents of Kauśītaki school.
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The names must be thought of as referring to the prominent figures of different Gotra affiliations in the Vedic period. More difficult is the matter of the BŚŚ numbers for each Gotra affiliation, where these names appear in the first place. Consider the figure 88 (Brough 1953: 111-113) for the Bharadvājas or 50 (Brough: 139-140) for the Ātris. Can it be a census of a sort, a relative numerical distribution of these Gotra lineages as known to the BŚŚ redactors? I will come back to these questions, noting here that I show in detail (2007) that there is impressive correlation between extant Gotra data, albeit from the peninsula, and the BŚŚ numbers (See Appendix II).

Section I. v: The Gotama ṛṣis and the Pravara lists

Our target group, the Gotamas, forms a mid-tier Gotra group both in BŚŚ Pravara list (16 “families” for the Brough-19 clad and 36 for the other six secondary groups combined) and in the historical Gotra data. The seven Gautama lineages are:

i. Gotama (the Brough-19 lineage): Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Āyāsya

ii. Śaradvata (the Rahūgaṇa line): Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Śāradvata

iii. Kaumāṇḍas: Āṅgirasa-Aucathya-काक्षिवata-Gautama-Kaumāṇḍa

iv. Dīrghatamasā: Āṅgirasa-Aucathya-काक्षिवata-Gautama-Dairghatamasā

v. Auśanasas: Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Auśanasa

vi. Kareṇupāla: Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Kareṇupāla

vii. Vāmadeva: Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Vāmadeva

We do not have an Anukramaṇī entry for Kaumāṇḍa, Auśanasa, and Kareṇupāla, thus no appearance for them in the RV but all others possess an entry in the Anukramaṇī list.
and thus songs in the RV. A lineage like Dairghatamasa has an impressive presence in
the RV, with collections as long as that of a Family book.

How are the Gautama Gotra-Pravara lineages reflected in the historical Vedic
oral agency, in Brahman populations? In addressing this question, we must keep in
mind that the lack of a reliable all-South Asia Gotra census is one of the great standing
lacunas of Indology, and the data used here come almost entirely from the peninsular
region, from reliable epigraphy as well as field work. It is possible that it may contain
the original profile, perhaps with a handful of exceptions, one of the Gotama lines
being one such exception, as noted below. We have evidence that a global Gotra profile
dates from before the formation of the two liturgical Vedas, the Yajur- and Sāmavedas,
taking shape immediately after the collection of the ten-manḍala RV, Level 1-2, W->C.
From epigraphy and field work (Mahadevan 2008), we see that all adherents to the two
liturgical Vedas, the Yajur- and Sāma-veda, possess the same random profile of Gotra
affiliations as those of the RV adherents. In other words, the nucleus of the Gotra
institution already possessed all 49 affiliations of the BŚS, most likely already in their
relative historical numerical distributions.

However, when the Kuru-Pāñcāla orthodoxy-orthopraxy complex begins to
spread (Level 2-5; C->E) in the Vedic realm, it is improbable that an exact Gotra cross
section with the original numerical distribution of the 49 pravaras would have spread.
However, it is also certain, on the other hand, that the migrant body will contain more
than one Gotra grouping--at least three or four, in historical samples I have studied28--
to meet the exogamy stipulation of marital kinships. It is certain too that chance would
play a vital, even ultimate, role in the eventual Gotra make-up of migrant groups. In
The Ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-history of the Brahmans related work (2008), I show that in the post-Vedic period there were two waves of Brahman migrations to the peninsula from the north, both predominantly from Witzel’s W-C-S areas, the first group from the Pāṇcāla areas ca. 150 BCE and the second group from the Haryana-Malva areas, almost half a millennium afterward. Some 36 of the 49 Gotra-Pravara affiliations are attested among them. The Gautama data raise interesting, even intriguing, problems in this context.

The largest numbers are found, as is to be expected, for the Āyāsyas-Gautamas (in the range of 6%; a mid-tier rank; see Appendix II), the Brough-19 lineage of the Gautamas, engendered in the name of Ayāsyas Āṅgirasa, the singer of 9.44-46; 10.67-68 (see below for more on Ayāsyas.) He seems to belong to the Ucathya Āṅgirasa and Rahūgaṇa Āṅgirasa layers of the Gotama-Āṅgirasa singers, both like him First Singers and with a presence in the Soma book. Moreover, he is named the Udgāta of Hariścandra’s Rājasūya (AiB [vii 13-18] and KB [at ŚŚŚ xv 17-27]). We do not know the historical status of this ritual, but there can be little doubt that it is an iconic Rājasūya from the Vedic period, containing the story of Śunahṣepa (see below for detailed discussion.) In other words, the Ayāsyas clad possesses enough internal attestation to merit its Brough-19 status and includes, for instance, the famous Upaniṣadīc figure, Āruṇī (Brough: 103).

Four other Gautama affiliations (ii; iii; iv; v above) are attested in historical Gotra data, all in small numbers. Two (ii; iii) are traceable to Ucathya Āṅgirasa through Dīrghatamas and Usij, a dāsī woman, illustrating, I will be arguing below, one of the patterns of acculturation between the Vedic clans and the indigenous peoples of the Panjab. Vāmadeva is of equal prominence as he commands the entire Gotama Family
book (58 hymns in the Bergaigne-Oldenberg arrangement). However, he possesses sparse attestation in my Gotra data from the peninsula. It is not clear how a whole Family samhitā comes to be named after him in the Anukramaṇī index in light of his rather obscure attestation in the historical Gotra data: his BŚS number too is only “one” family. Generally, First Singers of Family books, and they usually constitute the Brough-19 group as well, are well represented in the historical Gotra data. He seems to be part of a father-son team, one of many in the ṛṣi index of the RV, with a Bṛhaduktha Vāmadevya at 10.54-56, a Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection. Possibly a historical figure, he is one of the 12 priest-prince grids listed at AiB viii.21-23 (see below for fuller discussion), the purohita of Durmukha Pañcāla.

Kareṇupāla-Gautama is our third attested secondary Gautama Pravara, again in small numbers; it is without a presence in the ṛṣi index, but it marks an important lineage of ritualists among the Nambudiri Brahmans.²⁹

Lastly, the most important name absent from the peninsular Gotra data is Gotama Rāhūgaṇa,³⁰ who, as we know, conveys, conceived as a Vedic culture hero, the Kuru-Pañcāla orthodoxy-orthopraxy to the Kosala-Videha area (ŚB 1.4.1.14-17). The BŚS number for the Rāhūgaṇa-Śāradvatas is eleven families; however, the Rāhūgaṇa lineage is entirely absent in my epigraphy census from the peninsula. It is not clear how or why a Gotra lineage comes to be missing in historical data, that is, in epigraphy and fieldwork. Is it possible that in the spread of the Kuru-Pañcāla orthodoxy-orthopraxy eastward from the core Kuru realm, entire Gotra concentrations moved eastward, as indeed the Brāhmaṇa story of Rāhūgaṇa seems to tell us? As I have argued above, we can dismiss a mono-Gotra Brahman migration because of the exogamy
The Ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-

regulation of marital ties, reliable data from the peninsula suggesting that at least four
Gotra groupings constitute a Brahman group in migration. Interestingly, two other
Gotra groupings with similarly sparse attestations in the peninsular data as the
Rāhūgaṇas but with significant presence in the Kosala-Videha region, are the Kaṇva-
Āṅgirasas and the Śaunaka Bhārgavas. It is quite probable thus that in the “first”
Brahman migration, from the Kuru-Pāṇcāla area to the Kosala-Videha regions, there
were concentrations of individual Gotra groupings moving eastward, leaving
conspicuous blanks in the Gotra profile in the remaining populations. It is probable
that the Śāradvata-Rāhūgaṇas constitute such an absence as do the Kaṇvas and the
Śaunakas: these latter two also appear only at the range of one in a thousand in the
peninsular data. This may explain the absence or sparse attestation of these Gotra
lineages in the peninsular data. (The Agastyas constitute a similar example, attested in
similar low numbers in the peninsular data, but perhaps for other reasons, despite the
apotheosis of the figure in Tamil mythology as the fashioner of the Tamil language.)

Section I. vi. A global output of the Gotama singers

It becomes thus possible from cross-indexing the Anukramaṇī list with the
Pravara index to arrive at the global output of the Gotama poets (1406 verses from 141
hymns in distributed along 5 books, the largest single family collection in the RV):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gotama Singer</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ucathya Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.50-52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīrghatamas Aucathya</td>
<td>1.140-164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakṣīvat Dairghatamas</td>
<td>1.116-126; 9.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gautama Nodhas</td>
<td>1.58-64; 8.88; 9.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekadyu Naudhasa</td>
<td>8.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī</td>
<td>10.39-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suhastya Ghausēya</td>
<td>10.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukīrti Kākṣīvata</td>
<td>10.131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Śabara Kākṣīvata: 10.169

Rahūgaṇa Āṅgirasa: 9.37-38
Gotama Rāhūgaṇa: 1.74-93; 9.31

Vāmadeva Gautama: 4.1-41; 4.45-58
Bṛhaduktha Vāmadeva: 10.54-56

Ayāsya Āṅgirasa: 9.44-46; 10.67-68

From the above, a narrative of the Gotama ṛṣis as a whole may be said to possess
the following strands: Ucathya Āṅgirasa, Ayāsya Āṅgirasa, and Rahūgaṇa Āṅgirasa form
one layer, all Soma poets, possibly oldest, each carrying the mythical Āṅgirasa name for
the founding First Singer of the lineages. Ayāsya Āṅgirasa generates the principal
Brough-19 lineage of the Gotama-Āṅgirasas. Gotama Rāhūgaṇa and Dīrghatamas
Aucathya form a second stratum, telegones by at least one generation. The Nodhas
Gautama and the Kakṣīvat singers form further offshoots of the Gautama family.

The Gautama Brough-19 branch, the Ayāsya clad, does not engender secondary
lineages. No Ayāsya telegones appear in the RV, in other words. As noted earlier,
Ayāsya lends his name to the udgāta of Hariścandra’s fabled Rājasūya and Āruṇi is a
scion of this line. Interestingly, however, unlike Śāṇḍilya, the Brāhmaṇa-period figure,
Āruṇi does not start a secondary Gautama lineage. And, the Ayāsya affiliation
commands the largest single Gotra complement of the Gautamas from the BŚS down to
historical records and fieldwork.

Further, it is easy to see that we can arrive at a similar picture for all the ṛṣis of
the Rgveda and their songs in it; I provide this in Appendix I, complementing Witzel’s
(1997b) multi-axial grid.
The Ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-history of the Brahmans

**Section I. vii. The Āṅgirasa ṛṣis and the Pravara system in general**

It is important to note that Āṅgirasa is the First Singer of the Gotama family. As we saw, the Bharadvāja First Singer is also named Āṅgirasa. Āṅgirasa may be seen in some ways as the First Singer of all RV, a metonym for Agni, arguably the most significant Vedic deity from the perspective of rituals, representing the brahma part of the brahma-kṣatra system, moving eastward from today’s Eastern Iran and Afghanistan. He is cited as the First Ṛṣi at 1.31.1a (*tuvam agne prathamō aṅgirā ṛṣir*), and some 45% of the Anukramaṇī poets have the Āṅgirasa last name, with the vast majority of these names possessing cross indexation in the Pravara lists. The Ayāsya-Gotamas of Book 4 and the Bharadvājas of Book 6 appear as Brough-19 Āṅgirasa lines in the BŚS pravara index for the Gautamas and Bhāradvājas respectively.

Outside this scheme, we also have a distinct class of Āṅgirasas designated in the Pravara list as “kevala,” numbering altogether seven lineages. In all, we have thus 9 Āṅgirasa groupings, the first two of the Brough-19 category and the following seven, of the “kevala” category:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grouping</th>
<th>Lineages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bharadvāja:</td>
<td>Āṅgirasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gautama:</td>
<td>Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Āyāsya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutsa:</td>
<td>Āṅgirasa-Āṃbariṣa-Yauvanāśva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanva:</td>
<td>Āṅgirasa-Ājamiḷha-Kāṇva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rathītara:</td>
<td>Āṅgirasa-Vairūpa-Rāthītara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viṣṇuvṛddha:</td>
<td>Āṅgirasa-Paurukutsa-Trāsadasyāva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samkrīta:</td>
<td>Āṅgirasa-Sāmkṛtya-Gaurivita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudgala:</td>
<td>Āṅgirasa-Bhārmśva-Maudgalya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapi:</td>
<td>Āṅgirasa-Āmahīyava-Aurukṣaya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I will come below to a closer examination of the *kevala* designations, noting here that the Bhṛgus are the only other lineage in the BŚS list giving rise to similar *kevala* lineages, the Jamadagni-Bhārgavas forming the Bhṛgu Brough-19 lineage (analogous to the Bharadvāja- and Gotama-Āṅgirasas). We have four Bhṛgu pravaras with the *kevala* rubric. Altogether thus, we have 11 *kevala* lineages (7 Āṅgirasa and 4 Bhṛgu). These Āṅgirasas and Bhṛgus, “*kevala*” and not, together account for 14 of the Brough-19 pravaras, 11 of them with the *kevala* prefixes and the Bharadvāja-, Gotama Āṅgrasas and Jamadagni-Bhṛgus supplying the other three. The Atris, Viśvāmitras, Kaśyapas, Vasiṣṭhas, and Agastis supply the remaining five lineages of the Brough 19, these 19 lineages accounting for, as noted above, 70% of the BŚS list.

What I have called above secondary affiliations, thirty of them, form from among eight Brough-19 pravaras: the Bhāradvāja-, Gautama-Āṅgrasas, the Jamadagni-Bhārgavas, the Atris, the Viśvāmitras, the Kaśyapas, the Vasiṣṭhas, and the Agastis. The 11 *kevala* appellations (7 Āṅgirasa and 4 Bhārgava) do not, on the other hand, give rise to secondary proliferations.

It is logical to designate these 49 lineages—the Brough-19 and the 30 secondary lineages engendered by the eight Brough-19 lineages—as making up the global Vedic oral agency, the building block of the future historical Brahman social group.

**Section I. viii. Forty-nine Bergaigne-Oldenberg collections**

It follows from examples analyzed above that with the Naudhasa, Rāhūgaṇa and the Kākṣīvata collections of the Gautama family—and other such collections that make up the final 10-manḍala RV—that a Bergaigne-Oldenberg saṃhitā comes to the RV,
The ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-history of the Brahmans

already well-defined, fully fabricated, a collection along the three axes of the Anukramaṇī system, that of the ṛṣi, deity, and meter.

This may well be thought of as the RV moment. It is difficult to imagine it, especially from our literacist present, raising questions analogous to the Homeric question. Consider Hillebrandt’s attempt (1987: 534). He asks, for example, if the collectors of the RV “searched all the land in and around, say Kurukṣetra or whatever else their homeland might have been . . . in order to collect old materials, in a sort of council. . . .” Clearly, this verges on what is seen in Homeric criticism as “literacist,” picturing “collectors” journeying forth to “collect old materials,” as if the different collections were manuscripts. When seen through an oral prism, the same picture gives us different orally archived materials, already collected along the Bergaigne-Oldenberg criteria in the name of a First Singer, coming together along with the human agencies behind each. It is legitimate to think thus that behind each collection there was, irreducibly, one of the 49 lineages, its songs already redacted as a Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection, eventually forming the different layers of the RV—forcing the conclusion that the oral agencies, in the form of human groups, also passed through the “redaction processes” of the RV. They are also focalized as the basis and status quo of the emergent institutions of the Gotra, recognizable for the first time as they have come down to us in the historical period.

We should note that the legitimacy of these conclusions, examined in greater detail in the next section, derives from the verifiabilities of the two sister axes of the ṛṣi list of the Anukramaṇī system, those of the meter and deity of the verses. Both can be examined to see if the devatā—deity—and meter lists of the Anukramaṇī system match
the data present in the hymns themselves, and as we know, the match has been found to be beyond reproach. It would seem to be against the general efficiency and economy so apparent in the system that the third axis, that of the ṛṣis behind the hymns, alone would come down untagged and “bald” from the Vedic period, and that, later, some centuries afterward, the circle around the Śaunaka school, ca. 4th BCE, puzzled out the poets and singers of the RV from internal evidence present in the hymns and from other incidental data created a ṛṣi index or, to put it less charitably, made it out of whole cloth, giving us the extant Sarvānukramaṇī corpus, an Index of All Indexes.33 There can thus be little doubt that the ṛṣi index was always and already part of the indexical system.

Section I. ix. Ṛṣis without a Pravara attestation

As Appendix I shows, we are able to place all but 150 of the 1028 hymns of the RV, most belonging to Book 10 and many placed after 10.61, fugitive hymns, forming an appendix to Book 10, itself already the appendix of the RV. There is no cross indexation or concordance between the Anukramaṇī ṛṣis of these hymns and a First Singer figure in the Pravara lists. Who were these singers? Why are they not attested in the Pravara list?

The first thing we must note about the names of these singers is that they are “cultic” (Tokunaga 1997: 201), names derived from the deity addressed in the hymn—Yāmāyana, Aindra, Āgneya, Prājāpatya, Saurya—so that it is reasonable to think that they were already part of the general Vedic oral agency and its Gotra appellations but were displaying themselves in the RV as cultic singers of given deities.34 The Aindra
poets (Vimada Aindra [10.20-26]; Vasukra Aindra [10.27-29]; Vasukraṇa Vāsukra [10.65-66]) give us an example: Vasukarṇa Vāsukra of 10.65-66 was most likely of the Vasiṣṭha lineage as the Vasiṣṭha family refrain of Book 7 (devān vasiṣṭho amṛtān vavande ye viśvā bhuvanā abhi prastαthuḥ/te no rāsαntām urugaṇyam adya yūyam pāta suastibhiḥ sadā nah) occurs at his 10.65.15. abcd and 10.66.15 abcd. This conclusion is further warranted by the inclusion of Vasukra in the ṛṣi index of the Anukramaṇī system as one of the singers of the Book-9 Vasiṣṭha family hymn (9.97). Vasukra Vasiṣṭha appears there as the composer of 9.97. 28-30. In other words, the singers of these Aindra hymns were most likely part of an Indra cult, but still part of the Vedic society, belonging to the Vasiṣṭha Gotra affiliation.

And then there are the three famous serpent ṛṣis: Jaratkarna Airāvata (10.76); Arbuda Kādraveya (10.94); Ürdhvagravan Ārbudi (10.175). Surely we cannot think that the three serpents sang these hymns; but we must regard the voices behind them as part of the Vedic oral agency: 10.94 forms the basis of a śastra recitation of great drama in the classical Śrauta ritual. It marks the transition from the Morning Pressing (prαtaḥsavana) to the Midday Pressing (mādhyamndinasavana), occurring as a litany between the two.35

Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, singer of RV 10.30-34, a Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection, is another example of a ṛṣi without a Pravara list citation. He has a dānastuti (10.33.4-5) to Kuruśravana, the descendant of Trasadasyu, and he was thus most likely the purohita of that Kuru prince. We know that his grandson Tura Kāvaṣeya certainly was (Witzel 1999), that of Janamejaya Pārīkṣita, and thus could hardly have been without a Gotra
Section I. x. a: The Vedic liturgical texts and the Anukramaṇī index

Broad corroboration of the above narrative is to be found in what I have called our referee literature, the two liturgical Vedas, the Yajur- and Sāma-veda, and the Brāhmaṇa discourses, Level II W-S-C texts. Some 600+ verses from the RV occur in the Yajurveda Saṃhitās, as often as variants of their originals as not; all but 75 verses of the nearly 1800-odd Sāmans are from the RV, the ṛks modified as Sāmans. The Brāhmaṇas rehearse extensive discussions of these verses in their ritual contexts, often framing them into substantive narratives about the singers behind the songs and the entire rationale of the songs in the ritual being enacted, those of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa (RV 10.30-34) and Śunaḥśeṣa Ājīgartya-Vaiśvāmitra (1.24-30) being prominent examples—even paradigmatic, as I argue below. Some hymns acquire a name from their themes like Kavaṣa’s Aponaptria “child of the waters” (10.30); some from their Anukramaṇī singers’ names, like Nābhānediṣṭha (10.61 and 62) or Vṛṣākapi (10.86). The RV verses when quoted in the Saṃhitā texts are in their full form (although transformed into a chant in the Sāmaveda); in the Brāhmaṇa texts they are in pratīka (the first words) form, denoting their later familiar discursive currency internal to the Vedic oral agency.

So extensive are these attestations that they led the early Western investigators to conclude that the Anukramaṇī system was built from these. This would mean, as I noted above, that the hymns of the RV existed “bald,” without any authorial (and other
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descriptive) attributions between the period of their original composition through that
of their collection into the 10-maṇḍala RV (Levels 1 early 2; W [Greater Panjab upto the
Sarasvatī banks]). The hymns thence acquired their present Anukramaṇī attestations,
through their subsequent “quotations” and discussions in the liturgical literature--an
assumption that I examined above and rejected as militating against the fundamental
efficiency and economy of the Vedic archival system. It would be a case of Nature not
abhoring a vacuum.

Moreover, not every hymn of the RV appears in the liturgical discourses: that is,
we would have to assume that the Anukramaṇists constructed their system in part
from the references found in the Brāhmaṇa texts and in part from whole cloth. An
Occam’s Razor approach thus would argue for the existence of an indexical system as a
collateral adjunct of the over-all archival system, allowing for, in some rare cases, as
with the contents of Book 10, the Big Appendix, some diachronic additions to occur, as
for instance the reference to a late Kāśi king. Simply stated, the flow of information
was from the Anukramaṇī system to the liturgical Vedas and their Brāhmaṇa texts, and
not the other way around.

Section I. x. b. The Gotamas and the liturgical Vedic discourses

How do the Gotamas fare in the liturgical Vedas? Globally, 119 Gotama verses
appear in the TS text of the Yajurveda and 125, in the Sāmaveda. The Nodhas collection
supplies one verse (RV 1.61.9) to the YV and 10 to the SV, with the strophic 8. 88.1
giving rise to what comes to be cited in Brāhmaṇa literature (PB VI. 3. 37) as the
Naudhasa Sāman, chanted along with other Sāmans, to bring an end to the strife and
restore harmony among the five folks, the *pañca janya* (KB xix. 5). Further, 8.88.1-2 constitutes the ninth Stuti of the Agniṣṭoma ritual.

As already noted above, the Nodhas line seems to be an extension of the Ucathya line. The Ucathya poets have 41 verses (two full length “steed” hymns [1.162.1-22; 1.163.1-13] making up the most of it) in the TS and seven in the SV. Kakṣīvat Dairghtamas’ hymn (1.120.1-9) is cited at AiB iv.4 as taking the Kakṣīvant to “dear home of the Aśvins;” and Sukīrti Kākṣivata’s hymn (10.131) is cited as aiding the exit of the embryo from the womb. Likewise, Vāmadeva Gautama, the singer of Book 4, is associated with the Vāmadevya Sāman (SV ii. 32-34 = RV 4.31.1-3) for “healing and medicine” (KB xxvii.2).

The most important Gautama poet in the period immediately following the collection of the RV into a ten maṇḍala corpus seems to be, as already anticipated above, Gotama Rāḥūgaṇa, the singer of 1.74-93, a collection, that, as Oldenberg shows ([221-222]209-211), seems to have undergone considerable “division” or “addition” to get to its present or canonical form. Thirty-nine verses from his collection appear in the YV at various ritual contexts. His verses dominate the Gautama contents of the SV as well, with 74 out of 125, supplying, in addition, the great concluding verses of the Sāmaveda from his 1.89.6abcd (in a rare VS meter). Besides, the Gotama Rāḥūgaṇa verses are found in many post-Vedic liturgical compilations, in the Prātaranuvāka (13 verses: 1.74.1-9; 1.92.1-4), the Aśvinaśastra (28 verses: 1.74.1-9; 75.1-5; 78.1-5; 1.92.13-15; 92.1-4) and in the many Śastras (#s 6; 11; 12; 16) of the “classical” Śrauta scheme.

Above all, we have the ŚB (1.4.1.14-17) story of Gautama Rāḥūgaṇa following his king Videgha Māṭhava to the eastern outer lands of the Vedic area, past the Sadānīra river,
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bringing to Kosala-Videha lands the Kuru-Pāñcāla orthopraxy as well as its political apparatus, the brahma-kśatra alliance, purifying the area with ritual fire for its praxis. As Witzel notes (1995: 22-23), this Rāhūgaṇa cannot be the RV poet, but his name attaches itself as a culture hero to the eastward migration. It is probable, as noted above, that a large concentration of the Śāradvata-Rāhūgaṇas moved eastward from the Kuru and Kuru-Pāñcāla areas to the Kosala region.

To the above picture of the Gotamas in the liturgical Vedas, we can add the other ṛṣi-singers of the Ṛgveda of other families, the Viśvāmitras of Book 3 and elsewhere, the Vasiṣṭhas of Book 7 and the Ātreyas of Book 5. The great change is that they are no longer individual or family singers of a Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection. They have become now a part of the poetic agency of the ten maṇḍala RV, one voice among others. They have become now editorial material.

Consider, for instance, the sequence at TS i.5.5.a-f, a liturgy of the “Reverence of Fire” (Keith I: 72-73), all six verses drawn from the RV (1.74.1; 9.54.1; 8.54.16; 4.7.1; 6.60.13; 3.29.10). As we see, the first verse (1.74.1) is in Gotama Rāhūgaṇa’s collection in Book I of the RV—in fact, the verse that starts his saṃhitā there. But it is only one of six here, and the other verses are recruited from other ṛṣi-saṃhitās, those of Viśvāmitra, Bharadvāja, Vāmadeva and so on. We will come back in detail below to the questions such newly “edited” liturgies raise, but we can see that a sort of “depersonalization” of the singers of the RV has set in now. They are no longer individual “live” singers—live, in the sense of appearing in a hymn and singing in the manner of their First Singer, a -vat singer, like bharadvāja-vat at RV 6.65.b, a singer performing like the First Singer figure in a trope of performative mimesis.
They also begin to appear as ritualists, as ṛtviks of the Śrauta ritual. The Brāhmaṇa texts of the RV mention several historical and semi-historical figures as ritualists, usually as a part of the typological priest-prince grid, not unlike the Gotama Rāhūgaṇa-Vidhega Māthava, but specific to different local regions: such a list appears at the conclusion of AiB (viii. 21-23), before the generic description of the “Purohitaship” (Keith 1920: 336-39):

i. Tura Kāvaṣeya-Janamejaya Pārikaṃśita
ii. Cyavana Bhārgava-Śāryāta Mānava
iii. Somaśuṣman Vājaraṇāyana-Śatānīka Sātrājīta
iv. Parvata and Nārada [Kaṇva]-Āmbaśṭhya
v. Parvata and Nārada [Kaṇva]-Yudhāṃśrauṣṭi Augrasainya
vi. Kaśyapa-Viśvakarman Bhauvana
vii. Vasiṣṭha-Sudās Paijavana
viii. Saṁvarta Āṅgirasa-Marutta Āvikṣita
ix. Udamaya Ātreya-Āṅga
x. Dirghatamas Māmateya-Bharata Daughṣanti
xi. Bṛhaduktha-Durmukha Pāṅcāla
xii. Vasiṣṭha Sātyahavya-Atyarāti Jānairāṇiṇi

Evidently this is a chronology behind the list, priest-prince pairs from different periods and regions, singled out to be glorified in the Brāhmaṇa texts for their orthopraxy—with incidental and cautionary lapses and the dire consequences there of, as with the last prince. The list must be seen as consisting of the essential profile of the emerging
The Ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-
Vedic state, its sovereignty encapsulated in the priest-prince grid—the priest, always
placed first, signifying the sacerdotal foundation of the state.

It is significant that the Tura Kāvaśeya-Janamejaya Pārikṣita grid heads the list,
as if it were coterminous with the Brāhmaṇa discourse which enumerates the list,
perhaps present at its creation, even directing its redaction, now in Kuru-Pāncāla area,
Level 2->3; W->C. Eleven more such pairs appear, some well known like Vasiṣṭha-Sudāś
Paijavana, others with echoes in epic as with Dīrghatamas Māmateya-Bharata
Dauḥṣanti. I will single out the Tura Kāvaśeya-Parikṣit grid for later discussions, calling
attention here to its possible hereditary aspect, indeed of the grid system as a whole,
and that it seems to point to an institutionalized brahma-kṣatra grid from generation to
generation, the purohita and the prince, the chieftain in the early period. As we will
see, Kavaṣa Ailūsa seems to start the purohita axis of this particular grid with his
dānastuti at 10.33.4-5 to Kuruśravana, the Kuru prince, identified in the Anukramaṇī
discourse as a descendant of Trasadasyu. The grid seems to chronicle a four-generation
history, starting with Kavaṣa Ailūsa, identified in the Ṛṣi index of the Anukramaṇī
system as the singer of the Bergaigne-Oldenberg saṃhitā, 10. 30-35 and climaxing in
Tura Kāvaśeya, shown by Witzel (1995) to be the plausible redactor the Agnicayana
ritual, the sixth and pen-ultimate ritual of the seven Soma sequence of the Śrauta
scheme and representing in a way the widest amplitude of the entire Vedic paideia
system. Indeed, he may well have served as part of the great Kuru fiat (Witzel 1997:
261): “[M]embers of the Kuru tribe assembled the ancient Ṛcs and ordered them in a
thoughtfully arranged collection (sic) that comes close to our present RV.” Witzel
notes also that this represents an instance of Early Sanskritization (1995), leading to a
“classical” synthesis that defines the broad features of the Indic civilization in South Asia. I come back below to the entire tissue of questions this scenario raises.

However, when a Śrauta ritual is presented in a mythical light as it often is in the subsequent Brāhmaṇa texts, its ṛtviks are often named after the ṛṣi-singers of the RV, not the historical and semi-historical figures like those of the 12 pairs above, pointing to their eventual metamorphoses into abstract figures. They are presented as the leaders of one of the four praxises of the Śrauta ritual: Hota leading the hautram; Adhvaryu, ādhvaryam; Udgāta, audgātram; Brahman brahmatvam—as in the iconic Rājasūya of Hariścandra. Both AiB (vii 13-18) and KB (at ŚŚS xv 17-27) of the Rgveda enact this ritual in great detail, with Viśvāmitra as the Hota; Jamadagni as the Adhvaryu; Ayāsya [Gautama-Āṅgirasa] as the Udgāta; and Vasiṣṭha as Brahman, clearly by now figures of mystical power.

This process of depersonalization on the one hand and the corresponding apotheosis of the singer-ṛṣis of the Rgveda as figures of power beyond all reason reaches its final phase in the two Sanskrit epics, the Brhaddevatā (BD) voicing an ancillary development. Kaśyapa is no less than Prajāpati himself in the Mahābhārata (Mb), and as we know, considerable discourse is expended in both epics, and deriving from these in the kāvya literature of the subsequent periods, on the rivalry between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, “in respect of ascetic austerities” (Sorensen 718), the two sages situated across the Sarasvatī at Sthānutīrtha.

The ṛṣi singers of the RV appear in the BD as well, although its main interest is with the deities addressed in the hymns, a work made, as Tokunaga (1997) shows, from
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an already existent Devatānukramaṇī, the index of the deities addressed in the hymns of
the RV. Thus although its focus is on the deity addressed in a hymn, there is useful
and incidental information about the ṛṣi composers of the hymns as well. Tokunaga’s
Explanatory Notes (157-297) constitute a treasure trove of traditional stories and
legends about the deities and the ṛṣis of the RV, especially as they have been collected
in the Brāhmaṇas in general and those of the Sāmaveda in particular (186). Some of
these are minor but throw interesting light, as for instance the detail at BD ii.22 that
“bhōjasya” (RV 10.107.10c) is a praśānṣā (“laudation”) formula and that citra id at RV
8.21.18a is Sobhāri Kāṇva’s praśaṃṣa of Citra in his dānastuti to that chieftain, the BD’s
glosses deriving from, as Tokunaga notes (162), from Nirukta vii.3. On the other hand,
we also have some 36 substantive legends in BD about the various poets of the RV
themselves as well as their links to various deities of the corpus. The scattered details
of these legends, seemingly obscure, need further investigation.

Section I. xi. Conclusions

We see thus that the ṛṣi index, along with its two sister indexes, that of the deity
(devatānukramaṇī) and meters of the verses (chhando’nukramaṇī), rises as part of the
archival system of an oral tradition, a global repertory of 10,500-odd verses laid out
along the three parameters for ready reckoning. The basic unit of archival is seen to be
what I have called the Bergaigne-Oldenberg saṃhitā, each with a singer and the hymns
themselves arranged, first according to the deity parameter and then, the metrical
parameter, longest hymn in the longest meter starting in each. The ṛṣi is seen to be the
overarching parameter, one each for a Bergaigne-Oldenberg saṃhitā.
It is an Occam Razor conclusion too that such a system of archival was already a skill, *techne*, of the oral tradition, a part of an exhaustive repertoire of similar skills, part of what comes to be termed the *svādhyāya* (“one’s own training”) regimen, the infrastructure of the archival system of the Vedic clans both at the level of family and individual. In this manner, collections of different sizes come to be gathered in the name of a First Singer, the 10-*maṇḍala RV* itself being the eventual global *saṃhitā* of these collections, a product of a vast matrix of skills, long in practice and development.

What our findings show above is that individual agencies of the oral tradition pass on seamlessly to become the pan-Vedic assemblage, some 49 individual units coalescing into a pan-Vedic agency, listed in the Pravara index. The historical Brahman social group is founded on these individual groups, created from them through the marital regulations of exogamy and endogamy (see below.)

**Section II. The world of the RV ṛṣis**

**i. Introduction**

We see thus that the world of the ṛṣis of the RV is made up of the 50-odd oral agencies of the pre-collection period, composing and archiving their individual *saṃhitās*, some small like the Nodhas-Ekadyū-Gautama *saṃhitā*, some large, like Family *saṃhitās*, that of the Vasiṣṭhas, for example, 104 hymns, making up the seventh *maṇḍala* of the RV. The globally attested characteristic of these individual collections—the Bergaigne-Oldenberg laws deriving from the three strands of the Anukramaṇī system as well as relative lengths of the hymns—tells us that they came to the RV thus, as prefabricated units. It is unlikely that some 1027 (one of 1028 hymns, the 1027th in
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the HOS RV [8.58] missing the Anukramaṇī indexers) hymns lay about, and that the
editors of the global saṃhitā arranged them into the extant collections, first in the
different Bergaigne-Oldenberg units, then as individual as well as family units.

It is also clear that their global collection into the ten maṇḍala saṃhitā was not
a one-stroke event: Witzel infers that it took place over at least a five-stage process
(2001: 6; see below for elaboration):

i. The original collection of the so-called Family books (2 through 7) in the
   Kuru or Mantra period (level 1-2; W->C), already collected according to
   the Bergaigne-Oldenberg numerical principles;

ii. Maṇḍalas 8,1, 9 and 10 added at several distinguishable moments;

iii. Individual additional of whole hymns and of many tvṛcas and pragāthas to
     various RV maṇḍalas;

iv. Redaction and the final ordering by Śākalya in padapāṭha in the late
    Brāhmaṇa period (Level 4 and C->E);

v. The RV khila without padapāṭha anyalasis.

The world of the RV ṛṣis lies, strictly speaking, with the first three stages, and we must
imagine the 50-odd collections and their corresponding agencies existing over
considerable stretches of time and space (Level 1->2; W). The key point is that they
were already archived in the names of poets like Ucathya Āṅgirasa and other such
“First Singers” and that they formed autonomous collections before their final
collection into the 10-maṇḍala RV. That is, they existed as independent saṃhitās, with
their hymns deployed in family-specific, morphologically similar rituals (Bergaigne
And it follows, logically, that the orthodoxy-orthopraxy complex was maintained by the descendants, like Nodhas Gautama and Ėkadyū Naudhasa, till the rise of the pan-Vedic agency, with a new samāna (10.191) “uniform, common” praxis for all, developed, however, as we shall see, from the earlier individual praxises.

I approach below this world in the following sequence:

i. a general consensus picture of the world of the RV ṛṣis;

ii. specific cases, starting with two paradigmatic examples, those of the Kavaṣa Ailūṣa and Śunaḥṣepa Ṣājīgari.

iii. the ṛṣi families, in general, in the following order:

a. first, those of the “Mādhyama ṛṣis;”

b. second, a special group of ten, from the Aṅgirasa-Bhṛgu cluster, who acquire the prefix “kevala”;

c. third, the epigones, who appear in the secondary Pravara list, beyond the core Brough-19 list.

Section II.ii. The world of the RV ṛṣis: the general consensus

The world of the poets of the RV-Anukramaṇī system (Level 1; Greater Panjab) is no longer a terra incognita. We can now frame it in manifold ways to supplement the above picture derived from the list of singers and their collections. Clearly, typologically it is oriented to the Indo-European poetic ethos and its world, indeed reaching its “highest form” in the Vedic example (Watkins 1995: 109). The ṛṣi singer was the “highest paid professional” (70), payment to him by his patron-prince
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institutionalized in dānastutis, 19 of them appearing in the RV. As Jamison (2007: 28)

notes, the Romantic model of the poet, “as an independent agent giving vent to

spontaneous expressions of personal feeling” ill-suits the RV singer. She (28) offers

Pindar of classical Greece as a suitable analogue: “Perhaps the clearest example of this

situation in ancient Indo-European societies is the poet Pindar, hired by a range of

prominent men to celebrate the athletic victories of their cities in the various Greek

games, thus enhancing the prestige of the victor, the ruler, and the city with a very

high-end verbal product. Similar patronage relationships involving the Rigvedic poets

are explicit in the occasional dānastuti or “praise of the gift,” naming the patron and
detailing the extent of his largesse.” The 19 dānastutis of the RV, institutionalized as a

poetic trope to mark the professional relationship between a patron and poet, the

priest-prince grids noted above, are sung by different singers of different families,
those of the Kaṇva, singing most, ten (see below for more discussion.)

In the Indic situation, the role of the poet was further exacerbated by the ritual

his song often accompanies, almost as in a spell, for its efficaciousness. There can be

little doubt that the praxis was fraught with religious magic (Brough 1952). As we

know, Vedic chieftains sought after ṛṣis for this magic; the ṛṣis, chieftains; defining the

fundamental political trope of the Vedic world, the brahma-kṣatra grid: the kṣatra

element acquiring land, and the brahma element legitimizing the conquest through
rituals, setting up the eastward expansion of the Vedic Āryans from the Panjab. The

Gotama Rāhuṇa-Videha Māthava alliance referred to above shows this in action, a

ritualist and his king re-enacting the pattern, late in the Vedic period, bringing Kuru-
Pāṇcāla orthopraxy to the Kosala area and farther east.
More minutely and extensively, Michael Witzel has revealed the same world as a linguistic and cultural area. As we know, the discovery that South Asia constitutes a linguistic area dates from the middle of the last century, ushering in a completely new understanding of the early Vedic milieu, the milieu that produced our poets (Southworth 2005, with extensive bibliography).\(^{50}\) It has become clear beyond reasonable contradiction that the Vedic-speaking people were not the autochthons of South Asia and that they entered the Panjab plains almost as transhumant nomads. In other words, there was no glorious Āryan conquest of South Asia. However, as my data show, the Vedic immigrants did possess a techne or craft of composing metrical verses orally, encompassing a set of skills that we may characterize as a “status kit,”\(^ {51}\) resulting in strikingly high-end verbal products. As with other cases of such incoming “status kits” in other parts of the world, we should note that the Vedic “status kit” was open to the indigenous peoples of the Panjab. We should also note that it was a two-way traffic, the in-coming Vedic people acculturating themselves with the indigenous peoples. This is how South Asia becomes a “linguistic area.” But it does not stop at the level of languages. The evidence suggests that there was a whole scale biological assimilation with the indigenous South Asia populations, most clearly seen in the formation of the samāna Vedic oral agency and thus the historical Brahmans.

Who were the indigenous peoples of the Panjab plains at the arrival of the Vedic clans? The question is still open. Witzel (2001a; 2001b), working from the founding data of the discovery of South Asia as a sprachbund, shows the possible presence, both linguistically and culturally, of a para-Munda substratum in this milieu in its initial
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phase, Level 1 W, and, during the composition of ṚV Books 2 (perhaps), 4, 5, 6, in the pañca janya realm, (Anu-Druhya, Yadu-Turvaśa, and Puru, ca.1600-1300 BCE). A Dravidian substratum manifests itself in a second phase, under the Bharata ascendancy in the east, on the Sarasvatī banks and the ṚV Books 3, 7, 8--and the other framing books of the ṚV, bringing into existence a ṚV corpus, not far different from ours, ca 10th-9th BCE (Level 2; W->C).

Further, through analyses of the names of tribes and individuals from the ṚV, Witzel shows that extensive acculturations took place between the Vedic clans and the indigenous South Asian peoples, already revealing the trope of Sanskritization at two levels, first among the Vedic clans themselves, an outsider-group like the Kurus establishing themselves as the standard-bearers of Vedic civilization in the Kuru-Pāṅcāla realm, and the other, among the indigenous peoples acquiring mastery of the Vedic poetic practice, what I have referred above to as “status kit” (see below for more discussion), and entering the Vedic milieu by becoming fellow singers of the Vedic poets. A time frame of some seven centuries, ca. 1700-1000 BCE and the entire geographical area from the Afghan borderlands to the historical Kurukṣetra (Levels 1-2; W-C) create this linguistic and cultural area, marking the beginnings, as Witzel rightly emphasizes, of what is recognizably the Indic civilization.

The Anukramaṇī data presented above substantially supplement this picture, calling attention to the large numbers of oral praxises as an integral and characteristic feature of this society, each a Bergaigne-Oldenberg sanhitā, archived in the name of a First Singer and in existence independent of one another, deployed in different, morphologically alike, rituals. The status kit surrounding the specific techne of oral
composition of metrical verses and archiving them in the name of a First Singer along
the Bergaigne-Oldenberg criteria must be seen as a global feature of the Vedic-speaking
clans, as they enter South Asia, through eastern Afghanistan. As Witzel notes, some
thirty Vedic tribes enter the core area in this interval, with such poetic agencies as
described above scattered among them, often in competition with one another for a
chieftain’s patronage, often crafting dānastutis to mark the alliance, the chieftains
returning the moiety, with vidatha “distribution of booty” (Kuiper 1974: 130; Witzel
1995: 10), a crucial practice and a forerunner of the grand and solemn Śrauta rituals by
the end of our period. These tribes are seen to go through successive nucleations, first
into the pañca janyas, Five Peoples, at level 1 W, the Yadus always compounded with the
Turvaśas; the Anus with the Druhyas, with the fifth, Purus, emerging by ca.13th BCE as a
cohering and overall entity and paving the way for a first nation state under their
extension, the Bharatas, by the end of our period, Level 1>2 and W>C.

Tribal and political markers eventually disappear altogether, but not the names
of the oral agencies behind the collections, crystallizing in the Pravara index of some 50
entities, the basis of the Gotra institutions of the historical Brahmans, emerging now as
the global agency of the RV in oral tradition and its elaborate svādhyāya regimen
(Scharfe: 2002).

II.iii. Two paradigmatic case histories of Vedic oral tradition

a. The Kavaśa Ailūṣa family

Consider the priest-prince grid of the Kavaśa-Kuru families I noted above, one of
12 appearing at the end of the AiB, what seems to be a synchronic collection of the
The Rṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-
most significant priest-prince grids in the Vedic realm (Level 2; W-C). The Tura
Kāvaśeya-Janamejaya Pārīkṣita grid heads the list, either because it is the most epigonal
and thus latest or because, more likely, it is the most important for the redactors of the
AiB. It spans four generations of purohitas and princes, from the Vedic period (Level I;
W) of Kavaśa Ailūsa and his prince Kuruśravaṇa (RV 10.33) to Tura Kāvaśeya and
Janamejaya Pārīkṣita (Level 2-3; C), Kuru descendant of Kuruśravaṇa, the entire
princely line ultimately linked backward to Trasadasyu and celebrated at 4.44 (Schmidt
1992). We have no antecedents for Kavaśa, and he is himself a late figure, attested in
the losing side of the Ten King Battle (TKB), at 7.18. We lose sight of him, as it were,
with the victorious Bharata ascendancy in the Sudās-Vasiṣṭha grid. Almost a first Vedic
state, the Bharata victory at the TKB ushers in Sudās Paijavana, a descendant of the
other great Vedic chieftain and rival to Trasadasyu, Daivodāsa, but now far to the east,
on the banks of the Sarasvatī river, celebrated by the Bharata poets as the very
simulacrum (vara ā prthivyah; 3.53.11. d) of Vedism, and as Witzel has suggested (1995b:
333), likely engendering the first macroscopic collections of the RV, Books 3 and 7,
bounding Books 4, 5 and 6.

The Kavaśa-Kuru grid reappears, however, three generations later, with the
Kuru emergence, in east now, at Kurukṣetra on the Yamunā river banks, in what Witzel
sees as Early Sanskritization, the Kuru people being outside the main Puru- Bharata
Vedic skein. We will see that the Sanskritization occurs not only along the axis of the
prince, as Witzel shows (1997), but also that of the priest. And what we can re-
construct as a history of the Kavaśa family defines the samāna or e pluribus Unum
characteristic of the Vedic oral agency.
This is what we know of Kavaśa, starting at Level 1 W:

i. he was part of the TKB, on the losing side (7.18.12);

ii. he makes a Bergaigne-Oldenberg saṃhitā, a “status kit,” and collected at 10.30-34 in the RV;

iii. he utters a dānastuti at 10.33.4-5 to a Kuru prince, Kuruśravaṇa;

iv. the “or” singer of 10.34 (the last hymn of the Kavaśa saṃhitā) is Akṣa Maujavat.

Against the above, we must place what we know of Kavaśa from the Brāhmaṇa period (AiB ii. 19-20; KB xii.3; Level 2 and C-S):

i. he was a dāsiputra, an abrāhmaṇa, unfit to share food with;

ii. he was ostracized on these grounds by the Mādhyama (KB) Ṙṣis ;

iii. he reverses the ostracism and secures a niche for him in the Vedic world with 10.30, a 15 TR hymn, that miraculously brings water to the desert and comes to be called aponatriya (“child of the waters”);

iv. his descendant, like the First Singer, is part of a new priest-prince grid, that of Tura Kāvaśeya-Janamejaya Pārikṣita (AiB viii.21). In other words, although we have no real information about two intermediary generations between Kavaśa Ailūṣa and Tura Kāvaśeya, they continued functioning, if subterraneously, during the Bharata ascendancy.

Further, from the Sūtra period (Level 4-5; C-E) we know of Kavaśa thus:

i. A key verse, 10.33.12, from his saṃhitā, becomes, repeated thrice, the inaugural verse of the Prātaranuvāka, a Śrauta liturgy, that inaugurates the Soma phase of the Śrauta ritual;
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ii. The entire 10.30 comes to be linked liturgically to the washing and
preparation of the Soma material for the ritual with the “magical
waters” of the Sarasvatī;

iii. Akṣa Mauajvat the “or” singer of 10.34 is linked by his name to Mūjavat,
the source of high grade Soma (BŚŚ 6.14: 170-15).

Finally, from our period, we know:

i. Philologically, Kavaṣa is not a Vedic name, anymore than Okonkwo, the
hero of Chinua Achebe’s landmark novel of the Igbos of Nigeria, Things
Fall Apart, is—philologically—a Indo-European formation.

ii. A distinct Dravidian history is invoked for the name (Witzel 1999: 9),
meaning “straddle legged.”

A connected narrative of the Kavaṣa family would be that a non-Vedic outsider
becomes part of the Vedic establishment. His outsider status is duly noted in the texts,
the latter castigating him as a dāśiputra, abrāhmaṇa. Yet we see that he wins admittance
into the Vedic society by mastering the Vedic “status kit” and placing in the RV
saṃhitā his own Bergaigne-Oldenberg saṃhitā at 10.30-34. His dānastuti to Kuruśravaṇa
shows that he was most likely the prince’s purohita, forming the priest-prince grid and
reaching the inner sanctum of the Vedic establishment. His presence in the Vedic
world continues in the next phase of the Vedic tradition; verses from his collection
appear in a significant ritual episode in the Śrauta scheme, 10.30 recited to accompany
the fetching of water for washing the Soma. More significantly, 10.30.14 is repeated
three times, supplying the proem of the Prātaranuvāka, which in turn inaugurates the
Soma phase of the Śrauta ritual. The Prātaranuvāka litany is made up of a large collection of verses from the RV—112 and 357 verses in the two extant traditions, respectively, those of the ĀŚS (4.13.7) and ŚŚS (6.3.11)—selected across the family and personal collections, constituting thus an early pan-Vedic composition, one of the longer “edited” compilations, verses drawn from the erstwhile individual collections and needing oral mastery of the global 10 maṇḍala RV.\textsuperscript{55} Kavaṣa’s link to the Soma phase of the Śrauta ritual is perhaps also seen in the name of the “or” poet of 10.134, Akṣa Maujavat, Mūjavat being the source of high grade Soma.

Kavaṣa’s presence in the Vedic world does not end here: the priest-prince grid he establishes with Kuruśravaṇa continues for the next four generations, climaxing in the Tura Kāvaśeya-Janamejaya Pārikṣita grid and the development of the Agnicayana, the sixth vikṛti of the Agniṣṭoma.

We see that Witzel’s early Sanskritization for Janamejaya Pārikṣita equally holds good for his priest, Tura Kāvaśeya, literally the arbiter of classical Vedism in the Kuru Pāṇcāla paradigm, but the descendant of an outsider, an ābrahmaṇa, not fit to eat with, four generations earlier. We will see that this is not an isolated pattern of transculturation: again and again, we come across such cases so as to reveal the samāna ideal as undergirding the pan-Vedic oral agency as an e pluribus Unum.

But, and let it be noted emphatically: the samāna ordering is only for the agency of the Vedic oral tradition, drawn though it is from a number of groups, Vedic as well as non-Vedic. It is reasonable to assume that there were other such social and occupational grids across generations that made up the Vedic society—that of rathakāra—“chariot makers”—perhaps, as well as artisans of all kinds from metal
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smiths, potters to carpenters; traders; cowherds and shepherds, the last supplying
animals to be sacrificed in the ritual. If the entire panoply was ever a horizontal
arrangement in Vedic India, it seems that it ceases to be so with the emergence of the
pan-Vedic oral agency, the carrier of an aggregate of the original “status kit,” the
latter, defining eventually an entire civilization. The Vedic ritual soon becomes the site
of the sovereignty of the state, thus a source of legitimacy for the prince, graphically
enacted in the classical ritual, in the rāṣṭrabhṛt episode in Agnicayana (Staal 1983, I: 574-
78; TS 3.4.7; 5.7.6.3d). The priest, the sacerdotal provider of the sovereignty to the
prince, becomes “more equal” in the prince-priest grid and indeed the other grids of
the society--the entire social organization becoming, in turn, eventually, the crazy
hierarchical arrangement that it is in historical times.

To come back to the history of the Kavaśa family: its prominence seems to end
with Tura Kāvaṣeya. There is no concordance for his name in the Pravara list. In other
words, as charismatic as the family is seen to be, it does not start a Gotra lineage.
However, we cannot conclude that the family did not possess a Gotra affiliation and
thus continuance in the historical Vedic oral agency. Most likely, it would be one of
those Āṅgirasa lines, with the kevala prefix, the Viṣṇuvṛddhas (see Appenixes I and II),
with the pravara formula, Āṅgirasa-Paurukutsa-Trāsadasya-va—a line linking itself with
the founding figure of the Kuru line itself, one of whom, Kuruśravaṇa, being Kavaśa’s
prince and another, Janamejaya Pāriksita, that of his fourth generation descendant.
The Kavaśa Ailūśa-Tura Kavaṣeya line continues, presumably, in the historical kevala
Āṅgirasa line of Viṣṇu-vṛddhas.
II. iii.b. The Ājigarti-Devarāta family

We see a similar pattern in what is perhaps the most well-known Vedic story of all, that of Śunaḥśeṇa Ājigarti. Here too an outsider figure is assimilated into the Vedic society through the display of the mastery of the Vedic “status kit” and production of a notable Bergaigne-Oldenberg saṃhitā, that is collected into the ten maṇḍala RV (1. 26-30).

This is what we know of Śunaḥśeṇa Ājigarti, at Level 1; W:

i. the Anukramaṇī system names him as the ṛṣi of RV 1.24-30, a Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection;

ii. RV 5.2.7 contains a possible reference to him.

From the Brāhmaṇa period (AiB (vii 13-18) and KB (at ŚŚS xv 17-27), Level 2-4; W→C:

i. He is the middle son of a forest-dwelling family; the father Ājigarta is a generic or nominal Āṅgirasa;

ii. The father sells Śunaḥśeṇa to King Hariśchandra to be sacrificed in place of the king’s son, Rohita;

iii. Śunaḥśeṇa saves himself by composing ṛks, collected as RV 1.24-30;

iv. Ajigārti seeks to reclaim his son, only to be rejected by the son who condemns his father of conduct worthy of a Śūdra;

v. Viśvāmitra, the Hota of the king’s ritual, adopts Śunaḥśeṇa, calling him Devarāta, “god-given,” declaring him his first-born;
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vi. The first fifty sons of Viśvāmitra reject Śunahśepa-Devarāta’s
primogeniture; the last fifty, led by Madhucchandas Vaiśvāmitra, accept
him.

From the Sūtra period (Level 5 and E):

i. We have a Devarāta in the Pravara list, the Brough-19 pravara of the
Viśvāmitra line, with the Pravara formula, Vaiśvāmitra-Devarāta-Audala.

ii. Its BŚS number is 44 families, suggesting a large following.

Finally from the available epigraphy data:

i. The Vaiśvāmitra-Devarāta-Audala is the B-19 Viśvāmitra pravara, with
significant attestation in epigraphy and fieldwork;

ii. it constitutes roughly about 5% of a Gotra census and half of the
Vaiśvāmitras.

We see that the Śunahśepa Ājīgarti narrative is remarkably like that of the
Kavaṣa family: in both cases, we have an outsider figure, shunned and ostracized—as
abrāhmaṇa in the Kavaṣa’s story; Śudra in the Śunahśepa story--but in both cases, the
resistance is broken by poetic power: each produces a notable saṃhitā, collected in the
ten maṇḍala ṚV. Unlike Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, Śunahṣepa Ājīgarti-Devarāta leaves behind an
explicit Gotra trail, with significant historical attestation. And Madhuchandas
Vaiśvāmitra is the scion of the other Viśvāmitra line, graciously consenting to Ājīgarti’s
elevation to primogeniture; he also leaves behind him significant Gotra trails of his own
(see below.)
In the story of Šunaḥṣepa, we also encounter a second pattern of transculturation, that of adoption (see below for other examples.) His forest-dwelling family, with the generic Aṅgirasa last name, is clearly outside the pale, the son accusing the father as a Śūdra-like conduct, first in selling him to the king to be sacrificed and then attempting to re-claim him after his great success in the ritual realm. Such adoptions usually bring an Aṅgirasa into the Vedic milieu (see below.)

No doubt, eventually myths creep into both narratives--Kavaṣa’s10.30 bringing the Sarasvatī to the desert; Šunaḥṣepa’s 1.24.6-15 to Varuṇa unloosening the god’s noose—but the general pattern is the same in both stories: a non-Vedic singer gains access into the Vedic world through mastery of the Vedic “status kit” and supplying notable Bergaigne-Oldenberg saṃhitās to the evolving ten maṇḍala RV.

II.iv. The case of the Mādhyama Rṣis

We see, by Sūtra period (Level 5 and E), clear evidence that, among the ṛṣi singers of the RV, a distinct group possesses a _primus inter pares_ status, the singers of what has come to be designated the Family books of the RV and thus designated Mādhyama Rṣis (Max Müller 1860: 479: Gr̥tsamada Bhṛgu of Book 2; Viśvāmitra of Book 3; Vāmadeva Gautama of Book 4; Atri of Book 5; Bharadvāja of Book 6 and Vasiṣṭha of Book 7). They constitute the older singers, the singers to be imitated by the _telegonia_, in a conscious act of mimesis—a widespread and repeated trope in the RV, as was noted by Max Mueller himself, as early as 1860: “‘As our ancestors have praised thee, we will praise thee,’ is a very frequent sentiment of the Vedic poets” (481). It is the trope that defines the concept of the Pravara formula, a descent list of singers, all championing an
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ancestral praxis and duly recognized in the Vedic poetics in the period of RV itself, the
“vat-” constructions, as in anāgirasa-vat (9 x; Lubbotsky I: 24), in the manner of Āṅgirasa,
a First Singer.

No less than everlasting fame, “śravas aksitam,” is the reward. Thus, rṣis appear
in ṚV as instruments of its oral poetics, already established by the Mādhyama
progenitors, appearing in the instrumental case, as in famous verse, pūrvabhir ṛṣibhir ...
nūtanair: “[Agni to be magnified] by past and present singers” (RV 1.1.2ab), in a
seamless discourse. Each appears in what may be called “performative mimesis” (see
Mahadevan 2007) with his forerunner, creating a poetic lineage and its collection. Each
Family collection is thus an archive, growing in size in time, new compositions archived
as and when made into the Bergaigne-Oldenberg collections--by the singers of the
“family,” a growing circle, recognizing themselves as bound by the –vat constructions
after the First Singers. These collections, along with the oral agencies behind each,
came in this fashion, to be edited into an evolving global RV saṁhitā and its
corresponding pan-Vedic oral agency, with the family collections of the Mādhyama Ṛṣis
constituting the inner core. I provide in Appendix I specific profiles of each collection,
confining myself here to a general survey of the Mādhyama Ṛṣis and their collections.

The Bharadvāja (-Bṛhaspati-Āṅgirasa) of Book 6, the Gotama (-Ayāsya-Āṅgirasa)
of Book 4, and the Atris of Book 5 constitute one core; the Bhṛgus of Book 2, the
Viśvāmitras of Book 3 and Vasiṣṭhas of Book 7, another core, but away from the center,
in a Vedic penumbra, the center steadily moving eastward from the West of the ṚV.
Together, they represent the Mādhyama Ṛṣis and the bulk of the global ṚV.
Of the two Āṅgirasa families and their collections, we have already analyzed the Gotamas, forming the largest “Family” collection of the RV: 141 hymns; 1404 verses, spread through Books 1; 4; 8; 9; 10. I will begin thus with the Bharadvājas, the core collection of Book 6 first, followed by the singers.

I have claimed above that the archiving criteria of individual family and personal collections are made of the Bergaigne-Oldenberg laws, seen above in its classical form in the Nodhas Gautama collection, 1.58-64. Seldom are Family collections in this form in the “redacted” RV, the final product of the orthoepic diaskuesis: we know that hymns and verses have found their ways into the collections, as illustrated by the violations of Bergaigne-Oldenberg laws in the Family books as they have come down to us. The Bharadvāja collection gives us the best view of this diachrony, and the ṛṣi index of the Anukramaṇī system is our best guide here.

We have four forms of the name Bharadvāja in the index:

i. Bharadvāja Bārahsaptya (6.1-14; a Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection of the classical form);

ii. generic Bharadvāja, (6.14-30) still part of the first Bharadvāja cycle, still within the founding Bharadvājas, another Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection;

iii. individual vṛddhi-ed Bhāradvājas, with first names followed by the Bharadvāja patronymic; Suhotra Bhāradvāja (6.31-32); Śunahotra Bhāradvāja (6.33-34); Nara Bhāradvāja (6.35-36), all three Bergaigne-Oldenberg units;
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iv. generic Bhāradvāja, in the vṛddhi-ed form, the latter and latest
accretions, 6.37-43, a Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection; a three-hymn
collection (6.49-51) by Rjiśvan Bhāradvāja; a hymn (6.52) by Pāyu
Rjiśvan Bhāradvāja; followed by the Bhāradvāja teleology still in the
pre-collection period, 6.53-75; the last hymn a mini-saṁhitā by Pāyu
Bhāradvāja—all, indeed, constituting the on-going Bhāradvāja-
Bārhaspatya-āṅgirasa agency and lasting into the historical period as
perhaps the largest Gotra grouping of Brahmans (see Appendix II).

We also have, from the founding generation, the compositions of Śamyu
Bārhaspatya (6.45-46; 48), 6.48 indexed in the Anukramaṇī discourse “Tṛṇapāṇikam
Prśnisuktam” and supplying the basis for the 12th and climactic śāstra of Agniṣṭoma, the
paradigm of the “classical” Soma ritual. We must think of Śamyu as we would of
Bharadvāja, both Bārhaspatya, of Bṛhaspati, and thus part of the earlier stratum of the
Bharadvāja collection, celebrated at 6.73.1abc (yo adribhit prathamajā ṛtavā bṛhaspatis
āṅgiraso … pītā na.) Finally we have Garga Bhāradvāja at 6.47, with his own mini-
saṁhitā, falling between the founders and the teleology, who, as we will see, engenders
a secondary Bhāradvāja offshoot.

The above accounts for all of the Bharadvājas and their collections in Book 6,
except for 6.15, a 19 verse hymn, mostly in JG, as demanded by the Bergaigne-
Oldenberg rules. The Anukramaṇī entry for the ṛṣi of the hymn is Vitahavya Āṅgirasa
or Bharadvāja, not Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya, the cited poet till 6.14. We will see that
Vitahavya Āṅgirasa engenders a marked Bṛghu line, of the “kevala” designation, very
much like Śunahotra [Bhāradvāja Bārhaspatya] Āṅgirasa [of 6. 33-34,] adopted into the
Bhragus as Gṛtsamada Bhārgava Śaunaka, engendering another “kevala” line among the Bhragus.

The Bharadvāja contribution to the Soma book is nominal, just 18 verses, Rjīśvan (9.108.6-7) and Vasu Bhāradvāja (9.80-82), being the only individual Soma poets. It should be noted as well that they are “late” Bhāradvājas, suggesting an absence of Soma liturgies among the earliest Bharadvājas.

Lastly, the Bhāradvāja collection does provide us with evidence of the emerging pan-Vedic society and its samāna basis in the singer of 10.155, Śirimbiṭha Bhāradvāja. The first name and the last name of the poet show distinctly different philological antecedents: Bharadvāja, generally construing as the “bearer of cooked offering,” is clearly Vedic whereas Śirimbiṭha is not. In addition, we encounter Śirimbiṭha in its philology among the Kaṇva singers, Irimbiṭhi Kāṇva, for example, the singer of RV 8.16-18. We see the cross-Gotra kinship in action: the father of the singer is patently a Bharadvāja, who has named his son after a Kaṇva name or epithet, the first syllable (ṣa) of his first name carrying the palatal Vedic phoneme, absent in the likely Dravidian Kaṇva name. We see first hand the formation thus of a homogenous, *e pluribus Unum* Vedic oral agency.

The Ātri collection gives us another Mādhyama Ṛṣi, Atri, with his collection in Book 5; 89 hymns; 772 verses. For an early collection—it is always bracketed with the inner core of the RV—it is always bracketed with the rṣi index is remarkably single and individual: 51 named singers, most among the Family saṃhitās. This is quite extra-ordinary data. If the Ātri collection does form in the early stages of the development of the RV, as seems
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apparent, then its fifty-odd list of singers would help us toward a final understanding of the Anukramaṇī archival system. In contrast, the Family collections are usually dominated by the patronymic, like Bhāradvāja or Vāsiṣṭha. That is, we do not have a specific Atri First Singer, like Bharadvāja; a generic Atri singer does appear in Book 5 [5.40-43 (4 hymns; 44 verses); 5.76-77 (2 hymns; 10 verses) 9.67.10-12 (0 hymn; 3 verses); 9.86.31-40 (1 hymn; 10 verses)].

On the other hand, Śyāvāśva [(5.52-61; 11 hymns; 118 verses); 8.35-38 (4 hymns; 48 verses); 8.42 (1 hymn; 6 verses); 9.32 (1 hymn; 6 verses)] and Arcanānasa (5.63-64; 2 hymns; 14 verses) seem to be the important Ātreya singers, for they are part of the Atri Pravara formula, Ātreya-Ārcanānasa-Śyāvāśya, the Brough-19 branch of the Atris, regularly well-attested in later epigraphy and constituting ca. 8% of the Gotra census.

Three all-PN hymns (5.6; 5.75; 5.79), one to Agni, one to Uṣas, one to the Aśvins respectively, seem to form a Vedic crux of a kind: they are the only hymns in the RV to the three deities in the PN meter and are seen, subsequently, to play a significant role, in the formation of the Prātaranuvāka (Morning Litany) liturgy, noted above. The litany inaugurates the Soma day of the Śrauta ritual of the Soma class, occurring ca. 2 AM on the eve of the Soma day of the ritual, when the Soma plant would be pressed, the juice offered to gods and drunk by the ṛtviks. As I have noted, it is an example of the new “edited” liturgies--the verses are drawn from the global RV--evidencing thereby the new pan-Vedic praxis. In the Morning Litany, after the verse from Kavaṣa Ailūṣa (10.30.14), repeated thrice as a proem, Agni, Uṣas, and Aśvins are each addressed such that each sequence, unequal in lengths but going through an identical metrical frame of GA-AN-TR-BR/SB-UŚ-JG- ends at the all-PN hymns to Agni, Uṣas, and the Aśvins, 5.6;
5.79; and 5.75. And as the hymns are also the only PŪ hymns to these deities in all of the RV, the individual convergences of the three deity sequences through different meters, but identical in each deity sequence, suggest that these three PŪ hymns played a seminal role in the formation of the liturgy.57

We now come to the Bhrgus, our Mādhyama Rṣi at one end, placed outside the “Family books” scheme of Books 3 through 7. As noted above, as with the Bharadvāja- and Gotama-Āṅgirasas, the Bhrgus also possess “kevala” appellations, which will be dealt with in the next section. The non–kevala, Brough-19 Bhṛgu-singer is Jamadagni, and accordingly, his Gotra lineage is the largest in epigraphy and fieldwork, usually at the 10% range. He is essentially a Soma singer [8.101 (1 hymn; 16 verses); 9.62; 9.67.16-18 (1 hymn; 33 verses) 10.11; (1 hymn; 12 verses); 10.137.6 (0 hymn; 1 verse)], thought to be an outsider, from the “fringes” of the Āryan society (Brough 1946: 88). If he was indeed an outsider, his entry into the Vedic world was through Viśvāmitra (Witzel 1995b: 316). The TS records (iii.i.7) him on Viśvāmitra’s side in the latter’s “quarrel” with Vasiṣṭha: and, moreover, Jamadagni “appropriate[s] the power and strength of Vasiṣṭha” through “seeing” (sa etaj jamadagnir vi-havyaḥ apaśyat, tena vai sa Vasiṣṭhasye ‘udriyam vīryam avṛṅkta) the Viḥavya hymn (RV 10.128), a hymn that supplies the mantras for the laying of the bricks on the Dhīṣṇyas in the Śrauta ritual.58 Jamadagni also brings to the Vedic world, through Viśvāmitra, the mysterious vāc sasarpāri (3.53.15-16), mentioned in a hymn that was added later, we may infer, as it violates the Bergaigne-Oldenberg rules of the Vedic archival system. Like Jamadagni; several other Bhṛgu figures (Kavi Bhārgava; 9.47-49; 75-79 [8 hymns; 40 verses]; Uśana Kāvya: 8.84;
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9.87–89 [4 hymn; 33 verses]; Bhṛgu Vāruni 9.65 [1 hymn; 30 verses]) are important Soma
pavamāna singers. And, most importantly, the Pravara liturgy seems to take shape in
his circles, its “embryonic form” (Brough 1953: 21) appearing in a Jamadagni-Bhṛgu
verse, at 8.102.4abc “aurvabhṛguvac chucim apnavānavad ā huve agrim samudravāsasam.”
They are always first in the Pravara lists of the Śrauta Sūtras.

The Viśvāmitras (Book 3) and Vasiṣṭhas (Book 7) are, perhaps with the Bhṛgus, at
the outer rim of the Mādhyama Ṛṣis, in a way bounding them in the inner core of the
RV. Both are Vedic groups of the Bharata realm, rising to prominence late in the Vedic
period, at the banks of the Sarasvatī, no longer, strictly speaking, Level 1 and W. The
Viśvāmitra family book, Book 3 shows the Viśvāmitra-Sudās Paijavana grid, the
Viśvāmitras even managing an āsvamedha for this prince of the Daivodāsa line at RV
3.53.11 abcd. The Viśvāmitras are replaced in the priest-prince grid by the Vasiṣṭhas at
the eve of the TKB (7.18) containing at 22–25 Vasiṣṭha’s dānastuti to Sudās Paijavana,
marking no doubt the replacement of the Viśvāmitras in the priest-prince grid by
Vasiṣṭhas. Indeed, as we noted above, Vasiṣṭha-Paijavana grid is one of 12 such pairs
listed in the Brāhmaṇa literature (AïB viii. 21–23); the Viśvāmitras do not appear in the
list of 12 grids. Both Viśvāmitras and Vasiṣṭhas are Bharata singers, even sharing four
TR verses in their Āpri hymn and clearly level 1 W, but now well in the east, on the
Sarasvatī banks.

The Vasiṣṭha collection is the largest of the Family books (104 hymns), the first
31 hymns forming a Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection archived in the name of Vasiṣṭha
Maitrāvaruṇi, and the rest in the name of a generic Vasiṣṭha; with 7.32 functioning as a
transitional hymn and introducing Śakti Vāsiṣṭha as what may be thought of as a “first generation” descendant. Further Vāsiṣṭha epigones appear in a composite Soma hymn, longest in the RV, grafted, perhaps even improvised together, as a “Vāsiṣṭha” collection for Book 9 (9.97; with 58 verses; ten singers, including Śakti Vāsiṣṭha and Parāśara Śāktya, the last with his own independent collection at 1.65-73.)

The Viśvāmitra Family book is less monolithic in comparison, nine singers listed in the ṛṣi index [Kuśika Aiśīrathī (3.31)--Gāthin Kauśīka (3.19-22)-Viśvāmitra Gāthina (3.1-12); Rṣabha Vaiśvāmitra (3.13-14); Kata Vaiśvāmitra (3.17-18)—Utkila Kātya (3.15-16) Devaśravas and Devarāta, the Bharata princes (3.23); Prajāpati Vaiśvāmitra (3.54-56)]. It also carries the marks of latter-day, still within the Vedic age, tampering: new verses or hymns are added, as with 3.53 noted above; others are 3.28; 29; 52 (Witzel 1995: 310-311). This is in accord with other evidence of Viśvāmitra activism in the late Vedic period, still Level 1, but progressing to 2, still W, but moving to C, the Kurukṣetra environs. It is they who localize the lands along the Sarasvatī river as the vara ā prthivyāh “center of the world” (3.52.11), as the Vedic simulacrum. It is compelling too that Madhuchandas Vaiśvāmitra (1.1-10) inaugurates the ten-maṇḍala saṃhitā and Aghamarṣaṇa Mādhuchandasa (10.190) ends it, 10.191 being, strictly speaking, a benediction litany for the samāna “unity” (10.191.1-4; repeated and invoked eight times at 10.191.3-4) of the 10-maṇḍala saṃhitā and and its new, pan-Vedic oral agency

Section II. v. The kevala ṛṣis

Altogether, there are 11 ṛṣi singers who pass from the ṛṣi index into the Pravara lists with the kevala prefixes, 7 Āṅgirasa and 4 Bhṛgu, the kevala appellation occurring
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only in these two. Their collections in the RV range from single hymns to large book-long aggregates:

**Kevala Āṅgirasas:**

2. Kañva (Āṅgirasa-Ājamiḷha-Kāṇva): 1.12-23; 36-50; 3.36.10; 4.43-44; 8.1-22; 32-34; 39-42; 45; 48-66; 68-69;72; 76-78; 81-83; 89-90 etc (see Appendix I).
3. Rathiṭhara (Āṅgirasa-Vairūpa-Rāthītara): 8.43-44; 75; 10. 111-114
4. Viṣṇuvṛddha (Āṅgirasa-Paurukutsa-Trāsadasya): 4.42; 4.27; 9.110
5. Saṃkṛti (Āṅgirasa-Sāmkṛtya-Gauriviṭi): 5.29; 9.108.1-2; 10.73-74

**Kevala Bhṛgus:**

1. Yaska (Vādhūla) (Bhārgava-Vaitahavya-Sāvetasa): 6.15; 10. 91
4. Śunaka (Śaunaka-Gārtasamada): 2. 1-43; 9.86.46-48

Clearly, together, they constitute a considerable segment of the RV and thus the pan-Vedic oral agency created by it. It may be added as well that the approach and methodology behind this investigation bring them into Vedic discourse for the first time. For the first time, we are able to ask, “Who or what were the kevala Āṅgirasas and kevala Bhṛgus?” We do not know if the term “kevala” itself may connote “true or
authentic” (Macdonnell ([1928] 1971 s.v. “kevala”) and thus the “original” Āṅgirasas and Bhṛgus. However, they are listed distinct from the Bharadvāja- and Gotama-Āṅgirasas, on the one hand, and the Jamadagni Bhṛgus, on the other. However, we have already seen that the two Āṅgirasas groups, the Bharadvājas and the Gotamas, seem to be the earliest Āṅgirasas and linked to the earliest stratum of the RV (Books 6 and 4), indeed, as we saw, becoming thereby the Mādhyama Rṣis. Moreover, they are the Brough-19 Āṅgirasas of the respective Gotra lineages (Bharadvājas and Gotamas) just as the non-
kevala Bhṛgu, Jamadagni, is the Brough-19 Bhṛgu lineage of the Bhṛgus.

From Vedic evidence, the “kevala” term designates four distinct types:

a. Gotra lineages linked to the families of the Vedic chieftains or their ritual personnel, their purohitas;

b. those arising through niyoga unions, both within the Vedic clans and without;

c. those from non-Vedic groups;

d. those through adoption systems.

Thus it is possible that “kevala” functioned as a politically correct term, to welcome and include outsiders and marginal groups into the pan-Vedic world, conceived now as an e pluribus Unum. In any case, the above question, “Who were the kevala appellates?” but framed in the present tense can be sufficiently and unequivocally answered, from epigraphy and fieldwork: a good 30% of the historical Brahman population. They demand our attention. I have provided in Appendix I and II the available information on these groups; here, I will make the case broadly for the four different types I have identified above.
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The two most important chieftain families in the early Vedic period, Level 1 and W, are those of Trasadasyu and Daivodāsa, the first acquiring, in the Pravara lists, a kevala Āṅgirasa lineage (Āṅgirasa-Paurukutsa-Trāsadasyāva) and the second, a kevala Bhṛgu lineage (Bhārgava-Vādhryāśva-Daivodāsa.)

Trasadasyu is the Anukramanī ṛṣi for several hymns in the RV (4.42; 9.110; and 5.27). As we have already seen, the Kavaṣa family appears as the purohita of this Kuru family, establishing thereby a priest-prince grid lasting several generations, resulting in the almost historical grid of Tura Kāvaṣeya-Janamejaya Pārikṣita. Does the kevala Viṣṇuvṛddha-Āṅgirasa (-Paurukutsya-Trāsadasyāva) line represent the princes? Or the priests who functioned as their purohitas? By late Vedic period, with the increasing complexity of the rituals and the needed svādhyāya regimen to master them, it would seem unlikely that the princes of the realms were part of the Vedic svādhyāya infrastructure. Thus it is quite likely that the Kavaṣa family and its extended network in the Kuru-Pāṇcāla state, formed the kevala group of the Viṣṇuvṛddha-Āṅgirasas, but hypostatized in the name of Trasadasyu, the Kuru-Pāṇcāla king, made iconic in the RV at 4.42 (Schmidt 1992). As already noted, the Kavaṣas were non-Vedic, and the entire process exemplifies the acculturation of non-Vedic groups, with professed competence in the Vedic “status kit,” into the Vedic milieu and even becoming purohitas of chieftains and kings. And the Viṣṇuvṛddha-Āṅgirasa pravara is well attested in epigraphy and fieldwork.

The Daivodāsa family gives us the kevala Bhṛgu lineage, Mitrayu, with the Pravara formula Bhārgava-Vādhryāśva-Daivodāsa. The main singers are a father-son team: Paruchepa Daivodāsi (1.127-139) and Anānata Pāruchepi (9.111), Paruchepa
declaring his kinship with the Daivodāsa at 130.10c. Pratardana Daivodāsi (9.96; 10.179.2) and Sumitra Vādhryāśva (10.69-70) are two other Anukramaṇī singers with links to the Daivodāsa family; Witzel (1995b:332) argues that they might constitute the Puru part of the Bharatas.

A singular feature of the entire collection is the occurrence of the ati- (“extreme”) meters, atyāṣṭi (68 syllables: 12 12 8 | 8 8 | 12 8); atidhṛtī (76: 12 12 8 | 8 8 | 12 8 8) in their compositions, with the only ati-meter (atyāṣṭi) hymn attested in the Soma book, 9.111, given to Anānata Pāruchepi. They may well have formed the priestly grid with the Daivodāsa chieftain family, not unlike the Kavaṣa-Trasadasyu grid. They are also well-attested, ca. 3%, in a Brahman population today, the lineage designated Mitrayu.

The Mudgala singer furnishes us perhaps with the best example of a niyoga alliance setting up a lineage, his sole hymn in the RV 10.102, illustrating this graphically (Brereton 2002). Further, Mudgala is one of Kuiper’s 300-odd non-Vedic items, the -gala suffix signifying an unknown Panjab substrate (Witzel 1999: 13). We see that a single hymn, eventually redacted into the RV (10.102), wins the descendants of the rṣi-singer a place in the emerging oral agency of the RV, as a kevala Āṅgirasa. Not only do they win a place in the emerging Vedic milieu, but later, in the epic period, an entire discourse about who or what an ideal Vedic oral agent is anchored to the Mudgala name in a series of narratives in the Mbh, defining what comes to be called a śrotriya Brahman in the Indic tradition (Arthaśāstra 2.12.23; passim), a ritualist anchored in the Śruti texts of the Vedic tradition and the Śrauta rituals—indeed, alternatively, the
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The theme is first introduced in Mudgala Upākhyāna at Mbh (3.41.245-47), pointing to the uñchavṛtti Brahman as an ideal figure; it is developed more fully in a succession of tales in the epic, the practice of uñchavṛtti—subsistence by gleaning grain from harvest fields after the fashion of pigeons—becoming the “highest dharma” (12.353.8-9) in the pointedly titled Uñchavṛtti Upākhyāna (12.340-353) at the conclusion of the Śāntiparvan, the ideal not only for Brahmans, but held out as the human norm for Yudhiṣṭhira. However, the ideal necessarily included a ritual dimension for a Brahman, a performer of Śrauta rituals as an embodiment of the Vedic oral agency and its svādhyāya institutions: in the Mudgala-Upākhyāna, Mudgala regularly observes īṣṭikṛta (3.246.5) and performs darsapūrṇamāsa (246.6). He is not an ascetic, a renouncer of the world, but a householder, who with wife and sons still receives guests, in their hundreds (246.10), and feed them excellent food (246.16) from what he gleans. And in epigraphy and fieldwork, the Mudgalas are a regular item, at about 3 to 4% of a given population.

We have in the Kaṇva group, another kevala Āṅgirasā line, the most dramatic example of a non-Vedic group acculturating itself into the Vedic world, the singers with the second largest (after the Gotamas) collection in the RV, in Books 1; 8; and 9. As with Kavaṣa Ailūṣa above, there was ostracism in the case of the Kaṇvas as well: in the Mādhyaṃa ṛṣi circles, they were “aliens” and were considered abraḥmaṇa and aśrotriya (Kuiper 2000: 157). Indeed, there are extensive Brāhmaṇa discourses addressing the issue if they are “true” Brahmans (JB 3.72-74; 234-36). Substantially
following Kuiper, Witzel suggests that the Kaṇvas may be Dravidian immigrants into the Panjab from the Sind areas in the later phases of the RV formation. Their impact on the RV is nevertheless decisive. Not only do they contribute the second largest collection to the corpus but it is quite probable that they developed the one significant innovation of the Rgvedic songs, the strophic mode. As we know, they are preponderant in Book 8, the globally strophic book, and when singers of other families, Mādhyamas included, (Śyāvāśva Ātreya [8. 35-38], Saptavadhri Ātreya [8. 73], Gopavana Ātreya [8.74], and Nodhas Gautama [8.88]) composed songs in the strophic vein of the Kaṇvas, these are included in Book 8, and not in their own Family or personal collections (with the exception of that of Gotama Rāhūgaṇa; see Oldenberg 1888: 255-261 [=242-246]). The Kaṇva share of the Samaveda, the saṃhitā of chants, is close to 400, almost fourth of the text and larger than any other family’s.

Their Gotra nomenclature, passing from the Anukramaṇī index to the Pravara lists, occurs in Book 4 (43-44): the Anukramaṇī singers of these hymns are the Sauhotras, Purumīṭha and Ajamīṭha. The pravara formula for the Kaṇvas is Āṅgirasa- Ajamīṭha-Kaṇva. We should note that 4.43-44 follow immediately 4.42, another “Gotra” hymn, its Anukramaṇī ṛṣi Trasadasyu Paurukutsya Sauhotra giving us, as we saw above, the Pravara listing Āṅgirasa-Paurukutsa-Trāsadasava for the kevala Āṅgirasa lineage, the Viṣṇuvṛddhas. RV 43, 44 seem to mark the formation of another kevala Āṅgirasa line. Moreover, RV 442, 43, 44, all three hymns, seem to form a set, disturbing the Bergaigne-Oldenberg rules of Book 4, suggesting that they were not organic to the Book 4 family collection and found their way into the RV saṃhitā independently,
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acknowledging the inclusion thereby two kevala Āṅgirasa groups into the world of the
RV, both texts and their oral agencies.

The Kaṇvas may have been hosted into the Vedic milieu by the Viśvāmitras as
well: the Anukramanī index lists Ghora Āṅgirasa as the singer of 3.36.10, a lone TR verse
in an otherwise Viśvāmitra hymn giving rise to the Pravara listing, Āṅgirasa-Ghaura-
Kāṇva, in ĀŚS.

We see thus that behind the concordance between the Anukramanī index and
the Pravara lists lies the samāna oral agency, made up of patently different ethnic and
linguistic groups.

We have already seen the adoption system at work in the Śunahśepa Ājīgarti
story. The father Sūyavasa Ājīgarta, an Āṅgirasa by birth, is a forest dweller in the
story, deemed a Śūdra by his son at the end of the story. The son is adopted by
Viśvāmitra, with his own collection (1.1.24-30; 9.3) incorporated into the RV and
constituting furthermore the Brough-19 Pravara of the Viśvāmitras. We have evidence
for two other possible instances of adoption system at work among the Vedic oral
agencies, giving rise in both cases to two kevala Bhṛgus, Śunaka (Bhārgava-Śaunaka)
and Vitahavya (Bhārgava-Vaitahavya-Śāvetasa). The Āṅgirasas supply, as with
Śunahśepa, the adoptees: Śunahotra Āṅgirasa—could it be the same singer as
Śunahotra Bhāradvāja-Āṅgirasa of 6. 33-34?—becoming Gr̥tsamada Bhārgava Śaunaka,
the Anukramanī Ṛṣi of Book 2 of the RV; and Vitahavya Āṅgirasa, also linked to
Bhāradvāja before adoption, as the fellow singer of Book 6.15, becoming Vaitahavya-
Bhārgava in the Pravara list. Both are historically attested, the Vaitahavya line,
acquiring a later Gotra name, Yaska-Vādhūla. It is an important group among the Pūrvaśikhā Brahmans in the peninsula, adhering to the Vādhūla (Bādhoolaka) tradition of the TS among the Nambudiri Pūrvaśikhās and the Āgniveśya tradition of the TS among the Cōliya Pūrvaśikhās. In general, it possesses far greater attestation than the Śaunaka line, in a Gotra census of the peninsular region (Mahadevan 2007; see Appendix II).

II. vi. Telegonia: the secondary generations

This is the domain of the other thirty lines beyond the Brough-19, each rising from one of the Brough-19, but not from one of the kevala lines: neither the seven kevala Āṅgirasas nor the four kevala Bhṛgus give rise to one of the thirty. The Viśvāmitras and Gotamas with 19 and 6 lines between them account for a majority of them; we have two for Bhāradvājas; two for Jamadagni-Bhṛgus; three each for Atri, Kaśyapa and Vasiṣṭha each; and finally two, for Agastya. Some 247 families are listed in BŚS, 30%. Epigraphy and fieldwork provide broad correlation, some of the secondary lines, those for instance, of Aghamarṣaṇa Mādhuchandasa of the Viśvāmitras and the Kuṇḍina of the Vasiṣṭhas being almost equal to if not more than their respective Brough-19 lineages. But we also see, however, that many of the secondary labels are unattested in historical evidence (see Appendix II.)

A Bhāradvāja line, named after Garga, provides us a most instructive case of how a secondary line is generated by an epigone, during the period just before the process of the collection of the individual saṃhitās into the 10-maṇḍala, global saṃhitā was complete. As shown above, the Bharadvājas constituted already a remarkably
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transparent collection, Book 6 archived in distinct diachronical layers of Bergaigne-Oldemberg collections, and no doubt forming the priestly part of a priest-prince grid, particularly with the Divodāsa line of chieftaincy (Witzel 1995b: 332-333), and from the earliest time. Āṅgirasa, Bṛhaspati, and Bharadvāja (ṚV 6.73.1.abcd) become invoked as the mythical First Singers of the family collection, later to bind them into an oral agency with the Pravara formula, Āṅgirasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja: we encounter several members of this oral agency in such singers as Suhotra (6. 31-32); Śunahotra (6. 33-34 becoming possibly Bhārgava-Śunaka); and Nara (6.35-36), all three possibly in an earlier period of the Bharadvāja collection, and Rjiśvan (6. 49-51) and Pāyu (6.51; 75) in its latter half, with many generic Bhāradvāja singers appearing in both periods.

Garga Bhāradvāja seems to appear at the mean, between the two chronological layers of Book 6, at 6.47 when, we must assume, the Bharadvāja collection and praxis was in its fullest development: thus it is, perhaps, that Garga becomes the purohita of Prastoka Śrānjaya, his dānastuti to this chieftain appearing at 6.47.22-25. The prince is identified as a Daivodāsa ally (6.47.22; Witzel 1995b: 333), but we have no further information on the princely half of this grid. Garga does leave behind extensive trails in the Brāhmaṇa literature: he is widely attested in the later Vedic texts (s.v. in Macdonnell and Keith 1912), Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā (xiii.12) already referring to his descendants as Gārga pravareyāḥ and the Śūtra texts mentioning a Garga trirātra liturgy (ĀŚS x. 2). Thus it is quite conceivable that we have in Garga a late Vedic figure, but early enough to appear in the Rgveda with a hymn, really a compendium of his verses and placed in Book 6 in violation of the Bergaigne-Oldenberg schema. He was, from evidence in the Brāhmaṇa discourses, possibly charismatic enough to engender a new
Bharadvāja pravara, apart from the larger body of the Bhāradvājas but near enough to be exogamous with them. And the Garga pravara is well attested in epigraphy and fieldwork.

A figure of equal importance and interest may be Madhuchandas Vaiśvāmitra, likely a farther epigone in his line than Garga in his: unlike Garga, Madhuchandas appears outside his Family collection, in Book 1 (1-10) and 9.1. Obviously, the collection of the RV into a ten maṇḍala corpus is already in process; and framing it with his collection Madhuchandas may be leaving evidence of an over-all editorial role in the formation of the global saṃhitā; the Soma collection of Book 9, also coming into being simultaneously, begins with a Maduchandas hymn (9.1). In the family history of the Vaiśvāmitra, as we saw, he accepts the primogeniture of Ājīgarti-Devarāta; he does so, remaining in some ways the Viśvāmitra standard bearer during the period toward the formation of the global RV saṃhitā. As noted, his son, Aghamarṣana Mādhuchandasa, rounds off the global saṃhitā, appearing at 10 190, its last hymn, 10.191 being a meta-narrative celebration of the entire process of becoming One or Same, saṃṇa, repeated seven times in the hymn and fittingly sung by an Āṅgirasa singer, Saṃvanana. In historical census, the secondary Viśvāmitra line with the Pravara formula, Vaiśvāmitra-Āghamarṣana-Kauśika, is a dominant component, equaling, if not exceeding, the Brough-19 primogeniture Viśvāmitra Devarāta line. Thus although Maduchandas gives up primogeniture in the story of Śunaḥṣepa Ājīgarti, he seems to establish a descent line that would equal one engendered along the primogeniture or the Brough-19 lineage.
Other such key epigonal figures founding secondary generations are Gotama Rāhūgaṇa (1. 74-93; 9. 31); Kakṣīvat-Dairghatamas (1.116-125; 9. 74); Parāśara-Śāktya (1. 65-73; 9. 97 31-34). In Kuṇḍina-Vasiṣṭha (Vasiṣṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-Kaundinya) and Śaṇḍilya-Kaśyapa (with the pravara formula, Kāśyapa-Āvatsāra-Śaṇḍilya)⁶¹ we encounter two Pravara names without an Anukramaṇī algorithm. Śaṇḍila is well-attested in late Vedic period (Level 3→4; C→E) in Brāhmaṇa discourses, almost a Gotama Rāhūgaṇa-like figure, bringing the Agnicayana to the east (ŚB 10.6.3; Staal 1983 [I]: 59-72) toward Kosala. Both Kaundinya-Vasiṣṭhas and Śaṇḍilya-Kaśyapas are well attested in Gotra census, the former the largest attested Vasiṣṭha Gotra affiliation, far exceeding its Brough-19 label, the ekāṛṣi Vasiṣṭha.

The secondary ṛṣi figures, thus, may be seen, especially in the early examples like Garga, Maduchandas, or Parāśara, as straddling the two worlds, the pre-collection and the post-collection: the former represents a number of individual praxises and the latter, their inclusive pan-Vedic synthesis and continuance. Epigones like Garga Bhāradvāja seem to date from the early part of the interregnum, Madhuchanadas Vaiśvāmitra, late; and it goes without saying that that the gathering of the individual collections into the global saṃhitā was in their hands, shaping the destiny of the Vedic world and its oral agency.

So much is inferential: the Anukramaṇī ṛṣi index opens for us the world of a large number of family collections and their praxises; their concordance with the
Pravara list gives us the irreducible backbone of the global Vedic agency, the historical Brahmins. What has been called a “breakthrough in Vedic studies” (Staal 2000) helps us flesh out the pre-collection world of individual ṛṣis and families, showing many of them to be non-Vedic. The forging of such a univocal, samāna Vedic oral agency from the many is usually taken for granted, as in Macdonnell (1886: xviii) “[I]t will indeed be one of the most remarkable facts in the history of literature that a people should have preserved its sacred book [the RV] without adding or subtracting a single word for 2300 years, and that too chiefly by means of oral tradition” (my parenthesis). But Macdonnell’s encomium has not been properly understood; it passes for, especially the reference to the oral tradition, a “wonder” item about an alien civilization.

When properly histrocized, as is attempted here, we see that it is a mere footnote to what the svādhyāya regimen of the Vedic system set out to do: eventually, every caraṇa of the three Vedas is processed into an oral agency. The tradition counts 21 caraṇas of the RV; 101 of the Yajurveda; and 1000 of the Sāmaveda, reflecting an acknowledgment of the inherent tendency of orally transmsted compositions to multiformity. Two caraṇas of the RV, 9 of the YV, and 2 of the SV are extant in the historical period, but the Vedic canons as a whole yielded some five million akṣaras “syllables” (Witzel 1989: 131) in oral tradition so that it can be asserted that all extant Vedic “texts” of the śruti caraṇa (literally “sound track”) class, rose from an oral original, this as late as 1960’s when a Brāhmaṇa text of RV was textualized from oral recitation into a critical edition through the use of tape recorders.

Obviously, the archival agency that manages such an oral load demands to be a special body or guild, a professional collegium, “highly structured quasi-official
organizations with economic leisure to devote the lives of countless people to the
task of being mnemonic automata, impersonal channels of transmission century after
century” (Jamison 1995: 7). The new singer may not be the “highest paid professional”
of the earlier pre-collection performative period, but his recompense was still
substantial, a white horse and a chariot drawn by a white mare for the Hota, the RV
priest, as the dakṣiṇā (ĀŚS IX.11.23) for the Āptoryāma, the seventh and final vikṛti,
“modification,” of the Soma cycle of the Śrauta ritual, the fees still reflecting the earlier
Āryan charisma of the horse.

Section III: The pan-Vedic ecumenical world

III.i. Introduction

We have thus clear evidence that by the Mantra period (Level 2; W→C), a pan-
Vedic oral agency was in place, drawn from the 50-odd oral agencies of the pre-
collection period and all adhering to the newly collected RV as a family praxis,
essentially along the same father-son scheme as during the pre-collection period.
However, with the redactions of the new liturgical saṃhitās, the Yajur- and Sāmavedas,
we see that the adherents to these two Mantra saṃhitās (2 W→C) as a family vocation
are recruited from the pan-Vedic oral agency already in existence. We see this in the
Gotra affiliations of the historical adherents of the two liturgical saṃhitās, Yajur- and
Sāmaveda: roughly the same Gotra profile across the 50-odd affiliations is attested
among them as with those adhering to the RV as family praxis. No doubt, there were
individual cases of mastery of more than one Veda saṃhitā and its ritual praxis—
dvivedis, even trivedis. However, the status quo of the Vedic society becomes by now
tri-Vedic, a family following one of the three Vedas as its vocation—with the adherents of the YV tradition always the largest segment (65-90%), those of the R̄V second (9-33%), followed by those of the Sāmaveda (1-2%). Likewise, some 40 of the BŚŚ 49 Gotra appellations are attested in the historical period, in the epigraphy and field work of Brahman populations of the peninsula. In Appendix II, I present this profile, along with their relative attestations available from the epigraphic data and field work.

However, this is the picture of the Vedic oral agency, on this side of history, after its creation as a samāna entity from its erstwhile individual and autonomous units. With the composition of the two liturgical Vedas, the YV and SV, it becomes specialized into three distinct streams, the adherents of the R̄V and those of the two newer liturgical Vedas—all three, as noted above, proliferating further into distinct multiform caranaṣas. Further, the human agency behind the entire complex paideia system is biologically conserved through the Gotraic reglations of exogamy and endogamy. In the resulting Brahman social grouping, each Gotra lineage is an equal partner, as is each carana adherence.

In this section we will examine the underlying processes that give us this historical Vedic agency. We will see that they rest essentially on transforming a fundamental drawback into a strength: the drawback is the potential divisiveness inherent in fifty-odd Vedic agencies of the pre-collection period coming together into an unified, pan-Vedic samāna agency; the strength, not seeking to eliminate their earlier First Singer labels but to reorient them as autonomous, primus inter pares entities. What was originally divisive becomes the basis for unity: the pre-collection label becomes a badge,
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indeed a *sine qua non*, of membership of the global agency. At least three clear footprints are evident behind this process of *e pluribus Unum*:

i. the development of “edited” liturgies from existing prototypes and making them canonical or *samāna* and acceptable to the whole;

ii. the development of the Gotra-specific liturgies, validating the pre-collection identity but again within the same work of the *e pluribus Unum*;

iii. literally re-engineering the global Vedic agency by making the pre-collection identity, by now beginning to be recognizably the historical institution of Gotra, a basis for both endogamy and exogamy: endogamy, permitting marriages only among 50-odd affiliates; exogamy, proscribing them within a Gotra affiliation. Both, it should be noted, counter the earlier putative divisiveness, and the Gotra institution thus creates a biologically self-perpetuating body, so deep and thorough-going as to deserve to be understood as a case of “biological spandrel” (see below for definition and discussion.)

**III. ii. Toward pan-Vedic liturgies**

We can pin-point the emergence of this new pan-Vedic, *samāna* order. Consider, for instance, the liturgy involving the planting of the Yūpa pole, a common ritual among the Vedic clans. In its classical form, the animal to be sacrificed in the *paśubandha* phase of the Śrauta ritual is tethered to this pole: eventually much praxis comes to underlie the planting of the pole. It has to be a pole from the *udumbara* tree
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(Minkowski 1989), and it needs to be placed on the due west-east line on the vernal equinox, the time of the annual occurrence of the ritual in the historical period. This is the prṣṭhya line, facing the rising sun, already determined from complex geometry such that it bisects the yāgaśāla “ritual enclosure” in two equal trapezoid halves. Proferes (2000; 2003) shows that both the Viśvāmitras and the Gautamas possessed, among others, such a liturgy, and that the Viśvāmitra mode of the liturgy was “selected” with the collection of the 10-manḍala RV and the emergence of the “standard” (Gonda 1981) or “classical” (Witzel 1997) ritual as the pan-Vedic praxis and thus canonical.

It is reasonable to assume that different modes of the Yūpa liturgy existed with the different Vedic groups (for example, the Kaṇvas; Proferes 2003: 316), plausibly even in some rivalry with one another, in search of patrons and patronage for its magical efficacy. The different Yūpa liturgies must be seen as the multiforms of a type, alike in morphology but differing in actual performance, with different formulary of verses from family to family—but reflecting at the same time globally a common poetic vocabulary among the Vedic clans. This is evidenced in the attested phenomenon of Rgvedic repetitions across the different family and personal saṁhitās, Bloomfield (1916) estimating that a fifth of the RV is made up of repeated verses, same statistic, it may be noted, for the Homeric epics (Jones 2003). Repetition may well be the most typological feature (in the form of formulaic phrases, quotations) of oral tradition, not always understood by early investigators, as for instance its Vedic student, Bloomfield, because of a literacist pre-judgment. Moreover, we have evidence of other examples of such multiforms, the ritual of the Prauga śastra or the Pravargya ritual. Some were “edited” and thus survived to
characterize the extant praxises of these rituals. And as we saw, a liturgy like the Prātaranuvāka represents a new key: it is made up of verses from the global RV and presupposes the oral mastery of the new ten maṇḍala RV.

The key point is that the new “edited” form possessed, or certainly came to possess, by the time of the classical ritual, (Level 2→3; C), a pan-Vedic imprimature. Max Müller already noted this (1860: 465): “If a verse of Viśvāmitra is once fixed by the Brāhmaṇas and Śūtras as part of any of the solemn sacrifices, no sacrificer, even if he were of the family of the Vasiṣṭhas, would have the right to replace the verse by another.” As we know, Max Müller uses the examples of Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha, because of their rivalry, perhaps already latent in the Vedic period but a major motif in the later mythological narratives in the epics and purāṇas, to accentuate the overweening authority of a pan-Vedic system that comes into being after the redaction of the Ṛgveda. It is reasonable to assume that, in the transitional period, from the e pluribus to the Unum, a Gotama or Kaṇva would have noticed that the edited Yūpa liturgy was technically no longer theirs, but they followed all the same the new, the edited samāna version. In other words, the erstwhile independent family affiliations are outmoded by the time of the “classical” Śrauta ritual: the formerly individual family praxises are no longer in practice if not selected into the pan-Vedic liturgies, or are, if selected, a part of a pan-Vedic praxis and not the earlier family-based liturgies. A final stasis is seen to be achieved at the Kuru-Pāñcāla state, (Level 3–4; C→E), as if by fiat: “[T]he new Kuru dynasty of Parikṣit, living in the Holy Land of Kurukṣetra, unified most of the Ṛgvedic tribes, brought the poets and priests together in the common enterprise of collecting their texts and “reforming” the ritual” (Witzel 1997: 265; author’s quotes).
What seems to be unique about the Vedic world is that pre-collection labels and identities—some centuries old at RV collection but now redundant in the face of the pan-Vedic system signaled by the 10-manḍala RV—do not die out—or are not allowed to. As we saw from the concordance between the Anukramaṇī rṣi list and the Pravara index, irreducible human agencies pass through the divide. We must note that, in the absence of writing, this could not have been otherwise, or else the entire Vedic oral tradition, centuries-old at the collection of the RV, with specific poetic praxises and rules of archivization, would have had to be re-imagined. Entirely new human agencies would have had to be set up and all wheels of the svādhyaṣya regimen of the Vedic oral tradition, re-invented. The key successful strategy in the Vedic instance seems to have been re-orienting the earlier individual agencies and their praxises to a pan-Vedic agency and praxis such that what was potentially divisive, the individual pre-collection identity, is muted in the new ecumenical samāna pan-Vedic establishment. Not just muted: the earlier, potentially divisive identity is transformed into a ticket of admission into the new pan-Vedic agency

The surprising feature is the samāna ecumenism (Proferes 2000) of the new pan-Vedic arrangement: it counters all logic and intuition. As naturally occurring collections in the Vedic world properly so called (Level 1 W), the different collections would be of different sizes, as indeed they are: the larger collections are Family books, arranged according to Bergaigne-Oldenberg rules, in increasing sizes, 43 in Book 2 though 104 in Book 7. As we saw, there were also collections like Nodhas’ 10 hymns or Mudgala’s single hymn, construed as a saṃhitā, worthy of a niche in the global saṃhitā.
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Crucially, this ecumenism extends to the human agencies behind the individual collections, arranged in some 50-odd Gotra constellations. In other words, there is no correlation between the size of a collection and its eventual Gotra membership: a family saṃhitā, like that of Vasiṣṭha with 104 hymns, ranks equal with that of, say, the Mudgalas, with a single hymn-saṃhitā. This is also the case between what I have designated as the Brough-19 group, eventually making up the lion share of the Vedic oral agency, and the 30 secondary lines. All forty-nine erstwhile collections and agencies rank equal in later Gotra standings, each with a name listed in the Ṛṣi index, no longer signifying individual, private, family collections but Gotra entities making up what emerges as an endogamous Vedic oral agency, underlying what I have called below the “spandrel” characteristic of the Gotra institution (see below.)

III.iii. Gotra-specific liturgies

The two Gotra-specific liturgies, the Āprī (van den Bosch 1985) and Pravara (Brough 1953) ceremonies of the Śrauta system, further cement this body into a “one” or “same” samāna agency.

We have a total of 10 Āprī hymns in the Rgveda such that every Gotra affiliate—that is, every member of the Vedic oral tradition—has one, entitled to him from, or because of, his Gotra affiliation:

i. 1.142, a Daiṅhatamasā-Aucathyā-Āṅgirasā hymn, available to all Āṅgirasā affiliates except those of the Kāṇva Āṅgirasas;

ii. 1.188, the Agastya Āprī hymn.

iii. 1.13, a Medhātithi-Kāṇva-Āṅgirasā hymn for the Kāṇva-Āṅgirasas
iv. 2.3, a Gārthasamada-Śaunaka-Bhārgava hymn;

v. 10.110, a Jāmadagnya-Bhārgava hymn

vi. 10.70, an Āprī hymn of Vādhryaśva-Bhārgava, available (?) to other Bhārgavas not included in iv and v above;

vii. 3.4, the Āprī hymn of the Viśvāmitras

viii. 5.5, the Āprī hymn of the Ātris;

ix. 7.2, the Vasiṣṭha Āprī hymn (joined at the hip with his fellow-Bharata ṛṣi, Viśvāmitra; 3.4.8-11 = 7.2.8-11);

x. 9.5, the Kaśyapa Āprī hymn.

Each Āprī hymn constitutes a link to the pre-collection identity (Level 1 and W), centering on a First Singer figure; now, that label marks the Gotra affiliations of the emergent pan-Vedic oral agency, and subsequently redacted as Pravara formulas and appended to the Śrauta Sūtras. Everybody embodied in the Vedic oral agency, all 49 individual agencies, is covered in the above system, some Gotra affiliations, like the Āṅgirasas sharing two Āprī hymns; the Bhārgavas, three; and each of the other lineages possessing one. The Āprī hymn marks a sort of final bona fide of a member of the Vedic agency, a passport to its ritual realm.

I will note that Max Müller’s original understanding of the Āprī hymns as songs of reconciliation and friendship conforms to our own present narrative of the Vedic society as a conglomeration of disparate units, some Āryan, some indigenous, many rivals before but now forming a whole. ⁷²
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The Pravara ritual takes us even further into the heart of the puzzle: every ritualist, as a member of the agency of the Vedic oral traditions, must possess a Gotra pedigree, and the Pravara ceremony represents a formal “call” (“pravara”) to the ritualist, as a Gotra affiliate, to assert his erstwhile, pre-collection identity of an individual, autonomous poetic agency but now in the context of the new ecumenical, pan-Vedic system, one among the many, an equal category. Thus a descendant of the Kaśyapa Gotra would announce his lineage, in the vṛddhi-ed Hota form, Kāśyapa-Āvatsāra-Naidhruva, his mythical origin in Kaśyapa through the more immediate intermediaries, Avatsāra and Nidhruva. However, the Kaśyapa Pravara formula no longer conveys a poetic presence, that of Kaśyapa at RV 1.99; 9.84; 9.91-92; 9.67.4-6; 9.113-114; 10.137.2; Avatsāra at 5.44; 9.53-60; and Nidhruva at 9.63. Evidence for this disjunction is abundant in fieldwork. When Kaśyapa (and other First Singer ṛṣis) is suggested in fieldwork as a singer of the RV to a Brahman, even a practicing ritualist, surprise, even incredulity, is the response. Now it marks only a lineage, one of almost fifty, a genetic pool of the Vedic oral agency.

Section III. iv. The Gotra institution as a biological spandrel

We see that beyond the “edited” pan-Vedic liturgies and Gotra-specific rituals, we need a final rivet, a biological measure, which binds the pan-Vedic order into a self-sustaining samāna body: let us note at once that this is an imperative demanded by the oral tradition. To the extent that the entire Vedic corpus—eventually some five million syllables—remained in an oral tradition, irreducible human agencies continued to be its most vital and indispensible adjunct; and father-son grid, the most effective, efficient
and fail-safe means of realizing it, although we have evidence of the rise of formal pedagogical institutions in the prātiṣākhya texts, ca. 7th-6th BCE, imparting novices instructions, as part of the svādhyāya regimen, on the phonological invariance of oral transmission of texts (Ṛṣprātiṣākhya 15: 1-5; 9).

The Gotra institution provides the biological rivets with its exogamy-endogamy regulations, both again, as noted above, countering the potential divisiveness of the earlier individual collections and their agencies, when brought under a samāna “uniform or same” body. Thus, marriages become restricted to only among Gotra affiliates, but not between fellow Gotra affiliates. We see that the endogamic principle perpetuates the original 50-odd poetic agencies of the RV, closing it at the same time as a caste grouping. The exogamic principle rivets them into one samāna (“same”) body by forcing out-breeding on the Gotra affiliates, and thus bringing about, for example, a Bhāradvāja-Kāṇva union that we encountered above: the singer of RV 10.155, Śirimbiṭha Bhāradvāja—the two names, rooted in two different philologies.

In other words, the Gotra institution signifies neither residual incest in its well-known martial taboos nor entire clans, as earlier investigators like Brough and Kosambi thought. It is true, as shown above, that it begins as one of the two identity markers of the Vedic clans and tribes, signifying, as shown above, the name of the archival agency of Vedic song traditions, usually after a First Singer figure, accurately and reliably recorded in the Anukramaṇī indexical system; this aspect of its original character ceases to be significant at the collection of the RV and the establishment of an ecumenical pan-Vedic agency of the Vedic oral tradition. Moreover, in and by itself, it could be thought to have only limited selective appeal: that is, it is illogical to think
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that in the pre-collection (RV) period, a Bhāradvāja sought out preferentially a non-Bhāradvāja for marital kinship, as he would have to, following the incest taboo. On the contrary, it is more likely that, during the period when Book 6 was evolving and functioning as an autonomous collection—and, we must recognize, over a period of centuries and moving from West to the Central regions of Vedism—as a rule, a Bharadvāja married, from convenience, a fellow Bharadvāja. The pattern of exogamy is a new feature arising as a part of the re-organization of the Vedic oral agency as a fail-safe samāna-uniform body from mutually alien, perhaps even antagonistic, entities. As noted above, we have tell-tale evidence for this in the RV itself, in Śirimbiṭha Bhāradvāja (10.155), the son of a Bhardvāja father and very likely a Kaṇva mother (cf. Irimbiṭhi Kāṇva, 8.16-18)—thus, a denizen of the new pan-Vedic agency.

More compelling is the extant evidence for the emergence of such a system. Consider this matrimonial advertisement in the Hindu newspaper (July 27, 2008):

“Iyer Vadama Kaushikam Kettai 26/165 MCA IT Professional Chennai seeks Software/Engineering Masters Iyer boy with good family background employed in India/USA.”

Much of the terminology above—amounting to a discourse—dates from later times, but the exogamy-endogamy regulation constitutes its earliest layer: a bride of “Kaushika” Gotra (Kauśika, a pravara of the Viśvāmitra Gotra, with the descent formula, Vaiśvāmitra-Āghamarśaṇa-Kauśika; see Appendix II) seeks a groom, telegraphing thereby that a Kauśika-Vaiśvāmitra groom must ignore the advertisement—the exogamy rule. It is implicit in the advertisement that the groom—“Iyer boy”—would possess a Gotra affiliation other than the Kauśika (and other Viśvāmitra pravaras)—the
endogamy rule. It is reasonable to back-date the above evidence, to the Brāhmaṇa-Sūtra period (Level 2-5; C and E). Indeed, the appearance of the Pravara lists as an appendix to the BŚŚ—and likewise to other Śrauta Sūtras—is to conserve the Vedic oral agency as a jāti, “caste” by introducing the concept of jātibrāhmaṇa (Brough 1953: 55), as in Mahābhāṣya, 1.411: a Brahman’s sole qualification is his birth. The coherence and rigidity of the largely successful system come from the exogamy-endogamy regulations, giving rise to the automaton-like characteristic of the Vedic oral agency.

We see thus that we can no longer resist the conclusion that the Gotra institution orchestrates the transition from the pre-RV collection milieu of autonomous Vedic poetic agencies, numbering some forty-nine, to the post-redaction pan-Vedic oral agency crafted from them as an ecumenical body, a samāna agency, an e pluribus Unum. We will not err, considering its longevity and durability, to see the institution in a biological perspective, as what I have called above “spandrel.” The First Singer label that underlies each Gotra affiliation is best seen as analogous to the “spandrel” of the evolutionary biology: It rises as an adaptive characteristic of the oral tradition of the pre-collection period, in the names of what I have called First Singers, giving rise to song collections and their singers, systematically archived according to the Bergaigne-Oldenberg rules. But with the formation of the global saṃhitā and its new pan-Vedic samāna agency, the earlier label loses its role and function. And, like a biological spandrel, it adapts itself to new roles when its original characteristic becomes vestigial or even unsuitable, in a new set of circumstances. Thus the old First Singer label, archived zealously in the Anukramaṇī system, becomes
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the “new” Gotra label of equally zealous Pravara list—new, compared to its significance in the RV as “cattle shed” or “one’s holding in cattle” (4 occurrences as a substantive; 17, in different morphological forms.) Clearly the Gotra institution is the new actor in the scene, converting a professional collegium into a socially coherent and self-sustaining body through marital regulations. The First Singer label of the earlier period is retained and is even made an entry requirement into the social group, but not as a differentiating or individualizing element but as a saṃāna “uniform” and common category, underlying it as a e pluribus Unum body. It follows too that as a wholly oral agency, it would become “mnemonic automata,” giving us in time the historical Brahman caste grouping. Now a Bhāradvāja is forced to seek a non-Bhāradvāja, creating a descendant, as in the instance above of Śirimbiṭhi Bhāradvāja, with possibly a Kaṇva, in what should be understood as a piece of far-reaching social engineering.

Thus it is reasonable to suppose that the Vedic society contained at the time of the collection of the RV and its immediate aftermath such subterranean fissures as represented by these pre-redaction identities, often once in rivalry with one another for the patronage of a chieftain or a prince. As seen, specific “friendship” and “unity” liturgies are developed to cohere the earlier disparate groups into a pan-Vedic agency. Further, with the redaction of the classical Śrauta ritual, a pan-Vedic matrix of rituals is seen to be in place, edited as we saw from individual family repertory but now globally orthoprax in the Vedic realm, obliterating the erstwhile individual family-based praxises and identities. The Gotra institution completes the process of e pluribus Unum through the exogamy-endogamy rules of marriage. The famous Upaniṣadic story
(Ch. U. 4.4.1-5) of Satyakāma Jābāla shows that the system was still flexible, as it was in the pre-collection period. His mother, Jabāla, likely a dāsi, conceives him from an unknown patron, but Satyakāma Jābāla is accepted by Hāridrumata Gautama as a Vedic student, becoming thereby Gautama after his teacher. It is also clear in the story that the example of Satyakāma is an exception, compelling precisely because it is exceptional, and that the Vedic oral agency has by now ceased to be “neutral.” It becomes closed from the imperatives of the oral tradition into the historical Brahman groups.

**Section IV: Conclusions**

We see that the centrality of the oral tradition in the development of the Vedic system is self-evident. Lord’s (1960: 280) dismissal of it as merely “literal” is seen now to be hasty and the derogation, wholly mistaken; indeed, paradoxically, it is its “literal” characteristic that has made an investigation like this one possible on the one hand, and on the other, accounts for the preter-natural success of the Vedic oral agency.

The fact is that we now know that the Vedic oral tradition arranged its world of knowledge every bit as systematically as does the literate world, its knowledge systems: rationality is wholly independent of literacy (Staal 1989). No one casts light to the wholeness of the Vedic world as Frits Staal, through his life work. Thus our primary source, an “artifact” like an index of the ṛṣi-singers, the deities and the meters of 1028 hymns, 10442 verses of the ṚV, may seem *sui generis* to the world of books. Indeed, the idea of index does seem counter-intuitive in an oral tradition, used as we are first to a text and then to its index as a collateral resource, both existing physically before our
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eyes, simultaneously. But the irreducible Vedic evidence is that such an indexical resource had first appeared as part of the archival system of the Vedic oral tradition and is seen, paradoxically, as the only functional system for an oral tradition (Witzel 1995b: 309). True, the final end product of the indexical analysis, such as Lubotsky’s word concordance of the Ṛgveda, may be uniquely literacist or, indeed part of the world of the computers, but evidence shows that a practicing Vedist acquits himself surprisingly well in listing the concordances of a word as it occurs in different verses in the ṚV. 81

It is not appreciated enough, for instance, that, as Staal shows (1990), the very syllabary of Vedic, and later Pāṇiniyan, Sanskrit, is an oral artifact, product of a phonological analysis of the human sound system, the phonemes separated first into vowels and then into consonant groups, and the entire sound system of the phonemes arranged logically as they are produced from points in the back of the vocal apparatus to its front, from the velar to the labial, and each sound studied to ensure a high fidelity phonological transmission of the Vedic texts. Moreover, when it encountered, centuries later, in South Asia a language of another family, like Dravidian-Tamil, it organized a similar “oral” alphabet for it, with due phonological adjustments (I. Mahadevan 2003). We know too that in this oral world, phonology takes precedence over semantics to the extent that the Vedic mantras are declared even by the close of the Vedic period “meaningless” (anarthakā mantrāḥ) as is the case, technically, for the reciter of the Vedas, certainly in the historical periods, but perhaps also by late Vedic period. An entire paideia system had created Jamison’s (1996: 7) “mnemonic automata” as the agents of the Vedic oral tradition, the historical Brahman group. In fact, Vedic
knowledge, in the sense of the contents of its texts, existed physically as a śruti caraṇa (“sound track”) so that its archive or library is comparable, as has been suggested, to “tape-recording,” but the sum of this world is far beyond the metaphorical value of high fidelity repetition and transmission that “tape recording” conveys. It created a human institution, with enough paideia infrastructure built into it to make it last to the present.

From a historiographical point of view, it would not be too far fetched to claim for the Vedic oral tradition a Tocquevillean du point de depart, “the point of departure,” that coheres the history of a civilization, “the original act or circumstances from which the present could be seen to have unfolded” (Drescher 1964: 30). As Witzel points out, “To know the history of the Brahmin means, to a large degree, knowing the history of Vedic and of Hindu India—at least that of its upper strata and its great tradition” (1991: 264). The oral tradition supplies the necessary syntax for this history.

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1 Preliminary versions of this paper were presented at the annual American Oriental Society meeting, at Albuquerque (2008) and at Harvard Round Table Conference (2010.)

2 Of course, texts of all extant caraṇas begin to appear in time, but they never became a substitute to the oral instruction of the texts. One encounters in field work several editions of these texts, used as a pedagogical resource of private recitations, only after the student has received the formal phonetic instruction of the lesson from the teacher, face to face. One institution that still abjures any kind of printed śruti text even today is the Vājkkē-Māṭhom Pāṭhaśāla (Northern Hall of Lessons or Instruction) in Trichur in Kerala, among the Nambudiri Brahmans. See Thennilapuram Mahadevan, “The Vedic oral tradition,” forthcoming in the Oxford Bibliography Online series. See Frits Staal, The Nambudiri Veda recitation (1960).

3 Brough (1953), see below, still remains a valuable resource, but his treatment of the concordance is not systematic, it is rather haphazard and occasional. V.G.Rahulkar’s The seers of the Ṛgveda (1964) focuses entirely on the Anukramaṇi index, often merely reproducing it and glossing it with citations from the Brāhmaṇa-Āranyaka texts, the BD, the Mbh and Sāyaṇa’s commentary without clear relative evaluations of the sources. Sarmah’s The Bharadvājas of ancient India (1991) concentrates on just the Bharadvājas of RV Book 6, but relying too much, as Brereton (1993) has noted in a review of this work, on the Purāṇic sources. Brereton concludes that the “basic presuppositions” of Sarama’s book, and by extension Rahulkar’s “are so at odds with those of many Vedic scholars that the book will remain outside the
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principal currents of Vedic study” (599). Telegari (2000) is another example. The work reported here attempts to bridge the gap. It argues that the Ṛṣi index of the Anukramaṇī system on the one hand and its derivative Pravara lists on the other are authentic and reliable data and illumine the Vedic world far more brightly and rationally than the often ideological use of them does.

I have followed the HOS (50) abbreviations (xiv-xvi) of the Vedic meters throughout this study.

I have depended on the entries in the HOS (50) Rgveda for the Anukramaṇī details. I have checked the Mc donnell edition of the Sarvānukramaṇī and found the following omissions in the HOS edition (466), 9.97.7-9 attributed to Vṛṣaṅga Vāśiṣṭha; 9.67.27; 31-32 (attributed to Pavitra Lāṅgirasa or Vāśiṣṭha or both) are missing in HOS (452).

My count is 507 (Book 1: 26; Book 2: 3; Book 3: 12; Book 4: 4; Book 5: 40; Book 6: 12; Book 7: 4; Book 8: 68; Book 9: 68; Book 10: 173.) Mayrhofer 2003 has 543 items. Mayrhofer’s “sicheres” (safe) list agrees with mine entirely.

The term is Stephanie Jamison’s (2007: 19). Jamison foregrounds the singer or the poet of the RV opening up an entirely new line of investigation into the poetry of the RV. On the other hand, I approach in this study the poets and the poet-families of the RV backward in time, following the Gotra affiliations of historical Brahman groups, but seen as extant agencies of the Vedic oral traditions, to open a way to the prequel, to the Ṛṣi singers of the RV.

I have used the Brough (1953) edition of Puruṣottama Panḍīta’s Pravara-maṇji. This medieval text reproduces the Pravara lists from the following texts: BSŚ, ĀpŚŚ, ‘Kāṭyāyana-Laugākṣi,’ĀŚŚ, and MP. In this paper, I am concerned only with the BSŚ lists. I have accepted Brough’s (33, note 2) suggestion that the lineage Kapi, with the Pravara formula, Āṅgirasa-Āmahīyava-Aurukṣyā, be placed under the “Kevala Āṅgirasa group” (see in text above and below for a discussion of “Kevala Āṅgirasa” pravaras of the Gotra system.) I have reversed the order of Brough’s (and the Śrāuta Sutras’) listings of the Gotras by placing the nine Āṅgirasa lineages first, followed by the Bhṛgus, keeping the rest as in Brough. I estimate in ongoing work that the Āṅgirasa portion of the Rgveda is around 45%. The reason the Bhṛgus appear always first in the Śrāuta Sūtra lists is probably due to their development of the Pravara liturgy; see Brough (1953: 8-26). The verse that contains the pravara formula in an “embryonic form” Brough (1953:22) is attributed in the Anukramaṇī lists to Prayoga Bhārava, RV. 8.102.4. See Then nilapuram Mahadevan 2007. “The Rgveda, the institution of Gotra and the Brahmanas” 4th International Vedic Workshop, Austin.

The main texts of this class are the Brāhmaṇa portions of the TS [Weber (1871); Keith (1920)]; the AiB and KB; the JB and PB; TB. What Elizabeth Tucker (see note 7 below) has called “depersonalization” of the RV poets is in full evidence by Brhaddevatā (BD; Jamison 2007: 27) as well as the two epics, best seen, for example, with the many tales about Vāśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, not as rivals in poetry, but prowess in rituals and sacrifices.

I reproduce below Jamison’s (2007: 24, note 5) quotation from Dr. Elizabeth Tucker’s e-mail to her (April 5, 2004) on this problem: “The depersonalized treatment of the founders of the RV bardic families receive [is evidenced] already in the AV. Here their names are lumped together in lists as discoverers of spells or medicines (two such lists occur in AVP 11, one the canonical seven Ṛṣis): AVŚ IV.29 has a long list for seers who are monotonously helped by Mitrā-Varuṇa. Might it be possible to argue that their individuality was lost and one name became substitutable for another even before the Mīmāṃsaka became influential?” As Jamison notes, an intriguing question: my study approaches the problem from the concordant links between the Gotra institutions as set out in the Pravara lists first formally listed in the Brāhmaṇa-Sūtra period (Level 4→5; C→E) and the RV Bardic families as set out in the Ṛṣi-index of the Anukramaṇī system (Level 1 and W). I argue that the two lists constitute a zipper-like discourse, the RV-ṛṣis and bards of the Anukramaṇī system reappearing as the Gotrakāras of the Pravara lists and formulas, the Vedic oral agency itself, the historical Brahman group, organized as endogamous Gotra groups with exogamy within a Gotra group, a fool-proof, fail safe system for the survival of the Vedic oral agency,
“vedarakśārtam,” a trope common to all Vedic discourses; see Staal (1989: 384-85). There is loss of individuality, as Tucker notes, but the name of the RV-bard does not die out; it organizes the human Vedic agency under “one name,” the Brahman caste group, cohered together by the system of Gotra endogamy and exogamy.

11 Oldenberg (1888); Bergaigne (1886). In citing Oldenberg (1886), I have placed the page numbers of the German original in square brackets, followed by page numbers of the Paranjape-Mehendale (2005) translation. Oldenberg clearly grants Bergaigne priority. See Witzel (1995b: 309) for a thorough discussion of the rules of arrangement, focusing on the Family books.

12 The collection RV 51-57, attributed to Savya Āṅgirasa by the ṛṣi index, displays the standard features of the Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection, but the organizing principle behind the Parāśara collection 1.65-73 seems to be dictated by the special role played by DV meter in the collection: the first six hymns of the collection are in this meter, each hymn 10 stanzas long (the extra 11th in 1.70 being a later additions; see Oldenberg [222]242) and all addressed to Agni, the whole already forming a “pre-fabricated” unit; three 10-verse TR hymns follow this unit. That the Parāśara collection is a distinct repertory in itself is further supported by a 14-verse TR excerpt (9.97.31-44) appended to what may be called the family hymn of the Vāsiṣṭha in Book 9, the members of the Vāsiṣṭha family here being, according to Anukramāṇī index: Vāsiṣṭha (1-3); Indrapramati Vāsiṣṭha (4-6); Vṛṣaṅgano Vāsiṣṭha (7-9); Manyu Vāsiṣṭha (10-12); Upamanyu Vāsiṣṭha (13-15); Vyāghrapād Vāsiṣṭha (16-18); Śākti Vāsiṣṭha (19-21); Kaṇaśruti Vāsiṣṭha (28-30); Mrīḷa Vāsiṣṭha (25-27); Vāsukra Vāsiṣṭha (28-30). Parāśara Śāktya’s name appears after this, followed by that of Kutsa Āṅgirasa (45-58). And in the Pravara list genealogy, Parāśara appears in the Vāsiṣṭha line, Vāsiṣṭha-Śāktya-Parāśara.

13 This practice is adhered to even with multi-meter, multi-deity hymns: the reciter announces the items as they change during the recitation of a hymn. Naras Ravidran Nambudiri, the Hota priest of two recent Soma rituals, the Angadippuram Agniṣṭoma (2005) and the Kilakkankancherri (2006) Agnicayana; July 6, 2008. Frits Staal (1968), Four Vedas, LP968; Asch Records: AHM 4126.

14 Vedic accents are omitted in quotes.

15 As an example of the “structural device,” Jamison (59-60) gives the use of the “large number of tvam forms” far beyond the number due to mere “equational syntax,” with RV 1.61 as a fully developed exhibit of the trope. I must add that Oldenberg anticipates Jamison’s finding on general grounds (245[259]): “The group 1.58-64, so to say, is localized by the mentions of Nodhas and the refrain prītar mākṣudhiyāvāsvar jagamyaḥ; this group must have been composed by a definite singer among the Gotra, or a circle gathered around such a definite personality” (Oldenberg’s italics).

16 Oldenberg (243 [256]) notes that strophic compositions—the Prāgātha strophes and tracas—underlay the organization of Book 8, as the Pavāmāṇa compositions structured Book 9.

17 “It (1.51-191) corresponds in all essentials with the arrangement found in the books II-VII” (original italics).

18 Noting the exceptional nature of the Gotama Rāhūga series, Oldenberg adds “[The collection needs to be] explained by the assumption of additions ... 79 (TR); 84.1-18 (TR); 19-20 (BR/SB); 90.1-5, 6-9 (6-8, 9 [all GA]?) He further attributes the irregularity with respect to 90, 91, 92 to the occurrence of tracas and strophes in them.

19 I borrow the term from the Sundiata oral traditions of Mali of central Africa, signifying jeli (griot), the institutionalized singer and his descendants and upkeepers of the song tradition named after the founding figure. I. Wilks (1999: 32-37): “The first-singers ... appear to be thought of as the founders of the griot tradition: not that of the donso-jeliw, the hunters’ griots, but that of the casted jeliw, who came to constitute something like an intellectual class of the Malian society.” This is an apt description of the Vedic oral agency as it is constituted in the historical “caste” of Brahmans.
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20 W. Caland (1931: 160): “The Gods divided amongst themselves the sacred lore (the brahman); unto them came Nodhas, the son of Kāsśīvat; they said, “A seer has come unto us; let us give him the sacred lore.” They granted him this sāman; in that they granted (it) to Nodhas, therefore it is called the naudhasa [“the sāman of Nodhas”]”; the quotes and parentheses in the original.

21 Ucathya Āṅgirasa may well belong to the very first layer of this genealogy. Mbh (Sorensen 255) links him to Bhṛhaspati, as his older brother, the latter being quite conceivably the patron deity of the Vedic oral agency, the Bharadvāja Āṅgirasa line also emerging through him, giving him their middle name, Bhrāhsapataya.

22 Jamison (2009) noted sotto voce at the AOS (2008) conference at Albuquerque noted that the Kāśīvat collection also shows a uni-vocal poetic voice when a preliminary version of this paper was presented.

23 See above. My count is 507 (Book 1: 26; Book 2: 3; Book 3: 12; Book 4: 4; Book 5: 40; Book 6: 12; Book 7: 4; Book 8: 68; Book 9: 68; Book 10: 173.) Mayrhofer has 543 items in Part II (2003). Mayrhofer’s “sicheres” (safe) list agrees with mine substantially. I must note that Mayrhofer accepts Oldenberg (1888) as I do.

24 We cannot give a certain number to the final number of Gotra affiliations. The Gotra that seems to have spawned the most numerous proliferations is Viśvāmītra, some nineteen, of which 10 are evidenced in the peninsula. Aṣamatha is one of the unattested nine, a Brāhmaṇa-period ritualist, cited in the BhŚŚ (6.12). Kauṣītaki is another such Brāhmaṇa-period figure with his own Gotra lineage (BŚŚ 2.3) but unattested in historical data; his name appears in the BŚŚ as a scion of Kaśyapa Gotra (Brough 165). An independent Kauṣītaki pravara is not attested among the extant Kauṣītaki-descendants. The one Brahmaṇa-period figure who does establish an independent pravara under Kaśyapas is Śaṇḍila. As I note in the text, Śaṇḍila is comparable to Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, a carrier of the Kuru-Pāṇcāla Vedism to the eastern Kosala: he has a more substantive presence in the ŚB from the eastern region than Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, figure iconically linked to the spread of Vedism eastward from Kuru-Pāṇcāla.

25 See Brereton (2006) for the role “Śaṇḍilya Yajurvedins” play in the Kosala area in the formation of the ŚB.

26 While we are able to construct a rational picture of Garga and his secondary pravara, we are not able to do so with this secondary lineage. The concordance between the rṣi index and the pravara list is strong for this lineage, both Duvasyu and Vāndana occurring in both. The Keith-Macdonnel Vedic Index (II: 241-242) has two entries for Vandana—one, in connection with a disease, an eruption spreading through the body; and the other, to the name of a protégé of the Aśvins. Both epigraphy and field data possess strong attestation of this Gotra in Brahman populations, the Chidambaram Dikṣitars and the Cōliya Brahmanas, both Pūrvaśīkha Brahmanas, being an examples.

27 Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa (through ŚŚŚ)-Baudhāyana Śrāuta Sūtra constitute the hautram-ādhvayam axis of Śrāuta ritualism from very early period, with the Jaiminiya Sāmaveda tradition supplying the adjunct audgatram. This śrāuta axis also forms the most active Śrāuta grid in the extant Pūrvaśīkha Nambudiri Śrāuta ritualism. We see this special relationship between the KB and BŚŚ at BŚŚ (2.3) stipulation that the sadasya priest of a Śrāuta ritual in the KB-BŚŚ axis must be a Kauṣītaki “Gotra” affiliate. It is possible that at the time of the formulation, the Kauṣītaki adherents constituted a secondary pravara group, but a Kauṣītaki pravara affiliation has not survived among the extant Kauṣītaki adherents.

28 In my on-going work on Brahman migration, I show that such a limit is evident in the migration of the Jaiminiya adherents of the Cōliya Pūrvaśīkha Brahmanas from the present day Śrī Rangam area of the Tamil country first, eastward toward Tanjavur as shown in the Karandai Plates (Krishnan 1988) in 1029/30 CE and then, westward, three or so centuries afterward, to Palghat, to their present domicile there in Koḻuntirappuḷḷi agrahārām. Viśvāmītra-Vasiṣṭha-Bhārgava-Harita (the last, Kutsa-Āṅgirasa, a
kevala lineage) defines the cross section of the Gotra affiliations in the Koḻuntirappulli group and the first three, in the Karandai group. However, we know from epigraphy (Cf. Anbil Plates [EI XII]) that there were other Gotra affiliations among Jaiminiya-Cōlīya Purvaśīkhā Brahmans in the Śrī Rangam area at this time. For some reason, only these Gotra affiliates moved.

29 See note 1 under “Nominal Āṅgirasas” in Appendix I, below.

30 When I did a Yahoo search for Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, the Maithili Brahmans showed up, claiming for their origins the ŚB migration story, but quoting D.D.Kosambi rather than the ŚB. There was, however, no Gotra corroboration: seven Gotras (Śāṇḍilya, Kāśyapa, Parāśara, Kātyāyana, Bharadvāja, Vatsa, Sāvarna, the last two being identical in its pravara formula with the Jamadganiś) seem to be attested among the Maithili Brahmans, with odd correlations between Gotra and Veda affiliations: all Śāṇḍilyas are Sāmavedis and all the rest are Mādhyaṃdina-Vājanaseyins. My data from the peninsular regions do not show such correlations between Gotra and Veda affiliations. Kṛpācārya of the Mahābhārata (Mbh) epic is a Śāradvata-Gautama, like Gotama Rāhūgaṇa.

31 Witzel’s (1987: 113) map of the spread of the YV traditions does show the Kaṇvas arriving in the east through a northern loop, along with ŚB (M) 6–10 and the Carakas, arching over the TB territory in the Pāñcāla land proper.

32 The Appendix is not complete and is not yet in its final form. It is rather an open template into which we can incorporate further findings.

33 Such a general scenario was suggested by Christopher Minkowski at the AOS Conference at Albuquerque (2009) when I presented a preliminary version of this paper. In other words, the Anukramaṇists proceeded from the data in the hymns to a comprehensive indexical system, organizing the verifiable data of meter and deity along the two axes and creating the third axis, the ṛṣi index, in part from evidence within hymns and in part out of, one supposes, whole cloth. This would have meant that the 10-manḍala RV existed for half a millennium or so, without attributions, what I have called “bald” poems. I argue in my text below that such a procedure argues against an Occam razor understanding of the archival system as a whole. I may note that this is a refinement of the Aufrecht thesis (see below note 31) that the Anukramaṇists created their index from the data about the poets and poems in the Brāhmaṇa discourses. The inertia against the presumption for the Anukramaṇ system is so fundamental as to hint at extraneous issues, such as literacism or scriptism, as I argue in the text.

34 Tokunaga (1997: 201) provides an analogous explanation of these names: “When āindra is used as an epithet of the seer in the Anukramaṇi, it means, in general, that the hymn composed by the seer is addressed to Indra.” Tokunaga generalizes this pattern to include the other “cultic” names like Saurya, Āgneya, Vātāyana and the like.

35 Staal titles this episode “Enter the Grāvastut Blind folded” (I:652-3). The Soma stalks are being pressed with stones, just before the start of the Soma session of the Mādhyāṃdinasavāna, and the Grāvastut enters the ritual enclosure and recites 10.94, a 14-verse JG-TS hymn: the deity of the hymn is grāvan “the pressing stones” and “singer” is the serpent Arbuda Kādraveeya,

36 The exact numbers for the Yajurveda Samhitās are: Whitney (1853): 670 for the VS. My count for the TS (Keith’s HOS 10 and 20) comes to a total of 520.

37 Whitney (1853) gives 1695 for the ṛks from the RV; as we know, 75 ṛks are not from the Sākala RV, but are nevertheless attributed to such ṛṣis of the RV as Vamadeva (most), Kaśyapa and others. In the HOS (57) edition of the Sāmaveda in the Kauthumā tradition, the exact number is 1869. Tōṭṭam Krishnan Nambudiri, who was the Udgātha in the 2003 Agniṣṭoma in Trichur, (August 7th 2004), gave 1698 as the number of ṛks in the Jaiminiya Sāmaveda; perhaps this number, like that of Whitney, ignores ṛks that are

38 Aufrecht, AIB: 442, qtd. in Keith (1920: 64). Keith (64) finds this view “not altogether tenable.” See note 27 above.

39 Witzel (2001: 9) notes that Kātyāyana’s redaction of all the indexical data pertaining to the RV into one global text (the Sarvānukramaṇi) was post-Vedic and in the Sūtra style, taking place in the east, in Kosala area and thus accounting for two anachronistic Anukramaṇi attributions, one Anga King at 10.116 and Kāshi King at 10.179, the areas Anga and Kāshi being in the east. However, the king of Kāshi is Pratardana Daivismā, and the name is, like Videgha Māthava-Gotama Rāhiṇgaṇa, western, and part of the kevala Bhrigu line. More likely, the Kātyāyani Sarvānukramaṇi represents a synchronic redaction of diachronic accretions from the period of the RV redaction and formally textualized in his school. It is likely that Pratardana Daivismā, like Gotama Rāhiṇgaṇa lends his name to a later figure, in the east.

40 As we know, the names of the rṣis of the RV appear in the two liturgical sāṃhitās in different ways: in the TS (and other kṣṇa sākhās of the YV), the RV verse appears not in pratīka form, but as full quotations with significant authorial references. In the Brāhmaṇa discourse, in prose, the quotation, in pratīka form, is discussed, with the rṣi mentioned. One of the fullest examples of this may be the ritual of the adoration of the fire in the Śrauta ritual: a full hymn from the RV (10.45) is quoted (with some variants and not in the order of our RV) at Keith-TS iv.2.2.a-1. Its Brāhmaṇa treatment occurs at TS v.2.1.6. The name of the rṣi is mentioned, Vatsapī Bhalandana, as well as the number of verses in the hymn, along with the particular efficaciousness of the ritual.

In the Sāmaveda, on the other hand, we have only the RV verses, but transformed now into the Sāman form, with all but 75 sāmans possessing a root ṛk in our RV. As we know, the sāman and its underlying libretto from the RV can have different attributions. The Sāmaveda is “a number of unconnected verses or phrases nearly all of which occur in the Rgveda, and which modified in various ways are chanted mostly in the Soma sacrifices” (Burnell 1876: xi). No doubt, we would question Burnell’s “unconnected.” However, as Burnell adds, “by a sāman was intended a melody or chant independent of words. In all probability, the music arose, at the beginning, out of the recitation of the words, but the earliest records we have make a distinction between the chant and the words, and treat the first as the more important” (xi). Burnell quotes in support Yāska (Ni.vii.12. “sāma sammitam rīcā ‘syater va ‘rēcā sāman mens iti naidēnāḥ”), pointing out further that Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara and Sāyaṇa assign different rṣis to the ṛk and the sāman sung to it. I find this to be rare: an example occurs at SV 379, attributed to Medhātithi Kāṇya, but the ṛk is RV 10.134.1. Bhārataśāmin (Sharma: [I] 564) cites the rṣi of the RV Anukramaṇi as the rṣi of the ṛk, Māndhāṭr Youvanāśva, whereas Mādhava and Sāyaṇa go with Medhātithi.

41 Although many of the 12 stutis of the Agniṣṭoma and the first 12 (of 29) stutis of the Agnicayana are identical (in the Jaiminiya tradition as described by Staal [1983]), we see that the Naudhasa stutis of the Agniṣṭoma is replaced by 8.49.1-2 (Prasankāṇa Kāṇya) in the Agnicayana ritual.

42 These Gotama Rāhiṇgaṇa verses are from the Kaṇṭi praxis, as described by Staal (1983).

43 Keith notes in his footnote that the sequence appears in KS at vi.9; Kāpś at iv.8; MS i.5.1.2; VS iii.10-16. The mantras accompany as adoration of the ahavaniya fire.

44 Atyarāti Jāñaritapi over-reaches himself in wanting to conquer the Uttara Kurus—a feat reserved for gods. As punishment, Vasiṣṭha takes away his vīrya “strength” and Jāñaritapi falls to Amitratapana Śśmīna Śaibya.

45 Alf Hiltebeitel has long emphasized the need for an in-depth study of the roles and functions of the Gotra-rṣis in the Mbh. Consider for instance the “old story” (itiḥāsam purātanam) Mārkhandeya tells Yudhiṣṭhira in which Agni feels threatened that Angirasa has created a new Agni through his rituals
Aṅgirasa, the First Singer in a way of all Ṛgveda, reassures Agni and makes the deity accept him as his first son. Aṅgirasa had already a son, Brhaspati. Brhaspati continues the line through Śamyu and Bharadvāja, the nucleus of the Bharadvāja Gotra lineage, as listed in the Pravara lists.

46 Tokunaga's new edition (1997) of the BD is of particular importance in this context.

47 A major problem we face in this context is the relative chronology of the Sanskrit epics and the BD. Macdonnell's HOS edition of the text postulated a date not far from that of the epics, namely 300 BCE. But Tokunaga suggests a date nearly half millennium afterward. Although both the epics and BD share several details of the stories about the singers of the Ṛ, the métier of the BD seems to date from an earlier period than Tokunaga's revised dating—the latter thus, perhaps, pointing to the final textualization of the text, ca. 4th CE.

48 This is a list of the dānastutis in the ṚV, with the singers, their patrons, and the verses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Patron</th>
<th>Verse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kakśīvat Dairghatamas</td>
<td>Svanaya</td>
<td>1.125-1-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garga Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Prastoka Sārṇījaya</td>
<td>6.47-22-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇi</td>
<td>Sudās Paijavana</td>
<td>7.18-22-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pragātha Kāṇva</td>
<td>Āsaṅga</td>
<td>8.1-30-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhātithi Kāṇva and Priyamedha Aṅgirasa</td>
<td>Vibhinda</td>
<td>8.2-30-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhyātithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>Pākasthāman Kaurāyaṇa</td>
<td>8.3-21-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devātithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>Kurūṅga</td>
<td>8.4-19-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brhmatithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>Kaśu Caidya</td>
<td>8.5-37b-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vatsa Kāṇva</td>
<td>Tirindira Pārśavya</td>
<td>8.6-46-48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sobhari Kāṇva</td>
<td>Trasadasyu</td>
<td>8.19-36-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sobhari Kāṇva</td>
<td>Citra</td>
<td>8.21-17-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viśvamanas Vaiyaśva</td>
<td>Varu Sauśāman</td>
<td>8.24-28-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaśa Aśvya</td>
<td>Prthuśravas Kānita</td>
<td>8.46-21-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṛśa Kāṇva</td>
<td>Praskaṇva</td>
<td>8.55-2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prṣudhra Kāṇva</td>
<td>Praskaṇva</td>
<td>8.56-1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priyamedha Aṅgirasa</td>
<td>Rkṣa and Aśvamedha</td>
<td>8.6-8-14-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopavana Ātreya</td>
<td>Śrutarvan Arksya</td>
<td>8.7-13-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavaṣa Ailūṣa</td>
<td>Kuruśrvana</td>
<td>10.33-4-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nābhaneḍiṣṭha Mānava</td>
<td>Sāvārṇi</td>
<td>10.62-8-11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49 Brough (1952: 17): “It is important to remember that, whatever religious and moral concepts may be traced to Vedic sacrifices, the actual mechanism of the sacrificial ceremonial is predominantly magical rather than religious in character.” It is not clear if such a radical distinction between magic and religion exists—not in latter’s radical sense. Everything truly religious is already magical. Elsewhere, Brough (18) adds that the Pravara ceremony of the Hota in a Śrauta ritual is itself magical in that the “act” of the Pravara ceremony which presents a human Hota as descended from a Ṛṛṣi and Agni in the last resort implies a “magical” identity between him and the original Gotra Ṛṛṣi, the First Singer of the family.

50 The concept of the “linguistic area” rests on what may collectively be called the four Emeneau-Kuiper effects after Emeneau (1956; 1965; 1966; 1974 in Southworth [2005]) and Kuiper (1967; 1991; 1995; 2000 in Southworth [2005]), namely, i. the adoption into Vedic the native subject-object-verb syntax in place of an original s-v-o pattern; ii. the adoption of the quotative ‘iti’ from host languages to mark direct discourse; iii. the assimilation of the reflexive sound patterns of the indigenous languages; iv. the three hundred-odd loan words from local languages in the hieratic discourse of the Ṛgveda: C.P. Mascica (1976; 1991); Hans H. Hock (1996); Franklin C. Southworth (2005).
The Rṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-100 history of the Brahmans

51. The phrase is from Charles Ehret (1988), the central concept of his acculturation model, in which a smaller number of immigrants reshape an indigenous culture by acculturating the larger native groups into a set of practices, collectively signifying a “status kit,” thereby inviting and including the hosts as equal partners in the new composite culture. The term enters Witzel’s writings ca.1999, and he has made the term and concept part of the modern Vedic discourse, thereby formalizing the long-noted non-Vedic features of Vedic texts as part of a sprachbund or linguistic area.

52. Witzel (1995b: 313): “In the extant Ṛgveda we meet about 30 clans and tribe[] Aja, Alina, Anu, Āyu, Bhajeratha, Bhalāna, Bharata, Bṛṣgu, Cedi, Dhrbhika, Drhyu, Gandhāri, Guṇgu, Guṅguk, Ikṣṇākul, Krivi, Kīkak, Kṛtvān, Kuru, Kuruṇga, Kuruśrvāna, Mahīṇa, Matsya, Maujavant, Nahuṣa, Naicaśākha, Pakthā, Paṇca jana/Paṇca kṛṣṭi, Pārava, Paṅśu, Pārthava, Prṣṇgu, Prṭhu, Pūru, Ruṣama, Śārasvata, Satvant, Śīṛgū, Śīmyu, Śīva, Śṛṇjaya, Śvitna, Tṛtsu, Turvāsā, Uṣīnara, Vaikarṇa, Vaśa, Vīnbūdī, Viśānīn, Vṛcīvant, Yadu (Yakṣu).”

53. Scharfe shows that by the Brāhmaṇa period (Level 2-3; C) the admonition to the Vedic student not to neglect self-study (svādhāyān na pramadah); TaitU 1 11.3) has become standared.

54. Witzel (1999: 19) argues for a Dravidian root (“straddle legged”) for it. Further, Witzel (24): “[Kavaṣa Ailūṣa’s] great-grandson Tura Kāvaṣeya is an important priest of the Kuru realm that succeeded the Bharata “kingdom;” he developed the Agnicayana ritual” (quotes in the original). Witzel (Personal Communication, 1999c) suggests the Kavaṣa genealogy grid to be: “Old Kavaṣa (7.18) ➔ Kavaṣa (his son; unattested) ➔ Kavaṣi (unattested; grandson) ➔ Kavaṣeya (great-grandson). See also Proferes (1999; 2003c).


56. I learned in Kumbakonam, Tamil Nadu that there exists a hereditary grid between Brahmins performing Śrāuta rituals and shepherds who supply the sacrificial animals, 13 for the Agnicayana. I also learned that some fifteen paśubandha rituals occur in the area every year, sustaining such a grid.


58. Nine for the Aṃgūḍhr’s altar; 12, 16, 21, or 24 for the Hota; 11 for the Brāhmaṇacchaṁsīn; 6 for the Mārjāliya; and 8 for the rest.

59. Entire discourses concern the Śrotriya Brahmans, stipulating their release from salt taxes (2.12.33: śrotṛiyaśtapakhinio viṣṭayaśavā bhaktala vaṇam hariyetaḥ); exempting their properties from royal appropriation in times of national emergencies (5.2.37: pāṣaṇḍa saṃghāravaya śrotṛiyopabhogayam deva dravyam va kṛtyakarāḥ ātsṛtas ċa duṣṭhravasyā vāhīste nyastamātanahpaherū). A prince, unjustly treated by his father, may secretly rob temples but not what belongs to a śrotriyas (1.18.9: pāṣaṇḍa saṃghāravaya śrotṛiyopabhogayam va devadāravamāmīṃ yā bhavān pragatiṣya sārthāyāna pātṛān ca madarmasatyayogonātanaghaḥpaharet), and he should grant lands to the śrotṛiyas exempt from tax and fines (2.1.7: ṛtvigṛhā purohitā śrotṛiyebhiḥ brahma dhanayā daṇḍkārṇyaḥbhīrāpadāyadakānī pravaccaḥ). Indeed, in the Arthaśāstra, śrotṛiya is not an adjectival modifying a subject, as in śrotṛiya Brahmans, but a substantive in itself, a professional group, distinguished as such from what Rangarajan calls “general Brahmans” ([1987] 1992: 46).

60. Through a series of studies, Hiltebeitel develops an argument about the uṇḍhavṛtti Brahmans and their centrality in the ṁbh discourse, first as its possible redactors (2001) and second (2005a; 2005b.; 2006a; 2006b; but summarized in 2010), as the subject of an internal narrative in the epic on the problem of models and icons, who reduces unto him the essence of a civilization, its summum bonum.
and that they were called āprī, i.e. appeasing hymns, not from their appeasing the anger of the gods, but one family, Max Müller (1860: 367) noted that the Atri praxis of the Pravargya ritual is the oldest, going back to the earliest Vedic period.

What we stigmatize as plagiarism is to them the healthy exercise of utilitarian pragmatism” (19).

“Economic leisure” may support the oft-voiced criticism of the Brahman as a social parasite. We should parse this charge with the reality that in an oral tradition only such a reified agency could have preserved the “texts.” We should further keep in mind that the attempt in the Indic context was not just to preserve the words of a text but their exact phonology as well, not unlike the case of an unwritten opera score. Thus the modern fashionable condemnation of Brahmans as social parasites should be balanced with how well they kept up their original oral covenant.

I am in the final stages of a Gotra census that may be made from the entire run of the Epigaphia Indica.

See Staal ([I]1983: 244-46) for the geometrical determination of the prśṭhya line. See also A Seidenberg (1983[I]: 95-126) for details of Vedic ritual geometry.

P.V.Jones (1983: 18): “Indeed ine fifth of Homer consists of repetitions…."

Bloomfield (1916): The statements of the Sarvānukramaṇi ... betray the dubiousness of their authority in no particular more than in relation to the repetitions. As is generally known their account of the authors of the hymns is based upon a slender stock of true tradition as to the chief families of Vedic poets. But their more precise statements shrink for most part to puerile invasions. Especially, the Anukramaṇi finds it in its heart to assign, with unruffled insouciance, one and the same verse to two or more authors, or to ascribe it to two or more divinities, according as it occurs in one book or another, in one connection or another. [634]. Further, anachronistically, Bloomfield considers such instances of repetitions as violation of copy right, a unique institution of the world of bo...

Proferes’ (2003: 319-20): “Bergaigne (1889) traced the verses used in the Prauṣṭastras from the Sūtra texts to the Saṁhitā texts: thus both RV 1.1.2-3 and 2.41.1-2 are designated at AŚŚ (1. 23) as examples of the Pravargyastra.” Bergaigne (125) compared a “similar” song of the Kāṇva collection (RV 1. 23. 1-3) with these and found that although not used in the ritual, the Kāṇva verses to be “renferme un veritable prauḍga” and thus concluded that a “trunk” Prauṣṭstrastra existed among different clans and that after the redaction of the RV, “the different clan liturgies were assembled and synthesized to manufacture a new liturgy, editorially constituted, eclectic and composite” (Proferes 319).

Gonda (1979: 262) similarly identified a trunk or original Pravargya formulary; Houben (2000) shows that the Atri praxis of the Pravargya ritual is the oldest, going back to the earliest Vedic period.

Quoting Gāṇagari that the same Āprī hymn may be used by all people that belong really and truly to one family, Max Müller (1860: 367) noted that “the Āprī hymns may have been songs of reconciliation, and that they were called āprī, i.e. appeasing hymns, not from their appeasing the anger of the gods, but...
the enmities of members of the same or different families.” He linked such enmity to the “rivalry” between the Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra families, adding (465) that, “[i]f a verse of Viśvāmitra is one fixed by the Brāhmaṇas and Śûtras as part of any of the solemn sacrifices, no sacrificer, even if he were of the family of the Vasiṣṭhas, would have a right to replace that verse by another.” This anticipates substantially our own understanding of the Rgveda as an ecumenical text, garnering together different smaller saṃhitās and their oral agencies into a coherent whole with a pan-Vedic praxis by the Bharata-Kuru period, 1100 BCE. Equally penetrating is Max Müller’s understanding of the institution of the Gotra (483 n. 2): “Gotra, originally, a hurdle[;] then those who live within the same hurdles or walls; a family, a race.”

The two kinds of the Pravara formula are the vrddhid form of the Hota and the suffix –vat form of the Adhvaryu (Brough 18). The Hota mode starts with the remote ancestor, the First Singer of the Gotra lineage, and ends up with the nearest descendant: Kāśyapa-Āvatsāra-Naidhrva. The Adhvaryu mode begins the same pravara formula at the nearest then to the remotest with the –vat suffix: Nidhruvat-Avatsāravat-Kaśyapavat. Both mean the same thing, of course, but the way the list is recited seems to point to different Vedic praxises, that of the Hota among the Rgvedis and the Adhvaryu among the Yajurvedis. And this does have value in epigraphy and fieldwork: Brahman groups with a dominant RV praxis, as, for instance, the Pūrṇasikā Bhrahman of my 2008 study, give out their Gotra eponym as the remotest name, Kaśyapa, ie., in the Hota fashion. The second group, the Aparasikā Bhrahman with YV predominance, and thus the adhvaryu mode, always cite their Gotra affiliation as the nearest, Naidhurva, in the Adhvaryu fashion. It is easy to see that in epigraphy, the latter mode gives us valuable data, whereas the Hota form and the remotest ancestor, such as Āṅgirasa does not, because mere Āṅgirasa can be one of 11 Gotra affiliations and is thus useless as epigraphic data.

The two fundamental errors of the early writings on the Gotra institutions are, first, that the Gotra taxon signified clan or tribal names. As I argue in the text, the tribal or clan names were distinct from the Gotra names: for instance, it is not clear that an anu could become a druhyā, two common clans of the Rgveda, but both could be followers of the praxis of the “Āṅgirasa” rituals involving fire and Soma. Second, the well-known exogamy regulation of the Gotra institution was linked to totem and taboo complex, an idea first propounded by Freud himself (1913; 6; 11) for the phenomenon of exogamy by itself, outside its Vedic context. However, the Vedic society was well past this stage of development and the twin system of exogamy—marital kinship is possible only between two different Gotra affiliates—and endogamy—marriages are possible only between Gotra affiliates—is a far-reaching piece of social engineering, virtually creating the social caste of Brahman—as agents, however, of the Vedic oral traditions. Both Brough (1946; 1947; 1953) and Kosambi (1950) contributed to this picture of the Gotra institutions, assuming that Gotra institutions and clan (tribal or broadly political) identities were one and same: Vasiṣṭha was thus both a clan and Gotra name. Brough famously upbraided Kosambi on a detail about the Gotra of Buddha, but was essentially of the same episteme as Kosambi over the general significance of the institution, that it is based on a system of agnate or kinship relationships normally attested in the early stages of human history. Brough (1953: xv): “[I]n the Rgvedic period a gotra contained warriors and common folk as well as priests, and that the Brahmanas later laid claim to exclusive possession of gotras…This does not in any way require that the priests should have been racially distinct from the other Āryan classes.” I certainly go with the second statement, but not the first. It is more logical to assume that the Gotra agency signified a song collection archived in an oral tradition in the name of a First singer and deployed in specific praxises specific to a given Gotra.
The idea first appeared in Gould, S.J. and Richard Lewontin, “The spandrels of San Marcos and the Pan-Glossian paradigm: a critique of the adaptationist programme” (1979). I reproduce below Lewontin’s (2008) retrospective remarks about the idea in his tribute to Gould after the latter’s death, “The triumph of Stephen Jay Gould” in the New York Review of Books (39): “[The idea of spandrel] argues that there are multiple possible explanations for evolutionary change besides natural selection for a trait. Steve Gould was enamored of early Italian church architecture and familiar with spandrels, the triangular spaces between a series of arches and the straight cornices running above them. He suggests the spandrel as a metaphor for anatomical features of organisms that were not themselves adaptive, but were the architectural consequences of building another feature, just as the spandrels filling in the space surrounding a church dome are a necessary outcome of placing a circular object on a square base. As the church spandrels then incidentally become the locus for decorations such as portraits of the four evangelists, so anatomical spandrels may be co-opted for uses that were not selected for in the first place.” The concept has found wide uses: Chomsky (2002) has likened “language faculty” to a spandrel; Stephen Pinker (2008) sees the moral and altruistic instinct and Scott Atran (2007) the idea of god as possible examples of spandrels. I see the institution of the Gotra in this light, arising originally as the archiving agencies of the oral traditions of Vedic clans, regulating later, entirely in a new circumstance, the kinship ties among descendants of the original Gotra affiliates.

The complete absence in the RV of its later signification, as the organizer of a social unit through the regulation of marital kinships, is compelling evidence in support of my argument that the Gotra institution is a biological imperative, as with a “spandrel.”

Jamison (1995: 7) “Correct transmission (of texts) required highly structured, quasi-official organizations, with economic leisure to devote the lives of countless people to the task of being mnemonic automata, impersonal channels of transmission century after century” (my parenthetical gloss).

Witzel (1995: 313–316; 326–337; 346–352 [Appendix B]) contains exhaustive analyses of the historical and geographical data of the Rgveda, the attestations of different clans and tribes in the different books, with this conclusion, to wit (339): “The Rgveda thus represents, above all, the history of two royal lineages (Pūru and Bharata) towards the middle of the Rgvedic period.” We know that both the Viśvāmitra and the Vasiṣṭha poets possessed similar links with the Bharata chieftains, already composite groupings of the original transhumance clans, now well in the Panjab, on the Sarasvatī, in the east. It is clear that there was rivalry among the individual RV poetic traditions for the support and patronage of a prince of chieftain, showing that the Gotra labels signified a craft and skill, perhaps even “religious magic,” rather than a political or cultural or clan identity, with the result that a prince like Sudās possibly attributed his victory in the Ten King’s Battle to a particular efficacy of the praxis of the family of the Vasiṣṭhas. Thus the eventual ecumenism of the Rgveda comes as a surprise, and the Gotra affiliation, through its endogamy-exogamy scheme of marital ties among the agents of the Vedic tradition, must be seen as the prime harmonizing engineer of this new pan-Vedic social order, as adumbrated by Max Mueller; see note 59 above, in connection with his thesis that the Āprī hymns are as such songs of amity.

There are two entries for Jābāla in BŚŚ Pravara index, one as Bhṛgu-Jamadagni (Brough 81); the other as a Vaiśvāmitra as an Ājīgari-Deverāta-Audala (146).

An example: Mahadevan-Staal (2003) shows that the Prātaranuvāka litany requires the Hota to distinguish between the same word or word sequences occurring in two different verses: for instance, its 218th verse begins with mahe no adya bodhaya (RV5.79.1). RV 7.75.2 also begins with mahe no adya but continues, savitāya bodhi, and this verse does not occur in the litany, although 7.73; 74; 77; 78; 79; 80; and 81 do. Thus the reciter has to navigate himself away from 7.75.2, even though bodh- occurs in both 5.79.1 and 7.75.2. See Staal (2008: 212). Technically, that is, the Hota knows a word or phrase of the Rgveda first as itself and then as it occurs in a verse: more or less what the concordance does for us.
Is Vedic recitation tape recording? While the answer is in the affirmative in the sense that a written RV produced from its corresponding oral tradition anywhere in South Asia will give us an identical text, its phonetic form is not universally identical. We know for instance in the Nambudiri Veda recitation, [t] becomes [l], as albhuta for atbhuta. (Staal 1960) lists further such phonological changes. I argue in ongoing work on Vedic oral tradition that this phenomenon can best be understood in terms of multiformity. I further argue there for what I call a Data limit on replicability in oral traditions, after the character of the name in the Star Trek: Next Generation series: in an episode titled Inheritance, we see that phonetic as well as verbal replicability is possible only for mechanical forms of reproduction, like the android, Data. Even so, it should be added that at the human level, it is extraordinary that a verbal replicability has been maintained for more than 2000 years in the case of the Vedic oral tradition to earn the mechanical metaphor of “tape recording.”

Alexis Tocqueville, Democracy in America; Chapter II: “Of the point of departure and its importance for the future of the Anglo-Americans”. Democracy or the “equality of conditions” [l'égalité des conditions] is Tocqueville’s “point de départ” that determines American history, its present and future already determined by its originary past. A similar determinism is discernible in the unfolding of the history of Vedism, or Hinduism by extension. This is not to abridge “subaltern” histories of South Asia. Nor is it to seek to justify “exceptionalism” for what has come down as the Brahman social grouping, the original human agency of Vedism. We have sufficient data available for only the Brahman group to attempt at a history that possesses a clear point of departure.
### Abbreviations

(Numerals and letters mark respectively language level and geographical localization from Witzel (1999: 57-59)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AiB</td>
<td>Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (4; W and E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AiA</td>
<td>Aitareya Āraṇyaka (4, W)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĀpŚS</td>
<td>Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra (5; C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Atharvaveda Saṃhitā (2; C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVŚ</td>
<td>Atharvaveda (Śaunaka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>Brhaddevatā (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BhŚS</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BŚS</td>
<td>Baudhāyana Śrata Sūtra (4-5; C)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSOS</td>
<td>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDR</td>
<td>Burrow, T and M.Emeneau, 1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EJVS</td>
<td>Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIJ</td>
<td>Indo-Iranian Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>Indologica Taurinensia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JB</td>
<td>Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (4; S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOAS</td>
<td>Journal of American Oriental Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</td>
</tr>
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<td>KB</td>
<td>Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa (4; C)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS</td>
<td>Maitrāyani Saṃhitā (2-3; W)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mbh</td>
<td>Mahābhārata (the Poona CE)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Matsya Purāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB</td>
<td>Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa (4; W)</td>
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<td>TS</td>
<td>Taittirīya Saṃhitā (4; C)</td>
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<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (4; C)</td>
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<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (4; C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TaitU</td>
<td>Taittirīya Upaniṣad (3-&gt;4; C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV(K)</td>
<td>Sāmaveda (Kauthumā tradition) (2; W)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV(J)</td>
<td>Sāmaveda (Jaiminiya tradition) (2; W)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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history of the Brahmans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŚB</td>
<td>Śatapathabrahmana (4; C)</td>
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<tr>
<td>StII</td>
<td>Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VādhB</td>
<td>Vādhulabrahmana (4; C)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ved. Index</td>
<td>Vedic Index; Macdonnell-Keith; 1912</td>
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<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Vājanaseyi Saṃhitā (2; E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RV</td>
<td>Rgveda (1; W)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RVKh</td>
<td>Rgveda Khila (2; W)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṚgPŚ</td>
<td>Ṛgprātiśākhya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŚŚS</td>
<td>Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (4-5; C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Vājanaseyi Saṃhitā (2; E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YV</td>
<td>Yajurveda Saṃhitā (2; W)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WZKS</td>
<td>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Sudasiens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZDMG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Works Cited


______ . 1889b. Recherches sur l’histoire de la liturgie vedique. JA 13; 5-72; 121-97.


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Appendix I: The Gotra-wise break-down of the Ṛgveda

Introduction

More than 500 names appear in the Anukramaṇī list as ṛṣi singers, but only 90 of these appear in the Pravara list, providing us with the concordance noted in the text. They do so as lineages, with individual descent formulas, always leading backward to what I have called a First Singer of the “songline,” proliferating and tapering off at 49. There can be no doubt this is the nucleus of the historical Gotra system, showing itself eventually as human groupings of different sizes in historical Brahman populations. Epigraphy and field work amply confirms this.

My endeavor in this paper has been to problemetize the transition of live RV singers to their Gotra metonyms, serving in the latter category a sociological function and muting the earlier poetic function. As we know, from a sociological perspective, the transition was a great success, creating the oral agency that has kept these songs as “tape recordings” for three millennia.

My data on these poets are still incomplete: I have tried to correlate each relevant name of the two lists to Witzel (1995a,b,c,d; 1997; 1999a,b; et al) to indicate the substratum of that name. As more progress is made in arriving at a global picture of the Vedic period (Level 1 and W), many of these names may be further explicated.

It must be noted that after a hundred year hiatus, the Vedic world is opening to rational scrutiny. We are free of the earlier Āryan episteme, conquest and dominance, transferred with racial undertones to the hierarchical and global caste organization of the Indian society. Regrettably, we have to guard our discourse from the other extremism, nativist and irrational, viewing South Asia as origin of all things.

The great discovery of modern Vedism shows that the truth lies between the two. The broad findings of this modern synthesis would include the following:

i. sizeable groups of humans subsisting on cattle and pasturing did enter South Asia from north west with a traditional verbal craft (techne) of making songs for rituals of fire and Soma;
ii. they encountered in Panjab plains native populations, of different ethnicity and languages, resulting in mutual acculturations;
iii. the Ṛgveda as an anthology represents this coming together, a samāna, an ecumenical, e pluribus unum body;
iv. the entire synthesis produces the “classical” Vedic ritual in the Kuru-Pāṇcāla realm, ca 900 BCE.

All Pravara lists, appearing as appendixes of the Śrauta Sūtras, begin with the Bhṛgus, what may be called First Bhṛguization, most likely from their crafting the Pravara ritual. However, I start here with the Āṅgirasa poets, nearly half of the RV, then the Bhṛgus. After this, I follow the traditional order: Atri, Viśvāmatra, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, Agastya.

The Brough-19 appellation of a Gotra leads in each case, and the 30 secondary lineages are entered under each of these, as their extensions. See Appendix II for the lineage formulas of all 49.

Otherwise, I have presented the Anukramaṇī-Pravara algorithms as found. An example may illustrate my method. The ṛṣis of RV 4.43; 44 are Sauhotra Purumīṭha and Ajamīṭha, seven-verse TR Āśvin...
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hymns. These two hymns, along with the immediately preceding 4.42, constitute a violation of the Bergaigne-Oldenberg rules of the Family collection in the name of Vāmadeva Gautama—indicating late additions and interpolations. Ajamīlha appears in the Pravara lineage of the Kaṇvas: Āṅgīrīṣa-Ājamīlha-Kāṇva, somehow marking a portal for the Kaṇva inclusion into the RV and Vedic milieu. Another pravara formula for the Kaṇvas is Āṅgīrīṣa-Gāuṛa-Kāṇva. When we work back from the Pravara list to the Anukramaṇī list—as an algorithmic system should allow us—we come to a Ġhora Āṅgīrīṣa, with one verse (RV 3.36.10) in a Viśvāmitra hymn, perhaps marking a Viśvāmitra role in the Kaṇva acculturation into the Vedic world as a kevala Āṅgīrīṣa; Viśvāmitra does host Jamadagni and Śunahsepa Āṅgīrīṣa. I have presented both thus as found.

1. Bharadvājas (Āṅgīrīṣa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja): 85 hymns; 833 ṛks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Hymns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya:</td>
<td>6.1-14; 28 (15 hymns; 114 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śamyu Bārhaspatya:</td>
<td>6.44-46; 48 (4 hymns; 93 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>6.16-16-27; 29-32 (16 hymns; 193 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śuhotra Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>6.31-32 (2 hymns; 10 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunahotra Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>6.33-34 (2 hymns; 10 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nara Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>6.35-36 (2 hymns; 10 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>6.37-43 (5 hymns; 32 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garga Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>6.47 (1 hymn; 31 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rjiśvan Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>6.49-51 (3 hymns; 45 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāyu Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>6.52 (1 hymn; 17 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>6.53-75 (23 hymns; 119 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasu Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>9.80-82 (3 hymns; 15 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rjiśvan Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>9.108.6-7 (0 hymn; 2 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharadvāja:</td>
<td>9.67.1-3 (1 hymn; 3 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāyu Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>10.87. (1 hymn; 25 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāsa Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>10.152 (1 hymn; 5 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śirimbītha Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>10.155 (1 hymn; 5 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sapratha Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>10.181.2 (0 hymn; 1 verse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapamūrdhan Bārhaspatya:</td>
<td>10.182 (1 hymn; 3 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāradvāja:</td>
<td>10.137.1 (1 hymn; 1 verse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duvasyu Vāndana:</td>
<td>10.100 (1 hymn; 12 verses)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes to Bharadvāja Samhita:

i. There are three pravara entries for the Bhāradvājas in the Pravara list:

   i. Āṅgīrīṣa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja
   ii. Āṅgīrīṣa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja-Gargya-Śaina
   iii. Āṅgīrīṣa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja-Śvataravaca-Vāndana

As can be seen, i being the Brough-19 lineage, ii and iii are post-Bhāradvāja lineages, founded by Bharadvāja telegones, Garga (RV 6.47) and Duvasyu Vāndana (RV 10.100).

To summarize information already analyzed in the text, the Pravara lists contain two registers: a Brough-19 and a secondary 30. BSS places them in two separate categories, secondary lineages engendered from telegones of the primary Gotrakāra. In the mature Gotra system by the Brāhmaṇa period, the 19 primary Gotra affiliations of
different sizes account for close to 70% of the families listed in the BŚS list of families with significant correlations with the Gotra-data of historical Brahman populations derived from epigraphy and field work. The secondary lineages number a total of 30+, with 30% of the Gotra population.

All three Bhāradvāja lineages are well attested in historical Brahman populations, with #i, the primary Brough-19 Bhāradvāja lineage, the largest single grouping in the BŚS list as well as in all my samples, with Agniveśya belonging to this Gotra lineage in the BŚS. They make up the largest Gotra lineage first in the BŚS list (121 families out of a total of 796) as well as in both epigraphy and field work in the peninsula, reliably ca. 20% of Brahman groups, but rising to 30% in some field samples so much so there is a Tamil saying that pāppānil pāti pāratvācam: half the Pāppāns (← Sangam Ta. “pārpān” meaning “far-seeing” for a Brahmā) are Bhāradvājis.

ii. 6.15.1-18 is attributed to Vitahavya Āṅgirasa or Bharadvāja Bārhaspatya, with 6.15.16-18 violating the Bergaigne-Oldenberg rules of arrangement. Vitahavya lends his name to one of the three Kuru ras (Mitravat and Bharata being the other two; JB 3. 196; see Witzel 1995: 5-6). It is possible that Vitahavya Āṅgirasa, like Šunahotra Āṅgirasa, is “adopted” to the Bhṛgus: the Vaitahavyas, with the Pravara formula, Bhārgava-Vaitahavya-Savetas, constitute a reliable and regular Gotra grouping as a Kevala-Bhrigu lineage both in epigraphy and field work, second in number only to the Jāmadagnya-Bhārgavas (Bhārgava-Cyāvana-Āpanavana-Aurva-Jāmadagnya), known as the Śrī Vatsa Gotra in epigraphy and fieldwork. See below.

iii. Šunahotra Āṅgirasa of RV 33-34 becomes (?) Śaunaka Gārtasamada of Family Book 2, also as a Kevala-Bhrigu, but with very poor attestation in field work and epigraphy in the peninsula (see below)

iv. Śrimiḥṭha Bhāradvāja, singer of 10.155, is clearly a member of the pan-Vedic society, orchestrated by the 10-manḍala RV: Śrimiḥṭha, clearly, a name of the Kaṇva poets (cf. Irimiḥṭhi Kāṇva of RV 8.16-18, for example) linked to a Bharadvāja. Witzel (1999: 357).

v. Garga Bhāradvāja (6.47) and Duvasyu Vāndana (10.100) are progenitors of two secondary Gotra affiliations with Bhāradvāja-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja-Sainya-Gārgya and Bhāradvāja-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja-Mātaravaca-Vāndana as the respective pravara formulas, and both attested in epigraphy and fieldwork, the latter known as Raukšāyana.

Garga with wide attestations in Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa discourse fits into the picture as a prominent Bharadvāja epigone, engendering his own pravara, his hymn incorporated into the Bharadvāja collection clearly against the Bergaigne-Oldenberg rules.

No such rationale can be given for Vandana, although the line possesses historical attestation and thus cannot be ignored.

vi. 9.67 and 10.137 are multi-family hymns, three verses attributed each in the first and one verse attributed each in the second to the seven ṛṣis of the Saptarṣi trope, in the same order in both: Bharadvāja (he thus gets the two hymns as their first author), Kaśyapa, Gotama, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha.

vii. The Soma Pavamāna hymns of the Bhāradvāja singers number just 18 verses, Rjīvān (9.108.6-7) and Vasu Bhāradvāja being the only individual Soma poets (9.80-82).
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II. **Gotamas** (Āṅgirasa-Āyāsya-Gautama): 141 hymns; 1406 verses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pravara</th>
<th>Hymns</th>
<th>Verses</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vāmadeva Gautama</td>
<td>4.1-41; 45-58</td>
<td>(55 hymns; 565 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brhadukta Vāmadeva</td>
<td>10.54-56</td>
<td>(3 hymns; 21 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gautama Nodhas</td>
<td>1.58-64; 8.88; 9.93</td>
<td>(9 hymns; 85 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekadīyū Naudhasa</td>
<td>8.80</td>
<td>(1 hymn; 10 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahūgaṇa Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.37-38</td>
<td>(2 hymns; 12 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotama Rāhūgaṇa</td>
<td>1.74-93; 9.31</td>
<td>(21 hymns; 220 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayāsya Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.44-46; 10.67-68</td>
<td>(5 hymns; 39 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ucathya Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.50-52</td>
<td>(3 hymns; 15 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīrghatama Aucatya</td>
<td>1.140-164</td>
<td>(25 hymns; 242 verses)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kakṣīvat Dairghatama</td>
<td>1.116-125; 9.74</td>
<td>(11 hymns; 153 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakṣīvat Romeśa</td>
<td>1.126</td>
<td>(1 hymn; 7 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī</td>
<td>10.39-40</td>
<td>(2 hymns; 28 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukīrti Kākṣīvatā</td>
<td>10.131</td>
<td>(1 hymn; 7 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suhastya Ghauṣeya</td>
<td>10.41</td>
<td>(1 hymn; 3 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śabara Kākṣīvatā</td>
<td>10.169</td>
<td>(1 hymn; 4 verses)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes on the Gautama Saṃhitā:

i. We have seven pravaras for the Gautama Gotra, one, its Brough-19, and six secondary lineages:
   i. Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Āyāsya
   ii. Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Śāradvata (the Rahūgaṇa line)
   iii. Āṅgirasa-Aucatya-Kākṣīvatā-Gautama-Kaumaṇḍa
   iv. Āṅgirasa-Aucatya-Kākṣīvatā-Gautama-Dairghatama
   v. Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Auśanasa
   vi. Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Kareṇupāla
   vii. Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Vāmadeva

Auśasana and Kareṇupāla are not attested in the Ṛṣi index.

ii. With 141 hymns and 1406 verses, the Gautama hymns constitute the single largest Gotra collection in the RV, with no numerical correspondence in the later and historical Gotra affiliations: the Gotamas are, decidedly, a third tier group in my samples, both epigraphic and field work. The Āyāsas constitute the largest Gotra grouping, both in the BŚS list and my fieldwork and epigraphy samples. The Upaniṣadic figure Aruṇi is listed as an Āyāsya in the BŚS lists.

iii. The Pravaras iv, vi and vii are attested in my samples but in very small numbers.

iv. The secondary Gotama Rāhūgaṇa (Āṅgirasa-Śārasvata-Gautama) lineage is signally absent in my samples from both field work and epigraphy. In as much as my data are largely confined to peninsular India, the question arises if all Rāhūgaṇas moved eastward to Kosala-Videha (ŚB 1.4.1.14-17) area as the harbingers of the Kuru-Pāñcāla orthodoxy-orthopraxy complex as the Brahman groups of my study and samples originated almost entirely in the historically Kuru and Pāñcāla lands.


Kevala Āṅgirasa groups
There are seven Kevala Āṅgirasa Gotra lineages in the BŚS, all with historical attestations. None of them gave rise to a secondary lieages.

III. The Kutsa (Āṅgirasa-Āṃbariṣa-Yauvanāśva): 23 hymns; 256 verses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gotra</th>
<th>Number of Hymns</th>
<th>Number of Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kutsa Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.94-98; 101-104; 106-115</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.97.45-58 (0 hymn; 14 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Vārṣāgiras:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.100 (1 hymn; 19 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambariṣa:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.98 (1 hymn; 12 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumittra/Sumita Kautsa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.105 (1 hymn; 11 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māndhāṭṛ Yauvanāśva:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.134 (1 hymn; 7 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes on the Kutsa-saṃhita:

i. The Kutsas are Āṅgirasas of the “Kevala” designation (six more following).

To raise the question once again, what exactly does “kevala” mean in this context? From Macdonnell ([1928] 1971 s.v. “kevala”) the prefix may describe the “true or authentic” Āṅgirasas. However, the Bharadvāja- and Gotama-Āṅgirasas seem to be the earliest Āṅgirasas, dating back to the transhumance period and linked to the earliest stratum of the RV (Books 6 and 4). There is enough Vedic evidence that the “kevala” term designated four distinct types: a. Gotra lineages linked to the families of the Vedic chieftains or their ritual personnel, the purohitas; b. those arising through niyoga unions, both within the Vedic clans and without; c. those from non-Vedic families, perhaps like the Kāṇvas, all included into the pan-Vedic system that comes into being with the 10-maṇḍala RV; d. those arising out of an adoption system.

ii. Kutsa is of course a deity of the order of Indra in Vedic mythology. The human end of the family seems to lie with 1.100: Ambariṣa Vārṣāgiri (RV 1.100) seems to be the key poet of the RV to whom the Gotra lineage may be linked. Both Kutsa and Ambariṣa are among the Kuiper corpora; see Witzel 1999: 356-357.

iii. Hārita is the common, historical term for the Kautsa Gotra. In the BŚS appendix, the Kautsas are represented by 19 families (out of 796); they constitute a regular and reliable item in epigraphy as well as field work, ca.5% range.

i. The Kutsas possess 26 verses in the Soma book.

IV. The Kāṇva Āṅgirasas: 97 hymns; 1358 verses

(Āṅgirasa-Ājamīha-Kāṇva; Āṅgirasa-Ghaura-Kāṇva)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gotra</th>
<th>Number of Hymns</th>
<th>Number of Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ghora Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.36.10 (0 hymn; 1 verse)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purumilha-Ajamīha</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.43-44 (2 hymns; 14 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauhotra</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12.-23 (12 hymns; 143 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhātithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.36-43 (8 hymns; 96 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṇva Ghaura</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.44-50 (7 hymns; 82 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praskaṇva Kāṇva</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1.1-2 (9 hymn; 2 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.10 (1 hymn; 6 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.48 (1 hymn; 15 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praghātha Kāṇva</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4 (1 hymn; 21 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devātithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5 (1 hymn; 21 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmātithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.6 (1 (2 hymns; 58 verses)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-120 history of the Brahmans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rṣi Index</th>
<th>Hymn and Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punarvatsa Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.7 (1 hymn; 36 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadhvamsā Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.8 (1 hymn; 23 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śaśukarṇa Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.9 (1 hymn; 21 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parvata Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.12 (1 hymn; 33 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nārada Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.13 (1 hymn; 33 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāṇvāyana Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.14-15 (2 hymns 28 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irimbithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.16-18 (3 hymns; 49 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sobhāri Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.19-22 (4 hymns; 99 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīśoka Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.45 (1 hymn; 43 hymns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praghātha Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.62-65 (4 hymns; 48 hymns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhārga Praghātha</td>
<td>8.60-61 (2 hymns; 38 hymns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kali Praghātha</td>
<td>8.66 (1 hymn; 15 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhātithi and Medhyātithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.1.3-29 (1 hymn; 27 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhātithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.2.41-41 (0 hymn; 2 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhātithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.3 (1 hymn; 33 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhyātithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.3; 33 (3 hymns; 43 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhātithi and Priyamedha Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>8.2 (1 hymn; 40 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vālakhilya Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.49-57 (9 hymns; 70 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suparṇa Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.59 (1 hymn; 7 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuruṣuti Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.76-78 (3 hymns; 33 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kusidīṇi Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.81-83 (3 hymns; 27 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nṛmedha or Purumedha Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>8.89-90 (2 hymns; 13 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nṛmedha Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>8.98-99 (2 hymns; 20 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sobhara Kāṇva</td>
<td>8.103 (1 hymn; 14 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhātithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>9.2 (1 hymn; 10 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhyātithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>9.41-43 (3 hymns; 18 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nṛmedha Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.27 (1 hymn; 6 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priyamedha Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.29 (1 hymn; 6 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaṇva Ghaura</td>
<td>9.94 (1 hymn; 5 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praskṇaṇa Kāṇva</td>
<td>9.95 (1 hymn; 5 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parvata and Nārada Kāṇva</td>
<td>9.104-105 (2 hymns; 12 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śākaputa Nārmedha</td>
<td>10.132 (1 hymn; 7 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhukṣit Priyamedha</td>
<td>10.75 (1 hymn; 9 verses)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes on the Kaṇva Group:
I have included with the obvious Kaṇva singers those with the medha suffix and the Āṅgirasa epithet in Books 8 and 9; for example, Priyamedha Āṅgirasa (8.2; 9.29) and Nṛmedha Āṅgirasa (89.98; 9.27).

Two Kaṇva singers of the Anukramaṇī index can be linked to the Pravara list: Ghora Āṅgirasa of the lone line in a Viśvāmitra hymn (3.36.10), leading to the pravara formula Āṅgirasa-Ghaura- Cannva and Ājamiḥ Saḥotrā of 4.43-44, leading to the Pravara formula Āṅgirasa-Ājamiḥa-Cannva. We know that 4.43-44 violate the Bergaigne-Oldenberg rules of arrangement, along with the nearby 4.42 (the Gotra hymn of another Kevala Āṅgirasa group, the Viṣṇuvṛddhash; see below item # VI): all three hymns are placed in Book 4, although not by singers who can be otherwise linked to the Gotama poets.

Who are the Kanvas? Witzel sees them as possibly Dravidian, from the Sind, arriving in the Vedic realm in the later stages of the RV. They are prodigious singers with the second largest collection in the RV, 1358 verses, in Books 1, 8, and 10.

They bring to the RV the mode of the strophic singing, giving themselves the name Pragātha to mark it, collected in Book 8. It is clear that the strophic mode attracted other singers; we saw above that Gautama Nodhas was one. Śyāvāśva Ātreyā is another such singer with a significant collection in Book 8 (35-38; 42; 73-74; 91).

Perhaps a result of the strophic mode, Kaṇva poets appear in their songs more than any other singers, naming themselves and functioning in what I characterize elsewhere as the trope of the “performative mimesis,” a present singer appearing in his song in mimesis of the First Singer of the family.

Only 64 Kaṇva verses appear in Book 9.

More dānastutis occur in their collection than in any other, 11 out of 19.

Sindhuṣcit Prajāyamedha (10.75) and Śākaputa Nṛmedha (10.132) are clearly epigonal Kannva figures, appearing in Book 10 of the RV, perhaps part of the redacting agency of the RV.

It has been a great surprise in peninsular epigraphy and field work that Kanvas are rarely attested, only in the order of 1 in 1000. The number of Kannva families in the BŚS list is 10, already a small number in comparison to 121 for the Bharadvājas, the largest Gotra grouping in all my samples.

Nārada, the ubiquitous divine singer in the epics and Purāṇas, is a Kannva.

Some 47 named Kannva singers, almost equaling the Atri singers; see below.

V.  Rathitara
(Āṅgirasa-Vairūpa-Rāthitara)

7 hymns; 79 verses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Number of Hymns</th>
<th>Number of Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Virūpa Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṣṭrādamṣṭra Vairūpa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nābhahprabhedana Vairūpa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śataprabhadena Vairūpa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sādhr Vairūpa (or Gharna Tāpasa)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes on the Vairūpa-Āṅgirasas:

Virūpa Āṅgirasa is the obvious First Singer of the family, singing in the strophic mode and collected in Book 8. Three successor singers appear as a cluster in Book 10.111-114.

The Vairūpas appear only in Books 8 and 10. They don’t appear in Book 9.

Rathitara, the Gotra descendant, has no entry in the Anukramaṇī index. We do have a prominent Rathitara linked with a RV śākhā (Deshpande 1979).

Well attested in Gotra epigraphy and field work, especially among the Pūrvaśikhā (Cōḻiya) Brahmans in the Tamil country, in Vembattur and settlements east from there.
The Ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-122
history of the Brahmans

like Kadayanallur, still with a very strong oral tradition of the RV, supplying notable
instructors to the Raja Veda Pāṭaśāla at Kumbakonam over generations.


VI. Viṣṇuvṛddha-Āṅgirasa  3 hymns; 28 verses
(Āṅgirasa-Paurukutsa-Trāsadasāyiāva)
Trasadasuy Paurukutsa
Sauhotra 4.42 (1 hymn; 10 verses)
Trasadasyu 9.110 (1 hymn; 12 verses)
Tryaruṇa, Trasadasyu,
Paurukutsya 5.27 (1 hymn; 6 verses)

Notes on the Viṣṇuvṛddha-Āṅgirasas:

i. The Paurukutsya-Trāsadasya represents one of the two “pan-Vedic” constellations of
the Vedic clans and tribes, on the way to a “state”. (The other being the Divodāsa
chieftaincy, also with a Gotra pedigree but as a “kevala” Bhṛgu lineage; see below).

ii. Paurukutsa-Trāsadasya signifies a “kṣatriya” element in the Gotra system. It is not
clear if the members of the Chieftain families were part of the Vedic oral agency, with
its demanding svādhyāya. It is quite possible on the other hand that the purohitas
of these families engendered such a Gotra lineage, Kavaṣa Alūṣa (with a dānastuti in 10.33
to Kuruśravaṇa) and his grandson Tura Kavaṣeya, being examples of it.

iii. This is a well-attested Gotra grouping both in epigraphy and fieldwork, ranging around
3% of Gotra samples.

iv. Their “Gotra” hymn appears at Book 4.42, next to those of the Kaṇvas (4.43-44), the
suffix “Sauhotra” appearing in all three, both giving rise to Kevala Āṅgirasa lineages.

v. 12 verses appear in Soma book, ascribed to Trasadasya.

VII. Mudgala  1 hymn; 12 verses
(Āṅgirasa-Bhārmyaśva-Maudgalya)
Mudgala Bhārmyaśva 10.102 (1 hymn; 12 verses)

Notes on the Mudgala-Āṅgirasas:

i. The Mudgalas have just one hymn in all of RV and yet constitute a well attested Gotra
lineage, possibly spawned through a “niyoga” alliance, as shown in the text,
illuminating a way through which peripheral groups were brought into the ecumenical
pan-Vedic system, often with a “kevala” appellation.

ii. The Mudgala-Āṅgirasas are well attested both in epigraphy and fieldwork, regularly
and reliably registering around 3% of a Gotra sample.

iii. Mudgala is a Kuiper item; see Witzel (1999: 356)

iv. No pavamāna hymns

VIII. Saṃkṛti:  4 hymns  34 verses
(Āṅgirasa-Sāmkṛtya-Gaurivita)
Gauriviti Śāktya 5.29 (1 hymn; 15 verses)
10.73-74 (2 hymns; 17 verses)
9.108.1-2 (1 hymn; 2 verses)

Notes on the Saṃkṛtya-Āṅgirasa:
i. It is not clear if this Śakti and Śakti with links to the Vasiṣṭhas (giving us the Parāśara-
Śāktya-Vasiṣṭha) are one and the same. Śāktyi does not appear in the ṛsi index.

ii. The Samkṛtis are well attested in epigraphy and fieldwork, with strong presence among
the Aparaśikhā Brahmans of the Tamil country, Iravatham Mahadevan being one.

i. Two pavamāna verses, in a multi-family hymn, with other composers being Śakti
Vāsiṣṭha (3; 14-16); Ūru Āṅgirasa (4-5); Ąrdhvasadman Āṅgirasa (8-9); Kṛtyāśvas
Āṅgirasa (10-11); Rṇamcaya (12-13).

IX. Kapi
(Āṅgirasa-Āmahīyava-Aurukṣaya)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Āmahīya Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.61 (1 hymn; 30 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruṣṭya Āmahīyava</td>
<td>10.118 (1 hymn; 9 verses)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes on the Kapi-Āṅgirasas:

i. The most important pavamāna hymn may well be RV 9.61, inaugurating the magical
Bergaigne-Öldenberg saṃhitā culminating in the composite 9.67.1-21, many verses
appearing in the Stutis of the Soma rituals from this B-O collection.

ii. BSS includes this lineage with the Bharadvājas; Brough advocates separating it from
them and listing them as a Kevala Āṅgirasa group. I have followed his suggestion.

iii. A father-son team: the son appearing in Book 10 (118), part of the epigones.

iv. Well attested in epigraphy and fieldwork, but in small numbers.

Nominal Āṅgirasas: 53 hymns 599 verses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hiranyastūpa Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>1.31-35; 9.4; 9.69 (7 hymns; 91 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arcat Hairanyastūpa</td>
<td>10.149 (1 hymn; 5 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savya Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>1.51-57 (7 hymns; 72 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharuṇa Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>5.15 (1 hymn; 5 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhūvasu Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>5.35-36 (2 hymns; 14 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puruhaṁan Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>8.70 (1 hymn; 15 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suditi Purumīṭha</td>
<td>8.71 (1 hymn; 15 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>8.85-86 (2 hymns; verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>10.42-44 (3 hymns; 33 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrutukakṣa and Sukakṣu Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>8.92 (1 hymn; 33 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukakṣu Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>8.93 (1 hymn; 34 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bindu or Pūtadakṣa Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>8.94 (1 hymn; 12 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiraṣci Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>8.95-96 (2 hymns; 30 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bindu Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.30 (1 hymn; 6 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prabhūvasu Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.35-36 (2 hymns; 12 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brāhanmati Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.39-40 (2 hymns; 12 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavitra Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.67.22-32 (0 hymn; 11 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.73; 83 (2 hymns; 14 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harimanta Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.72 (1 hymn; 9 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Īru Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.108.4-5 (0 hymn; 2 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ąrdhvasadman Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.108.10-11 (0 hymn; 2 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīṣu Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>9.112 (1 hymn; 4 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saptagu Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>10.47 (1 hymn; 8 verses)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Rṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-124 history of the Brahmans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rṣi</th>
<th>Pravara Formula</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brhaspati Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>10.71-72 (2 hymns; 20 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mürdhavanat Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>10.88 (1 hymn; 19 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baru Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>10.96 (1 hymn; 13 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divya Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>10.107 (1 hymn; 11 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhikṣu Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>10.117 (1 hymn; 9 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vihavya Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>10.128 (1 hymn; 9 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pracetas Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>10.164 (1 hymn; 5 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samvarta Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>10.172 (1 hymn; 4 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhruva Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>10.173 (1 hymn; 5 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhīvarta Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>10.174 (1 hymn; 5 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saṃvanana Āṅgirasa</td>
<td>10/191 (1 hymn; 4 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes on the “Nominal” Āṅgirasa:**

i. What or who is a “nominal Āṅgirasa”? In my scheme, it designates an Āṅgirasa Gotra affiliate who cannot be linked to any of the 9 Brough Āṅgirasa prvaras of the Gotra system as well as the secondary proliferations of the Bharadvājas (two; the Garga and Vândana) and Gotamas (seven). He is likely to belong to any of them, the Bharadvāja- and Gotama-Āṅgirasa (their two Brough and nine secondary categories) or any of the seven categories designated “Kevala”. This poses a particular problem in fieldwork and epigraphy. The situation is hopeless in the case of epigraphy: a subject merely entered as a “nominal Āṅgirasa,” like these RV singers. In fieldwork, on the other hand, the subject can be asked to recite his pravara formula: if he can, and in the Tamil-Kerala country this is usually the case, we would know his precise Āṅgirasa lineage. A personal anecdote may explain the problem: In 2003, at the Trichur Agniṣṭoma 2003 (see Mahadevan-Staal (2003), I asked the famous Nambudiri ritualist Kāpra (Kavapra Marath Sankaranarayanan Nambudiri) for his Gotra. Āṅgirasa, he answered and entered so in Staal‖s dramatis personae of the 1975 Agnicayana (1983[I]:266-267). I asked for the pravara. He could not tell me right away, although some forty years before this (1965), he certainly had to declare it in the Pravara ceremony of his Agniṣṭoma as its yajamāna. I forgot all about the matter till the 2006 Kilaikkancherri Agnicayana: Kāpra, a Somayāji from the 1965 agniṣṭoma, was the yajamāna of the atirātra and I had the satisfaction to witness the Pravara ritual and learn thus Kāpra‖s pravara formula: Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Kāreṇupāla, a pravara lineage with which I had had no success till then in both epigraphy and field work.

ii. It is not often noted that the nine Āṅgirasa lineages do NOT practice exogamy among them, although they share a common root ṛṣi, Āṅgirasa, the usual rule for exogamy. Members of I through IX above may inter-marry. The five Bhṛgu Gotra affiliates (see below) are, also, similarly not exogamous. All other Gotra lineages observe the exogamy rule for a common root ṛṣi.

iii. There are 92 pavamāna verses in Book 9 for the nominal Āṅgirasas.

X. **Bhṛgu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rṣi</th>
<th>Pravara Formula</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhṛgu</td>
<td>5 hymns; 95 verses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Bhārgava-Cyāvana-Āpnavāna-Aurva-Jāmadagni)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rṣi</th>
<th>Pravara Formula</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jamadagni</td>
<td>8.101 (1 hymn; 16 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.62; 9.67.16-18 (1 hymn; 33 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.11; (1 hymn; 12 verses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.137.6 (0 hymn; 1 verse)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes on the Bhṛgu-Jāmadagnyas:

i. A Bhṛguization with respect to the Jamadagni-Bhṛgus may well have taken place in the Vedic age: Viśvāmitra seems to have hosted Jamadagni into the Vedic world (Witzel 1995b. 316). Brough (1946; now Proferes [2006]) thought him an outsider to Vedic world, and his important hymns occur in Book 9; other Bhṛgus (Kavi Bhṛgava, Uśanas Kāvya, Bhṛgu Vārūṇi; see below) also appear prominently in Book 9 and may be part of the Jāmadagnya family, although I am classifying them here under “Nominal Bhṛgus.”

ii. The Jamadagni (and the other Bhṛgus) pravaras lead all Pravara lists. Part of his influence—Early Bhṛguization?—may be that the Pravara liturgy rose among the Jamadagni-Bhṛgus: Brough saw 8.102.4ab as the pravara formula in its “embryonic form,” the ṛṣi of the hymn being Prayoga Bhārgava. In the Anukramaṇī index itself, he is listed as the sixth of the seven singers in two multi-family compilations (9.67; 10.137), the order being the same in both, as noted above: Bharadvāja, Kaśyapa, Gotama, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha

iii. In epigraphy and field work, the Jamadagni-Bhṛgus are always about 10% of a sample, an affiliation of the first rank (along with Bharadvāja, Kaśyapas and Viśvāmitras), usually known as Śrīvatsas, with a five-ṛṣi pravara formula: Bhṛgu-Cyavana-Apanvāna-Urva-Jamadagni, already the case in BŚS pravara lists, with 77 families out of 796, i.e. 10% already.

iv. Ārṣṭisenas, a second proliferation of the Jamadagnis (Bhṛgava-Cyāvana-Āpanvāna-Ārṣṭiṣṭa-Ārṣṭiṣṭa-Ānūpa) are attested among the Aparaśikhā Brahmans in my on-going study.

v. 33 pavamāna verses are attributed to Jamadagni. Several of the indeterminable “nominal” Bhṛgavas with nearly 100 pavamāna verses may well be Jamadagnis (see below).

XI. Kevala Bhṛgus:

XI. Mitrayu 17 hymns; 151 verses
(Bhṛgava-Vādhryśva-Daivodāsa)

Paruchepa Daivodāsi 1.127-139 (13 hymns; 100 verses)
Pratardana Daivodāsi 9.96 (1 hymn; 24 verses)
Anānata Pāruchepi 9.111 (1 hymn; 3 verses)
Pratardana 10.179.2 (0 hymn; 1 verse)
Sumitra Vādhryaśva 10.69-70 (2 hymns; 23 verses)

Notes on the Mitrayu:

i. We have here the Kevala Bhṛgus: the Mitrayus resemble the Viṣṇuvṛddhas of the Āṅgirasas in that they are also linked to a prominent chieftain family, indeed, the other major Vedic Chieftaincy, and they are also classified under the kevala rubric, but as Bhṛgus. The have a coherent Bergaigne-Oldenberg collection, with the extreme meters predominating their compositions.

ii. Well attested in epigraphy and fieldwork, but in small numbers, ca.1% rates.

iii. 27 pavamāna verses, 9.111 in the family’s typical “extreme” meters, the only such extreme meter attestation in Book 9.

XII. Yaska-Vādhūla: 2 hymns; 33 verses
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(Bhārgava-Vaitahavya-Savetasa)

Vitahavya Āṅgirasa 6.15 (1 hymn; 19 verses)
Aruṇa Vaitahavya 10.91 (1 hymn; 15 verses)

Notes on the Yaska-Vādhūla-Bhrūs:

i. Vitahavya Āṅgirasa first appears in the Bhāradvāja-Āṅgirasa collection (6.15), a 19-verse hymn, violating the Bergaigne-Oldeberg rules; the last four verses (6.15-16-19), not organic to the hymn and added later (Oldenberg 194 [184]). Like Śunahotra Āṅgirasa, the poet of 6.33-34 (?), Vitahavya Āṅgirasa engenders a Bhṛgu lineage under the kevala system. We have clear evidence of the adoption system at work with Śunahotra Āṅgirasa—he founds the Śaunaka line; see below—but not with Vitahavya Āṅgirasa. However, this Bhṛgu line is much better attested in epigraphy and fieldwork than the Śūnakas of Śunahotra Āṅgirasa and of RV Book 2. As noted above (note ii under Bharadvājas), the Vaitahavya is a kuru rāṣtra.

ii. The Yaska-Vādhūlas, although with only 22 families in the BŚS list, constitute the largest Bhṛgu Gotra grouping in epigraphy and fieldwork after the Śrīvatsa-Jāmadagnyas., regularly around 6 to 7% of samples.

iii. No pavamāna hymns.

XIII. Vainya: 2 hymns; 13 verses
(Bhārgava-Vainya-Pārtha)

Vena Bhārgava 9.85; 10.123 (2 hymn; 20 verses)
Prthu Vainya 10.148 (1 hymn; 5 verses)

Notes on the Vainyas:

i. BŚS has only three families (of 796) for this group; unattested in all my samples.

ii. 12 JG-TR pavamāna verses.

XIV. Śaunaka 43 hymns; 433 verses
(Bhārgava Śaunaka)

Grūtsamada 2.1-43 (43 hymns; 430 verses)
9.86.46-48 (0 hymn; 3 verses)

Notes on the Śaunakas:

i. The Anukramaṇī Śaunaka rṣi is Grūtsamada Bhārgava Śaunaka, originally Śunahotra Āṅgirasa, signifying an adoption of an Āṅgirasa into the Bhṛgu group. The Bhṛgu “Family book,” namely Book 2 of the RV belongs to him.

ii. The label gives rise to two figures, one semi-historical (the host of the Śrauta ritual, in which the Mahābhārata is textualized) and the other perhaps historical, in the Kosala-Vidheha region, a name linked to the Rgveda Prātiśākhya and Anukramaṇī discourses. Its attestation in epigraphy and fieldwork, however, is remarkably limited: one family attested in all of the Pallava-Cōḷa epigraphy of close to one in a 1000; I should note in passing that I met the current descendant of this family in Tiruvayar on the Kaveri, a ritualist of great fame, an immigrant from the Pallava epigraphy.

ii. I have raised the question if the relative absences of such Gotra affiliations as the Śaunaka as well as the Rāhūgaṇas and Kāṇvas in my peninsular data may be due to
whole-scale migration of one Gotra grouping from the Kuru area to east, to the Kosala-Magadha area and thus being not part of the Southern migration of the Pūrvaśikhā and Aparaśikhā Brahmans. As we know all three Gotra groupings display historical presences in the east.

iii. A cameo appearance in Book 9: just 3 verses.

**Nominal Bhārgavas:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gotra</th>
<th>Hymns</th>
<th>Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kṛtnu Bhārgava</td>
<td>8.79</td>
<td>9 verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uśana Kāvyā</td>
<td>8.84</td>
<td>9 verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nema Bhārgava</td>
<td>8.100</td>
<td>12 verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavi Bhārgava</td>
<td>9.47-49; 75-79</td>
<td>8 hymns; 40 verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhṛgu Vāruni</td>
<td>9.65</td>
<td>30 verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śyūmarasāmi</td>
<td>10.77-78</td>
<td>2 hymns; 16 verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ita Bhārgava</td>
<td>10.171</td>
<td>4 verses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes on “Nominal Bhārgavas”

i. “Nominal Bhārgavas” denote Bhārgava Gotra affiliates who cannot be linked specifically one of the five Bhārgava Gotra taxons; they resemble the “Nominal Āṅgirasas” above and may belong to any of the five Bhārgava pravaras.

ii. Nearly 100 verses in Book 9, with important later redactions into the stutis of audgātram.

iii. As with the Nominal Āṅgirasas, the five “Nominal Bhārgava” lineages do not observe exogamy among its five branches, although they all share the root ṛṣi, Bhṛgu.

**XV Atri**

89 hymns; 772 verses

(Ātreya-Ārcanānasa-Śyāvāsva)

Budha and
Gaviṣṭhira Ātreya 5.1 (1 hymn; 12 verses)
Kumāra Ātreya or
Vṛṣa Jāna or both together 5.2 (1 hymn; 10 verses)
Vṛṣa Jāna 5.2.2; 9 (0 hymn; 2 verses)
Vasuṛuta Ātreya 5.3-6 (4 hymns; 44 verses)
Iṣa Ātreya 5.7-8 (2 hymns; 17 verses)
Gaya Ātreya 5.9-10 (2 hymns; 14 verses)
Sutambhara Ātreya 5.11-14 (4 hymns; 24 verses)
Pūru Ātreya 5.16-17 (2 hymns; 10 verses)
Mṛktavāhas Dvita Ātreya 5.18 (1 hymn; 5 verses)
Vavri Ātreya 5.19 (1 hymn; 5 verses)
Prasyavanta Ātreya 5.20 (1 hymn; 4 verses)
Sasa Ātreya 5.21 (1 hymn; 4 verses)
Viṣvasāman Ātreya 5.22 (1 hymn; 4 verses)
Dyumna Viśvaśarṣaṇi 5.23 (1 hymn; 4 verses)
Bandhu, Subandhu, Śrutabandhu
Viprabandhu Gaupāyana
Or Laupāyana jointly 5.24 (1 hymn; 4 verses)

Vasūyava Ātreya 5.25-26 (2 hymns; 18 verses)
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Viśvavārā Ātreya 5.28 (1 hymn; 6 verses)
Babhru Ātreya 5.30 (1 hymn; 13 verses)
Avasyu Ātreya 5.31 (1 hymn; 13 verses)
Gātu Ātreya 5.32 (1 hymn; 13 verses)
Samvarana Ātreya 5.33-34 (2 hymns; 19 verses)
Prabhūvasu Ātreya 5.35-36 (2 hymns; 14 verses)
Atri Bhauma 5.83-86 (4 hymns; 27 verses)
9.86.41-45 (0 hymn; 5 verses)
Atri 5.40-43 (4 hymns; 44 verses)
5.76-77 (2 hymns; 10 verses)
9.67.10-12 (0 hymn; 3 verses)
9.86.31-40 (1 hymn; 10 verses)
Sadāprṇa Ātreya 5.45 (1 hymn; 11 verses)
Pratikṣatra Ātreya 5.46 (1 hymn; 8 verses)
Pratiratha Ātreya 5.47 (1 hymn; 7 verses)
Pratibhānu Ātreya 5.48 (1 hymn; 5 verses)
Pratiprabha Ātreya 5.49 (1 hymn; 5 verses)
Svastātreya Ātreya 5.50-51 (2 hymns; 20 verses)
Śyāvāśva Ātreya 5.52-61 (15 verses; 118 verses)
8.35-38 (4 hymns; 48 verses)
8.42 (1 hymn; 6 verses)
9.32 (1 hymn; 6 verses)
Śrutavid Ātreya 5.62 (9 hymn; 9 verses)
Arcanānas Ātreya 5.63-64 (2 hymns; 14 verses)
Rātahavya Ātreya 5.65-66 (2 hymns; 12 verses)
Yajata Ātreya 5.67-68 (2 hymns; 10 verses)
Uruçakri Ātreya 5.69-70 (2 hymns; 8 verses)
Bāhuvrktā Ātreya 5.71-72 (2 hymns; 6 verses)
Paura Ātreya 5.73-74 (2 hymns; 20 verses)
Avasyu Ātreya 5.75 (1 hymn; 9 verses)
Saptavadhri Ātreya 5.78 (1 hymn; 9 verses)
Satyāsrasa Ātreya 5.79-80 (2 hymns; 16 verses)
Śyāvāśvya Ātreya 5.81-82 (2 hymns; 17 verses)
Evāyāmarut 5.87 (1 hymn; 9 verses)
Gopavana Ātreya 8.73 (1 hymn; 18 verses)
Or Saptavadhri Ātreya 8.74 (1 hymn; 15 verses)
Apāla Ātreya 8.91 (1 hymn; 7 verses)
Andhigu Śyāvāśvi 9.101.1-3 (1 hymn; 3 verses)
Atri Samkhya 10.143 (1 hymn; 6 verses)

Notes on the Ātris:

i. Four Pravaras are attested in the Ātreya Gotra:

i. Ātreya-Ārcanānasa-Śyāvāśva
ii. Ātreya-Ārcanānasa-Śyāvāśvya
iii. Ātreya-Ārcanānasa-Gāviṣṭhira
iv. Ātreya-Ārcanānasa-Paurvātita [Mudgala (?): Brough’s question mark].

ii. The Śyāvāśva line, the Brough-19 affiliation of the Atris, is the most prominent, both in the BSŚ list (50) and in my samples, regularly around 7-9%. Of the three secondary lineages, only the Ātreya-Ārcanānasa-Gāviṣṭhira is attested in my samples, in miniscule numbers, among both Pūrvaśikhā and Aparaśikhā Brahmans.

iii. The most named singers of all families, 51 singers. I believe that the Atris, perhaps with the Bharadvāja singers in different ways, would prove to be of estimable value in decoding mystery of the ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system: Book 5 always figures as the older, founding layer of the Rgveda, yet almost all its hymns have individual Atri singers. The generic Atri has only six hymns in Book 5—in striking contrast with the Bharadvājas Book 6 or Vāmadeva Gautama of Book 4, the two Family books usually placed with Book 5 as forming the oldest layer of the RV—least for the First Singer of a Family book.


XVI. Viśvāmitra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hymn</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Hymns</th>
<th>Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1-10</td>
<td>Madhuchandas Vaiśvāmitra</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Jetṛ Madhuchandasa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.191</td>
<td>Aghamarṣana Madhuchandasa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.24.1-30</td>
<td>Śunahṣepa Ājigarti-Devarāṭa</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1-3</td>
<td>Viśvāmitra Gāthina</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.13-15</td>
<td>Rṣaḥba Vaiśvāmitra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.71</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.15-16</td>
<td>Utkila Kātya</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.17-18</td>
<td>Kata Vaiśvāmitra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.19-22</td>
<td>Gāthin Kauśika</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>Devaśravas and Devavāṭa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.24-29</td>
<td>Viśvāmitra</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>Kuśika Aiśrathī</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>Or Viśvāmitra</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.32-53</td>
<td>Viśvāmitra</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.55-56</td>
<td>Prajāpati Vaiśvāmitra or Prajāpati Vācyā</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.57-62</td>
<td>Viśvāmitra</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.67.13-15</td>
<td>Viśvāmitra</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.137.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ṛṣi</th>
<th>Hymns</th>
<th>Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reṇu Vaiśvāmitra</td>
<td>9.70</td>
<td>9 verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nārāyaṇa</td>
<td>10.89</td>
<td>18 verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṣṭaka Vaiśvāmitra</td>
<td>10.160</td>
<td>5 verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūraṇa Vaiśvāmitra</td>
<td>10.160</td>
<td>1 hymn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes on the Viśvāmitras:

i. There are ten Pravaras listed for the Viśvāmitras in the BŚS lists:
   i. Viśvāmitra-Kauśikas: Vaiśvāmitra-Devarātā-Audala
   ii. Śraumata-Kāmakāyana: Vaiśvāmitra-Daivaśravasa Daivatarasa
   iii. Kata: Vaiśvāmitra-Kātyā-Ātkila
   iv. Dhanamjaya: Vaiśvāmitra-Mādhuchandasa-Dhānamjaya
   v. Ajas: Vaiśvāmitra-Mādhuchandasa-Ājya
   vi. Aghamarṣaṇa-Kauśika: Vaiśvāmitra-Āghamarṣaṇa-Kauśika
   vii. Pūrāṇa-Vāridhāpayantas: Vaiśvāmitra-Pāuraṇa
   viii. Vaiśvāmitra-Āṣṭaka-Lauhita
   ix. Vaiśvāmitra-Raukṣaka-Raiṇava
   x. Vaiśvāmitra-Aindra-Kauśika

ii. The Viśvāmitras may well be the most influential Gotra grouping at the time of the redaction of the RV, Madhuchanadas Vaiśvāmitra beginning the corpus at RV 1.1 and his son Aghamarṣaṇa Mādhuchandas ending it with 10.190. 10.191 being a hymn of samāna benediction, as well as a violation of the Bergaigne-Oldenberg rules of arrangement. Moreover, 10.190 has no padapāṭha text.

iii. The Viśvāmitras spawn the greatest number of pravaras—10, with the best attestation in Gotra samples in epigraphy and field work for the secondary pravaras. Without doubt, the two main Vaiśvāmitra Gotra affiliations are: Vaiśvāmitra-Devarātā-Audala and Vaiśvāmitra-Mādhuchandasa-Āghamarṣaṇa, roughly almost equal. I must note that the Vaiśvāmitra-Devarātā-Audala line is the Viśvāmitra’s Brough-19 pravara. As we know, the Devarātā line begins with the adoption of Śunaḥśepa Ājgarvati into the Viśvāmitra clan in the legend narrated at AiB vii.13. The first fifty sons dissent at the grant of primogeniture to Devarātā by Viśvāmitra and are scattered to the four winds. Madhuchandas is the fiftieth son, who accepts Devarātā as the “first born”. There can be little doubt that the legend alludes to some internal cataclysm in the Viśvāmitra lineage. We do not know anything about Aghamarṣaṇa other than that he sang 10.190, technically the last song of the RV but without a padapāṭha text, but this pravara is a regular item in epigraphy and field work.

iv. Most of the secondary pravaras (ii through viii) are regularly attested in my samples, but in smaller numbers than i and vi.

v. Although Madhuchandas Vaiśvāmitra begins Book 9, (with his “adopted brother,” Śunaḥśepa Ājgarvati following at one remove, in a conscious allusion to the start of RV Book 1), the Vaiśvāmitras possess only 41 verses in Book 9. Proferes (2003: 13) has suggested that Book 9 began with its present fifth hymn. We must keep in mind that their Bharata compatriots (see below) on the Sarasvatī, the Vasiṣṭhas, also have only minimal input into Book 9. This is the case with all of the “Mādhyaṃ” (Family Books’) Ṛṣis: the Book 6-Bharadvājas have only 18; Book 5 Atris, 46; Book 4 Gotamas, 59; Book 2 Śunakas, 3; and Book 7 Vasiṣṭhas, 59.

XVII. Kaśyapas
(Kaśyapa-Avatsāra-Naidhruva)

41 hymns; 352 verses
Kaśyapa Mārīca  1.99 (1 hymn; 1 verse)  
                        9.64 (1 hymn; 30 verses)  
                        9.91-92 (2 hymns; 12 verses)  
                        9.113-114 (2 hymns; 15 verses)  
                        9.67-6 (0 hymn; 3 verses)  
                        10.137.2 (0 hymn; 1 verse)  
Avatsāra Kaśyapa  5.44 (1 hymn; 15 verses)  
Nidhruvi Kaśyapa  9.63 (1 hymn; 30 verses)  
Asita and Devala Kaśyapa  9.5-24 (20 hymns; 164 verses)  
Rebha Kaśyapa  8.97 (1 hymn; 15 verses)  
Raibha-Kaśyapas  9.99-100 (2 hymns; 17 verses)  
Bhūtāṃśa Kaśyapa  10.106 (1 hymn; 11 verses)  
Vivṛhan Kaśyapa  10.163 (1 hymn; 6 verses)  

Notes on the Kaśyapa:

i.  Kaśyapas are attested in four Pravara lineages in the BŚS Pravara chapter:
   i.  Kaśyapa  Kāsyapa-Āvatsāra-Naidhruva  
   ii.  Rebhas  Kāsyapa-Āvatsāra-Raibha  
   iii.  Śāṇḍila  Kāsyapa-Āvatsāra-Śāṇḍila  
   iv.  Laugākṣi  Kāsyapa-Āvatsāra-Vāsiṣṭha  

ii.  The Brough-19 Kaśyapa pravara is #1 above, the Naidhruva lineage. It is also usually the second largest Gotra affiliation in my samples. The three other lineages are also regularly attested.

iii.  The Kaśyapas seem to be primarily pavamāna singers, with 303 verses of Book 9, owning more than a third of the book, in many ways their Family book.

iv.  Śāṇḍila-Kaśyapa is a rare, late epigone who engenders a pravara line. He is a Kuru-Pāṇcāla figure playing a major role in transporting the Kuru-Pāṇcāla orthopraxy and orthodoxy to the east.

v.  The fourth pravara above seems nonsensical, with Vasiṣṭha as the tegone, but it is a well-attested affiliation.

XVIII. Vasiṣṭha  120 hymns; 1000 verses  
(Vasiṣṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-Kauṇḍinya)  

Parāśara Śākyta  1.65-73 (9 hymns; 91 verses)  
                        9.97.31-44 (0 hymn; 14 verses)  
Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇi  7.1-17 (17 hymns; 148 hymns)  
                        7.18-31 (14 hymns; 120 verses)  
Vasiṣṭha  7.32 (1 hymn; 25 verses)  
Śakti Vasiṣṭha  7.32.26a (0 hymn; ½ verses)  
Śakti Vasiṣṭha or Vasiṣṭha  7.32.26c-27 (0 hymn; ½ verse)  
Śakti Vasiṣṭha  9.108.3-14-16 (0 hymn; 4 verses)  
Vasiṣṭha and sons  7.33 (1 hymn; 14 verses)
The Ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-History of the Brahmans

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<th>Vasiṣṭha</th>
<th>7.34-100 (37 hymns; 476 verses)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Or Vasiṣṭha</td>
<td>7.101-102 (2 hymns; 9 verses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasiṣṭha</td>
<td>7.103-104 (2 hymns; 35 verses)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Dhyumnika Vasiṣṭha
Or Priyamedha Āṅgirasa
Or Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa 8.87 (1 hymn; 6 verses)

Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇi 9.90 (1 hymn; 6 verses)
Vasiṣṭha 9.97.1-3 (1 hymn; 3 verses)
Indrapramati Vasiṣṭha 9.97.4-6 (0 hymn; 3 verses)
Vṛṣagano Vasiṣṭha 9.97.7-9 (0 hymn; 3 verses)
Manyu Vasiṣṭha 9.97.10-12 (0 hymn; 3 verses)
Upamanyu Vasiṣṭha 9.97.13-15 (0 hymn; 3 verses)
Vyāghrapād Vasiṣṭha 9.97.16-18 (0 hymn; 3 verses)
Śakti Vasiṣṭha 9.97.19-21 (0 hymn; 3 verses)
Karnaśrut Vasiṣṭha 9.97.22-24 (0 hymn; 3 verses)
Mr̥jika Vasiṣṭha 9.97.25-27 (0 hymn; 3 verses)
Vasukra Vasiṣṭha 9.97.28-30 (0 hymns; 3 verses)

Citramanas Vasiṣṭha 10.122 (1 hymn; 8 verses)
Mr̥jika Vasiṣṭha 10.150 (1 hymn; 5 verses)
Pratha Vasiṣṭha 10.181 (1 hymn; 1 verse)
Vasiṣṭha 9.67.19-21 (0 hymn; 3 verses)
10.137.7 (0 hymn; 1 verse)

Notes on the Vasiṣṭhas:

i. Four pravaras are attested among the Vasiṣṭhas:
   i. Vasiṣṭha: Vasiṣṭha
   ii. Kuṇḍina: Vasiṣṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-Kaundinya
   iii. Upamanyu: Vasiṣṭha-Aindrapramada-Ābharadvasavya
   iv. Parāśara: Vasiṣṭha-Śāktya-Pārāśarya

ii. The single-ṛṣi pravara formula (Vasiṣṭha) is a major attestation in epigraphy and field data, more than for any other single ṛṣi pravara, but the most numerous Vasiṣṭha pravara appellation is Vasiṣṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-Kaundinya, the item Kuṇḍina/Kaundinya having no presence in the Anukramaṇī list. All four pravaras are regularly attested in my samples.

XIX, *Agastya* (Āgastya-Dārdācyuta-Aidhmavāha) 29 hymns; 251 verses

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<tr>
<th>Agastya</th>
<th>1.165 (1 hymn; 15 verses)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agastya Maitrāvaruṇi</td>
<td>1.166-169 (4 hymns; 44 verses)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agastya</td>
<td>1.170-178 (9 hymns; 59 verses)</td>
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<td>Lopamudrā</td>
<td>1.179.1-2; 4 (1 hymn; 3 verses)</td>
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<td>Agastya</td>
<td>1.179.3:5:6 (0 hymn; 3 verses)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agastya</td>
<td>1.180-191 (12 hymns; 115 verses)</td>
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</table>
Notes on the Agastayas:

i. The Agastya taxon possesses four lineages:
   i. Agastya: Āgastya-Dārḍācyuta-Aidhmavāha
   ii. Sāmbavāha: Āgastya-Dārḍācyuta-Sāmbavāha
   iii. Somavāha: Āgastya-Dārḍācyuta-Sāmbavāha
   iv. Yajñavāhas: Āgastya-Dārḍācyuta-Yājnavāha

ii. Āgastya-Dārḍācyuta-Aidhmavāha is the Brough-19 lineage of the Agastya family, with one in a thousand attestations in my Gotra samples, from the peninsula. This is surprising in view of Agastya’s traditional reputation in the Tamil country as its culture hero, as the creator of the Tamil language.

iii. The Sāmbavāha and Somavāha lineages possess the same pravara formula: I have counted them as one, thus coming to the figure 49 for the total number of Gotra pravaras. None of the three secondary lineages is attested in my samples.

iv. Agastya is one of Kuiper’s non-Vedic corpora (of possible totemic origins), and JB 2.220 represents them as outsiders with respect to the Kuru Pañcālas.

Non-Gotra Affiliations

153 hymns; 1604 verses

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<td>Trita Āptya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Viśvamanas Vaiyaśva or Vyaśva Āṅgirasa</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Yama Vaivaśvata</td>
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<td>Yami</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Vasukarṇa Vāsukra</td>
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Notes on the non-Gotra Singers:

i. As is well known (Witzel 1999:3), Book 10 falls in two divisions; 10.1-84 and 10.85-191, the first block containing Bergaigne-Oldenberg collections and second part, many single hymns, both forming the great appendix of the Rgveda, the second block, a final grab bag of singers.

ii. As I argue in the text of my paper, a vast majority of these names are cultic: Āptya, Āgneya, Aindra, Mānava, Pāvaka, Prājāpatya, Saurya, Tāpasa, Vaivaśvata, Vātāyana, Yāmāyana, and not to mention others like the three serpents.

iii. No doubt there are real life singers here with Gotra affiliations: as I show in the text, the Vasukra Aindra singers were in all probability Vasiṣṭhas. The Prājāpatyas were most likely Viśvāmitras.

iii. Likewise, a singer like Kavaṣa Ailūṣa must belong to the Gotra system, in its earliest form: he is the purohita of Kuruśravaṇa. His grandson Tura Kāvaseya is the purohita of Parikṣit and must certainly part of the Gotra world, most likely as a Kevala Āṅgirasa of the Viṣṇuvṛddha pravara.
Appendix II

The 49 Gotra affiliations with the Pravara formulas and BŚS numbers:

Notes:
i. What do the BŚS numbers (Column II below) tell us? It is a very important statistic: it includes some of the most famous Vedic names: Aśmaratha, Āgniveṣṭa, Āprastamba, Ārtabodha, Ālekhana, Āśvalāyana, Ārûni, Kātyāyana, Kāmākhyāna, Kṛṣṇātreya, Kohala, Kauṭilya, Kauśitaki, Garga, Jābala, Jaimini, Tārakāyana, Tittiri, Dhūmarāyana, Nārāyana, Patañjala, Bādarāyana, Bāskala, Baudhāyana, Mathara, Māṇḍukeya, Mārkhandeya, Yaska, Yānjavalkya, Śākalya, Śāṅkhāyana, Śaśiśriyani, Vaiśampāyana, Sumantu, Paila. The names do add up to a fountainhead of the Vedic tradition, but in what quantitative ways? The Bharadvājas number, for instance, 88; the Kaśyapas, 86; the Atris, 50. There is rough correlation between the BŚS numbers and the numbers of a Gotra census that can be generated from the peninsular data, in epigraphy and field work. It is thus possible the BŚS numbers constitute an archetype, an emergent pan-Vedic oral agency, becoming the historical Brahmans.

ii. I have indicated the historical attestations of these Gotra groupings (from the peninsula data) by a star system: six stars indicate the highest (15-20% in a given population), one star the lowest (one in a 1000, often just one attestation.) Again, my data are confined to the peninsula.

iii. The broad agreement between the BŚS and the historical data is compelling.

iv. Of the Brough-19, the Vainyas are the only group missing in historical data.

The Brough-19 Group

The Gotra affiliations: The BŚS Number and % Gotra Census

The Āṅgirasa lines
1. Bharadvājas (Āṅgirasa-Bāhraspatya-Bhāradvāja) 88 (16) *****
2. Gotama (Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Āyāsyā) 21 (4) ***
3. Harita (Kutsa) (Āṅgirasa-Āṃbariṣa-Yauvanāśva) 19 (3.8) ***
4. Kanva (Āṅgirasa-Ajamiḷha-Kāṇva) 10 (2) *
5. Rathiḥṭara (Āṅgirasa-Vairūpa-Rāthītara) 10 (2) **
6. Viṣṇuvṛddha (Āṅgirasa-Paurukutsa-Trāsadasyava) 14 (2.3) **
7. Saṃkṛti (Āṇgirasa-Śrīmātya-Gaurivita) 17 (2.7) **
8. Mūḍgala (Āṅgirasa-Bhārmayśva-Maudgalya) 10 (2) **
9. Kapī (Āṅgirasa-Āmahīyava-Aurukṣaya) 11 (2) **

The Bhṛgus
10. Vatsa (Bhārgava-Cyāvana-Āpnavāna-Aurva-Jāmadagni) 73 (13) *****
11. Yaska (Vādhūla) (Bhārgava-Vaitahavya-Sāvetasa) 22 (14) ***
12. Mitrayu (Bhārgava-Śrīdhṛṣya-Daividāsa) 12 (2) **
13. Vainyas (Bhārgava-Vaṅyu-Pārtha) 3 (0) None
14. Śunaka (Saunaka Gāthasamada) 11 (2) *

The other B-19 families
15. Atri (Ātri-Ārcanānas-Śyavāśva) 50 (9) ****
16. Viśvāmitra (Vaiśvāmitra-Devarāta-Audala) 44 (8) ***
The Ṛṣi index of the Vedic Anukramaṇī system and the Pravara lists: Toward a Pre-138 history of the Brahmans

| 17. Vasiṣṭha (Vāsiṣṭha)       | 31 (5) | ** |
| 18. Kaśyapa (Kāśyapa-Āvatsāra-Naidhruva) | 86 (15) | **** |
| 19. Agastya (Āgastya-Dārdācyuta-Aidhmavāha) | 17 (3) | * |
| **Total B-19**                | 549 (70) | |

The 30 Secondary Group

Notes:

i. Seven lineages are missing in historical data.
ii. The Aghamarṣaṇa-Kauśikas (Vaiśvāmitra) and the Kauṇāyas (Vāsiṣṭha) rank routinely with the Brough-19 numbers, thus the Viśvāmitras of different pravaras would come under 4-5 stars. So would the Vasiṣṭhas, counting the Kauṇāyas and Parāśaras (Vāsiṣṭhas). The Śāṇḍila-Kāśyapas are close behind.

The Āṅgirasas:

The Bhāradvājas:

20. Garga (Āṅgirasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja-Śaina-Gārgya) 24 (10) ***
21. Rauksāyana (Āṅgirasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja-Vāndana-Mātaravaca) 9 (4) **

The Gautamas:

22. Śāradvata (the Rahūgana line: Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Śāradvata) 11 (4) None
23. Kaumāṇḍas (Āṅgirasa-Aucathya-Ākṣāṣvata-Gautama-Kaumāṇḍa) 7 (3) ?
24. Dīrghatamasa (Āṅgirasa-Aucathya-Ākṣāṣvata-Gautama-Dairghatamasa) 1 (0) **
25. Auśanasas (Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Auśanas) 9 (4) None
26. Kareṇupāla (Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Kareṇupāla) 7 (3) *
27. Vāmadeva (Āṅgirasa-Gautama-Vāmadeva) 1 (0) *

The Bhṛgus:

The Vatsa-Āśadagnya

28. Bidas (Bhārgava-Cyāvana-Āpnavāna-Aurva-Baida) 13 (5) None
29. Ārṣīṇasas (Bhārgava-Cyāvana-Āpanvāna-Ārṣīṇasa-Ānūpa) 10 (4) **

The Ātris:

30. Vādbhūtakas (Ātreya-Ārcanānas-Vādbhūtaka) 1 (0) None
31. Gaviśṭira (Ātreya-Ārcanānas-Gaviśṭira) 1 (0) *
32. Mudgala (?) Brough’s question mark; Ātreya-Ārcanānas-Paurvāśīthi) 13 (4) None

The Vaiśvāmitras

33. Śraumata-Kāmakāyana (Vaiśvāmitra-Daivaśravasa-Daivatarasa) 5 (2) **
34. Katas (Vaiśvāmitra-Kātya-Ātśka) 11 (4) **
35. Dhanamjaya (Vaiśvāmitra-Mādhucchandasa-Dhanamjaya) 7 (3) **
36. Ajas (Vaiśvāmitra-Mādhucchandasa-Ājya) 1 (0) **
37. Aghamarṣaṇa-Kauśika (Vaiśvāmitra-Āghamarṣaṇa-Kauśika) 1 (0) ****
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Pūraṇa-Vāridhāpayantas (Vaiśvāmitra-Paurṇa)</td>
<td>1 (0)</td>
<td>**</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Aṣṭaka-Lohita (Vaiśvāmitra-Āṣṭaka-Lauhita)</td>
<td>8 (3)</td>
<td>***</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>Raukṣaka-Reṇu (Vaiśvāmitra-Raukṣaka-Raiṇava)</td>
<td>1(0)</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>Indra-Kauśika (Vaiśvāmitra-Aindra-Kauśika)</td>
<td>1 (0)</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td><strong>The Kāśyapas:</strong></td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Rebhas (Kāśyapa-Āvatsāra-Raibha)</td>
<td>1 (0)</td>
<td>**</td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Śaṇḍilya (Kāśyapa-Āvatsāra-Śaṇḍilya)</td>
<td>18 (8)</td>
<td>***</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>Laugākṣi (Kāśyapa-Āvatsāra-Vāsiṣṭha)</td>
<td>20 (8)</td>
<td>**</td>
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<td><strong>The Vāsiṣṭhas:</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Kuṇḍina (Vāsiṣṭha-Maitrāvaruna-Kaundinya)</td>
<td>20 (18)</td>
<td>****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Upamanyu (Vāsiṣṭha-Aindrapramada-Ābharadvasavya)</td>
<td>1 (0)</td>
<td>**</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>Parāśara (Vāsiṣṭha-Śāktya-Pārāśarya)</td>
<td>30 (12)</td>
<td>***</td>
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<td><strong>The Āgastyas:</strong></td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>Sāmbavāha [Somavāha] (Āgastya-Dārdhācyuta-Sāmbavāha)</td>
<td>1 (0)</td>
<td>None</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>Yajñavāhas (Āgastya-Dārdhācyuta-Yājnavāha)</td>
<td>1 (0)</td>
<td>None</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>247 (30)</td>
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