

MODULE 3: PRE-MODERN INDIA

VEDIC PERIOD

(Video Class: 4,5,6)

RIG VEDIC PERIOD (c.1500 – 1000 BCE)

- The Indus valley civilization started declining since 2000 BCE.
- It almost disintegrated, when (by 1500BCE) the Aryans entered the north west of India.
- Vedic period is divided into 2: Early Vedic Period (1500 – 1000 BCE) & Later Vedic Period (1000 – 600 BCE).
- Early Vedic period also known as Rig Vedic Period - Rigveda was composed.
- Second phase – other 3 Vedas were composed.
- Languages spoken by people whom settled in some parts of Europe and Asia is called Indo-European languages.
- Among them the people who spoke Sanskrit are called Aryans.
- The term "Aryan" is used to denote an ethnic community who spoke a common language - Sanskrit, Greek, Persia, Latin, Celtic/English, German, but gradually they become speakers of all Indo-European languages.
- Vedic and Avestan language.
- The Aryans/ Indo Aryans – descendants of the Indo Europeans.
- The composers of the Rig Veda described themselves as Arya, which can be understood as a cultural or ethnic term.
- The word literally means kinsman / companion.
- It may be etymologically derived from ar (to cultivate).
- Aryans were a nomadic community whom led a migratory life, they were in need of grazing lands.
- Did they come from central Asia?
- They had remained for some time in Central Asia (Bactria, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) and the northern Iranian plateau during 2000 BCE.
- Because of population growth & climatic changes forced them to travel to other places. Bitter cold & dry climatic condition prevailed in central in the early 2000 BCE.
- They migrated to India as various groups.
- By about 1500 BCE they migrated into the northern India through the passes in the Hindu Kush mountains.
- Whether the Aryans were foreigners or indigenous race?
- Scholars Attempts to date back the Rig Veda before the Harappan.
- Bal Gangadhara Tilak- the Rig Veda can be dated back to 4500 BCE.
- The Aryans from Central Asia arrived at the sapta Sindhu region – the areas between the Saraswathi & Ghaggr – Hakra river and the Indus or Sindhu River and her tributaries – Chenab, Jhelum, Sutlej, Ravi, and Beas.
- They reached – Eastern Afghanistan, NWFP, Punjab, Haryana, Western U P.

E ▶ ENTRI

- **Horses and horse drawn wheeled chariots** - assisted in their journey.
- Wandered across the plains of the Punjab, searching for grazing land as their main occupation was **agro-pastoralists**. Finally, they settled in small villages communities by clearing forests and gradually started agriculture.
- (Agriculture had been the main economy of the earlier Indus valley people.)
- They belong to different **tribes**, basis of social organization. Each tribe consists of many families.
- Occupations: **cattle rearing / farming**. Cattle was the form of wealth.
- **Fought battles for cattle and grazing lands** – conducted **sacrifices to gain success** in battles.
- From **Sapta Sindhu region they migrated to Ganga Yamuna region** – later Vedic Period.

RIG VEDIC - literature

- Both religious text & historical text.
- It was during this period that the hymns of the **Rig Veda (the earliest & 1st literary work in Sanskrit)** were memorized and collected - 1500 – 1000 BCE.
- The Rig Veda – is a **collection of prayers offered to Agni, Indra, Varuna, Mitra and other Gods** by various families of poets / sages- **Gritsamada, Visvamitra/the Bharata Purohita, Vamadeva, Atri, Bharadvaja, Vasishtha.**
- **Indra- Purandara**: the destroyer of dasas & Dasyus dwellings.

Rig Veda consist of 1017 hymns. (1028)
Divided into 10 mandalas or books.
Books 2 to 7 form the earlier parts
Books 1,8,9,10 seem to have been later addition.
Mandala 3- composed by Visvamitra famous Gayatri mantra
Earliest reference of four-fold division: Purusha – sukta- mandala 10

- Oldest hymns- hymns are arranged in groups according to deity – Agni, Indra, then other Gods.
- **Mandala 3-** composed by **Visvamitra** famous **Gayatri mantra** addressed to the **solar deity – Savitri**. Monopoly of first three classes. Women & Shudras are not allowed to recite. Especially recite during upanayana ceremony / dvija.
- **Danastutis** – priests conducted Yagas for the higher-class peoples who provide gifts (slave girls & cattle) to the priests. Land was not offered as gifts. **Poems composed for these donors by the priests.**
- The remaining **Vedic / Sanskrit literature – the Sama, Yajur, Atharva Vedas** is of later date.
- 11th century- the earliest surviving manuscript.
- Core areas mentioned in Rig Veda: **Eastern Afghanistan, Punjab, the Indus, its 5 tributaries & Saraswathi rivers.**
- Core areas mentioned in later Vedas: **kuru-Panchala, Ganga Yamuna doab. (U.P, Bihar)**
- Hymns are initially orally transmitted, composed & finally, written by the sages.

- Rig Veda - Throw light on the **socio-political aspects of early Vedic period, the conflict between Dasas & Dasyus** are mentioned.
- Difficult to distinguish between mythical & historical events.

E ▶ ENTRI

- Mention about- carpentry, warriors, tribes, chariots, pottery makers, weavers, leather workings, metal works – copper bronze objects. Aya- bronze & copper.
- Mention about agricultural plough share.
- Hymns – praising and mentioning: warriors, farmers, hunters, barbers & vintners.

DATE OF RIG VEDA

The date of rig Veda remains a problematic issue.

Max muller	1200 BCE – the beginning of Vedic poetry.
Maurice Winternitz	2500-2000 BCE – beginning of Vedic literature. Rig Veda is older than 1200 BCE
Ludwig	1100 BCE
H. Jacobi	3000 BCE
Others	7000-6000 BCE
H.H. Wilson & G. Buhler	

VEDIC LITERATURE

- Consist of 2 parts:
 1. Samhita – Rig, Sama, Yajur, Atharva Veda.
 2. Brahman, Aranyaka, Upanishads.
- Sama Veda – **1875 verses**. A book of **chants for sacrifices**. The **origin of Indian music** is traced.
- Yajur Veda- **Rajasuya & Vajapeya** are mentioned for first time. **1975 verses**. Divided into 2: Krishna Yajur Veda & Shukla Yajur Veda.
- Atharva Veda – contains **charms and spells**, to ward off evils & diseases. **5987 verses** with **20 chapters or Khandas**- divided into 2 parts: Paippalada & Saunaka.
- Brahmanas – **science of sacrifice**. Treatise related to prayer & sacrificial ceremonies.
- Important Brahmanas are:
 1. Aitareya
 2. Kausitaki
 3. Tandyamaha
 4. Jaiminiya
 5. Taittiriya
 6. Satapatha
 7. Gopatha

Rigveda	Aitareya, Kausitaki
Samaveda	Tandyamaha, Jaiminiya
Yajurveda	Taittiriya, Satapatha
Atharvaveda	Gopatha

- Satapatha Brahmana – important of all Brahmanas. Provide information on: **sacrifices & ceremonies, theology, philosophy, manners & customs of later Vedic period.**
- Aryankas – **mysticism**
- Upanishad- **philosophical text dealing with individual self, soul, mysteries of nature.**
 - Mundaka
 - Isha: shortest Upanishad.
 - Chandogya: oldest, **doctrine of cosmic self** is mentioned.

Kena

Brihadaranyka: oldest, **idea of rebirth** is mentioned.

VEDANGAS / SMRITIS

- Written in the **form of sutra**.
- Sutra – condensed prose style for memorization.
- 6 vedangas:
 1. Siksha / phonetics
 2. Kalpa / rituals
 3. Vyakrana / grammar
 4. Nirukta / etymology
 5. Chandas / metrics
 6. Jyotisha / astronomy

- The historical reconstruction of Aryan life and institutions is based on these literatures.
- The two epics, **the Ramayana & the Mahabharata** – deal with events which took place between c. 1000 and 700 BCE.
- **Sources about Vedic Periods: the Ramayana & the Mahabharata & 4 Vedas.**

- The Aryans **domesticated horses** – used for riding & for driving carts / chariots.
- **Horse / asva** – the main characteristics of the Aryan culture.
- The term **asva occurs 215 times in the rig Veda.**
- No other animals mentioned so frequently.
- Horses are equally important in the Zend '*Avesta*' (c.1400 BCE) & Homers '*Odyssey*' (c. 900-800 BCE).
- The term **cow / go – 176 times.**
- The term **vrsabha / bull – 170 times.**
- This shows the importance of cattle rearing
- They **prayed for Praja (children), Pasu (cattle) & Asva.**
- Few references of lion, deer, buffalo, elephant.
- **No mention of tiger and rhino** in the Rig Veda.
- They fought with **bows and arrows** - lived in a **male dominated society** - practiced **cremation & buried the dead.**

FEATURES:

1. **Horse** – crucial role in the life of the Aryans – enable them to establish their political dominance – the existence of the horse has not been reported from excavations at Harappa - the **indicator of the Aryans presence** – horses are praised in **2 complete hymns of the rig Veda.**
2. **The war chariot** – **horse drawn, wheeled chariots races in the Vajpeya sacrifices.**
3. **Spoked wheels** – it neither identified at Harappa nor Mohenjo-Daro. All the toy carts found show **solid wheels, spoked wheels** at Banawali. Dates back to 1800 BCE, the post Harapan phase.
4. **Pit dwelling** – **post cremation burials**, cremation an Aryan feature reference in the Avesta & the odyssey not a feature of the Harapan.
5. **Fire worship**- the **fire alters or vedi** is mentioned in the rig Veda

6. **Animal sacrifices**- for rituals, **horse sacrifices**. Mentioned in the rig Veda, **Ashvamedha**.

INDO EUROPEAN LANGUAGE THEORY

- 19th century European scholars – “**Sanskrit was related in structure and sound to Greek, Celtic / English & Latin**”.
- This led to the theory of a common ancestral languages, indo European, used by the ancestors of the people speaking these languages.

ENGLISH	LATIN	GREEK	SANSKRIT
Father	Pater	Peter	Pitr
Mother	Mater	Meter	Matr

- These similar words could have been used in the **families only when their ancestors must have lived together** for a sufficiently long time & this points to a common origin of these languages.
- Scholars opines that, people speaking these languages were **parted brothers**.
- Scholars mention about a mother language for these Greek, Celtic, Latin, Sanskrit languages.

PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES

In 16th century, **Filippo Sasetti**, an Italian, made a comparative study of many ancient languages. He discovered **close relationship between Sanskrit and some of the principal languages of Europe such as Greek, Latin, Gothic / Germanic, Celtic & Persian**.

In 1786, **Sir William Jones**, suggested that these languages must have originated from a **mother language unknown** to us. The language they used is known as Indo European language. He was **influenced by Sasetti’ s writings**.

Max Mueller, a German scholar, called these languages ‘Aryan’. To him, the word ‘Aryan’ means **language & not race**. He argued for **Central Asia homeland of the Aryans** and their branching into two:

1. One group moving towards Europe
2. One group to Iran. They got split & one branch invaded northern India

According to him, **the Aryans & Aryan culture as the foundation of Indian civilization**. Aryans are **different in religion, language, colour**. The upper caste Hindus were their **descendants**. The lower caste **untouchables and tribals were dasas**.

19th century, **Karl Penka**, German scholar, identified language with race. Debate – **whether the term ‘Aryan’ should refer to language alone or to race alone or to both**. It is now led by many that, the term refers to languages. A few still use it in the sense of a race.

Some archaeologist regard India as the original home of the Aryans.

S. P. Gupta – “**the Indus Saraswathi civilization represent on important aspect of the developed Vedic civilization**”. (B. P. Lal)

R. C. Majumdar, in his edited book’ *History and culture of the Indian people*’– mention the idea that indigenous Aryans were the makers of the Indus civilization.

B. B. Lal dated the Veda to around 3500 BCE.

According to him, there were both **rural & urban settlements in the Vedic times**.

But the Vedic people were **agro pastoralists**. The Rig Veda has **no terms for trade & trading related activities**.

M. Wheeler agrees with the absence of urbanism among the Vedic people.

ORIGINAL HOME OF ARYANS

Common belief of historians & Scholars	Aryans were immigrants.
S. P. Gupta, B.B. Lal, Majumdar	Aryans were indigenous group.
Dayananda Saraswathi	' <i>Satyarth Prakash</i> ' – mention that Aryans came from Tibet.
Tilak	The Arctic region in his book: ' <i>The Arctic Home in the Vedas</i> ' "Climatic conditions forced the Aryans to move to Iran & India"
Jyoti Rao Phule	The original inhabitants of India were the Adivasis, Sudras, Dalits. These groups fought the arrival of the Brahmanas who represent the Aryans, but were conquered. The Brahmanas created castes to keep the indigenous people as servants.
J Muir & J Wilson	The lower castes were the indigenous inhabitants who had been conquered by the brahmanas who represent the Aryan culture.
Thomas Burrow & M. B. Emeneau	Book ' <i>A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary</i> ' Dravidian language was the language of Indus civilization. Which came first- Sanskrit or Dravidian languages? Burrow & Emeneau argue that the Rig Veda incorporated many words from Dravidian languages.

TRIBES & WARS

- Rig Veda: mentioned about **30 Tribes / jana / clan**.
- 5 tribes / **Panacha – jana: Yadu, Turvasha, Puru, Anu, Druhyu**.
- **Puru & Bharata**- dominant tribes. Sometimes they seem to be allies & as enemies.
- Rig Veda – **prayers to gods to gain victory in battles**.
- Aryans fought 2 types of battle:
 - A. **With non-Aryans**
 - B. **with themselves: intra tribal conflict**
- Most of their wars were fought for: **cattle, grazing lands – Gavishthi, Gaveshana, Goshu, Gavya**.
- **Dasharajna- battle of 10 kings**- book/ **mandala 7 of Rig Veda**- Bharatas & 10 tribes (5 Aryan & 5 non-Aryan)- **banks of river Ravi-/ Parushni**- Bharatas won the battle & Purus were defeated- conducted **Ashvamedha sacrifice**.
- Later, **Bharatas & Purus** formed alliances & named as **Kurus/ Kuru** tribe, the place they settled – **Kurukshetra**.
- **Senani: head of the army**- led the wars.
- Rajan had **no standing army**- tribal groups helped Rajan.

LAND

- Land was **not a private property**.
- People occupied land for **grazing, cultivation, & settlement**.
- **No buying, selling, mortgaging lands**.

POLITICAL PATTERNS

- **Rig Veda** mention about political administration.
- **Tribal chief-elderst member** of a tribe-**Rajan-chieftain** rather than king.
- Duty: **protect his people & victory in wars, protection of cattle**.
- **Gopa/Gopati- lord of cattle**.
- **No emergence of monarchial state**.
- **Assemblies** to assist the chief: **Vidatha, Sabha, Samiti**.
- Assemblies had: **military, religious functions**.

Sabha	Smaller, more elite gathering.
Samiti	Larger assembly, presided by Rajan, conducted elections of the Rajan.
Vidatha	Assembly of local people, meetings to perform socio-religious rituals & ceremonies.

- **Royal priest: assisted Rajan, accompanied in battles, recited prayers, supervised the performances of rituals to ensure success in battles**. E.g., **Vishvamisra & Vashishtha**.
- **Rig Veda does not mention about officers on administration of justice**.

TAXATION

- **Bali** – refers to **tribute periodically offered by the clansmen to the Rajan**.
- **Tribute was also extracted from tribes defeated in battles**.
- **No regular taxation**.
- **Redistribution of war booty- Rajan receive large share**.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

- **Kinship: basic**.
- Individual identified by the tribes- **loyalty to the tribe** & not to kingdom/territory-total members in each tribe does not exceed 100 members.
- **Rig Veda:**
 - Jana- 275 times.**
 - Janapadas is not used.**
 - Vis/ tribe-170 times.**
- **Kula/griha- family. Joint family system-patriarchal-birth of son is preferred-no desire for daughters- desired for cattle & sons**.
- **Women attended assemblies- offered sacrifices-composed hymns**.
- **Marriage – polyandry practiced- widow remarriage existed-age: 16&17- no child marriages**.
- **3 occupational groups:**
 1. Warriors
 2. Priests
 3. Common people
- **4th – Shudras** – end of Rig Veda-10th **mandala**.

GODS

- **Indra** – God of rain & thunder- destroyer of dwellings- **250 hymns**
- **Agni**- fire God- intermediary between gods & common people – **200 hymns.**
- **Soma** – God of plants.
- **Varuna** – God of sea.
- **Maruthi**
- **Surya** – sun God.
- Female Gods- **Aditi & Usha.**
- **River Saraswathi**- rig Vedic hymns.
- Mode of worship- reciting prayers & performance of sacrifices.
- Vedic text refer to meat eating- offerings of animals: sheep, goats, oxen.
- Vedic society is **polytheistic** – a belief in many gods.
- Aryans **worshipped forces of nature.**
- Apart from Gods, Rig Veda mention-

Gandharva / celestial beings
Apsara / celestial nymphs, wives of the gandharvas
Rakshasas / demons
Yatudhanas / sorcerers
Pishachas / spirit of the dead

TERMINOLOGY

Tribal chief	Janasya Gopa
Measures of time	Godhuli/ evening; samgava/ morning
Measure of area/ distance	Gavyuti & gocharman
Buffalo	Gauri / gavala
Daughter	Duhitri
Winner of cows	Gojit
Owner of cattle/ wealthy person	Gomat
One of the epithets of the god Indra	Gopati
Words for the plough	Phala, langala, sira
Sickle	Datra, Srini
Hoe	Khanitra
Cultivated field	Kshetra
Axe	Kulisha
Fertile fields	Urvara
Ritual gifts	Dana
Sacrificial fees	Dakshina

RIG VEDIC RIVERS

OLD NAME	NEW NAME
Sindhu	Indus
Askini	Chenab
Purushni	Ravi
Vitasta	Jhelum
vipas	Beas
Gomal	Gomati

Kubha	Kabul
Suvastu	Swat
Shutudri	Satluj

VARNA SYSTEM IN RIG VEDA

- Varna system came into existence.
- **Varna / colour:** Rig Veda mention: **Arya varna (fair skinned) & Dasa varna (dark skinned).**
- **Dasa & Dasyus:** **a-vrata / people who do not obey the ordinances of the gods**
a-Kratu / those who do not perform sacrifices.
- **Midhra – vacha:** refer to their **speech being indistinct, unclear / unintelligible.**
- This epithet is used in one place for the Purus, an Indo- Aryan tribe.
- **Krishna-tvach / asikni-tvach** – applied to Dasyus, **dark skinned.**
- **Dasas as anasa-** **nose less (flat nosed), faceless (metaphorical sense) or mouthless.**
- Brahmana & Kshatriya occur frequently in the family books, but the term varna is never associated with them.
- **Caste system has not developed in rig Veda or no social hierarchy. No mobility in caste system.**
- **Brahmanas:** recited hymns, group who enjoyed respect, no indication that membership of this group was based on birth, free to practice professions of their choice, members of a family practiced different jobs.
- **Vaishya & Shudra – are absent.**
- **Earliest reference of four-fold division:** **Purusha – sukta-** a hymn in **mandala 10** of Rig Veda.
- **Durona, kshiti, dam / dama, pastya, gaya, griha – household units.**

LATER VEDIC PERIOD (Video Class 6)

LATER VEDIC PERIOD (c.1000-500 BCE)

- Reveals greater complexity in political organization, social life, and economic activities.
- By 1000 BCE – Aryans started moving from the **Sapta Sindhu to Ganga Doab region** (gangetic plain, settled in Delhi, Bihar, western U.P, Rajasthan).
- **Vedas, Upanishads, Aryankas – mention migration** during 1000 to 600 BCE.
- Population growth led to migration.
- With the help of iron tools, they cleared forests, killed animals, started agriculture & using iron ploughshare & fertile soil there was agricultural expansion.
- Historians discovered **iron tools – Atranjikhera (U.P), Jodhpur (Rajasthan), Bhagawanpur (Haryana).**

SOCIETY

- Aryans formed **settled society – Janapadas.** Term not mentioned in 4 Vedas. **First mentioned in Brahmanas.**
- Head of the tribe – the **king.** **Kingship becomes hereditary.**
- Importance of **assemblies** declined. Reference of **Sabha & Samiti** continued in later Vedic text. **Vidatha** completely disappeared.

- **Taxation:** bali & bagha.
- Taxes were deposited with an **officer – Sangrihitr**
- In return, the **king has to protect agricultural land.**

- **Social stratification: Four**

Brahmanas / priests -priesthood, higher caste, suppressed lower caste
Kshatriyas – rulers & military officers, kings
Vaishyas – traders & agriculturalists, farmers
Shudras – servile class served the three varnas

- **Untouchables-** cleaners.
- All **three higher class- dvija -practiced upanayana ceremony.** Second birth, sacred thread. Beginning of Vedic education - gayatri mantra.

- **Women - lower status**

- Shudras & women were denied both upanayana ceremony & gayatri mantra.
- Aitareya brahmana describe a daughter as a source of misery & states that only a boy can be the savior of family.
- Atharva Veda - charms for changing a female fetus into a male one.
- Women occupation: **cattle rearing, milking cow, fetching water, weaving, grinding.**
- **Gargi & Maitreyi** – a few women participated in **philosophical debates** with Upanishadic sages.
- **Practice of polygyny-** a man marries more than one wife.
- **Aitareya brahmana** – polygyny but no polyandry.

RELIGIOUS

- **Indra, Agni -lost prominence.**
- **Prajapati (creator / Brahma), Vishnu (protector of people), Rudra (God of animals)–** become important.
- Beginning of **idolatry.**
- Simple **ritual to complex rituals.** Complex mode of worship – public & private sacrifices.
- **Priests become more powerful** – amassed wealth by rituals & sacrifices.
- **Danastutis** – about **gifts from kings to priests: cow, horses, chariots, gold, female slaves.**
- Gift of land – occur in later Vedic text but doubtful.
- Aitareya brahmana – suggests that king should gift gold, land, cattle, to brahmanas who anoints him.
- **Asrama system:** found mentioned in the Aitareya brahmana- meant for regulating life of male members of the higher caste.

- **4 stages of Ashrama system**

Brahmacharya / student life
Grihastha / life of householder
Vanaprastha / partial retirement
Sannyasin/ yati/ complete retirement/ ascetic life

- **Satapatha brahmana:** gives detailed description of the **upanayana** as an important aspect of life.

ECONOMIC LIFE

- **Agriculture was an integral part** of people. Household – basic unit of labour. More involved in agriculture & farming.
- Expansion of agriculture led to surplus production, irrigation activities.
- Cultivation of cereals such as barley/ yava, wheat/ godhuma, rice/ vrihi.
- In later Vedic literature, there are several references to agricultural operations such as sowing, ploughing, reaping, threshing. Preserved in pottery.
- The earliest literary references to iron in the later Vedic text.
- **Iron: krishna-ayas, shyama, shyama-ayas** (Yajur Veda & Atharva Veda)
- Taittiriya Samhita of Yajur Veda mention wooden ploughs driven by 6 or even 12 oxen.
- Land was occupied by extended families and the tribe seems to have exercised general rights over land.
- The institution of **private property in land had not yet emerged**.
- **Slaves were not used** for agricultural/ productive purposes. No words of hired labour.
- Typical pottery – Painted Grey Ware PGW.
- The general milieu as can be gathered from the text is a rural one.
- Towards the **end of later Vedic period**, there are traces of the **beginning of urbanism: 600 BCE**.
- Exchange system – products were **exchanged in centres** which – gradually exchange centers become **towns - merchants settled down in towns - Vaishyas become wealthy- Rajagriha, Vaishali, Sravasthi, Benares, Kausambi, Kushinagara** - main items: cloths, ivory, iron tools.
- **Coinage** – started coins of **different shapes & with symbols**.

POLITY

- Different political system:

Monarchic state / rajya
Oligarchic state/ ganas/ sanghas
Tribal principalities

- **Samrajya & Samrat** – used in later Vedic texts.
- Some tribes with tribal character & others made transitions into a state.
- Larger political units were formed through the **collaboration of tribes**.
- **Puru & Bharata: Kuru kingdom** – occupied at Delhi/ Kurukshetra- land of kurus - Battle of Bharata 950 BCE.
- Mahabharat – the Kauravar & Pandavar – belonged to the kurus.
- **Turvashas & Krivis formed the Panchalas** kingdom which covered **Western U.P** (Bareilly & Farrukhabad).
- The **Kuru & Panchala were allies & set up their capital at Hastinapur** – greater political entity. **Emergence of monarchial state**.
- **Satapatha and Aitareya brahman** – refer to kingdom of 10 generations (**dasha-purusham-rajyam**) it shows the **emergence of hereditary kingship**. In hereditary process of succession, the eldest son succeeds.
- Conflict over succession the Mahabharata. Battles for power & territories.

