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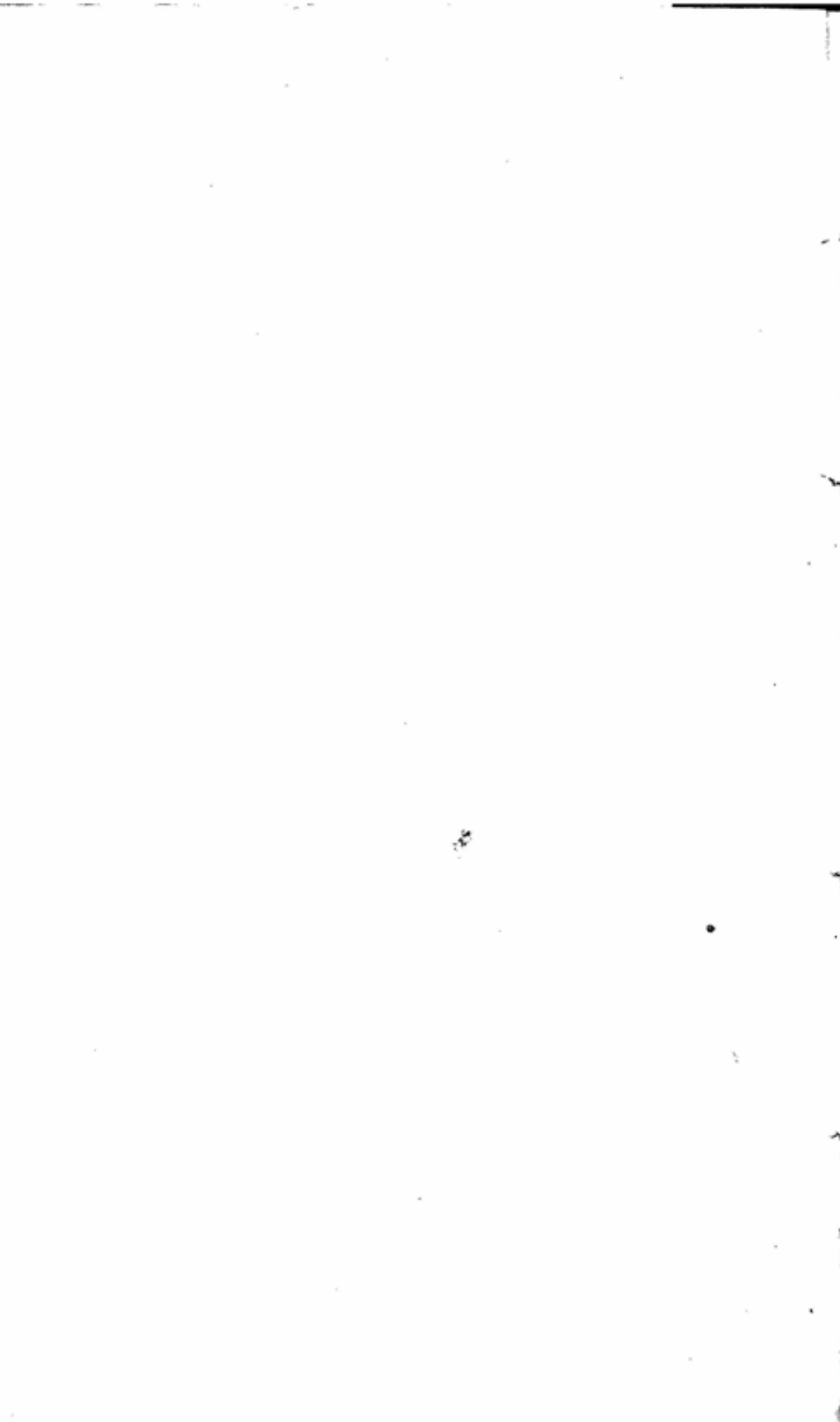
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KṢATRIYAS IN ANCIENT INDIA



Ksatriyas In Ancient India

(A Socio-Economic and Religious Study)

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*In memory of
my revered father
who watered the plant
but could not see
it blossom*



Foreword

The varṇa system formed the bedrock of the ancient Indian society till the advent of the Gupta rule. The Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas not only enjoyed higher social status but also acted as organisers and managers of the system of production and distribution, in which the Vaiśyas together with the Śūdras served as principal producers. In this system the Brāhmaṇas adopted the religious and ideological functions. The Kṣatriyas were identified with the coercive and administrative functions of the state, and fighting wars and protecting people were entirely reserved for them. The story of the formation and evolution of the state in ancient times is closely linked with the history of the Kṣatriyas. Occasional conflicts and tensions between the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas for sharing the taxes and gifts provided by the Vaiśyas and the services rendered by the Śūdras strained their mutual relations but the two higher varṇas found it in their interest to work in unison against the lower orders. There may have been rich and poor Kṣatriyas, but certain duties, obligations and social customs kept them united and made them the solid pillars of the state and society.

In the present work, Dr. (Mrs.) Shanta Anand has discussed the origin of the Kṣatriyas and reviewed their status periodwise up to post-Maurya times. She has collected and systemized a good deal of information about the social, political and religious position of the Kṣatriyas. She has discussed the problem of the Kṣatriya supremacy over the Vaiśyas and also the mutual relation between the two higher varṇas. In doing all this she had used both the Sanskrit and Pāli texts. I hope that this study will be found useful to all those who are interested in the history of the caste system in particular and of the ancient Indian social structure in general.

Piṭaka and the Jātakas. The third chapter discusses the position of the Kṣatriyas as given in the Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra with inscriptions of Aśoka and accounts of Megasthenes. The fourth chapter depicts their position from the view-point of Smṛtis. The concluding chapter gives a rapid survey of position and role of the Kṣatriyas in each period.

To facilitate the understanding of each aspect of the life of a Kṣatriya in a particular period each chapter has been subdivided into the following: (1) Meaning of the term Kṣatriya and its origin (2) Social position of the Kṣatriyas (3) Education of the Kṣatriyas (4) Duties and functions of the Kṣatriyas (5) Struggle for supremacy between the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins.

The main sources consulted are original works in Sanskrit, although help has been sought from Pāli texts, archaeology, anthropology, and sociology.

I am indebted to the authors of a large number of texts, references to which are quoted in the book at appropriate places. At this juncture. I regard it my sacred duty to remember late Dr. Dev Raj Chanana, my research supervisor and late Prof. T.G. Mainkar for their inspiration and guidance. I owe my gratitude to Prof. R.S. Sharma, Department of History, University of Delhi, who has kindly written a foreword to this book.

I am highly grateful to Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri and Prof. R.V. Joshi, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Delhi, for useful suggestions and encouragement from time to time. My thanks are also due to Drs. Pushpendra Kumar, R.N. Sharma, H.M. Chawla for their help in various ways and to my husband Dr. N.K. Anand for his co-operation throughout. Lastly but not the least I wish to thank M/s Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi for undertaking the publication of this work.

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15th June, 1984.

SHANTA ANAND

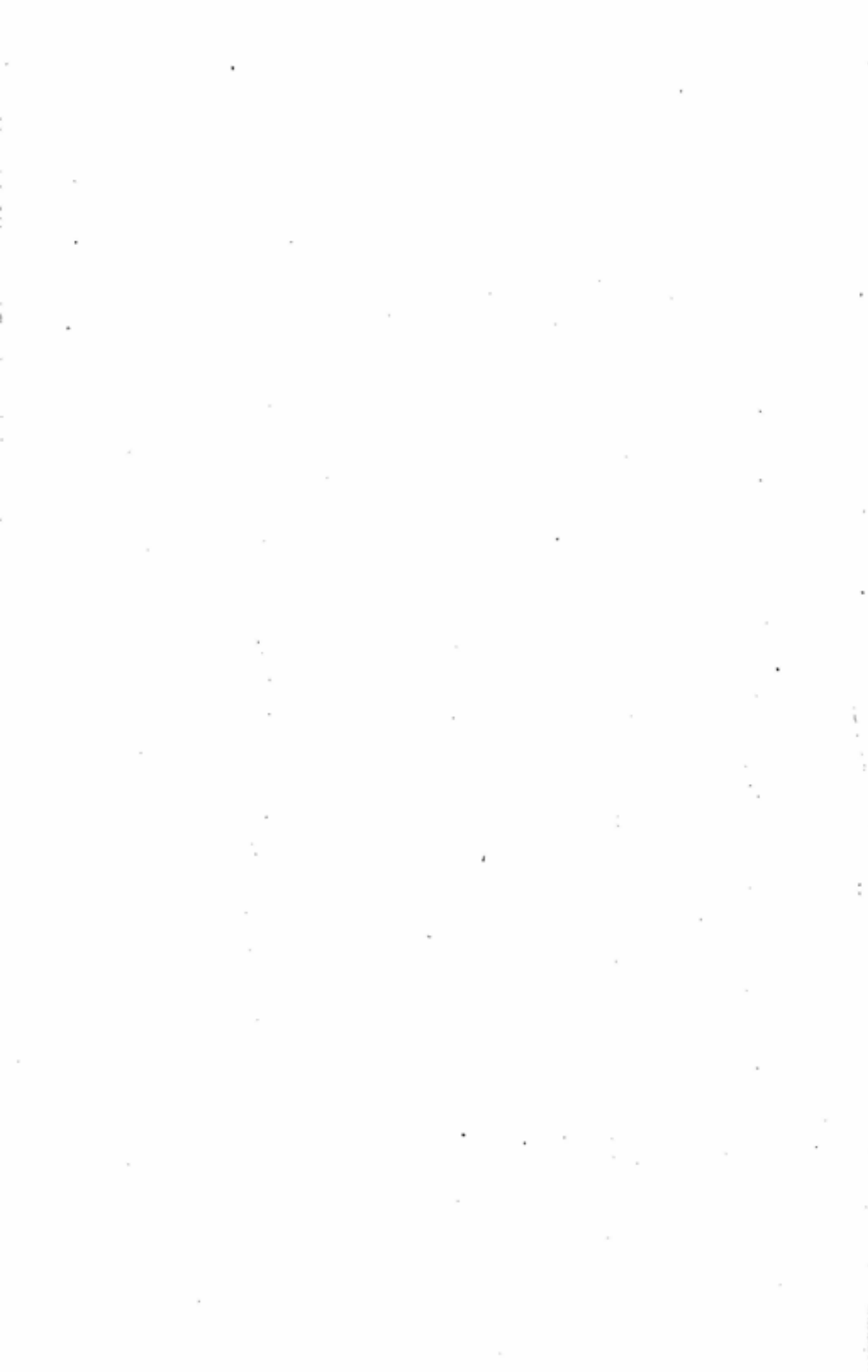
Abbreviations

AIMA	Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian.
AB.	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
AN.	Aṅguttara Nikāya.
Āp. Dh. S.	Āpastamba Dharmasūtra.
Āp. G.S.	Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra.
Āp. Ś.S.	Āpastamba Śrautasūtra.
AŚ.	Arthaśāstra.
Āśv. G.S.	Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra.
ĀV. Ś.S.	Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra.
AV.	Atharvaveda.
Baud. Dh. S.	Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra.
Baud. G.S.	Baudhayana Gṛhyasūtra.
Baud. Ś.S.	Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra.
Bhār. G.S.	Bhārdvāja Gṛhyasūtra.
Bhar. Ś.S.	Bhārdvāja Śrautasūtra.
Br. Smṛti.	Bṛhaspati Smṛti.
Br. Up.	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
Ch. Up.	Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
DN.	Dīgha Nikāya.
Gau. Dh. S.	Gautama Dharmasūtra.
Gobh. G.S.	Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra.
Gopatha Br.	Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.
Hir. G.S.	Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhyasūtra.
HOS.	Harward Oriental Series.
IHQ.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
J	Jātaka.
JB.	Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.
Jai. G.S.	Jaiminīya Gṛhyasūtra.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore.

JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
Kāt.	Kātyāyana Smṛti.
Kāt. Ś.S.	Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra.
Kāt. G.S.	Kāthaka Gṛhyasūtra.
Kaṭha. Up.	Kaṭhopaniṣad.
KS.	Kāthaka Saṁhitā.
Kaus. Up.	Kauṣitakī Upaniṣad.
Kau. Sūtra.	Kauśika Sūtra.
Khad. G.S.	Khadira Gṛhyasūtra.
MN.	Majjhima Nikāya.
MS	Maitrayāṇi Saṁhitā.
Mbh.	Mahābhārata.
Mānava G.S.	Mānava Gṛhyasūtra.
Manu	Manu Smṛti.
Muṇḍ. Up.	Muṇḍakopaniṣad.
Nār.	Nārada Smṛti.
Nir.	Nirukta.
OST.	Original Sanskrit Texts.
P.G.S.	Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra.
PB.	Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa.
PHAI	Political History of Ancient India.
RV.	Ṛgveda.
SN.	Saṃyutta Nikāya.
SBE	Sacred Books of the East.
SBB	Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
Satyā. Ś.S.	Satyāśāḍha Śrautasūtra.
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
Śāṅkha. G.S.	Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra.
TS	Taittirīya Saṁhitā.
TB.	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
TA.	Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.
TMB.	Tāṇḍyamahā Brāhmaṇa.
VS.	Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā.
Vaikh. Ś.S.	Vaikhānasa Śrautasūtra.
Vas. Dh. S.	Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra.
Viṣṇu. Dh. S.	Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra.
Yaj.	Yājñavalkya Smṛti.

Scheme of Transliteration

अ	a	इ	ḍ	द
आ	ā	ई	ḍh	ḍh
इ	i	ण	ṇ	ṇ
ई	i	त	t	t
उ	u	थ	th	th
ऊ	ū	द	d	d
ए	e	ध	dh	dh
ऐ	ai	न	n	n
ओ	o	प	p	p
औ	au	फ	ph	ph
ऋ	r	ब	b	b
क्	k	भ	bh	bh
ख	kh	म्	m	m
ग	g	य	y	y
घ	gh	र	r	r
ङ	ṅ	ल	l	l
च	c	व	v	v
छ	ch	श	ś	ś
ज	j	ष	ṣ	ṣ
झ	jh	स	s	s
ञ	ñ	ह	h	h
ट	ṭ	•	m̐	m̐
ठ	ṭh	Visarga	:	ḥ
		Anusvara		



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Kṣatriyas In The Vedic Period

1. (a) On the words Kṣatra and Kṣatriya

At the outset let us examine the meaning of these terms in the Ṛgveda, the earliest known text of the series, as also in the other Saṃhitās, and Brāhmaṇas, etc.

Kṣatra :

This term occurs about fifty times in the Ṛgveda in different cases, both in singular and plural. Generally speaking it denotes dominion, supremacy, power or might. It occurs more specially in hymns addressed to Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra and others and describes their powers.¹

Thus reference is made to Varuṇa's might² and in ṚV 1,40.8 Indra is cited as amplifying his might.³ In both these places Sāyaṇa takes the term *Kṣatram* to denote physical strength (*śarīra-balam*). Elsewhere Indra's power has been qualified as matchless.⁴ In another hymn Mitra and Varuṇa are stated to have obtained the resplendent might (*Kṣatram*) impossible to be assailed anywhere.⁵ The might or strength of Agni is lauded in ṚV. IV. 4.8 and VIII. 19.33 where *Kṣatra* occurs in accusative plural.

1. Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 325.

2. ṚV, 1.24.26.

3. उप शत्रम् पृथ्वीत ।

4. बलम् शत्रम् । ṚV, 1,54.8.

5. ṚV, 1.136.1.

Indra is said to have been endowed with *dominion* (*Kṣatra*) by gods for victory in battles and for slaughtering Vṛtra.¹ The author of X.130.3 lauds Indra's mighty power (*Kṣatra*) over peoples. According to VII.21.3 earlier deities are said to have abdicated their powers in favour of the *Supreme dominion* of Indra. Indra's *dominion* is also eulogised in several other stanzas.² We also learn that the Aśvins raised Trikṣi (son of Trasadasyu) to *high dominion* (*Kṣatra*).³ Elsewhere,⁴ it denotes the *might* and *high dominion* of several gods. In another stanza, Mitra and Varuṇa are requested to uphold the *dominion* resting on a thousand pillars.⁵ The vast sway of Mitra and Varuṇa is also lauded in VI.67.5 and V.68.3. In one passage, the Maruts are also requested to protect the *dominion*⁶ of Paijāvana.

Even with the preposition *su* tagged on, the term denotes but the quality of *might* and *dominion*. In V.31.5 Indra's overlordship has been denoted by *su-kṣatrāsa*. In VI.49.1. Agni, Varuṇa and Mitra are cited as lords of fair *dominion* (*su-kṣatra*).

In another stanza,⁷ the epithet is applied to Mitra. The term *sva-kṣtram* (V.35.9) also lauds the native power of Indra.

The word *Kṣatra* is also found in the concrete sense of ruler in the RV, VIII.35.17 and in I.157.2 it has been taken in the form of princely power.⁸ In this hymn of the RV, Indra is implored to support the princely power of Rathaprosṭhasa. The meaning of *Kṣatra* in the sense of ruler or princely power seems to be a later development as this sense is found nowhere in maṇḍalas II to VII which forms the nucleus of the RV.

It should, however, be noted that the RV does not use this term to denote the Kṣatriya Varuṇa. This seems to have occurred, probably, in the later Vedic period when *Kṣatra* would signify both might and the members of the Kṣatriya varuṇa.

1. RV, VI.25.8.

2. RV, III.38.5; IV.17.1; VII.34.11; V.34.9.

3. RV, VIII.22.7.

4. RV, III.38.3.

5. RV, V.62.6.

6. RV, VII.18.25.

7. RV, III.59.4.

8. RV, X.60.5.

Coming to the Atharvaveda, we find that it denotes both dominion and the Kṣatriyas. In a number of passages listed below it stands for dominion and authority.¹ In two passages, if we agree with Sāyaṇa, it signifies *bala* (physical strength) as also the Kṣatriya Varṇa.² In II.15.4 it seems to denote the Kṣatriya varṇa.³

In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā⁴ of the Yajurveda, the usage of the word in the sense of power and Kṣatriya varṇa are kept up and this becomes the accepted norm in the related Brāhmaṇas as well.⁵ It is to be noted that beginning from this section of Vedic literature, the signification "dominion" recedes into background and its use for indicating members of the Kṣatriya varṇa becomes more frequent. Thereafter, even the sense of *might* and *dominion* falls into background and the Brāhmaṇas use *Kṣatra* almost exclusively to denote members of the Kṣatriya varṇa. This is the case with the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa,⁶ the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,⁷ the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa⁸ and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.⁹ This is also kept up in the Upaniṣads,¹⁰ where *Kṣatra* stands exclusively for members of the Kṣatriya varṇa.

Etymology of *Kṣatra*:

The earliest etymology for this term is found in Yāska. In his Nighaṇṭu, the word is read as a synonym of both *dhana* (wealth) and *udaka* (water). Curiously he does not include it among the synonyms of *bala* (strength, power, might).¹¹ For

1. AV, XII.3.51; VII.89.2; IV.22.2; XV.10.5; VI.97.2; VII.83.2.

2. AV, III.5.2; III.19.1.

3. यथा ब्रह्म च शत्रं च न विभीतो न रिष्यतः । एवा मे प्राण मा बिभे ॥

According to Sāyaṇa शत्रम् means शत्रियजाति and Whitney, HOS, Vol. VII takes Kṣatriya caste to be the correct translation of the term *Kṣatra*—fn to hymn II.15.4.

4. TS, I.6.1.2; II.2.11.2.

5. TB, II.8.8.9; TMB, XLI.2; ŚB, V.1.5.3.

6. Supra.

7. ŚB, V.4.1.1,7; XII.7.3.12.

8. TMB, XI.1.2.

9. AB, VIII.9.

10. Br.Up, I.4.11; Kaṭha Up, II.5; Praśna Up. II.6.

11. Nir. II.10; I.12.

the author of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka upaniṣad, Kṣatra is life, because it saves (trā—to protect) from hurt (*kṣa-kṣatra*).¹ According to the rules of Pāṇini, it has to be derived from √*Kṣu*.²

Here we may add that Sāyaṇa, following the tradition of Vedic interpretation established by his predecessors, explains *Kṣatra* as the power that saves from hurt³ (something already attempted in the Upaniṣads) and then reads it as a synonym of *bala* (power or might).⁴

Thus etymologically derived *Kṣatra* would denote power, energy, ability or capacity which saves a thing or being from destruction or hurt signifying divine power of physical courage.⁵

In brief, we can say that starting as a synonym of wealth and water (extremely important for life), it came to denote power in general and then slowly became identified with the possessors of might and power, based on material riches.

Companions of Kṣatra :

Let us now have a look at the words, which are frequently used in association with *Kṣatra*. By understanding their correct sense, it might be possible to grasp the import of *Kṣatra* still better.

In the RV, it is read along with *varcas*, *bala* and others,⁶ while in AV, it is read with *bala* and *ojas*.⁷ In the Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā (III.2.18) it is read as signifying the strength particular to the Kṣatriyas. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa pairs *Kṣatra* and

1. क्षत्रं प्राणो वै क्षत्रं प्राणं वै क्षत्रं हि त्रायते हैनं प्राणः ।

क्षत्रिणोः प्रक्षत्रमत्रमप्नोति क्षत्रस्य सायुज्यं सलोकतां जयति य एवं वेद ।

—Br. Up, V.13.4.

2. क्षण इति नाम्नाम् इति धातोः सम्पादादित्वात् निवप समदीनामिति वक्तव्यादनुनासिकलोपे तुगात्मे च क्षदिनि रूपं निद्धम् ।

3. Sāyaṇa on AV. III.19.5; VII.87.2 and VII.89.2. क्षतात् त्रायकं बलम्

4. Sāyaṇa on AV. III.5.2. and III.11.64.

5. Sir George Macummn, *The Martial Races of India*, p. 2 talks of this courage as "guts" separating martial races from non-martial races.

6. RV. X.18.9.

7. स्वेयं दुःकृते यजिनं सत्यं यज्ञो यज्ञो बृहत् ।

बलं च क्षत्रमोजस्व शरीरमनु प्राविशन् ॥ AV, XI.8.20

*ojah*¹ while the Taittīrya Āraṇyaka reads the three, i.e. *Kṣatra*, *bala* and *ojas* together.² Commenting on this passage Sāyaṇa, however, sees something special in *Kṣatra*, that is, the special strength of the Kṣatriyas³. Another text also reads these words together.⁴ The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, for its part, declares that *Kṣatra* is *Prajāpati*, lord of creatures himself so that vigour is but *Prajāpati* personified.⁵ Presumably because power and might can be easily identified with heat, it also identifies *Kṣatra* with *grīṣma*, summer.⁶

Kṣatra and Rāṣṭra :

Here our term is identified with *rāṣṭra*. Thus AV declares : A king should honour his Vrātya guest better than himself so that his *rāṣṭra* and *Kṣatra* may not be offended.⁷ These two terms have been mentioned together in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which says, '*Kṣatra* is *rāṣṭra*',⁸ both of them being king's precious possessions. According to this passage, a contented and honoured priest (*Purohita*) leads the king to heavens and makes him possess *bala*, *rāṣṭra* and *Viś*. Dishonoured, he destroys all the three.⁹

Kṣatra and Rājanya :

With the word *Kṣatra* being almost exclusively associated with members of the Kṣatriya varṇa, it is not surprising to see it along with another similar term, namely, *rājanya*. This can be

1. ओजः क्षत्रम् । AB, VIII.8.

2. मद्रं पश्यंत उपसेदुरग्रे तपो दीक्षामुषयः सुबविदः ।

ततः क्षत्रं बलमोजश्च जातं तस्मै देवा अभिसंनमन्तु ॥

TA, III.11.12.

3. Sāyaṇa, on TA क्षत्रम् क्षत्रिय सम्बन्धि तेजः ।

4. बाहू मे बलं इन्द्रियं हृत्तो मे कर्म वीर्यम् । आत्मा क्षत्रमूरो मम ।

TB, II.6.5.5.

5. ŚB, VIII.2.3.11.

6. Ibid, II.1.3.5.

7. श्रेयोसमेनमात्मनो मानयेत् तथा क्षत्राय ना वृञ्चते तथा राष्ट्राय ना वृञ्चते ।

AV, XV.10.2 and X.3.13 *Kṣatra* and *rāṣṭra* have been translated by Whitney as dominion and royalty respectively, HOS, Vol. VII.

8. क्षत्रम् हि राष्ट्रम् । AB, VIII.24:

9. Ibid.

shown from a number of passages in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹ and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.² The latter text also declares that *rājanya* is might and *Kṣatra* is strength,³ thus making them practically interchangeable.⁴

Kṣatriya :

This term with which we are most concerned is directly derived from the term [*Kṣatra*].⁵ As against the relatively frequent occurrence of *Kṣatra* (50 times) *Kṣatriya* occurs only nine times in the RV.⁶ It is used as an epithet of gods (Agni, IV.12.3, Mitrāvaruṇa, V.69.1). The dual gods, Mitrāvaruṇa are called *Kṣatriyas*,⁷ princes.⁸ In another stanza Indra calls himself a *Kṣatriya*, understood as royal ruler.⁹

Commenting on the stanza, IV.22.1 of AV, Sāyaṇa understands *Kṣatriya* as *rāja*,¹⁰ king. It may also be noted that this Veda also employs the term to indicate members of the *Kṣatriya* varṇa.¹¹ In other Saṁhitās¹² and Brāhmaṇas,¹³ this last sense gets firmly fixed and later on it is also used to distinguish a ruler from other members of the same varṇa.¹⁴

1. ŚB, V.1.5.3, XIII.4.4.1.
2. AB, VII.31.
3. Ibid, VII.2.
4. Here we may add that although in earlier Vedic literature (RV, X.92.12) *Kṣatriya* and *Rājanya* are used as synonyms, in later texts *Rājanya* is identified with nobles. In the AV, VI.38.4, *Rājanya* is glossed by Sāyaṇa as *rājnobhiṣiktasya putraḥ* (the son of an anointed king).
5. Pāṇini 4.1.38, the sūtra is *Kṣtrad ghaḥ* and will denote an *apatya* (child of *Kṣatra*). As the suffix *gha* is admissible only in case of a group, here it refers to the descendants of the *Kṣatras*, i.e. the *Kṣatriya* varṇa. This is confirmed by his providing a separate rule for an individual descendant who is called a *Kṣātrī*.
6. RV, IV.12.3, IV.42.1; V.69.1; VII. 64.2; VII.104.3; VIII.67.1; VIII.25.8; X.66.8; X.109.3.
7. RV, VII.64.2, VIII.25.8.
8. RV, VIII.56.1.
9. RV, IV.42.1.
10. अत्रिय—इमम् अत्रिय राजानाम् ।
11. AV, V.17.3; VII.108.1; VIII.4.13; XII.5.5.
12. VS, XIV.9; XXX.5.; TS, VII.5.23; II.6.15.
13. AB, VII.24.; ŚB, VI.4.13.; IV.1.4.6.
14. AB, VII.15; VII.24.; VI.22; ŚB, VI.4.4.13; XII.8.3.19, etc.

Summing up this evidence it can be said that *Kṣatriya* came to represent, at a fairly early date, the entire royal family as also nobles and their relations. According to Renou, however, *Kṣatriya* denoted not only the categories of persons mentioned above, but also the vassals of a prince.¹

Taking both the terms together, we find that primarily *Kṣatra* and *Kṣatriya* were connected with the gods denoting their power or might and showing them as princely-wielders of power. Coming down to the period of *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* we find both these words in the earlier sense of dominion and power as well as in the new sense of *Kṣatriya varṇa* which is not to be traced anywhere in the *ṚV*. (The word *Kṣatriya* which was originally derived from *Kṣatra* came to be exclusively used in the sense of the *Kṣatriya varṇa* in later literature while the use of *Kṣatra* for the same was dropped in this literature.) Thus it can also be said that *Kṣatra*, (power) got its possessor in the term *Kṣatriya*.

(b) Origin of the Ksatriyas

Evidence of the Puruṣa-Sūkta :

Turning to the Vedas, we find that in a late part of the *ṚV* (Xth book), the *Puruṣa-sūkta* deals with the origin of all beings, including the *Kṣatriyas*. According to this hymn, different beings arose from the different limbs of the body of the primeval man offered in a sacrifice. The Brahmin is said to have been created from the mouth and the *Rājanya* from the two arms.² The *Vaiśya* was created from the two thighs and the *Śūdra* from the two feet. This stanza has been the basis of all religious sanction for the *cāturvarṇya* (four varṇa system) of later times, but that need not detain us. Suffice it to note that this stanza occurs virtually in the latest segment of the *Ṛgveda* and that this is the only one to make a mention of the *Śūdras*. As regards our topic it talks of *Rājanyas*, but these have always been accepted as *Kṣatriyas* and we, too, see no reason for differing from this view point.

Evidence of the Taittirīya Samhitā :

Among the later texts, we may cite the *Taittirīya Samhitā* : "The Brahmin is the chief, for he is created from the mouth (*mukha*), the *Kṣatriya* is vigorous because he is created from

1. Renou, *Civilization in Ancient India*, p. 46.

vigour, the Vaiśya is meant to be consumed as he is created from the stomach and the Śūdra is to be the transporter of others being created from the feet."¹

In another context, the same Samhitā² declares "The gods were afraid of the Rājanya when he was in the womb. They bound him with bonds when he was in the womb. Consequently this Rājanya is born bound if he were born unbound, he would go on slaying his enemies. In regard to whatever Rājanya anyone desires that he should be born unbound, and should go on slaying his enemies, let him offer for him this Andra-Bārhaspatya oblation. A Rājanya has the character of Indra and a Brahmin is Brhaspati. It is through the Brahmin that one releases the Rājanya from his bond. The golden bond, a gift manifestly releases from the bond that fetters."³

Other Theories

Metre : Elaborating the same theme, other texts also ascribe a divine origin to the Kṣatriyas (as to all beings). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, for example, associates the three upper varṇas with *bhūh*, *bhuvah* and *svah*, i.e., the three worlds. It says that Prajāpati saying 'bhuvah' generated the Kṣatriya, saying 'bhūh' generated the Brahmin and saying 'svah' generated the Vaiśya.⁴

The Atharvaveda, on its part, tells us that when the Vrātya became impassioned (rajas), the Rājanya varṇa was born.⁵

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa also associated the three varṇas with the three most popular Vedic metres.⁶ The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa connects the Brahmin with the *Gāyatrī* for it confers brilliance and splendour, the Kṣatriya with *Trīṣṭubh* for it confers force, power and strength and the Vaiśya with the *Jagatī* for it confers cattle.⁷

The association of *Trīṣṭubh* with the Kṣatriya seems to be due

1. TS, VII.1.1.4.

2. TS, II.4.13.1.

3. Cited on p.22, Muir (J), OST, Vol. 1.

4. ŚB, II.1.4.12. Tr. J. Eggeling, SBE, Vol. XII, ŚB, Pt. I.

5. SO RAJAYAT, Tato rājanyo' jāyata, AV., XV.8.1.

6. ŚB, I.3.5.5.

7. गायत्री वं ब्रह्मणः त्रैष्टुभो वै राजन्यः जायते वैश्यः ।

AB, I.28.

to the fact that the hymns celebrating the heroic deeds of Indra and his associates, Maruts are almost entirely composed in this metre.¹

Vedas : The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa associates the three varṇas with the three Vedas (the Brahmin with the Sāma, the Kṣatriya with the Yajur and the Vaiśya with the Ṛgveda).² In another context, it however credits Brahma with the creation of gods, spiritual power (*Brahma*) and lordly power (*Kṣatra*).³ This is also reiterated in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad where we read that Brahma being alone could not develop, so he created a better form—*Kṣatra* (Kṣatriya) along with the gods Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Pārjanya, Yama and Mṛitu,⁴ all these represent the Kṣatriya varṇa. As the term *Kṣatra* has become synonymous with Kṣatriyas in the Brāhmaṇas (supra), it obviously concedes superiority to the Brahmins vis-a-vis the Kṣatriyas, because likewise *brahma* has become synonymous with Brahmin.

Viś : Another passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, seems to be more realistic. In connection with a ritual, the ŚB says, "Milk is nobility (*Kṣatra*) and surā (liquor) the peasantry (*Viś*) the milk he purifies after purifying the *surā* ; he thus produces the nobility out of the peasantry, for nobility is produced out of the peasantry."⁵

Like all created beings, the Kṣatriya is also divine in origin and is associated with a number of things, highly valued in rituals, the three *lokas* (Worlds), the three metres, even the three Vedas. In both these classifications, i.e., of the metre and the Vedas, Dr. Mangaldeva finds the instance of close relationship existing between the Brahmin Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas at every step.⁶ It seems that at a later stage, some school of the Brah-

1. J. Eggeling, SBE, Vol. XII, ŚB, Pt. 1, fn to I.3.5.5.

2. TB, III.12.9.2.

3. TB, 11.8.8.9.

4. ब्रह्म वा इदमग्र आसीदेकमेव तदेक सन्न व्यभक्तच्छूयो
रुपमन्त्यसृजत क्षत्रं यान्येतानि देवत्वा क्षत्राणीन्द्रो वरुणः
सोमो रुद्रः पर्जन्यो यमो मृत्युरीशान इति तस्मात् क्षत्रात्परं नास्ति ।

Br. Up, 1.4.11.

5. ŚB, XII.7.3.8, Tr. Eggeling, SBE, XLIV, ŚB, Pt. V.

6. Mangaldeva Śastri, Bhārtiya Sanskriti kā Vikās, Vol. I, pp. 162-63.

min's (for all these texts are mostly written by Brahmins), tried to put the Kṣatriyas a little below themselves and arrogated to themselves the power of creation itself. To this trend belongs a couple of stories related above. The last named theory, regarding their evolution from among the peasantry might have been more realistic.¹

2. Social Status of the Kṣatriyas

As noted earlier, the first mention of the Kṣatriyas as members of a particular varṇa is seen in the Puruṣa-Sūkta (X.90.12). Although the actual word *Kṣatriya* is not found there, scholars agree in construing *Rājanya*, occurring therein, as *Kṣatriya*. According to this Sūkta, the *Rājanya* was born out of the two arms of the man treated as an oblation to the gods. Since only the Brahmins were created out of an organ higher than the arms, i.e., the mouth, it is not a bad position, except that it does imply some inferiority vis-a-vis the Brahmins. Let us, however, try to follow the progress of this varṇa in the social set up as delineated in the Vedic literature.

No Rigid Varṇa Restrictions in RV :

A careful study of the data, thus gathered shows us that even if the Kṣatriya/Rājanya were accorded an inferior position vis-a-vis the Brahmin, there was no effort at determining one's varṇa on the basis of birth alone. In fact no particular occupations seem to have been fixed for particular varṇas. A ṛṣi, (a seer) describes his father as a physician, a bone-setter to be exact, and his mother as a grinder of corn, etc.² In another stanza, we come across a Brahmin practising as a physician, a degraded profession in later times.³ The latter day restrictions of connubium and commensality are almost totally lacking in the RV. Not only all eat together, but there is practically nothing that they do not thus consume. As regards marriages, the only restrictions seem to be

1. Anticipating a little, let us add that the three varṇas or four varṇas mentioned in this literature are not absolutely hereditary. It should also be born in mind that varṇa is not co-terminous with certain professions, e.g., Priesthood and Brahmin and that persons could change their professions and therefore their varṇas as well.
2. RV, IX.112.3.
3. RV, X.97.22.

regarding one's near relatives, mother or sister, etc.¹ Otherwise one could marry anybody.²

Special Rights and Privileges of the Kṣatriyas :

But as we pass from ṚV to other Saṁhitās and later literature, we find restrictions emerging, both with regard to commensality and connubium, which will in course of time, differentiate the various varṇas. This process has been described by many scholars including Macdonell,³ Keith⁴ and Majumdar.⁵ The Aryans, as they moved eastward, had to establish their supremacy over the aborigines and for that they needed fighters. Slowly groups of such people might have become specialists in arms and this seems to have given rise to the Kṣatriya varṇa. They might have been charged by their social group both with offence and defence. In contrast, persons charged with production of material goods, foodgrains, cotton, etc., and their marketing seem to have crystallised as the members of the Vaiśya Varṇa. Something similar can be surmised about the Brahmins as also the Śūdras.

However, clear references to the four varṇas of society with separate rights and privileges are available in abundance in the later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas. The Aryan society of the time was divided into four varṇas,⁶ i.e. Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. In the AV, we find a prayer being made to *Darbha* to endear the sacrificer to Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Śūdra and Ārya. Ārya probably stands for the Vaiśya.⁷

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has different sizes of sepulchral mounds for different varṇas, a mound as high as a man standing

1. ṚV, Yama Sūkta.

2. Here we may quote Max-Muller, "There is no authority whatever in the hymns of the Veda for the complicated system of castes; no authority for the offensive privileges claimed by the Brahmins; no authority for the degraded position of the Śūdras. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together, from eating and drinking together; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes, no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible sigma"—*Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. II, p. 311.

3. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 249.

4. Keith, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 83.

5. The Vedic Age, Vol. I, p. 386.

6. MS, IV.4.6.

7. AV, XIX.32.8; ŚB, V.5.4.9. Supports this interpretation.

with arms raised above his head for a Kṣatriya.¹ Similarly different modes of calling or welcoming are prescribed for the four varṇas.² This Brāhmaṇa classifies them into four well known varṇas.³

In accordance with the same tendency, separate seasons are allotted to different varṇas for the performance of their sacrifices. The Kṣatriya is asked to perform a sacrifice during summer.⁴ With seasons thus allotted, no wonder that even separate metres have been given to separate varṇas. According to the same source,⁵ the *Trīṣṭubh* is the *Kṣatra* and the *Gāyatrī* the Brahmin. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa prescribes *Gāyatrī* for a Brahmin, *Trīṣṭubh* for Rājanya and *Jagati* for a Vaiśya.⁶ The *Gāyatrī* mantra, to be recited daily by members of the first three varṇas, is required to be prefaced with *Bhūh*, for Brahmins, '*Bhuvah*' in the case of our varṇa and '*Svah*' in that of Vaiśyas.⁷

An important development in the period is to claim a special position for the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas distinguishing them from the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. Prayers for the protection of the upper two varṇas are found both in the Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas.⁸ These generally point to the close association between the two upper varṇas with the specific exclusion of the other two. The ŚB clearly states that the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas enclose the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras.⁹ It also declares that no one is complete except a Brahmin and a Kṣatriya.¹⁰ In connection with the coronation ceremony the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa states that the Brahmin precedes the Kṣatriya while the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras follow him.¹¹ The ŚB supports the same by declaring that the Brahmin and the Kṣatriya never go behind the

1. ŚB, XIII.8.3.11. For a Brahmin a mound reaching upto the mouth, for a Vaiśya upto the thighs and for a Śūdra upto the knee.

2. ŚB, I.1.4.12.

3. ŚB I.3.3.19; 2.5.2.6; 5.5.2.27; 2.5.4.8.

4. ŚB, II.1.3.5, TB, 1.1. A Brahmin should sacrifice in spring and a Vaiśya during rainy season.

5. ŚB, 1.3.5.4-5.

6. AB, I.28.

7. ŚB, II.1.3.4.

8. VS, XVIII.38-44; ŚB, III.5.2.11; III.6.1.17-18; IX.4.1.7.8.

9. ŚB, VI.4.4.12-13.

10. Ibid., VI.6.3, 12-13.

11. AB, VIII.4.

Vaiśya and the Śūdra.¹ Not only does it indicate a cleavage between two groups of upper and lower varṇas, but it also implies an equalisation of status of the two lower varṇas.

Promotion of Kṣatriyas to the Brahmin rank :

Notwithstanding, however, the statements regarding the superiority of the Brahmins vis-a-vis the Kṣatriyas, it is still possible for people to graduate to the highest varṇa. We have the example of Viśvāmitra. He was a rājanya of Bharat and Kauśika² families and was also the author of numerous Vedic hymns including the holiest Gāyatrī hymn. He also officiated as the priest of Sudāsa³ and the Hotṛ priest and a sacrificer of king Harīśchandra.⁴ Another Kṣatriya, Devāpi was the priest and brother of king Śāntanu⁵ and also composed the R̥gvedic hymn X.98. Gr̥tsamada, the author of the many hymns of the RV⁶ and the founder of the families of the Bhṛgu, is described in the Mahābhārata⁷ as the son of king Vītahavya who had become a Brahmin by the declaration of sage Bhṛgu in order to save his life from the pursuing enemy. According to the ŚB, even the king Janaka had been promoted to the Brahmin rank by the sage Yājñavalkya.⁸

The fact that a Kṣatriya about to perform a sacrifice had to put on a Brahmin's garb has led some scholars to take it a permanent change. While reserving our detailed remarks, it may suffice to mention that a Kṣatriya could not perform a sacrifice in the dress of a Kṣatriya and therefore had to put on the garb of a Brahmin, but this was only for the period of the sacrifice.⁹

Supremacy of the Kṣatriyas over the Vaiśyas :

Another tendency visible in the Vedic texts is to set the Kṣatri-

1. ŚB, VI.4.4.13.

2. RV, III.53.9.12.

3. Ibid., III.53.

4. AB, VII.16.

5. Nirukta, II.10.

6. RV, II.1-3, II.30-43, etc.

7. Mbh., Anuśāsana Parva Ch., 30.

8. ŚB, XI.6.2.5.

9. AB, VII.23, 24.

yas above the viś, the common people engaged in agriculture and trade. Explaining the use of species of wood for the ladles of the New and the Full Moon sacrifices the TS states : 'So doing the priest puts both the Brahma and the Kṣatra above the Viś.'¹ In another text (i.e. the use of formulae for the ceremony of putting the fire in the altar), the Yajur declares that 'thereby the priest attaches the Viś to the Kṣatra, the Kṣatra speaks above the Viś, (thus) the priest wins the Viś for him (i.e. for Kṣatra) and makes Viś obedient to Kṣatra.'² Similarly the Pancaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa remarks that the use of certain lauds is made the instrument of bringing vigour and strength into Brahma and Kṣatra and making Viś subject to both.³ The ŚB also shows that the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas are established on the people.⁴ (Viś)

This supremacy of the Kṣatriya (who, of course, is subordinate to the Brahmin), over the Viś is sought to be established in many other ways. In connection with the preparatory rites of the Soma sacrifice, the ŚB identifies the fire-altar with Kṣatra and the fire-hearths with the Viś.⁵ Since the fire altar is made first and the hearths afterwards, the author argues that the Kṣatra has the first position and the Viś the second. Again, the Vaiśvānara is identified as the Kṣatra and the Viś as Maruts. As the oblation is first offered to the Vaiśvānara and then to the Maruts,⁶ this also puts the Kṣatra first.

Many other texts corroborate this view-point. The ŚB mentions a rite by which the Kṣatra, identified with Varuṇa, is made superior to people. 'Hence people serve the Kṣatra placed above them'.⁷ In another rite we find the Viś, in a lower position, serving the Kṣatra seated above them.⁸ In a rite of the Soma feast, the Soma is identified with Kṣatra and the two

1. TS, III.5.7.2-3.

2. KS, XXI.10; MS, III.3.10; TS, V.4.7.7.

3. PB, III.9.2. We have already shown that according to the ŚB, (VI.4.4.13) the first two varṇas always precede the other two, so as 'to avoid a confusion between the good and the bad.'

4. ŚB, XI.2.7.16.

5. Ibid, IX.4.3.1.

6. Ibid, IX.3.1.14; VI.6.1.7.

7. Ibid, II.5.2.6.

8. Ibid, I.3.4.15.

stones with the Viś.¹ This also raised the status of the former. We see the same thing in the rite of brick-laying for the Gārha-patya Agni. 'The seasonal (bricks) indeed are also Kṣatra, by their different layers he thus builds up the Kṣatra above the Viś, let him not thereafter place over them any other brick with a sacrificial formula, lest he should place the Viś above the Kṣatra.'²

In another passage identifying Indra with Kṣatra and the Maruts with Viś, the ŚB states³ that the Kṣatra is the controller of the Viś as they should be controlled. It also refers to the Viś as imitators and followers of the Kṣatra.⁴ In connection with another rite it says that thereby the priest makes the Viś subservient and obedient to Kṣatra.⁵ In connection with the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice, we read in the PB that a priest, by performing a certain ritual, makes the Viś subject to the Kṣatriya.⁶ The same Brāhmaṇa explains certain rite by whose performance the Viś is attached to Kṣatra and the former never abandons the latter.⁷

This superiority of the Kṣatriya over the Viś is clearly set forth in the ŚB.⁸ In connection with the certain formulae of the Aśvamedha, we read : 'Kṣatra presses hard on the people, whence the wielder of the royal power is apt to strike down people.' While laying down distinctive qualities of a Vaiśya, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa states that a Vaiśya is tributary to another, to be eaten by another, to be oppressed at will.⁹ This is also corroborated by certain other passages. In explaining a Aśvamedha rite the author identifies the Viś as grains and the Kṣatra as deer. Thus the Viś is made food for the Kṣatra and the Kṣatra feeds on it.¹⁰ By virtue of certain other rites the Kṣatra is placed as eater of Viś.¹¹

1. ŚB, III.9.3.3.

2. Ibid, III.7.1.6.

3. Ibid, II.5.2.27.

4. Ibid, II.5.2.34.

5. Ibid, IX.3.1.16; IV.3.3.10.

6. PB, VI.10.10-11; XVIII.10.9.

7. Ibid, XIX.16.6, XIX.12.6. etc.

8. ŚB, XIII.2.9.6 and 8.

9. AB, VII.29.

10. ŚB, XIII.2.9.8.

11. Ibid, IX.4.3.5; VIII.7.2.2; VIII.7.1.2; III.3.2.8.

This superiority is sought to be guaranteed by forbidding these very rites in reverse, lest the Viś should get an upper hand over the Kṣatra. In a Soma sacrifice the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹ justifies a rite making the Viś imitator and follower of the Kṣatra but forbidding the reverse rite which would make the Viś equal in power to the Kṣatra. In another passage the same Brāhmaṇa while rendering the Viś obedient and submissive by a certain rite, forbids other rites which would make the Viś equal and refractory to the Kṣatriya² as such a process would lead to confusion.³ Similarly the ŚB warns the priest about the improper method of drawing the cups, i.e. without interlinking them at the Sutrāmaṇi sacrifice, as this would detach the Kṣatra and Viś from each other, they being designed as cups of milk and *surā* respectively and thus create confusion between the lower and the higher. By following the proper method, on the other hand, he combines Kṣatra and Viś for the prevention of confusion between the higher and the lower.⁴

Thus having demonstrated the supremacy of the Kṣatra over the Viś, the Brāhmaṇas go on to describe this mutual relationship in imagery. For example: 'The fire altar consists of five layers, the other of single layer, he thus endows the Kṣatra pre-eminently with power and makes the Kṣatra more powerful than the Viś, upwards he builds that one, he thus builds the ruling power upward by (social) layers; sideways the others: he thus makes the class obedient to the chieftain from below.'⁵

The same idea has also been developed in ŚB VIII.7.2.3. In the light of the above, it is easy to understand the force behind the statement ascribing singleness and distinction to the Kṣatra and multiplicity to the Viś.⁶ Another passage reads: "The Kṣatra is something distinct, so to speak, and others are indistinct, so to speak is the clan. Standing he offers the former for the Kṣatra stands so to speak and sitting he offers the others for

1. ŚB, II.5.2.34.

2. Ibid, XIII.2.2.15.

3. AB, VI.21.

4. ŚB, XII.7.3.15.

5. Ibid, IX.4.3.3.

6. ŚB, IX.4.3.2; Also IX.3.1.14; VI.6.1.8.

the clan sits so to speak"¹. No wonder the Vaiśya is referred to as different in speech and thought and less powerful than the Kṣatra.²

Having had some idea of the relative position of the Kṣatriyas in the social hierarchy, let us now examine the data regarding marriage and food, etc., in so far as they concern this varṇa.

Marriage :

There seems to be no restrictions during this period as regards marriage between persons of different varṇas excepting perhaps the marriage with a Śūdra male or female by a member of another varṇa. Marriage between the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins was common in the Vedic period. Some of the examples are cited below : The ṛṣi Syāvāśva is said to have married the daughter of the king Rathavīti³. The sage Kak-śīvan married the daughter of the king Svanaya; he celebrated the generosity of his father-in-law in RV I.126. Sukanyā, the daughter of another king was married to a Brahmin.⁴ The king Āsaṅga married a lady of the Angirasa family.⁵ These are the examples of Kṣatriyas marrying the Brahmin girls.

Polygamy seems to have been prevalent among the Kṣatriyas.⁶ That a king could have many wives appears from the Aśvamedha sacrifice in which the several wives of a king anointed the sacrificial horse.⁷ Four wives of a king are mentioned clearly in ŚB. Many wives⁸ thus were supposed to be the forms of prosperity.⁹ Renou thinks that polygamy was thus a developed institution among the Kṣatriyas and among them the king was especially polygamist.¹⁰

1. ŚB, IX.3.1.15.

2. Ibid, VIII.7.2.3.

3. RV, V.61, Hopkins, JAOS, Vol. XIII, p. 352-53.

4. ŚB, IV.1.5.7.

5. RV, VIII.1.34.

6. *Vedic Age*, p. 390, Renou, *Civilization in Ancient India*, p. 61,

7. TS, VI.6.4.3, ŚB, XIII.2.6.7.

8. ŚB, XIII.4.1.8.

9. Ibid, XIII.2.6.7.

10. Renou, *Civilization in Ancient India*, p. 6.
Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XIII, 'Society and Culture in the Brāhmaṇa period', by Ashutosh Biswas, p. 147.

Though we see the prevalence of the polygamy in the Vedic period, there is no evidence for polyandry as it is said that one wife does not find two husbands.¹

Food and Drinks :

The varṇa system had gained so much sway that by the time of the later Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, even drinks and food were receiving some social ranking.

The principal ingredients of the food of the Vedic people were barley, rice, wheat and milk. Barley is frequently mentioned in the RV² and other Saṁhitās.³ But rice and wheat are only referred to in the later Saṁhitās.⁴ The mention of meat is also made in the RV⁵ and other Saṁhitās.⁶ It was customary to feed the guests with the flesh of animals.⁷ But during the later Vedic period, the eating of meat and especially of beef came into disfavour. The AV counts the eating of cow's flesh as a sin against one's fore-fathers⁸ and prohibits the relishing of beef.⁹ Milk was part of daily food of the people¹⁰ and seems to have been consumed in various forms.

The Taittirīya Saṁhitā mentions gruel as the drink of a Kṣatriya for it is harsh like a Kṣatriya.¹¹ The related Araṇyaka prescribes milk for a Brahmin, *Yavagu* for a Kṣatriya and *Āmiṣa* for a Vaiśya as drinks.¹² On the other hand, Soma is forbidden to the Kṣatriya.

A passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa probably suggests that during an earlier period the Kṣatriyas were allowed to take Soma, although later on it was prohibited for them. We read that the gods deprived Indra of the Soma drinking on account of his killing Vṛtra, misusing Viśvarūpa and contending with Bṛhas-

1. TS, VI.6.4.3.

2. RV, I.23.15 ; I.117.21.

3. AV, VIII.7.20.

4. Ibid, VIII.7.20 ; VS, XVIII.12 ; XXI.29 etc.

5. RV, I.161.10 ; V.29.7 ; VIII.12.8.

6. MS, III.14 ; VS, XIII.47-51 ; TS, IV.2.10.1-4, Also PB, XXI.14.5 ; AB, VI.8 ; ŚB, IX.7.1.3.

7. AB, III.21.6 ; TS, I.3.14.7 ; ŚB, III.4.1.2.

8. AV, V.19.1.

9. Ibid, VII.4.38.

10. RV, I.164.7 ; VIII.2.9 ; I.153.4 ; I.121.5 ; VI.52.10.

11. TS, VI.2.5.2-3.

12. TA, 11.8.

pati. As Indra is the god of the Kṣatriyas, so the Kṣatriyas were also deprived of this exhilarating beverage.¹

Along with Soma, a Kṣatriya is also forbidden to take curd and water, the drinks of a Vaiśya and a Śūdra respectively. In this regard the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa lays down that if a Kṣatriya partakes of these forbidden drinks an interchange and degradation of varṇa is likely to occur. If a Kṣatriya partakes Soma, the child born to him would be like a Brahmin, and the second or third may actually become a Brahmin and live accordingly. The consequences of drinking curd or water are similar.² The text enjoins upon the Kṣatriya to press together the descending growths and the fruits of the *Nyagrodha*, and (the fruits) of the *Udumbara*, *Aśvattha* and *Plākṣa* trees and to partake of them.³

It adds that by eating the fruits of *Nyagrodha* tree, a Kṣatriya mysteriously obtains Soma.⁴ The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says that “*Nyagrodha* is the lordly power of the trees, the *rājanya* is the lordly power, the Kṣatriya here dwells fastened as it were to the kingdom and supported as it were; and the *Nyagrodha* is fastened as it were by its descending growth to the ground and supported as it were. In that the Kṣatriya as sacrificer eats the descending growths of *Nyagrodha* and the fruits, verily thus he establishes in himself the lordly power of the plants and in the lordly power himself⁵”. Similarly the *Udumbara* tree is born with strength and hence the fruit of this tree places strength in the Kṣatriya. The *Aśvattha* is born of brilliance and the Kṣatriya by taking its fruit obtains brilliance. Again the *Plākṣa* tree is good to be born of might which gives Kṣatriya the might.⁶

Surā as a drink was allowed to the Kṣatriyas. There is an interesting passage in the Kāṭhaka Samhitā.⁷ “Therefore an elderly person and a youngster, the daughter-in-law and the father-in-law drink liquor and remain babbling together; thought-

1. AB, VII.28.

2. Ibid; VII.29.

3. Ibid, VII.30.

4. Ibid, VII.31.

5. Ibid; VII.31.

6. Ibid; VII.32.

7. KS, XII.12.

lessness is sin, therefore a Brahmin does not drink *Surā*, with the thought that otherwise (if I drink it) I may be tainted with sin. Therefore this is for Kṣatriya. One should say to a Brahmin that *Surā*, if drunk by a Kṣatriya, does not harm the latter."

(b) *Religious Practices (Sacrifices)* :

Though the higher privilege of sacrificing was confined to the Brahmins, the Kṣatriyas from the Ṛgvedic times had the right to sacrifice for themselves. In the case of Devāpi we also have a solitary reference to a Kṣatriya sacrificing for others. The texts authorise only Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, the three higher varṇas to sacrifice and leave out the Śūdras who were considered impure for this religious act. In connection with *Dīkṣā*, the ŚB clearly mentions that only a Brahmin, a Rājanya and a Vaiśya are able to sacrifice.¹ In the same context the text holds that gods do not commune with everyone, but only with a Brahmin or a Rājanya or a Vaiśya for these are able to sacrifice.²

There is an interesting passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which speaks of how the Kṣatriyas were able to catch the sacrifice. Prajāpati created the sacrifice.³ After sacrifice he created the Brahma and Kṣatra. After Brahma and Kṣatra offsprings who eat the oblations and who do not eat the oblations were created. Then the sacrifice departed from them. The Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas pursued the sacrifice with their respective weapons. The Kṣatra returned without obtaining it but the Brahmins were able to get the sacrifice and to keep it. Hence even now the sacrifice finds its support in the Brahmins. Then the Kṣatra came to the Brahmins and asked them to call them at the sacrifice. The Brahmins agreed provided they (Kṣatriyas) came unarmed. The Kṣatriyas agreed, abandoned their weapons, took up those of the Brahmins and also assuming their shape entered the sacrifice.⁴

1. ŚB, III.1.9.

2. Ibid, III.1.1.10.

3. TS, I.6.8.2 ; AB, VII.19.

4. AB, VII.19.

It is said that a Kṣatriya is a Kṣatriya before consecration and after the consecration, but during the said ceremony he is a Brahmin in form. It is further said that before consecration a Kṣatriya has Indra as his deity, the *Trīṣṭubh* as his metre, the *Pañcadaśa* as *stoma*, and that he is Soma in kingship and the *Rājanya* in relationship. Now being initiated for a sacrifice a Kṣatriya becomes a Brahmin and puts on the black antelope's skin ; as at this stage there is fear of his losing the characteristic qualities of a Kṣatriya, the text prescribes a libation adoring the *Āhavanīya* saying that Indra and *Trīṣṭubh*, etc., may not take away from him power, strength, life, kingdom and glory respectively.¹ During this period of his Brahminhood he has Agni for his deity, the *Gāyatrī* for his metre, the *Trivṛt* for his *stoma* and he is considered Brahman in relationship. After the conclusion of the sacrifice he is asked to offer another libation, lest he should become a Brahmin. The formula is :

"I depart not from Agni as my deity, nor from the *Gāyatrī* metre, nor from the *Trivṛt Stoma*, nor from the holy power as relation. Let not Agni take my brilliance nor the *Gāyatrī* my strength, nor the *Trivṛt* my life, nor the Brahmin my holy power, glory and fame. With brilliance, strength, life, the holy power, glory and fame, I approach Indra the deity, the *Trīṣṭubh* metre, the *Pañcadaśa Stoma* and Soma the king. I have recourse to the lordly power, I become a Kṣatriya."²

Special Sacrifices of the Kṣatriyas :

Like the Brahmins, the Kṣatriyas were entitled to perform the *Śrauta* sacrifices. In addition sacrifices like the *Rāj:śūva* and *Aśvamedha* are exclusively meant for them. Hence *Rāj:śūva*, *Aśvamedha*, *Vājapeya* and *Sūtrāmaṇi* are generally designated as royal sacrifices. All these sacrifices either relate to the consecration of a king or are performed by the kings for establishing their sovereignty and supremacy. The sacrifices in question have been discussed at great length in almost all the *Saṁhitās*

1. AB, VII.22-23.

2. Ibid, VII.24.

of the Black and White Yajur Veda and the Brāhmaṇas¹. We do not propose to describe all the elaborate details of these sacrifices but will merely touch upon some of their important aspects.

Rājasūya : The *Rājasūya* or the inauguration of a king is a complex religious ceremony extending over two years, the centre being the *abhiṣecanīya* day, when the king is actually 'anointed'. It is purely a Kṣatriya sacrifice to which the Brahmin has no right. One becomes a king by offering the *Rājasūya*² and secures for himself the benefits of all sacrificial rites and escapes all kinds of death.³ As this rite was one of regular occurrence being the recognised part of the customary celebration of the consecration of a new prince, the *Rājasūya* occupied an important position in the *Saṁhitās*.

(i) *Ratna havīṁṣi* : One of the important rites of the *Rājasūya* is the *Ratna havīṁṣi* ceremony.⁴ This consists of the king's making offerings to the appropriate deities on successive days at the houses of several specified persons. The *Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā* calls these personages, such as the *Purohita*, *Senānī*, *Sūta*, *Grāmānī*, *Kṣatṛ*, etc., as limbs of the ruling power⁵ and observes that the kingdom of one whose ratnins are strong and full of vigour becomes strong and vigorous. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*⁶ is more emphatic and states that the ratnins are the 'givers' as well as 'takers' of the kingdom and as such they bestow the kingdom on the sacrificer. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 3.1-12, mentions in connection with each of the ratnins that 'he or she is assuredly one of the king's jewels and that it is for him

1. *Rājasūya*, MS, II.6 ; IV.3 ; TS.I.8.9.1 ; AB.VII.19 ; ŚB, V. etc.
Aśvamedha : MS, III.12.1 to III.16.5 ; KS, IV.7. ; VS, XXIII.9-12, TS
 IV.6.6. ; TB, III ; ŚB, XIII etc.
Vājapeya : MS, I.11 ; TS, I.7.9.1 ; ŚB, V.1.1.11 to V.1.5.14.
Sūtramaṇi : ŚB, XII.8.3.4 to XII.8.3 22, etc.
2. ŚB, V.1.1.12 & V.1.1.13.
3. Ibid, V.4.1.1.
4. TS, I.8.9 ; MS, II.6.5. ; IV.3.8 ; KS, XV.4 ; ŚB, V.3.1. ; TB, V.3, etc.
5. MS, IV.3.8.
6. TB, I.7.3.1.

or her that he is thereby consecrated and him or her he makes his faithful follower'. These representatives seem to be endowed with such high status so as to deserve the epithets of 'limbs of ruling power' and 'bestowers of the kingdom'. The object of the ceremony accordingly is to win for the king the allegiance of these important personages.

(ii) *Deveṣu havīṃṣi* : The *Deveṣu havīṃṣi* follows the *Ratna havīṃṣi* rite. Here the gods Indra, Savitr, Agni, Soma, Varuṇa and Bṛhaspati, etc., eulogised with appropriate epithets, are invoked to quicken the sacrificer for various kinds of authority.¹ The ceremony of besprinkling starts with offerings to a number of deities and it ends with the game of dice. In the concluding stage of the *Deveṣu*-offerings, the priest presents the sacrificer to the assembled folk with the words : 'This is your king, ye people, Soma is the king of us Brahmins',² thus taking his own varṇa outside the sway of the king.

The ceremony of collection of waters of various kinds for consecration purposes follows the *Deveṣu-havīṃṣi*. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says that by using various kinds of waters the king is made the lord as well as the off-spring of the people.³

Thereafter the king figuratively mounts the three quarters,⁴ and he is sprinkled with holy water by four distinct persons, namely, the *Adhvaryu*, *Sva*, *Mitra*, *Rājanya* and *Vaiśya*.⁵ The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa mentions *Adhvaryu*, *Rājanya*, *Vaiśya* and *Janya* as four distinct persons who sprinkle the king.⁶ After descending from the chariot the king is ceremonially seated on a wooden throne. Then follows the rite of striking the king with a stick by a Brahmin. The significance of this rite has been variously understood by different scholars either taking it to mean the height of priestly power or making the king purified or unpunishable.

1. VS, IX.39.40 ; KS, XV.5.8 ; MS, II.6.6 ; TB, I.7.4 ; ŚB, V.3.3.3-13.

2. VS, X.18 ; TS, I.8.10 ; MS, II.6.6.27 ; TB, I.7.4.

3. ŚB, V.3.4.5.

4. VS, X.10.14 ; TS, I.8.13 ; KS, XV.7 ; MS, II.6.10.

5. ŚB, V.3.5.11-14.

6. TB, I.7.8.7 ; MS, IV.4.2. mentions Brahman, Vaiśya Bhrātṛvya and Jan-yamitrā as four sprinklers of king.

Then follows the ritual of passing the sacrificial sword.¹ According to the White Yajurveda, the sacrificial sword is passed from the *Adhvaryu* to the king, the king's brother, the *Sūta* the *Grāmāṇi* and the tribesman to the accompaniment of a proper formula. Then the *Adhvaryu* and the tribesman prepare the gaming ground with the sacrificial sword and the *Adhvaryu* wins for the king a cow staked by a tribesman. The staking of a cow by a tribesman and the king winning the stake by him symbolises the assertion of the royal sacrificer's dominion over the common people.

Although the person to be consecrated before the sprinkling ceremony is designated as 'he' after this ceremony he is endowed with royal powers, yet as quoted by Ghoshal² the performer of the *Rājasūya* undoubtedly had the status of a ruler before this sacrifice though he is called a king only after the performance of the *Rājasūya* ceremony.

Sūtrāmaṇi : *Sūtrāmaṇi* is one of the royal sacrifices and one consecrated by *Sūtrāmaṇi* is said to secure the highest place among his people³ and becomes a ruler.⁴ This sacrifice completes the offerings to be made by a king who has already performed the *Rājasūya*.⁵

A person is consecrated on a throne seat, knee-high and made of *Udumbara* wood for *Udumbara* is strength.⁶ The throne seat in question is called the womb and navel of the Kṣatriya in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.⁷ In the *Sūtrāmaṇi* sacrifice a Kṣatriya is the consecrator of a Kṣatriya.⁸ The consecrator thus attains royal dignity or away.

*Vājapeya*⁹ : The *Vājapeya* could be performed by a Kṣatriya as

1. ŚB, V 4.4.15-23 ; VS, X.29 ; TS, 1.8.16 ; TB, 1.7.10.

2. Ghoshal, U.N. *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 302.

3. ŚB, XII.8.3.2.

4. Ibid., XII.8.3.5.

5. Ibid., V.5.5.11.

6. Ibid., XII.8.3.5.

7. Ibid., XII.8.3.8.

8. Ibid., XII. 8.3.19.

9. MS, I.11 ; TS, I.7.9.1 ; ŚB, V.1.1 ; V. 1.5, etc.

well as a Brahmin.¹ The *Vājapeya* sacrifice is higher and the *Rājasūya* sacrifice is lower says the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.² First the *Rājasūya* offerings are made and then those of the *Vājapeya* for by performing the *Rājasūya* one becomes a king (*rājan*) and by the *Vājapeya* he becomes a *samrāt*. The position of a king is obtained first and then that of a *samrāt*. Hence after performing the *Vājapeya* one cannot perform the *Rājasūya*; if he does so it means reversion of power. Comparing the two ceremonies evidently from the point of view of the Kṣatriya sacrifice, the *Taittirīya Samhitā*³ and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*⁴ treat the *Vājapeya* as a *Samrātsava* (consecration to the position of *Samrāt*) and *Rājasūya* as *Varuṇasva* (consecration to the universal sovereignty of *Varuṇa*).

By performing a *Vājapeya* the king becomes emperor; mighty power, lordship and all strength is assigned to a performer of the *Vājapeya*.⁵ Again one offering the *Vājapeya* wins food,⁶ for the *Vājapeya* is the drink of strength in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*.⁷ The popular features of the sacrifice are :

A chariot race which is won by the sacrificer in contest with other competitors. At the preliminary stage of this sacrifice a *Rājanya* shoots an arrow for fixing the goals of the race. The second important rite is mounting on the sacrificial post by the king and his wife who are declared to be the children of *Prajāpati*. The formulas, uttered while they dismount the post and while the king is seated on the throne, beseech for the king supreme and undisputed authority as also strength.⁸ After the besprinkling ceremony the priest acclaims the sacrificer as 'All Ruler' and commends him to the protection of gods of whom he has become one.⁹

1. ŚB, V.1.1.11.

2. Ibid, V.1.1.12.

3. TS, V.6.2.1.

4. TB, II.7.61.

5. TS, I.7.13.1; ŚB, V.1.1.14.

6. ŚB, V.1.3.3.

7. TB, I.3.2.3.

8. VS, IX.22; MS, I.11.3; KS, XIV.1.4.

9. ŚB, V.2.2.15.

Aśvamedha : Unlike the Rājasūya, the Aśvamedha is not a mere sacrifice or a series of offerings, it is rather a great function in which the religious element is interlinked with secular ceremonies. The Rājasūya could not be performed by any petty king but only a king of undisputed authority and sway could venture to undertake the performance of this sacrifice which meant a heavy financial burden and a display of political authority. The texts lay down that a weak king should not perform the Aśvamedha for he is swept away, the horse being caught by an unfriendly man.¹

This sacrifice has been described in detail in the Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda,² the Pañcaviṃśa Br.,³ the Śatapatha Br.⁴ and in the Vaitāna Sūtra of the Atharvaveda. The sacrifice is also unquestionably recognised in the R̥gvedic hymns 1.162 and 163, which relate to this sacrifice.

The Aśvamedha is a Kṣatriya sacrifice and should be performed in summer says the Śatapatha Br.⁵ It signifies sway.⁶ It purifies the sins of the performer and even redeems the sin of slaying a Brahmin⁷ which is a heinous crime.

The sacrificial horse is denoted as *Kṣatra*.⁸ For one year this steed roams freely under the guardianship of "a hundred princes clad in armour, a hundred warriors armed with swords, a hundred sons of heralds and headman, a hundred sons of attendants and a hundred worn out horses."⁹ The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa quotes two¹⁰ cases where the progress of the horse was impeded. After the successful completion of one year, the horse is sacrificed with an elaborate ritual. One other interesting feature of the sacrifice, besides the actual slaying of the horse, is the

1. ŚB, XIII.1.5.6 ; TB, III.8.9.4.

2. MS, III.12.1 to III.16.5; TS, IV.6.6 ; VS, XXII-XXV.

3. PB, XXI.4.

4. ŚB, XIII.

5. Ibid. XIII.4.1.2.

6. Ibid, XIII.1.6.3.

7. Ibid, XIII.3.7.9.

8. Ibid. XIII.4.4.1.

9. Ibid, XIII.4.2.5.

10. Ibid, XIII.5.4.21 and 22. Śatānīka Sātrajit seized the sacrificial horse of Kāśis as well as white horse of Dhṛtrāṣṭra.

singing of the panegyric of king for one year by two lute players, one being a Kṣatriya and the other Brahmin. Another feature is the reluctant lying of the chief queen with the sacrificial horse.

If the sacrificial horse is fetched by another or is lost during its wandering, it is to be replaced by another. It has been clearly stated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa that those who go to the end of the horse sacrifice share in royal power and become kings worthy of consecration, but those who do not go to the end of this, will be excluded from royal power and will become not kings, but nobles and peasants, unworthy of being consecrated.¹ In a sense, the Aśvamedha sacrifice was performed with the object of conquering all the four varṇas, which shows that the ruler felt the necessity of securing the allegiance of all sections of society.

Miscellaneous

With regard to the performance of other religious acts, the ritualistic texts unanimously prescribe definite metres and seasons, etc., for use by the Kṣatriyas.

Metre : Thus the *Trīṣṭubh* metre is to be used for the Kṣatriyas. The Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda and the ŚB identify Kṣatra as *Trīṣṭubh*.² In connection with the New and Full Moon sacrifices the Taittirīya Saṁhitā holds that a Rājanya desiring power should recite *Trīṣṭubh* verses, for *Trīṣṭubh* is power and by the *Trīṣṭubh* a Kṣatriya secures power.³

Summer : Similarly the summer season is best suited for a Kṣatriya to perform a sacrifice. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa claims that a Brahmin should tend sacred fires in spring, a Kṣatriya in summer, and a Vaiśya in autumn.⁴ The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa identifies the Brahma with spring, the Kṣatra with summer and the Viś with the rainy season and prescribes that a Brahmin should set up fires in spring, a Kṣatriya in summer and a Vaiśya in the rainy season.⁵

1. ŚB, XIII.4.2.17.

2. MS, III.2.2; ŚB, III.4.1.10. Rājanya is *Trīṣṭubh*.

3. TS, II.5.10.1. See also AB, I.28; VIII.2.

4. TB, I.1.4.

5. ŚB, II.1.3.5.

Deities : In the same manner, the Kṣatriyas are connected with certain Vedic deities such as Indra,¹ Varuṇa,² Mitra,³ Soma⁴ and Yama,⁵ etc. Among these the authority of Indra over the Kṣatriyas is supreme, as is that of Agni over the Brahmins.

Announcement of Consecration : When a Brahmin is consecrated, it is said that a Brahmin has been consecrated. But it has been laid down that the consecration of a Kṣatriya should be announced with the ṛṣi descent of his purohita.⁶

Kṣatriyas not to eat oblations : According to certain texts⁷ Prajāpati has created only Brahmins as oblation-eaters. Therefore the members of the three other varṇas are prohibited from eating oblations. Since the oblations offered at a sacrifice are to be consumed, this provision makes the employment of a Brahmin compulsory at every sacrifice.⁸ In fact, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa emphatically says so.⁹

Handicaps of the Kṣatriyas :

Although the Brahmin-texts, thus allow a great deal of favour to the Kṣatriya, they prescribe certain limits on its exercise, specially with regard to the Brahmins themselves. Thus the Kṣatriya is specifically forbidden from forcibly taking away the wedded wife of a Brahmin on pain of bad luck.¹⁰ Similarly he is enjoined not to take away nor eat the cow of a Brahmin, as the same would be poison to him.¹¹ Needless to say that other disasters could also follow in such an eventuality. In the same vein, these texts forbid the seizure of the riches and property

1. ŚB X.4.1.9; X.4.1.5; V.1.1.11; V.1.5.3 and 5; AB, VII.23; VII.24, Br. Up., 1.4.11.

2. ŚB, IV.1.4.1; IV.3.3.9; Br. Up., 1.5.11.

3. MS, IV.3.9.

4. TS, II.1.2.9; ŚB, III.4.1.10; AB, II.38; Br. Up., 1.4.11.

5. ŚB, VIII.1.1.4; Br. Up., 1.4.11.

6. AB, VII.25.

7. ŚB, IV.5.2.16; AB, VII.19.

8. AB, VII.26.

9. Ibid, VIII.24.

10. AV, V.17.

11. Ibid, V.18 & 19.

of a Brahmin by a Kṣatriya.¹ If he were to do so, he ran the risk of losing his powers and possessions. The Atharvaveda gives a long list of calamities befalling a Kṣatriya who tried to slay a Brahmin's cow or who coveted his riches or property.²

The later texts also prohibit the Kṣatriya from taking the wife of a member of any varṇa (not only Brahmin). He must not, in addition, vanquish the Brahmins nor speak falsehood.³

The penalty or punishment for a Kṣatriya uttering a lie is given in the AV⁴ : "Soma does not further the wicked man or a Kṣatriya who maintains anything falsely. He smites the demon and he also smites the speaker of untruth."

As regards the forcible abduction of other's wives by the Kṣatriyas, Sāyaṇa⁵ seems to base himself on some old tradition. He says : 'A Kṣatriya does much that has no sanction of the Śāstras and also goes against them by acts like the carrying away, by force, the wife of another to make her his own'.

Here we may also read a modern commentator. Explaining *Upa jāmayai haret* (TB 1.7.2.6), A.C. Banerjea⁶ takes it to mean 'the presenting of gifts to Jāmi', that is the Kṣatriya making a kind of love-gifts to other women obviously with a view to enter into some kind of sexual relationship. This presentation of gifts for the purpose of wooing is to be found common in all the primitive tribes. Thus the Kṣatriyas here seem to be going against the rules of matrimony. In the days when the rules of exogamy were observed the Kṣatriya was doubly guilty of approaching the unapproachable woman for marriage and for making love-gifts to women for illicit connections. The RV⁷ and the AV⁸ also bear testimony to the fact of the Kṣatriyas forcibly taking away the wives of the Brahmins. These texts also warn the Kṣatriyas to restore the Brahmin's wife, lest he should be visited by fruits of his misdeeds.

1. AV, V.19.6.15.

2. Ibid, V.17,18,19: XII.5, etc.

3. TB, I.7.2.6.

4. AV, VIII.4.13. Also TS, I.8.3.

5. Sāyaṇa's commentary on TS, I.5.3.

6. Banerjea (A.C.), *Studies in the Brāhmaṇas*, p. 26.

7. RV, X.109.

8. AV, V.17.1-2.

Summing up we may state that these texts, all written by Brahmins, concede a great deal of power to the Kṣatriya, especially to a Kṣatriya, consecrated as a ruler, although with regard to themselves (Brahmins), they have the prudence to restrict the enjoyment of this power. Clearly, in the Brahmin scheme of things, the Kṣatriya was to occupy the second place.

3. Education of the Kṣatriyas

Notion of Brahmācārī :

In Vedic thought study and Brahmācārya are closely inter-linked, so much so that the term *Brahmācārī* denotes a student. Thus in the RV, X.109.5. We read : 'The Brahmācārī goes engaged in duty : he is a member of the God's own body. Through him Bṛhaspati obtained his consort, as the Gods gained the ladle brought by Soma.' It seems that girls were also eligible for studentship, because we read young maidens known as *Brahmācārīs* completing their education.¹ The Atharvaveda also refers to young maidens getting good husbands by virtue of their *Brahmācārya*.²

Studies were thought of as a form of *tapas* (austerities) where one would practise control of senses (*indriyanigraha*) while learning various sciences from one's preceptor. The first full theme i.e., *Brahmācārya*, both as *tapas* and study, occurs in the Atharvaveda, where we read : 'The student enters upon this stage of studentship through the performance of a ceremony called initiation (*Upanayana*) by his teacher.' The ceremony takes three days.³ This theme is further elaborated in the ŚB, where it is said that the student has to declare : "May I enter upon *Brahmācārya* and may I be a *Brahmācārī*."⁴ As a token of his willingness to serve the teacher and tend the sacred fire the student takes a piece of fuel-wood in his hand.⁵ Before finally accepting him as a pupil, the teacher enquires about his lineage.

1. RV, V.7.9.

2. AV, XI.5.18.

3. Ibid, XI.5.3.

4. ŚB, XI.5.4.6.

5. Ch. Up., IV.4.5 ; Muṇḍ. up. 1.2.12.

This initiation is regarded as a second birth, the first being from his mother's womb. Such a twice-born has to observe certain rules. He wears a girdle of *kuśā* grass, puts on the skin of the black antelope, has long hairs and gathers faggots for sacrificing to Agni twice a day.¹ This life receives a great deal of praise in these texts, so much so that the Supreme Being Himself is described as the prime Brahmacārin in the AV and all creation here is said to be the outcome of *Brahmacarya* and *Tapas*.² The same text also recognises it both as a distinct stage in life and as a system of discipline.³

Since no *varṇa* is mentioned as exclusively entitled to this life, we may assume that this mode of life was open to all, although Brahmins seem to have been specially associated with Vedic learning. Yāska quotes a few verses to show the goddess of learning first approaching the Brahmins for protection for she was their treasure.⁴

Education obligatory for all varṇas :

Despite the close association of Brahmins with Vedic learning, it seems reasonable to assume that other *varṇas* could and did acquire all sorts of learning. The Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā enjoins the imparting of Vedic learning to members of all the *varṇas*, i.e. Brahmins, Rājanyas, Śūdras, Svaws and Chāraṇas, etc.,⁵ A passage of the Kāṭhakā Saṁhitā (IX.16) talks of a non-Brahmin, who may have studied such lores but has failed to acquire any fame therein. Later texts, principally, the upaniṣads, mention a number of Kṣatriyas, who attained eminence, specially in Upaniṣadic lore. Putting all such references together, one may conclude that there must have been some truth in the declaration of Aśvapati Kaikeya about the lack of an ignorant person in his kingdom.⁶

Subjects of Study :

At this stage, it is difficult to find any evidence for specialised studies, *varṇa*-wise. We have, therefore, to presume that the

1. AV, XI.5.5.

2. Ibid, XI.5.5.

3. Ibid, XIX.41.

4. Nirukta, II.4.

5. VS, XXVI.2.

6. Ch. Up. V.11.5.

study of the Veda was a must for all students, since it is spoken of as debt.¹ The ŚB includes the same among the five *Sattras*,² calling it the *Brahma-sattra*, that is the study of the Veda.³ The same text enumerates in addition the following as topics of study : Anuśāsana (precepts), Vidyā (Science), Vākovākyam (dialogue), Itihāsa-purāṇa (myths and legends) and Nārāśaṃsi Gāthā.⁴ To this we may add Ākhyāna⁵ and Kṣatratridya⁶ (Śaṅkara glossed the term with *Dhanurveda*, the Science of bow). Similarly we may add *Bhūta-vidyā* and *Sarpa-vidyā*⁷ as also *Parā* and *Aparā*⁸ to this list.

No specific course of study for Kṣatriyas :

We have already seen that there is no association of a particular branch of study with a particular varṇa. The authors of the Vedic Index in this regard frankly admit that 'of the training and education of Kṣatriyas we have no record.'⁹ We can, therefore, only presume that the choice of particular field of study was largely determined by the occupation of the student concerned.¹⁰ As warfare and administration were largely the occupations of the Kṣatriyas, Altekar infers that the Kṣatriya students must have been primarily concerned with related branches of learning.¹¹ This would make us pick *Dhanurveda* and *Kṣatratridya* as their special fields of study. But this does not mean that they would not study the Vedas and allied texts. For otherwise it would be

1. The Taittiriya Saṃhitā (VI.3.10.5) speaks of the study of the Veda as one of the three debts, i.e. debt to the ṛṣis to be repaid by brahmacharya, debt to gods to be repaid by sacrifice and debt to ancestors to be repaid by progeny.

2. पञ्चैव महायज्ञाः । तान्येव महासत्राणि भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञोऽपित्रयज्ञो देवयज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञ इति ।
—ŚB, XI.5.6.1.

3. स्वाध्यायो वै ब्रह्मयज्ञः ।

—Ibid, XI.5.6.3.

4. ŚB, XI.5.6.8; III.6.2.7 ; Also Ch. Up., VII.1.4; Br. Up., II.4.10.

5. AB, VII.18 ; ŚB, III.6.2.7.

6. Ch. Up., VII.1.2.

7. ŚB, XIII.4.3.9.

8. Muṇḍ. Up., I.1.4.

9. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 207.

10. Mookerji (R.K.), *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 151.

11. Altekar (A.S.), *Education in Ancient India*, p. 193.

Also, Mookerji (R.K.), *Ancient Indian Education*, pp. 152-53.

difficult to understand the presence of Kṣatriya hymn-makers among the seers of the Ṛgveda. Among such we have the names of five royal sages i.e., Vārśāgirasa, Ambariṣa, Surādhas, Sahadeva and Bhayamāna.¹ Trasadyū is the royal sage who authored Ṛgvedic hymns IV.42 and V.27 along with Tryarūṇa and Aśvamedha. Purmilha and Ajamilha are the royal ṛṣis of the hymns IV.43 and 44. Hymn VI.15 has as its ṛṣi king Vīta-havya, Sindhudvipa. Son of Ambariṣa is the ṛṣi of hymn X.9. Sindhuksit is the hymn-maker of the hymn X.75. Hymn X.133 is attributed to king Sudāsa. Māndhātār is the author of the hymn X.134. Prithuvainya is the ṛṣi of the hymn X.148. Śibi as well as Pratardana and Vasumanas are the ṛṣis of the hymn X.179.

To this list may be added the name of ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha to whom seventh maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda has been attributed.

Kṣatriyas as expounders of philosophical knowledge :

Another field in which Kṣatriyas attained eminence was that of Upaniṣadic learning. Here we find many Brahmins as pupils of Kṣatriyas in this branch of learning, which was a secret doctrine concerning the mysteries of life and death. The Kṣatriyas are held to be the propounders of philosophical knowledge and the best known among them is Janaka, king of Videha.² In the Bṛahadāra-ṇyaka Upaniṣad, Yājñavalkya describes him as one who had studied the Vedas and the Upaniṣads.³ Another such teacher is Pra-

1. RV, I.100.17.

2. Br. Up., III.1.1 ; IV.1.1., V.14.8; Jaim, Up., I.192.

3. Br Up., IV.2.1. Once king Janaka met some travelling Brahmins who were Śvetaketu Āruṇeya, Somasuṣma, Satyayajñi and Yājñavalkya. He enquired from each of them how they performed the Agnihotra. All of them gave their own answers but the king was pleased only with the answer given by Yājñavalkya even though he pointed out to him the incompleteness of his answer in certain aspects. After the king had departed the Brahmins decided to challenge him in a theological discussion so as to wipe away their insult. But Yājñavalkya said, 'We are Brahmins and he is a Rājanya, if we were to vanish him, whom should we say we have vanished ? But if he were to vanish us, people would say of us that a Rājanya had vanished Brahmins, do not think of this'. Others approved his plan and Yājñavalkya himself went to king Janaka to learn about Agnihotra which he fully taught him and he in return was granted a boon by Yājñavalkya—ŚB, XI.6.2.1.

vāhaṇa Jaivāli, who had specialised in *Udgītha* as also in the mysteries of life, death and immortality. He is noted as having taught Śvetaketu as also the latter's father.¹ Similarly Aśvapati Kaikeya (already referred to above) was known for his mystery of the secrets of Vaiśvānara² and had Brahmins as his regular pupils.³ A king of Varāṇasi, Ajātaśatru⁴ has also to be included in this list.⁵

From a scrutiny, however, of the upaniṣads, it is learnt that in certain branches the Kṣatriyas were equally to the fore. Deussen cites six passages⁶ in which the Brahmins are depicted as asking the Kṣatriya for the knowledge of the soul and on this basis he declares that 'the real cherisher of those thoughts was originally the caste of the Kṣatriyas rather than that of the priest.'⁷ The same idea has been echoed by Dr. Bhandārkar⁸ who regards Kṣatriyas as the original possessors of the new knowledge. Over and over again we come across the situation that the Brahmin asks the Kṣatriya for information. Thus we find Yājñavalkya seeking spiritual enlightenment from the king

1. Ch. up., V.3.1-7.

2. Ibid, V.13.1.

3. Ibid, V.11.1-7. Five Brahmins, Prācināsāla, Aupamanyava, Satyayajña Paulshi, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Jana Śarkarākshya, Budila Āsvataśvi with Uddālaka Āruṇi approached king Kaikeya wishing to know about Vaiśvānara. These five Brahmins with fuel in their hands came to him as pupils. Seeing them thus he remarked how is it that they learned in scriptures and sons of learned in scriptures has approached him. They replied: "Venerable sir, thou knowest Vaiśvānara thoroughly: teach us Him." He said, "I do indeed know Vaiśvānara thoroughly" and having accepted them as pupils he instructed them in universal soul—Ch. Up., V.11.1-7.

4. Br. Up., 11.1.1.

5. Ibid, 11.1-15. Once Brahmin Gārgya Bālāki come to Ajātaśatru and volunteered to tell him of Brahma. They had a discussion; Gārgya giving his own conception of Brahma and Ajātaśatru giving a broader conception not known to Gārgya. At last Bālāki being unfit to proceed further requested his challenger to instruct him in that very knowledge.

6. Br. Up., 11.1: VI.2; Ch. Up, V.3 and V.11, Kauṣ. Up, 1.1 and 4.

7. Das System De Vedanta, 1883, p. 18-19 quoted by Kane (P.V.) History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. 11, Pt. I, p. 107.

8. Dr. Bhandārkar (R.G.), Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, p. 9.

Janak.¹

This, however does not mean that the Kṣatriyas were the sole specialists of this branch of learning. In south, there had been many other non-Kṣatriya, Brahmin specialists of the subject. As the subject had grown as a logical sequence of Vedic studies² wherein Brahmins had an almost a quasi-monopoly, it would be equally erroneous to say that Kṣatriyas had been pioneers in this branch as made out by Deussen. Moreover, for Macdonell and Keith the cases of the Brahmins learning from the Kṣatriyas have hardly any significance, for, in their view, the priests were naturally interested in representing their patrons being interested in their doctrine. Hence they do not seem to notice any independent or real study on the part of the Kṣatriyas in the above quoted cases.³ Prof. Kane also says that the Kṣatriyas did not discover the doctrine of the soul because the upaniṣads also refer to many Brahmins who propounded various aspects of the doctrine of the soul⁴ (Brahmaṇya). Teaching was solely the job of the Brahmins. Moreover according to Prof. Kane there are not enough instances to enable us to make a general statement.⁵

We may note that although there was no varṇa-wise allocation of subjects of study, the Kṣatriyas had been participating in the development of early Vedic learning, contributing even a number of hymns to the Ṛgveda. Later they became prominent in the field of Upaniṣadic learning. It stands to reason that with their growing interest in warfare and administration, they must have increasingly opted for branches like *Dhanurveda* and *Kṣātraveda*.

4. Duties and occupations of the Kṣatriyas :

No specific duties assigned to any varṇa in RV :

Since categorisation by varṇa did not mean specialised occupation, a member of any varṇa was free to take up any occupation,

1. Br. Up., IV.2.1.
2. Ṛgvedic Hymns, X.72 ; X.81 ; X.82 ; X.90 ; X.121 and X.129 deal with the above problems ; P.V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, Pt I, p. 107.
3. Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 87.
4. Kane P.V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, Pt. I p. 107.
5. Ibid, fn, p. 106.

depending on his choice and the opportunity available to him. Thus we find a ṛṣi (seer, author of a Ṛgvedic hymn) referring to his father as physician and his mother earning her living as a grinder of corn.¹ Another similar hymn-maker is Devāpi, a Kṣatriya, disinterested due to leprosy, who not only authored the hymn, but did it while performing a sacrifice for his brother, that is while acting as the priest.²

Here we may take note of the Ṛgvedic stanza, I.113.6. addressed to Uṣas : "One to high sway, one to exalted glory, one to pursue his gain, and one his labour : All to regard their different vocation, all moving creatures hath the Dawn awakened." Renou here points to a three-fold-division of social occupations, religious, political or military and economic.³ Though this hymn does define or describe various occupations it need not be construed as being in contradiction with what has been said above, because it does not imply occupation based on Varṇa.

War-like qualities of the Kṣatriyas :

But slowly association of Kṣatriyas with might, power and with fight starts to emerge. Various theories of the origin of the Kṣatriyas invariably associate them with strength and might and its display. At one place we are told that the Kṣatriya and might/force are born together.⁴ For the ŚB, Kṣatra is identified with vigour.⁵ In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa might is made the symbol of the Kṣatriya.⁶ The same source sees might, power and strength in the Trīṣṭubh metre and identifies the same with the Kṣatriya.⁷

The theme is developed still further in numerous other texts. A Kṣatriya is to be heroic, skilled in archery, sure of his mark and a mighty car-warrior.⁸ This power of a Kṣatriya lays in his

1. ṚV, IX.112.3 Also ṚV, X.97.22 A Brahmin taking to the occupation of a physician.
2. ṚV, X.98.5 ; Nirukta, II.10.
3. Renou (Louis), *Civilization in Ancient India*, p. 42.
4. TS, V.7.4.
5. ŚB, VIII.2.3.11.
6. AB, VIII.2.
7. Ibid.
8. TS, VII.5.18 ; VS, XXII.22 ; TB, III.8.13.1 ; ŚB, XIII.1.92.

arms¹ and during the Rājasūya he was made to stand with upstretched arms.² The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa calls a Kṣatriya *bāhu-balī* because of the sword and bow that he wields with his arms.³ According to the ŚB, the fiery spirit and energy are bestowed on him by Brahmins.⁴ For obtaining such power, Kṣatriya had to perform various sacrifices. In the *Deveṣu Havīṃṣi* sacrifice, *Kṣatra* and *Janarājya* are invoked for the Kṣatriya.⁵ The *Aśvamedha* was said to bestow grandeur or victoriousness on the Rājanya.⁶

The desire for power and might can be detected in earlier texts also. In RV, I.54.11 and V.27.6 Indra is invoked to give strength and dominion to the sacrificer, so that the latter may be able to conquer people. In many hymns of the AV, the ṛṣis pray to gods to bestow strength and dominion on their patrons.⁷ A magic amulet is also invoked therein to grant *Kṣatra* and *Rāstra* to a person.⁸ The TS prays to gods to make the Kṣatriya unassailable and his force unvanquished, a thousand-fold and mighty.⁹ In the context of the New and Full Moon sacrifices, the same text says that the Rājanya sacrifices for power.¹⁰ Similarly in the Rājasūya, the priest solicits great power for the Kṣatriya when the latter is being sprinkled with consecrated waters.¹¹ As power and might were inseparable from fighting, the Kṣatriya seeks divine blessings for the growth of his fighting power.

Fighting and Kṣatriyas :

The possession of force and power and its employment by the

1. PB, VI.1.6.11.
2. ŚB, V.4.1.17.
3. TB, III.8.23.3.
4. ŚB, XII.7.3.12.
5. TS, I.8.10 ; VS, IX.40 ; MS, II.6.6 ; KS, XV.5.
6. ŚB, XIII.1.9.7.
7. AV, III.19.1 ; III.19.5 ; VI.54.1 ; VI.98.2.
8. AV, III.5.2 ; X.3.12.
9. TS, IV.4.12.2.
10. Ibid, II.5.1.10.
11. ŚB, V.3.4.27-28. Some of the special traits of the Kṣatriyas are enumerated in the Atharvedic hymn XII.5.5-8 as happiness, wealth, good luck, force, brilliance, power and strength, kingdom, subjects, glory and fame, etc.

Kṣatriyas constituted fighting as one of their duty. From the songs sung by the Kṣatriya lute-player at the Aśvamedha sacrifice it can be pointed out that a Kṣatriya was confined to battle and victory in war was his ambition. The ŚB makes battle as Rājanya's strength.¹ Thus the Kṣatriya's main duty was readiness for wars.² The protection of the people and the country from inside revolts as well as from external aggressions and maintenance of peace³ were the main functions to be performed by a Kṣatriya. A prince was to protect the people is made out by the investiture ritual in which the priest invested a prince with a strong bow containing three arrows⁴ which symbolised his power.

The age of the ṚV was an age of immigration, settlement and expansion of Aryan tribes in India who are supposed to have entered the country from some other region.⁵ The Aryans when they entered the Indian peninsula had a hard time for they had to fight continuously with the aborigines of India whose culture and speech⁶ differed considerably from the Aryans. The Ṛgvedic hymns are replete with the accounts of the continual arduous warfare of the Aryans⁷ with the non-Aryans and of the struggles of the Aryans with the Aryans for supremacy over one another.

The wars waged by the Vedic Aryans were not always aggressive but were wars of necessity.⁸ For when they entered India, their movements were obstructed by Dasyus and Dāsas, the natives of the soil and the intruding Aryans had to take up arms for their self-defence against them. This was the beginning of the hostility between the Aryans and the Dasyus⁹ which did not subside even after a long and hard-fighting. The fortified settlements¹⁰ of the Dāsas and Dasyus where they kept concealed their

1. ŚB, XIII.1.5.6.

2. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 205.

3. *Vedic Age*, p. 451.

4. *Ibid.*

5. The Original Home of the Aryans is a controversial topic but it is certain that they were not the actual habitants of India.

6. ṚV, V.29.10, VII.6.8. Here term Mṛdhurvāk qualifies Dasyūs and Sāyaṇa takes it to mean of hostile speech.

7. Majumdar (B.K.), *The Military System in Ancient India*, p. 10.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 9

9. Dikshitar, *War in Ancient India*, p. 3.

10. ṚV, I.103.3, II.19.6, IV.30.20, II.20.8.

treasure of wealth were the attractive targets for the Aryans for attack.¹ In Ṛgvedic hymns VI.47.2 and VIII.40.6 mention is made of two Dāsa Chiefs, called wealth seekers. The jewels and gold possessed by the non-Aryans also tempted the Aryans to covet their wealth. In ṚV I.33.7-8 Dasyus are said to be adorned with gold and jewel. But more than anything else it were the cattle of the enemies which were the source of attraction for the Aryans.² They wanted land and pasture for their cattle, their word for war said nothing about national honour, but simply meant, 'a desire for more cows'. This desire to procure cattle is expressed in clear terms in ṚV.⁴

Along side with the conflict between the Aryans and their enemies, there went on the internal conflict in the Aryan tribal society. Prayers made to various deities for over-powering the enemies indicate both Dāsas as well as Aryans.⁵ The most important evidence for internal conflict within the Aryan-fold at an early date is the record of the *Dāsa rājan* battle, which is the only historical event in the Ṛgveda. This battle is mentioned in the seventh Maṇḍala of the ṚV. The battle of the ten kings was primarily a conflict between the two main branches of the Ṛgvedic Aryans, namely ; the Purus and the Bharatas, in which the non-Aryans may have joined as auxiliaries.⁶ The battle was, in fact, a memorable attempt of the lesser Aryan tribes to maintain their separate identities, but they were completely destroyed by the Bharatas under Sudāsa on the bank of the river Paruṣṇi. There is no indication of the treatment meted out to those Aryans, but essentially it might have been the same as in the case of non-Aryans.

In the light of the foregoing conditions of the society it is to be construed that the Ṛgvedic Aryans were a fighting race and

1. Sharma (R.S.), *Sūdras in Ancient India*, p. 9.

2. Ibid, p. 10.

3. Durant (Will), *The Story of Civilization*, p. 397.

4. ṚV, VI.26.2, VI.33.5.

5. In ṚV, X.83.1; Manyu's aid is invoked for overcoming both Aryans and Dāsas. Similarly in hymns X.38.3, VII.83.1; VI.60.6; VI.33.3 and X.102.5 Indra and other deities are invoked to destroy both kinds of enemies i.e., Dāsas and Aryans.

6. ṚV, VII.33.2-5; VII.83.8.

war had been their very life and breath. The overthrowing of the enemies¹ and bestowal of strength and might² is the theme of the many Ṛgvedic hymns.

Fighting—not monopoly of the Kṣatriyas :

Now it needs to examine who were the men who fought these long and strenuous wars ; whether it was the whole Ṛgvedic community or a special section of that community especially designed for this very purpose. The answer is not very far to seek but it gives rise to another broader question i.e., whether we accept the caste-system with its well-defined functions existing in the Ṛgvedic period or not. As noted earlier the Ṛgvedic society was free from varṇa distinctions of later days and in a society where separation of functions has not yet taken place to speak of a particular class with separate defined professions and occupations seems to be absurd.

The Kṣatriyas as members of the Ṛgvedic community undoubtedly took active part in the fightings and battles against the enemies but there is nothing to prove that a separate warrior—class (later day Kṣatriyas) with duties of protecting the people or fighting with the foes had been formed with distinction between military and non-military.³ The assumption of Wheeler⁴ that 'fighting was the main concern of the Kṣatriyas and it was their exclusive monopoly' seems to be rested on the later day tradition that only a Kṣatriya can fight for there is no evidence of restriction of war to the nobility or its retainers in the earliest texts.⁵ It was still the custom for all men to bear arms for the state whenever the necessity arose and the later day rule that none lower than a Kṣatriya should bear arms had not come into force.⁶

Viś (the common people) as a fighting unit is to be traced in many hymns of the Ṛgveda. They have been called troops⁷

1. RV, II.11.4 ; VI.25.2 ; X.148.2.

2. RV, I.64.14 ; I.93.2 ; III.26.3 ; IV.50.6, etc.

3. Dutt (N.K.), *Origin and Growth of Caste System*, pp. 55-56.

4. Wheeler, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 77.

5. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 251.

6. Dutt (N.K.), *Origin and Growth of Caste-System*, pp. 55-56.

7. RV, I.69.3.

fighting vigorously in battles. A Ṛgvedic hymn remarks that at the hour of need the Viś put-forth all their vigour and energy in battle.¹ In a hymn addressed to Dawn, the coming of Dawn is compared to the tribes arranged for battle.² Requests are seen being made to various gods to sharpen the spirit of the Viś for fighting.³

The AV is very clear on the point of Viś (common people) being as the main fighting men. In AV IX.7.9. the people are closely designated as '*balam*', a term regularly used for armed force in the later literature. The AV besides keeping the common people on par with *bala* and power also associates them with *senā*, the assembly of the armed hosts.⁴ On the basis of a hymn addressed to Maruts which runs as follows: 'Ye raise up for the folk an active ruler whom, Holy once! a Master's hand hath fashioned. Ye send the fighters hand to hand, arm mighty, and the brave hero, Maruts! with good horses',⁵ some scholars observe Kṣatriyas enjoying some special privileges such as fighting on chariots, etc., as compared to the common people who fought on foot.⁶ Originally the verse in question does not seem to indicate that the warriors who fought on chariots were Kṣatriyas. With regard to king fighting from the chariot there cannot be any doubt because being the head of the state as well as army he did have this privilege. The part played by the Brahmins in the Ṛgvedic wars was not less important than the Viś and whenever the necessity arose they were intent on fulfilling their duty. The Brahmins accompanied the kings in battle for we see ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha accompanying the warlike expedition of king Sūdas.⁷ Thus in a sense the Brahmins seem to be the co-partners of the king who invoked and prayed gods for the bestowal of victory on their

1. RV, IV.24.4.

2. RV, VII.79.2.

3. RV, X.84.4. request is made to Manyu to sharpen the spirit of the Viś and in VI.26.1 and VII.18.18 Indra is invoked to bestow strength and vigour on Viś.

4. AV; XV, 9.1-3.

5. RV; V.58.4.

6. Ghoshal (U.N.), *Hindu Public Life*, I, p.21.
Majumdar and Pusalkar, *Vedic Age*, p. 355.
Keith, *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 86.

7. RV, VIII.18.4.

patrons.¹ In RV, I.129.4, the ṛṣi wished that Indra be helpful to his worshipper to subdue and smite his enemies. In another hymn addressed to Aśvins, ṛṣi Dirghatamas wishes that Aśvins may grant victorious strength to his devotee.² Hence the power of a devotion of a ṛṣi seems to us to be the main road leading to the goal of victory.

The RV even gives us references of women as participators in the battles and wars. The women used to go to the battle-fields as companions of their husbands. Mudgalāni, wife of Mudgala drove his husband's car in the battle and fought successfully against robbers with arms.³ In RV 1.116.15, another woman named Viṣpalā lost her leg in Khela's⁴ fight and received an iron leg from Aśvins on the request and prayer of the family priest, Agastya and by the grace of Aśvins got power to move.⁵

Even the gods helped their worshippers by grant of strength, heroes and victory⁶ and by actively participating in the fights. The most important war-gods of the RV are Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, Maruts and Ādityas.⁷ Indra is the hero and warrior of the R̥gvedic Aryans⁸ who with Maruts fought and gained victory.⁹ Indra is called the 'Lord of the heroes of the five races'¹⁰.

The survey of the R̥gvedic literature brings out the fact that one of the functions of the Aryan people were fighting but nowhere it can be ascertained that this function was only discharged by the Kṣatriyas. Indeed every member of the R̥gvedic community was a warrior as well as a civilian.

Need of the Kṣatriyas with specific duties :

Now we would like to trace how and when the Kṣatriyas

1. RV, X.38 ; X.103. The hymns are devoted to Indra to help the sacrificer to gain victory in battle.
2. RV, I.157.2
3. RV, X.102.
4. Khela was a king.
5. RV, X.39.8.
6. Ibid. I.132.1 ; II.8.6 ; I.12.11 ; I.53.11 ; I.92.8 ; III.24.5 ; IV.50.6 ; I.64.14 ; I.93.12 ; III.10.8 ; V.27.6 ; IV.5.1-10, etc.
7. Ibid, X.103.9.
8. Ibid, I.81.2.
9. Ibid, III.31.7.
10. Ibid, V.32.11, five races here means five Aryan tribes.

came to be regarded as a warrior caste. Scholars like authors of Vedic Index,¹ Keith² and Majumdar³ attribute the rise of the warrior caste to the complex society of the Aryans at the time of the composition of the later Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas.

With the expansion of the Aryandom from Punjab to the eastward and the necessity for carrying on the ceaseless fight with the aborigines called for an organisation of the conquering people by the merger or fusion of the petty tribes into centralised kingdoms. It gave rise to powerful monarch sinking the lesser tribal princes to the position of the nobles.⁴ The monarch required a highly-skilled standing army who was always to be at his disposal to be employed for crushing all revolts and subduing the activities of the less powerful kings as well as of the aborigines. The standing army of the king, states Majumdar was recruited from the nobles and the chief armed retainers of the king.⁵ This class of the nobles and retainers with fighting qualities and sturdy valour came to be known as the warrior caste whose chief duty was to defend the society from external aggression and internal disorder.⁶ Even the division of the society into different varṇas in the later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas justify the fact of necessity of a special class of society on whom the duty of fighting and protection could be evolved. But, on the other hand, these texts nowhere speak of a special class of men who resumed their energies for war alone and that the other sections of the society like agriculturalists and intellectualists allowed the fate of the tribe to be decided by the Kṣatriya class only.

The origin of the Kṣatriyas as a warrior caste seems to be only in rudimentary stage in the time of the later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas and it is only in the Sūtra period that the Kṣatriyas are regarded as a fighting class with specific duties of fighting and protection which were denied to other varṇas of the society by the law-givers.

1. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 249.

2. Keith, *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 83.

3. *Vedic Age*, p. 386.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 386.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Radhakrishnan (S), *The Heart of Hinduism*, p. 33.

To rule—duty of the Kṣatriyas :

The texts of the period assign ruling activity to the Kṣatriyas and even more the use of the word Kṣatriya in the sense of a ruler also leaves the same impression. The ŚB makes a Brahmin unfit for kingship leaving it for the Kṣatriya alone.¹ Vasiṣṭha in AV prays to Indra to make his patron (Kṣatriya ruler) sole chief of the class and to make them subject to him.² The right to rule over others is the privilege of the Kṣatriyas is also indicated in the ŚB where it is said that a Rājanya being one rules over many.³ The same idea has been reiterated in another passage of the ŚB which vests ruling power in the hands of one person only.⁴ A Kṣatriya was consecrated with Sūtrāmaṇi offering for ruling over the world.⁵

The Kṣatriya was the chief protector of the earth to whom it belonged.⁶ He had even the right and power of granting settlements to other persons but only with the approval of the class.⁷ The power of the Kṣatriya over the land is well indicated in a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which states that when a Brahmin, Rājanya and Viś were to consecrate themselves they had to ask for land from the Kṣatriyas⁸ and the Kṣatriya for his own sake had to ask for the place from the sun, the divine lordly power.⁹ This Brāhmaṇa talks of a Kṣatriya 'a lord of all beings, defender of the Brahmins and protector of the Dharma' in the capacity of a king.¹⁰

Other activities of the Kṣatriyas :

The cases of Devāpi and Śāntanu and of Viśvāmitra are of interest in connection with the question of how far the Kṣatriyas practised the duties of the priest. As indicated above Devāpi belonged to a royal class and Viśvāmitra who was attached to the

1. ŚB; V.1.1.12.

2. AV, IV, 22.1.

3. ŚB; V.1.5.14.

4. Ibid, VI.6.1.8.

5. Ibid, XII.8.3.5.

6. Ibid; XI.8.4.5.

7. Ibid, VII.1.1.4.

8. AB, VII.2. Here Kṣatriya is taken in the sense of a ruler and Rājanya a member of the Kṣatriya varṇa.

9. Ibid.

10. AB, VIII.12.

court of king Sūdāsa is called a King¹ and a descendant of Janhu.² Though on the basis of this scanty material we cannot take it to be a rule but still in the society where the differentiation in professions has not taken place the interchange of professions can be easily made suiting to one's need and time.

We also hear of Kṣatriyas as lute-players like Brahmins in the Aśvamedha sacrifice. In this sacrifice, two lute-players, one a Kṣatriya and a Brahmin were engaged by the king to sing his glories.³ A Brahmin sang at day and a Kṣatriya at night.⁴ A Brahmin sang about the gifts bestowed and sacrifices offered by a king, while a Kṣatriya lute-player sang about his wars and victories in wars.⁵

An idea of the duties of the Kṣatriyas can be formed from an interesting passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa⁶ where different duties of different varṇas except that of the Kṣatriya varṇa are enumerated. A Brahmin is noted as an acceptor of gifts, a drinker of Soma, a seeker of livelihood and one to be moved at will. A Vaiśya is tributary to another, to be oppressed at will and to be eaten by others and a Śūdra is to be the servant of another, to be removed at will and also to be slain at will. Here by negation duties of a Kṣatriya can be construed.

The Kṣatriyas engaging themselves in agriculture or in trade or commerce and in other pursuits are not to be traced. War and administration were sufficient to absorb their attention.

Gainful Occupations

As pointed out by R.S. Sharma,⁷ the process of differentiation in social and economic sphere was very slow in the Ṛgveda and hence it is not easy to say clearly about the source of income of the Kṣatriyas for they hardly had any fixed or regular source of income on which they and their families could subsist.

Booty as means of Income : The important source of income of a Kṣatriya was perhaps booty and spoils of war from the

1. PB, XII.12.2.

2. AB, VII.17.

3. ŚB, XIII.1.5.3.

4. Ibid; XIII.1.5.5.

5. Ibid, XIII.1.5.6.

6. AB, VII.29.

7. Sharma (R.S.), *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 26.

conquered people. Booty in the form of cattle and wealth, etc., was mostly desired¹ by them. The booty thus acquired was shared by all the members of the tribe.² In Renou's³ opinion a property for a Kṣatriya was conquest.

There is no instance of any grant of land to the Kṣatriyas by king through which they could make their livelihood during the peace days for presumably the land belonged to the tribe as a whole.

Vaiśyas as food of the Kṣatriyas : The Kṣatriyas were economically supported by the Viś (Vaiśya). The Viś as the food of the Kṣatriyas occurs several times in the ŚB⁴. In laying of Gārhapatya bricks it is pointed out that the seasonal bricks are nobility and others Viś and the nobility is placed as eater among the peasantry.⁵ The same text compares the Kṣatriyas with the deer and the Vaiśyas with the grains to be eaten by the deer.⁶ The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa⁷ regards Viś as paying bali to others, to be oppressed at will and to be eaten by others. All this would indicate that a Vaiśya had to pay part of his products for the Kṣatriyas to live upon. Bali is only word indicating some sort of tax in the R̥gveda. It was also used in the sense of tribute paid to the king.⁸ The payment of bali was probably voluntary as there seems to be no machinery for assessing and collecting it. It was perhaps paid as a tribute to the Kṣatriyas by the Vaiśyas for the protection rendered to them by the Kṣatriyas for their life and property. The ŚB in connection with a ritual hints upon the same idea when we read : "When, on the other hand, he pours (the butter) together and thus offers it with the juhū, thereby the people pay tribute to the Kṣatriya. Hence by what he takes in the *upabhart*, the Vaiśya under the rule of the Kṣatriya, becomes possessed of cattle, and when he pours the (butter) together and offers it with the juhū, thereby the Kṣatriya, when-

1. RV, III.30.16 ; VI.26.2 ; VI.33.5.

2. RV, I.73.5.

3. Renou (*Louis*), *Civilization in Ancient India*, p. 72.

4. ŚB III.3.2.8 ; III.9.1.6 ; XIII.2.9.8 ; Also TB, III.8.13.1.

5. Ibid, VIII 7.1.2 ; VIII.7.2.2.

6. Ibid, XIII.2.9.8.

7. AB, VII.29.

8. RV, VII.6.5 ; X.173.6.

ever he likes, says, 'Hello Vaiśya, just bring to me what thou hast stored away'¹. This would indicate that a Vaiśya had not only to make a voluntary offering but whenever needed he was forced by the Kṣatriyas to pay and to depart from his possessions. Hence a Vaiśya's condition was economically miserable for he was heavily burdened and only a Kṣatriya, a Brahmin and a village headman were prosperous.²

Except booty of war and extraction of payment from the Vaiśyas the Kṣatriyas did not take to any other gainful occupation.

5. Struggle for Supremacy between the Ksatriyas and Brahmins :

Brahma and Kṣatra in the Ṛgveda :

On the relations subsisting between the four classes the Ṛgveda has very little to say. The only inference that can be adduced is that Brahmins and Kṣatriyas were quite different from the Viś and had as a fact a close relationship and co-operation.³ In RV.I.108.7 ṛṣi Kutsa declares that the gods Indra and Agni delight to live in their own house or in the house of a Brahmin or Rājanya (but not that of other varṇa). Again RV. V.54.7 states that 'Never is he, O Maruts, slain or overcome, never doth he decay, never is distressed or harmed ; his treasures, his resources, never waste away, whom, whether he be prince or Ṛṣi, ye direct.'⁴

In the Ṛgveda the word Brahman generally means a prayer or hymn.⁵ In many other passages Brahman means sage, contemplator or priest.⁶ In RV.I.157.2 for the first time the two words Brahma and Kṣatra occur together and mean prayer and valour respectively.

In the Atharvaveda III.19.1. where both words occur they are taken to mean prayer and valour by Whitney but Sāyaṇa takes it to indicate the Brahmin varṇa and the Kṣatriya varṇa. In other Vedic texts Brahman and Kṣatra stand collectively for

1. ŚB, I.3.2.15.

2. TS, II.5.4.4.

3. Ghosh (N.N.), The Origin and Development of Caste in India, Indian Culture, Vol. XII, p. 181.

4. Tr. RV; V.54.7. Griffith, Hymns of the Ṛgveda, Vol. I.

5. RV, I.37.4 VI 69.7; VII.22.9 ; X.80.7, etc.

6. RV, I.80.1; VI.45.7; X.71.11; I.108.7, II.39.1; etc.

the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas.¹

The cases of promotion of the Kṣatriyas to the Brahmin's rank,² the instances of the Kṣatriyas performing the duties of the priest and an account of several royal ṛṣis bespeak of the complete harmony in the relation of the two classes and reveals the society of the time when the royalty was not separated from the spirituality.

Texts bearing evidence on Brahman & Kṣatra classified :

It is only in the other Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas that we find the largest number of references regarding the mutual relations of the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins. These references contain divergent and even contradictory views. We have for the sake of facility divided these references into the three under-mentioned categories..

- (i) References that contemplate the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins as the two dominant powers of society and their interdependence.
- (ii) References claiming higher position for the Brahmins than the Kṣatriyas.
- (iii) References assigning higher position to the Kṣatriyas than the Brahmins.

Brahma and Kṣatra as two dominant forces and their interdependence :

Brahma and Kṣatra are frequently mentioned together in the Atharvaveda as the two dominant forces of the society and are brought in quite close relation to each other. In passage of a mystic Vṛātya hymn we are told that both *Brahma* and *Kṣatra* arose out of the Vṛātya and entered Bṛhaspati and Indra respectively.³ In another hymn⁴ which is a charm against fever *Brahma* and *Kṣatra* are bracketed together as one who do not fear and are not harmed. The quasi-sanctity of these two powers is also hinted in a passage⁵ where in a charm against victory the sacrificial water is joined successively with *Brahma* and *Kṣatra* as

1. ब्रह्म वे ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रं राजन्मः ।

TB, III.9.14.

also Br. Up. I.4.11, Kaṭh. Upaniṣad, I.2.24 ; VS, XVII. 38; XIX.5.

2. See Chapter 'Social Condition'.

3. AV, XV.10.3-4.

4. Ibid. II.15.4.

5. Ibid, X.5.1-4.

well as with Indra and Soma. Again in a hymn extolling the ox both the Brahma and Kṣatra are designed as his two hips.¹

Thus Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa explaining Pārtha oblations at the Rājasūya observes that the priest sprinkles the sacrificer with *Brahma* and *Kṣatra* identified with Bṛhaspati and Soma respectively.² In another passage which relates to the announcement of various deities in Rājasūya it says that thereby Brahma and Kṣatra approve his consecration.³ Similarly the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa justifies a rite of the Aśvamedha by exclaiming that the king's distinction is guarded on either side by *Brahma* and *Kṣatra*.⁴ A consecrated person is again said to be encircled both by Brahmahood and Kṣatrahood.⁵

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa even goes to the extent of declaring that only *Brahma* and *Kṣatra* are complete⁶ and they are everything.⁷ These two are the vital forces of the society.⁸ They are also the two towers of energy.⁹ It is expressly recognised that the union of the Brahma and Kṣatra is most desirable and conducive to the prosperity of both. The Taittiriya Saṁhitā asserts that first Brahma and Kṣatra were united and then they separated.¹⁰ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa also holds that in the beginning Brahma and Kṣatra were separate. We read : "The Mitra, the priesthood could stand without Varuṇa, the nobility. But Varuṇa could not stand without Mitra and whatever deed Varuṇa did unsped by Mitra he succeeded not. Then Varuṇa called upon Mitra and asked him to unite with him saying 'I will place thee foremost, sped by thee, I will do deeds ! So be it ! So the two united and hence forward whatever deed sped by Mitra Varuṇa did he succeeded in that.'¹¹ Thus only unitedly Kṣatra

1. AV, IX.7.9.

2. ŚB, V.3.5.8.

3. Ibid, V.3.5.32-33.

4. Ibid, XIII.1.5.3.

5. Ibid, IX.4.3.18.

6. Ibid, VI.6.3.12.

7. Ibid, VI.6.3.13.

8. Ibid, I.2.1.7.

9. Ibid, III.5.2.11 ; III.6.1.17.

10. TS, V.2.4.

11. ŚB, IV.1.4.2-5.

and Brahma can succeed and Taittiriya Samhitā claims that the harmony of both Brahma and Kṣatra is most essential.¹

It was only when Kṣatra and Brahma united together that the gods were able to slay Vṛtra.² In another remarkable passage of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa same idea has been hinted upon. "Now Indra and Agni were created as the Brahma (Priesthood) and the Kṣatra (nobility). The Brahma was Agni and the Kṣatra Indra. When created, the two were separate. They spoke whilst being thus, we shall be unable to produce creatures (people), let us both become one form. The two became one form."³ A desire has been expressed in the AB to unite both Brahma and Kṣatra.⁴

In some passages the relation of the two powers is declared to be of interdependence as we are directly told in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa⁵ that holy (Brahma) and lordly powers (Kṣatra) are interdependent. Rathantara is the holy power and the Bṛhat the lordly power and they are established on each other.

The Kṣatra is quickened by Brahma and vice versa is asserted in the Taittiriya Samhitā which also says that a Brahmin who has Rājanya is superior to another Brahmin (having no Rājanya) and a Rājanya having Brahmin is superior to another Rājanya.⁶ The protection of both the varṇas by the gods was highly solicited.⁷

Brahmins superior to the Kṣatriyas :

Besides these texts which throw light on the interdependence of these two powers, there are others which differ with regard to the relative superiority of the two. In the following texts the relation is expressed to be that of the superiority of the Brahmins over the Kṣatriyas.

The relative superiority of the Brahmins over all other classes of society is recognised in the famous Puruṣa-Sūkta. By virtue of his precedence of the birth the Brahmin is at the head of the

1. TS, VII.5.23 ; Also MS, III.1.9.

2. ŚB, II.5.4.8.

3. Tr. ŚB, X.4.1.5. SBE, Vol. 43, pt. IV.

4. प्रेदं ब्रह्म प्रेदं क्षत्रमित्येते एव स्मर्यते । AB, III.11.

5. AB, VIII.2.

6. TS, V.1.10.3.

7. Ibid, III.4.7 ; I.3.1 ; VS, XXXVIII.14 ; ŚB, IX.4.1.7—12.

class hierarchy. The Brahmin is the chief for he was created from the mouth says Taittiriya Saṁhitā.¹

The Brahmin is not only foremost in society like a head in a body but he is even a god. There are two kinds of gods, of which the Brahmin is a human god, is expressed in many ritualistic texts.²

Soma is the king of the Brahmins and not this mortal king³ and thus a mortal king could not exercise his authority over the Brahmins.

The superior position of the Brahmins in the Vedic Society is evident from a note in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which indicates that the real murder is the slaying of a Brahmin⁴ and the sin incurred by his slaughter can be expiated only by an Aśva-medha sacrifice.⁵ 'One should not revile a Brahmin, nor strike him, nor allow blood from him ; for so great is the sin', remarks a passage of Taittiriya Saṁhitā.⁶

The foremost position held by the Brahmins in the society is corroborated by his standing at the head of the ratnin lists. In the Ratnahvīṁśi ceremony of the Rājasūya sacrifice enumerated in the various ritualistic texts⁷ the Brahmin has been put first of all the ratnins except the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁸ where he occupies the second place ; the first being allotted to the Commander of the army.

The dominance of the Brahmins over the Kṣatriyas is visualised in many texts of the period. The Taittiriya Saṁhitā explaining the effect of the New and Full Moon sacrifices, says that the priest thereby makes the Kṣatra dependent on the Brahma and hence the Brahmin is the chief.⁹ In a passage of Aitareya

1. TS, VII.1.1.4.

2. ŚB, II.2.2.6 ; IV.3.4.4 ; TS, I.7.3 ; Gopatha Br., II.1.6. MS, I.4.6.

3. ŚB, IX.4.3.16.

4. Ibid, XIII.3.5.3.

5. Ibid, XIII.3.1.1.

6. TS, II.6.10.2.

7. Ibid, I.8.9.1 ; MS, II.6.5 ; IV.3 ; KS, XV.4 ; TB, I.7.3.

8. ŚB, V.3.1.3.

9. TS, II.6.1.5.

Brāhmaṇa¹ relating to the ceremony of the Punarabhiṣeka, the definite dominance of the Brahma over the Kṣatra is emphasised. Here the sacrificer after descending from his throne thrice pays homage to the holy power with 'homage to the holy power' (Brahma) verily thus, says the author the Kṣatriya falls under the influence of the Brahmin. Explaining the effect of influence of the Brahmin over the Kṣatriya the author remarks that when the Kṣatra falls under Brahma, that kingdom is prosperous, rich in heroes and in it a heir is born.

Emphasising the superiority of the Brahmins over the Kṣatriyas the PB² while explaining a certain Sāman verse says "Therefore the Brahma is yoked (ranged) before the Kṣatra for the Brahma comes before the Kṣatra." Elucidating the same view the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa while explaining a certain ritual of the Soma sacrifice at the Royal consecration holds that "The Rathantara is the holy power (Brahma), the Bṛhat the lordly power (Kṣatra), the holy power is prior to the lordly power' and further in the same context the sacrificer is made to wish that his rāṣṭra with Brahma in front may be dread and unassailable.³

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁴ the Brahma has been exalted at the expense of the Kṣatra. Here we read that Brahma is the conceiver and Kṣatra is the doer. Here Mitra, the Brahma is intelligence and Varuṇa, the Kṣatra is will. Then follows an interesting legend of how the two deities representing Brahma and Kṣatra being first separated got united at the instance of Varuṇa who asked Mitra to place him foremost so that his actions can bring fruit. In the same context⁵ it is said that Brahma can be without Kṣatra but Kṣatra cannot be without Brahma for without Brahma a Kṣatra can never succeed. Here according to Ghoshal by interpreting the relations of Brahma and Kṣatra in terms of intelligence and will, the dominance of the former is asserted over the latter.⁶ It also involves the idea that Brahma is the necessary adjunct of the Kṣatra and in a sense

1. AB, VIII.9.

2. PB, XI.1.2.

3. AB, VIII.1.

4. ŚB, IV.1.1-6.

5. Ibid, IV.1.4.6.

6. *Hindu Public Life*, Pt. II, p. 78.

the Brahmin seems to be the main source of the activity of the Kṣatriya.

The Kṣatriya is dependent on the Brahmin is revealed by a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Here Brahma is said to be the call (Āhāvah) and the Kṣatra, the *Nivid*. The author further says that first the sacrificer calls and then he inserts the Nivid, "verily thus he makes the Kṣatra dependent on the Brahma."¹

The Brahma is not only superior to the Kṣatra but he is mentioned to be the producer of the latter and thus the only power is Brahma and Kṣatra is its derivative. In a text in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa it is stated that the Kṣatra is produced out of the Brahma.² The same contention has been made in a text of Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.³

The direct reference to the superiority of the Brahma is traced in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.⁴ Here Varuṇa preferred Śunaśepa, the son of a Brahmin to a Kṣatriya when brought for sacrificing in place of Rohita (a Kṣatriya-son) for he claims that a Brahmin is higher than a Kṣatriya.

It can be concluded that the ritualistic texts which exalt the position of the Brahmins in the social order attribute it to the two factors in their favour. The first being their rank. By the Divine Origin they had foremost position in the society.⁵ Secondly, in the society which was ridden with innumerable rituals and ceremonies, who else than a custodian of these acts (who were Brahmins) could get the first place.

Kṣatriyas higher than the Brahmins :

In another texts we come across references giving opposite views, namely that of inferiority of the Brahmins to the Kṣatriyas and their subjection to the latter class. In Rājasūya sacrifice a Brahmin is made an object of respect after the king.⁶ Advocating a reason for this Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad says that 'there is nothing higher than Kṣatra. Therefore, at the Rājasūya cere-

1. AB, II.33.

2. ब्रह्मणा एव तत्क्षत्रं जनयति ब्रह्मणो द्विषत्वे जायते । —ŚB, XII.7.3.12.

3. क्षत्रियस्य योनि ब्रह्म... । —Br Up., 1.4.11

4. AB, VII.15.

5. Ghoshal (U.N.), *Hindu Public Life*, pt. II, p.23.

6. ब्राह्मणो राजानमनु यशः । —ŚB, V.4.2.7.

mony the Brahmin sits below the Kṣatriya.¹ This evidently implies the social inferiority of the Brahmins. But this inferiority assigned to the Brahmins seems to relate only to the political sphere for the same text also upholds the superior status assigned to the Brahmins by making them the source of Kṣatra upon which the king finally rests.

The political subjection of the Brahmins to the Kṣatriyas is hinted upon in a passage of Taittirīya Saṁhitā. In a course of sacrificial rite a Rājanya is made to repeat the Tṛcas thrice for making three i.e., Brahmin, Vaiśya and Śūdra obedient to him.²

Threats of Brahmins to the Kṣatriyas :

It is also admitted that at times the kings and Kṣatriyas tried and did oppress the Brahmins as Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa charges the Kṣatriyas with practising and speaking much falsehood and with oppressions of the Brahmins, etc.,³ but it is also indicated that ruin then certainly follows.⁴ In a Ṛgvedic hymn X.109 for restoration of a Brahmin's wife by a Kṣatriya we are told that how the boundless sea, the fierce glowing fire and the heavenly flood exclaimed against the outrage on a Brahmin, how the seven ṛṣis proclaimed the terrible might of a Brahmin's wife being outraged by others and how the gods Mitra and Varuṇa helped in her restoration. We further learn that a king who returns the Brahmin's wife enjoys the earth and has full sway over it.⁵ The Atharvaveda too touching upon the same theme warns the Kṣatriyas of the consequences falling on them by forcibly taking a Brahmin's wife.⁶ This illustrates the insecurity of Brahmins social liberties which were encroached upon by the Kṣatriyas.

The privileges of the Brahmins regarding property, etc., seems to be disregarded by the Kṣatriyas who were harsh towards them. The Atharvaveda in hymns V. 18 and 19 and XII.5 shows disastrous consequences of oppressing the Brahmins and robbing

1. अज्ञाद्वरं नास्ति तस्माद्ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियमथस्तादुपास्ते राजसुये ।

—Br. Up. 1.4.11.

2. TS, II.5.10.1.

3. TB, 1.7.2-6.

4. AV, V.17, 18, 19 etc. PB, XVIII.10.8.

5. RV, X.109.1-7.

6. AV, V.17.

them of their property. The Kṣatriya is warned not to kill a Brahmin's cow which is their special possession. The hymn V.18 while reminding the Kṣatriyas of the dangers of devouring a Brahmin's cow says that a Kṣatriya who wants his ruin may kill a Brahmin's cow because it is like a poisonous drink. The Brahmin's cow takes away the authority and splendour of the Kṣatriya.¹ A Kṣatriya who takes away the cow of a Brahmin is deprived of (Sūnṛta) happiness, valour (Vīryama) and good luck.² Both force (Oja) and brilliance (Tej) and power (Saha) and strength (Balam), speech, sense, fortune and virtue leave him.³ His holiness, dominion, kingdom, subjects, brightness, glory, honour and property vanish.⁴ Also righteousness, truth, sacrifice, progeny and cattle, etc., depart from a Kṣatriya.⁵ The Brahmin's cow when not given back by a Kṣatriya destroys him depriving him of home, abode, progeny and thus making him without succession.⁶

The Brahmin's property was not to be enjoyed by a Kṣatriya for he who thinks the Brahmin to be a food he drinks of (*Tīmatan*) poison.⁷ That kidgdom is also poured away where a king thinking himself formidable scathes a Brahmin.⁸ If a Kṣatriya covets the riches of a Brahmin even the trees do not give shade⁹ and rain does not pour in the kingdom of a Rājanya (King) who behaves rudely with a Brahmin and deprives him of his wealth.¹⁰

The proclamation of the threats and disastrous ends to the Kṣatriyas for encroaching upon the rights and privileges of the Brahmins evidently implies the hostile attitude of the two classes to each other and is also a kind of warning to the Kṣatriyas not to clash with their superiors who can do them tremendous harm.

1. AV, V.18.4, V.19.4.

2. Ibid, XII.5.6.

3. Ibid, XII.5.7.

4. Ibid, XII.5.8.

5. Ibid, XII.5.10.

6. Ibid, XII.5.45.

7. Ibid, V.18.4.

8. Ibid, V.19.6.

9. Ibid, V.19.9.

10. Ibid, V.19.15.

Rivalry between the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins :

In another passages the contrast between the Brahma and the Kṣatra leads us to the view of their inherent antagonism. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in a remarkable passage of Aśvamedha rite states that a rite requires both the Brahmin and the Kṣatriya lute-players to sing for a year ; the former by day and the latter by night. In the course of this explanation we come to know that a Brahmin is enjoined to sing at day and a Kṣatriya during night time for they take no delight in each other.¹

Nowhere this idea of inherent antagonism is expressed with so much of aptness and emphasis as in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VII.22. Giving a preliminary explanation of the rites of Rājāsūya, we have the mention of the prayer to the following effect in the beginning and conclusion of the sacrifice.

'I have recourse to the holy power; may the holy power (Brahma) guard me from the lordly power (Kṣatra); to the holy power hail.' Expounding these prayers AB says that 'he who has recourse to the sacrifice has recourse to Brahma ; the sacrifice is the holy power (Brahma) Him who has recourse to Brahma the Kṣatra does not oppress.' Further it remarks that 'he who has recourse to the kingship has recourse to the Kṣatra, for the kingship is the lordly power. Him who has recourse to the Kṣatra the Brahma does not oppress.'²

The differences of the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas are still more evident in other passages of the above Brāhmaṇa. In the course of the explanation of the consecration ceremony we are told that a Kṣatriya before the consecration has Indra as his deity, the *Trīṣṭubh* as his metre, the *Pancadaśa* as his *Stoma* and is Rājanya in relationship. Because of his becoming a Brahmin after consecration, Indra takes away his power and the metres, etc., and it also takes away his other appropriate qualities saying, 'He is becoming other than we, he is becoming the holy power ; he is joining the holy power'. Hence the text provides the Kṣatriyas to offer an oblation before the consecration to the Indra and to the others so that they may not take their respective qualities from him. After consecration a Kṣatriya has Agni for its

1. ŚB, XIII.1.5.1-5.

2. Rgvedic Brāhmaṇas, HOS, Vol. 25, Tr. AB, VII.22.

deity, along with the appropriate metre and the stoma and is the Brahman in relationship. After the conclusion of the sacrifice because of his assuming the Kṣatriya form, Agni takes his brilliance and the corresponding metres and stoma also take their respective qualities from him saying 'He is becoming other than we: he is becoming the lordly power, he is joining the lordly power.' Hence after a final offerings he should offer oblation to Agni and others not to take from him the brilliance and his other qualities.¹

Not only in political and social spheres did the Brahmins and Kṣatriyas try to establish their supremacy over each other but in the intellectual fields as well. The superiority complex in the Brahmins with regard to their learning is to be seen in the statement of Yājñavalkya when his fellows asked him to challenge king Janka in a theological discussion, he says 'We are Brahmins and he is a Rājanya, if we were to vanish him, whom should we say we have vanished? But if he were to vanish us people would say of us that a Rājanya had vanquished Brahmin; do not think of this.'² Even we find Rājanya saying that it is against the rule that a Brahmin should come to a Kṣatriya for learning as they felt that they were not meant to be teachers.³

As stated earlier some scholars have attributed the origin of the philosophical learning to the Kṣatriyas as the result of the contest of the two classes. It has been remarked by some scholars that Kṣatriyas even asserted their power to combat the Brahmins in the intellectual field and as a counter attack on the Brāhmaṇa ritualism they made their headway in the philosophical learning. The term *Rājanyabandhu* denoting contempt has been frequently used by the Brahmins in these contexts⁴ for a Kṣatriya.

All this leads us to think that by the time of the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas the two varṇas, i.e., the Kṣatriya and the Brahmins drifted away from each other and made efforts to establish their supremacy over one another whenever the opportunity presented itself.

1. AB, VII.23-24.

2. SB, XI.6.2.5.

3. Br. Up., IV.2.1.

4. Ch. Up., V.3.5, Br. Up., VI.1.5; SB, XI.6.2.5. etc.

The Brahmins to a certain degree also had power to weaken the Kṣatriyas by means of Vaiśyas. The texts prescribe certain rites by which a Brahmin through the means of Vaiśya if he so desired could destroy and weaken the Kṣatriya. To take a few examples, Kāthak Saṁhitā¹ and Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā² mention certain rites by which a priest can at his will slay the Kṣatra by Viś and vice versa. Taittirīya Saṁhitā also prescribes a rite for causing strife between the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas.³ Aitareya Brāhmaṇa also prescribes a formula for enabling the sacrificer by witchcrafts to smite the Kṣatra with the Viś and vice versa. It prescribes that if one wants to smite the Kṣatra by the Viś, he should thrice divide the Nivid in recitation by the hymn; the Nivid is Kṣatra and thus the Kṣatra is smitten by the Viś and if he wants the Viś to be smitten by the Kṣatra he should thrice separate with the Nivid the recitation of the hymn; the hymn is Viś.⁴

As at times some of the kings and the Kṣatriyas did not want to submit tamely to the superiority complex and growing power of the Brahmins they challenged their authority. As admitted by N.K. Dutt, the stories of such struggles have either vanished or have been shown to be full of such fanciful ideas showing the might of the spiritual weapons like curses, etc., that it is not possible to make out the truth out of them.⁵

A valuable work has been done by the learned scholar J. Muir in this respect.⁶ But the contests between the Brahmins and Kṣatriyas touched by Muir mainly deal with the Epics and the Purāṇas with only one or two relating to the earlier times.

Basing his conclusions on these contests, Pargiter classifies them into three categories. 'First when a king slighted, quarrelled with, injured or killed a Brahmin; secondly, where he as a Kṣatriya arrogated the right to perform religious ceremonies himself and the third where a Kṣatriya sought to become a

1. KS, XXI.10.

2. MS, III.3.10; IV.6.8; II.1.9 etc.

3. TS, II.2.11.2.

4. AB, III.12.

5. N.K. Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Vol. I, p. 51.

6. Early contests between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas, pp. 4296-479-
Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I.

Brahmin.¹

As far as period under review is concerned we have no sufficient proof of the contests of the first two categories though we can somehow assign the contest of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra to the third category.

(a) *Story of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra*: It has been asserted that the fight between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra which has been elaborately enumerated in the later epics² had its seeds in the Ṛgveda. It is said that Viśvāmitra was a Kṣatriya who rose to the power of a Brahmin. But Ṛgveda neither gives us any evidence regarding the Kṣatriyahood of the ṛṣi Viśvāmitra nor an account of his attaining the position of a Brahmin, what we get here is only Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha being represented as priests of king Sūdāsa and ṛṣis of the Maṇḍalas III and VII respectively: In Ṛgveda VII.18, 4, 5, 21-25 and VII.33.1-6 Vasiṣṭha is the priest of the king Sūdāsa the son of Pijavana.³ Again in RV III.53.9-13 Viśvāmitra is shown to be the priest of king Sūdāsa.

Both Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra have been the priests of the king Sūdāsa though there is doubt regarding the king Sūdāsa with whom Viśvāmitra was connected. But Nirukta II.24 regards the same Sūdāsa of ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha to be the patron of Viśvāmitra. What ever may have been the case this much is certain that both of them could not have been the family priests of king Sūdāsa at one and the same time and they would have been the priests of Sūdāsa at different times.

From the imperfect and scanty material supplied by the Ṛgveda it is difficult to bring out the exact nature of the rivalry of these two priests. Prof. Roth thinks that some light is thrown on this aspect in Ṛgvedic hymns III.53.21-24. Sāyaṇa also thinks that hatred against Vasiṣṭha has been expressed in these verses. Prof. Roth remarks that 'these verses contain an expression of wounded pride, and threaten vengeance against an enemy who had come into possession of some power or dignity which Viśvāmitra himself had previously enjoyed.'⁴ There is also a

1. F.E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 243.

2. Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, Mbh. Ādiparva.

3. RV, VII.18.25.

4. See Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, p.371.

mention of the quarrel of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra in Yajurveda.¹

The contest so-called between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra if at all existed in the Ṛgveda was for attaining the lost position by one or the other and not for attaining the Brahminhood by Viśvāmitra who is said to be formerly a Kṣatriya. But the evidence presented by the Ṛgveda nowhere clearly indicates that Viśvāmitra belonged to a Kṣatriya family though he has been addressed as *rājaputra* in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VII.13-18. But Prof. Roth remarks that there is nothing either in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa or in the hymns of Ṛgveda to show that he had ever been a king.

Besides the story of conflict of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra we have other two or three incidents which indicate the hostility of the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins.

Atharvaveda V.19.1. preserves relics of these conflicts in its narration of the ruin of Srñjayas because of oppressing the Brahmins. It is mentioned that Srñjayas, the descendants of Vitahavya waxed exceedingly; they almost touched the sky, but after they had injured the Bhṛgu they were overwhelmed.

(b) *King Kutsa and his Purohita* : The Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa XIV.6.8. relates the story of king Kutsa, son of Urua slaying his Purohita, Upagu Suśravas for worshipping a god to whom the king was hostile. The same book also describes a dispute between the king Tryarūṇa Traidhatva of Ikṣvāku family and his Purohita Vrśa son of Jana. The quarrel arose over the question of responsibility for the death of a Brahmin boy who was run over and killed by the King's chariot while he was driving along with holding the reins. The king threw the blame upon the purohita who had to recall the boy to life.²

(c) *King Viśvantara and Śyaparṇa Brahmins* : A strong depicting the conflict of the Kṣatriyas with the Brahmins is also to be found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. We learn that king Viśvantara did not allow the Śyaparṇa Brahmins to come to his sacrifice and when they entered the precincts of *vedi* they were turned out. Then they cried out who among them was able to help them and at last in Rāma Mārgaveya they found a man who

1. TS, III.1.7.

2. PB, XIII.3.12.

could champion their cause.¹

The struggle for supremacy between the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins never assumed the shape of a open class struggle in the Vedic period but was confined only to individuals as is revealed by the above noted instances. The Brahmins though highly esteemed in the Vedic society could not establish their superiority unchallenged by the Kṣatriyas. Moreover the contradictory data available in the texts regarding the superiority of one class and of the other evidently implies that neither the superiority of the Kṣatriyas nor of the Brahmins was fully accepted.

King and Purohita :

The account of the relation of the Kṣatriyas with the Brahmins is incomplete without reference to the relation of a Brahmin as a Purohita with the king. The importance of the office of the Purohita was even realized in the Ṛgveda as here this office of the Purohita has been elevated, as Agni is often called Purohita.² A Purohita was a helpful adjunct of the king and he was called Rāṣṭragopa (protector of realm) even from the Ṛgvedic times. In the time of later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, because of the elaboration of the Vedic rituals, the Purohita's office attained still greater importance.

The high position of the Purohita is well-expressed in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa where it is said that very high position is held by him who is Purohita in one kingdom, how much higher is the position of a Purohita of two kingdoms.³ The sacrifices like that of Vājapeya are of high significance for one who is desirous of getting the said honour.

The prosperous status of the Brahmins is well indicated in Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa.⁴ In this regard we have a number of references⁵ in Ṛgveda where the large gifts of various kinds bestowed by different kings and princes on the Brahmins are specified and eulogised. The offerings bestowed by the kings led to the great prosperity of the king.

1. AB, VII.27.

2. RV, I.1.1 ; III.2.8 ; IV.50.8.

3. ŚB, II.4.4.5.

4. PB, XIII.9.27 ; XIV.9.38.

5. RV, I.125 ; VI.27.8 ; VS, 47.22 ; VII.18.22 ; VIII.5.7 ; X.33.4 etc.

Indispensibility of the office of a Purohita :

The indispensibility of the Purohita for the king is emphasised in many of the present texts. A passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says that 'It is quite proper that a Brahmin should be without a king. It is, however, quite improper that a king should be without a Brahmin, for a king's work which is sped by Purohita only succeeds.'¹ The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa lays down the remarkable dictum that Purohita is the half self of the Kṣatriya.²

The influence exerted by the Purohita over the king seems to be positive. The employment of the Purohita by the king is necessitated for the prosperity and well-being of the latter with the association of the former. In RV. IV.50.8 great prosperity is declared to attend the prince by whom a Brahmin is employed, honoured and succoured. The text says, "In his own house he dwells in peace and comfort to him for ever holy food flows richly. To him the people with free will pay homage—the king with whom the Brahmin hath precedence."³ Atharvaveda III.19.1. shows the advantages accruing to a prince who employs the domestic priest.

It is the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa where we get multiplicity of references throwing light on the question of the relation of a Purohita with a king. Here we are told that a kingdom which is under the influence of the holy power only prosperous, is rich in heroes and in it a heir is born.⁴ The king's consecration we are told is to be announced with the ṛṣi descent of his Purohita⁵ and the sacrificer's share of the same ceremony is to be handed over to the Brahmin who is in the relation of the Purohita to the king.⁶

The most impressive statements regarding the close relation of the king and his kingdom with the Purohita occur in the last portion of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa under the title 'Purohitaship.' Here we read that a king must appoint a Purohita for the gods

1. ŚB, IV.1.4.6.

2. अर्धत्मा ह वा एष क्षत्रियस्य यत् पुरोहितः । —AB, VII.26.

3. RV, IV.50.8, Tr. *Hymns of the RV Griffith*, Vol. I.

4. AB, VIII.9.

5. Ibid, VII.25.

6. Ibid, VII.26.

do not eat the food of a king who is without the Purohita. 'Therefore a king when about to sacrifice should select as Purohita a Brahmin (wishing) may the gods eat my food.' The priest, his wife and his son are the three fires who being honoured with offerings take the king to the heaven and grant him Kṣatra, might, kingdom and people. If the above three are not appeased by the king he is deprived of the above advantages.¹

A Purohita has five missiles, one in his speech, foot, sky, heart and organ.² The king who has Purohita to guard the kingdom, 'his kingship perishes not in its youth, life leaves him not before his time, upto old age he lives, he lives a full life and he dies not again and his people are in harmony with one aspect and one mind.'³ The people of a king whose kingdom is guarded by a Purohita pay him homage and he conquers unsurpassed.⁴

These references and many more point to the indissoluble bonds uniting the king with the Purohita. They also impress upon the king the paramount importance of appointing a Purohita and treating him with due respect and reverence.

The public importance of the Purohita's office is to be observed in the Jewel offering ceremony of the Rājasūya. As stated earlier the Purohita occupies the first place in the list of the ratnins participating in the said sacrifice according to both the white and the black Yajurveda except the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁵ where he is assigned a place lower than a Senānī.

The power of the Purohita over the king can be known by his accompanying the king to the battles.⁶ The services of a Purohita were also secured by a king for averting the calamities and for the prosperity of the kingdom. We have references of the kings being saved from calamities by the grace of the Purohita and of doing most difficult deeds. Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa tells us how Divodāsa, being hemmed in by his enemies sought the help of his Purohita Bhārdavāja, who saved him by chanting

1. AB, VIII.24.

2. Ibid, VIII.24.

3. Ibid, VIII.25.

4. Ibid, VII.26.

5. ŚB, V.3.1.2.

6. RV, VII.18.

the appropriate *sāman*.¹ Again Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa states how Kṣātra, son of Prataradana, being hemmed in by ten kings asked the help of his Purohita.² Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra helped his patron king Bharata to cross the overflowing river Śatadru.³

The influence exercised by a Purohita over a king depended much more on his individual footing. An influential Purohita could have a great hold over a king than a weak Purohita.

The exaltation of the office of the Purohita could not but accelerate the development of the priestly power in society. The power of the Brahmins in political as opposed to the religious and domestic matters, no doubt rested on Purohita. The Purohita differed from an ordinary priest. He not only officiated at sacrifices but was also the officiator at many of the private sacrifices of the king and the result was that he got great influence over his masters in the secular matters as well.

Appointment of a Purohita :

As a rule there was only one priest attached to a king; who probably officiated throughout the life, though special occasions might arise involving the change of the one Purohita for another as in the case of Vasistha and Viśvāmitra in the Ṛgveda.

By the times of the Brāhmaṇas the necessity of a Purohita was given a great significance as the Vedic rituals were elaborated and the king did not have much time to perform them. By this time the Kṣatriyas lost even the right of appointing and dismissing the priests at their will. Hence the priests were practically irremovable, which only added to their vested rights. Janamejaya Parīkṣit tried to do away with the services of Kaśyapas, but he was compelled by the Asitamrigas to employ them again.⁴ Even Viśvantara after driving away the śyaparaṇas from his sacrifice had to call them back under pressure.⁵

Thus the Purohita was a very important member of the state. The oath administered to a Kṣatriya by the priest at the beginning of the sacrifice in the following words "From the night of

1. PB, XV.3.7.

2. JB, III.244.247.

3. ṚV, III.33.3.

4. AB, VII.27.

5. Ibid.

my birth to that of my death, for the space between these two, my sacrifice and my gifts, my peace, my good deeds, my life and my offspring mayest thou take, if I play thee false",¹ reveals the respect and reverence which the Purohita commanded from a king.

Hence, undisputedly during the period of the later *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* the position of the Purohita in the Vedic statecraft came to be regarded as of high importance.

. . .

1. AB, VII.15.

Kṣatriyas In The Later Vedic Literature

1. (a) Meaning of the terms Kṣatriya, Rājanya and Khattiya :

Kṣatriya—its meaning :

Coming to the Sūtra-period, the conception of the term Kṣatriya underwent some change and became clear. The later meaning of the Vedic period of the term Kṣatriya denoting second varṇa was fully accepted. Here the word Kṣatriya wherever it may occur undoubtedly means the Kṣatriya varṇa and nothing else. Wider significance was attached to the word Kṣatriya. In the Vedic period the word Kṣatriya was used mostly in the restricted sense of ruler, prince or nobility but here as the principle of heredity became stronger the Kṣatriya in general came to be denoted as a 'warrior'.¹

Derivation of the word Kṣatriya :

Pāṇini derives Kṣatriya from the word *Kṣatra* by adding *ghah* affix.² This affix comes after *Kṣatra* in the sense of a descendant when denoting a class. This establishes the fact that the word Kṣatriya by this time came to denote the Kṣatriya class.

Meaning of the term Rājanya :

Kṣatriya and Rājanya, both the identical terms of the Vedic literature are found to be completely identical in the Sūtra period also. Here both the words mean one and the same thing i.e., the Kṣatriya varṇa and wherever the term Rājanya³ does occur it has

1. Datta (N.K.), *Origin and Growth of Caste System in India*, p. 160.

2. Pāṇini, 4.1.38. 'शत्राद् घः'

3. P.G.S. II.3.8.

always been taken to mean the Kṣatriya.

Pāṇini proves Rājanya as descendant of the king.¹ Again in 6.2.34 the word Rājanya has been used in connection with various political terms such as *Gaṇa*, *Sanḥa* and *Grāmāṇī*, etc., by Pāṇini. Vāsudev Śaran Aggarwal also says that *Kṣatriyā-patyaya* of the members of the *Kūlas* or families of a *Gaṇa* under a king are denoted as Rājanya.²

Meaning of the Buddhist term Khattiya :

Khatta, out of which the Pāli word *Khattiya* comes means possession, power and rule.³ The Buddhist word *Khattiya* equivalent to the Sanskrit Kṣatriya points 'to the members of the Aryan nobility who led their tribes in battle to conquer and also for those aboriginal tribes who anyhow were able to maintain their status as princes inspite of the conquests'.⁴ In Pāli-English Dictionary, *Khattiya* is described as 'a member of one of the clans or tribes recognised as of Aryan descent'.⁵

Khattiya also means the protector or lord of the fields.⁶

Fick, in his book⁷ ponders over three meanings of the term *Khattiya* given by different scholars. He identifies Pāli *Khattiya* with Sanskrit Kṣatriya meaning warrior. But he says that actually the word is to be understood in the sense of a member of the ruling class which includes the king, his great lords and vassals along with the higher portions of the army and the expression 'warrior' for *Khattiya* applies only in a certain sense. Narrowly speaking the *Khattiya* corresponds to the Vedic Rājanya and is applied to the descendants of the victorious Aryans. It is only when during war times the *Khattiyas* were invested with the primary duty of protection they were looked upon as

1. Pāṇini, 4.1.137. राजवशराद्यात् ।

2. अग्रवाल, वासुदेवशरण, पाणिनिकालीन भारतवर्ष, पृ० ४११ ।

3. Pāli-English Dictionary, p. 232.

4. Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 202.

5. Pāli-English Dictionary, p. 232.

6. Dialogues of Buddha, pt. III, SBB, Vol. IV, p. 88, III. 93.

'क्षेत्रानाम् पतीति खत्तियो', जातककालीन भारतीय संस्कृति, पं० मोहनलाल सहोती 'स्वामी', पृ० ५ ।

7. The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, pp. 79-80.

'warriors.'¹

The word Khattiya includes princes and their kinsmen who acquired the right to rule the country by the strength of their arms² and not the warriors in general who are called *Jodhās* or *Bālakayes*.

In Buddhist literature *rāja* primarily is the title of Khattiya.³

Khattiya is also taken to mean the king⁴ and according to Fick⁵ to the Khattiya class belongs the kings standing at the head of the great monarchies of the time with their kinsmen, such as the rulers of Kośala, Magadha and Videha, etc., and the ruling princely families of smaller states. The holders of the highest political and military offices do not belong to this class provided they are connected with some royal families.

The Khattiyas of the Buddhist texts primarily seem to be the representatives of the political powers being either kings of big states or princes of smaller states.

Moreover, the Kṣatriyas of the Sūtras and the Khattiyas of the Buddhist canons mean the Kṣatriya varṇa in general.

(b) Origin of the Ksatriyas

Origin of the Kṣatriyas according to the Sūtra texts :

Discussing the various theories of the origin of the Kṣatriyas in the period under view, the only idea gaining round is that which is embodied in the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* of the Ṛgveda. The four varṇas are said to be distinguished by their origin and particular sacraments. Here the Vedas have been regarded as an authority on the question of the origin of the Varṇas. It is said in the text that "The Brahmin was his mouth, the Kṣatriya formed his arms, the Vaiśya his thighs, the Śūdra was born from his feet."⁶

1. Fick (Richard), *The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, pp. 79-80.
2. Law (B.C.), *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 139.
3. *Pāli-English Dictionary*, p. 568.
4. *Sutta-Nipāta*, III.1.13 and 14.
5. Fick, *Social-Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, p. 80.
6. *Vas. Dh. S.*, IV.1-2.

Again, the idea of the origin of the four Varṇas from various metres is advocated. He created the Brahmin with the *Gāyatrī* metre, the Kṣatriya with the *Triṣṭubh*, the Vaiśya with the *Jagati* and the Śūdra without any metre.¹

Origin of the Kṣatriyas according to the Buddhist texts :

Now we come to see what the Buddhist texts have to say on the question of the origin of the Kṣatriyas. As Buddhist Khattiya, equivalent of the Sanskrit Kṣatriya means protector of the field, the Khattiya was given the charge of protecting the land of others. In the beginning an individual was asked to look after the fields of another and for this work he was given some share of the field and the protector was called the Khattiya. From individuals it was applied to the class as a whole and thus there emerged out a class known as Khattiya-maṇḍala who had the social contract with the people for protecting their lands. According to Dīgha Nikāya,² thus took place the origin of the social circles of the Khattiya-maṇḍala. This theory regarding the origin of the Kṣatriyas is termed as 'Contract Theory' by Dr. R.S. Sharma.³

Same hypothesis of the origin of the Kṣatriyas as given in the Dīgha Nikaya has been touched upon by U.N. Ghoshal.⁴ According to him when the tendencies of greed, lust and passion were in vogue, a greedy person encroached upon the fields of another person for which he was fined. He promised not to repeat this work. He again repeated it and was struck by others. Thus to avert such kinds of mishappenings they decided to select a worthy person who could punish the evil and they in return promised to give him a portion of their paddy. This man was known as Khattiya and this election of him was the origin of the Khattiya class. Some of them went down and settled on the outskirts of villages and towns making books and they were known as Brahmins. Some adopting the married state set on foot various trades (vissa). So vissa came to be used for trading class. Those who lived on hunting and such trifling pursuits

1. Vas. Dh. S., IV.3.

2. D.N. III.93.

3. Sharma (R.S.), Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India, pp. 52-60.

4. Ghoshal (U.N.), Indian Political Ideas, p. 63.

came to be known as Sudda. The origin of all these classes was according to the Norm.¹

Whereas the Sūtras ascribe divine origin to the Kṣatriyas the Buddhist texts on the contrary ascribe their origin to human beings who elected them on the contract for safeguarding the society by paying them something in return. Though originally this contract was only with an individual but gradually it came to denote the class on the whole—which came to be known as Khattiya-maṇḍala.

2. (a) Social status of the Kṣatriyas

Rigid Varṇa restrictions :

The Aryans when entered India, knew nothing of the caste or Varṇa. However, when, they penetrated into India from the north-west and went on advancing towards the east and south and settled permanently there, the four-fold Varṇa system made its strong hold. The Sūtra-texts explicitly speak of the four Varṇas with their special duties, rights and privileges, etc. The Dharma-sūtras² know of four Varṇas, namely, Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. Pāṇini³ also makes mention of four Varṇas as Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vit and Śūdra. Thus we see that the society of the Sūtra period was clearly divided into four well defined Varṇas i.e., Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. Moreover, all the writers of the Dharmasūtras start with the proposition that the four Varṇas i.e., Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra are arranged in a descending scale of social status.

The two main divisions of the society of that time were the Āryas and the Śūdras. The first three Varṇas i.e., Brahmin, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya were denoted by the designation of Ārya.⁴ The first three Varṇas who had the right of *Upanayana* were also known as *Dvijas*⁵ and the Śūdras who had no right to

1. Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. III, SBB, Vol. IV, pp. 88-91, III.93-95.
2. चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यसूद्राः । —Āp. Dh.S. I.1.1.3. Vas. Dh. S., II.1, Baud. Dh. S., I.8.16.1.
3. Pāṇini, 2.1.63.
4. Gau. Dh. S., VI.II; X.60; XII.2; IX.65; Āp. Dh. S., I.1.3.40; II.2.3.1; II.2.3.4.
5. द्वयो वर्णा द्विजालयो-ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य । —Vas. Dh.S., II.2.

perform the Upanayana were called *Ekajātayah*.¹ The first three Varṇas called Dvijas, belonged to a same racial stock and had the same colour. The colour theory of the Vedic period did not have its existence here, though we have certain references in the *Gṛhya Sūtras* referring to the garments of different colours for the members of the different Varṇas and soils of different colours for building houses by the members of the different Varṇas, etc., still there is no evidence to show that the colours of dresses and soils, etc., in the *Gṛhya Sūtras* had any relation whatsoever with the colour of the skin of these Varṇas.

The flexibility of the four-fold Varṇa system of the Vedic time vanished and the four Varṇas of the Sūtra literature became much more rigid. No inter-dining or inter-marriage was allowed. All the four were well-defined separate Varṇas and distinction between them is easily discernible with respect to food, marriage, *Upanayana* and in their day-to-day work. The Sūtras thus draw a line of demarcation between the members of the three higher Varṇas. Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra² states that four Varṇas are distinguished by their very origin and particular sacraments.

Birth solely came to be regarded as the basis of Varṇa and each preceding Varṇa was superior by birth to the one following is mentioned in the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra.³

The concept of the Varṇa was widely prevalent in the Buddha's time. The division of Indian society in the Brahmanical sense in four Varṇas is in no way unknown to the Buddhist literature, although the worthlessness of the Varṇa is emphasised here. The theory of the four Varṇas was not only known to the Buddhist writers, but was so strongly embedded in their consciousness that they could not keep themselves aloof from it.⁴ Moreover the Buddhist writers never tried to contradict this Varṇa theory though they were against certain Brahmanical acts like fasts and sacrifices, etc.

The Buddhist society like the society of the Sūtra texts was divided into four social grades called *Vanna* (Varṇa). The four

1. शुद्धश्चतुर्वर्णः एकजातिः । —Gau. Dh.S., X.50

2. Vas. Dh. S., IV.1.

3. Āp. Dh. S., I.1.1.4.

4. Fick, Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's Time, p. 30.

Varṇas enumerated in the Pāli literature are namely, Khattiya, Brahmana, vessa and Sudda.¹ Ambaṭṭha says there are four Varṇas, the nobles, the Brahmins, the trades-folk and the work-folk.²

As regards the four Varṇas of the Indo-Aryan Society, it is to be noted that the usual order of the enumeration was the Brahmin, the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra. But in the early Buddhist texts, on the other hand, the order of the first two Varṇas was reversed; the Khattiyas being placed first followed by the Brahmins. The order of the other two Varṇas of the society remained unchanged.³ Thus we see that in the Buddhistic society, at the head were the Kṣatriyas, who claimed descent from the leaders of the Aryan tribes (who invaded) the continent.

The Buddhist texts unlike Sūtra texts advocate equality among all the four Varṇas. In Buddhist literature no varṇa was high or low; a *caṇḍāla* and a Brahmin were put on equal footing. P. Lakshmi Narasu states 'The four are equal. He who cherishes hatred is a *caṇḍāla* and he who does good is a Brahmin.'⁴

According to Buddha all the four Varṇas are same and there is no difference in them.⁵ It is further said that 'if any member of the four Varṇas indulges in bad actions such as on slaughter and theft, etc., he falls in hell and those who rise above these go to heaven.'⁶ Buddha gives another simile of the four Varṇas being same. He explains that a man brings drystick from a teak tree, other from a sāl-tree, another from a mango-tree and fourth from fig-tree for fire. He says that from these sticks there would be no difference in what is produced in flame.⁷

The same idea is expressed in Uddālaka Jātaka.⁸ Uddālaka

1. DN, III.82, SBB, Vol. IV, Dialogues of Buddha, Pt. III, p. 79 MN, II.128.
2. DN, III.15.
3. Law (B.C.), India as Described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 148.
4. P. Lakshmi Narasu, The Essence of Buddhism, p. 94.
5. इमे चत्वारो वण्णा समसमा होन्ति नैस एत्थ किञ्चि नानाकरणं समनुवत्सामी ति ।
—MN, Discourse 84, II.86.
6. MN, Discourse 84, II.85-87.
7. Ibid, Discourse 90, II.129.
8. Cowell, J., IV, No. 487, p. 191.

says that Khattiya, Brahmin, Vessa, Sudda, Caṇḍāla and Pukkusa can all be virtuous, self-restrained and can attain *Nirvāṇa* and all the distinctions of Varṇas among them vanish away when they attain *Nirvāṇa*. The same account of the Varṇas and the same conception of their equality is also viewed from the Amba Jātaka, where it is said, "Be it Khattiya, Brahmin, Vessa, Sudda, Caṇḍāla and Pukkusa, he is the best from whom one can learn what is right."¹

Contrary to the Sūtra texts the Buddhist texts have no rigid Varṇa restrictions. Birth as the basis of Varṇa as found in the Sūtras did not have any value for the Buddhists. While the Sūtras lay emphasis on birth as the basis of Varṇa, the Buddhist literature lays emphasis on one's deeds. A person could not become an out-caste by birth nor by birth one could become a Brahmin. It was by one's deed that one could become an outcaste or a Brahmin.² An out-caste of good deeds attaining brahminhood is seen in the case of Mātanga. Well-know Mātanga, of Caṇḍāla caste by virtue of his deeds attained brahminhood and many Brahmins and Khattiyas went to serve him.³ The status of a person was determined by his qualities and not by his caste.⁴

Change of Varṇa :

In the rigid social order of the Sūtra period the possibility of the change of Varṇa could hardly be seen. Like the Vedic period we do not find here Brahmins attaining Kṣatrahood and Kṣatriyas attaining Brahminhood. We come across two terms i.e., *Jātyautkarṣa* and *Jātyapakarṣa*⁵ in the Dharmasūtras which mean rise in the social scale and degradation in social scale respectively. It does not mean that under this doctrine one could immediately change his varṇa but *Jātyautkarṣa* and *Jātyapakarṣa* depended on one's vocation. A person of lower Varṇa following continuously the avocation of higher Varṇa in the fifth and sixth generation could get birth in a higher Varṇa and this was the case of *Jātyautkarṣa*. Thus a Kṣatriya continuously following the avocation of a Vaiśya and a Śūdra, in the fifth or sixth genera-

1. cowell J., IV, No. 474, p. 127.

2. Sutta Nipāta, 1.7.21 and 27.

3. Ibid, 1.7.22-25.

4. DN, III.96-97.

5. Vas. Dh. S., IV.18 ; Gau. Dh. S., IV.22.

tion becomes a Vaiśya or a Śūdra.¹ Pāṇini uses the words ब्राह्मणकृताः and क्षत्रियकृताः in श्रेष्ठादिगण. By the words अब्राह्मणाः ब्राह्मणकृताः and अक्षत्रियाः क्षत्रियकृताः it is clear that a non-Brahmin and a non-Kṣatriya could respectively enter Brahmin-hood and Kṣatriya-hood.²

In the less Varṇa ridden society of the Pāli canonical texts, the change of Varṇa was quite permissible. There was a much freer possibility of change among the different social ranks.³ As the basis of one's caste was one's virtue, it was quite possible as shown above that even a Caṇḍāla doing good deeds could attain the position of a Brahmin and a Brahmin, the man of higher Varṇa indulging in bad deeds was not a Brahmin but a Caṇḍāla. Similarly a non-Brahmin and a non-Kṣatriya were able to enter Brahmin-hood and Kṣatra-hood respectively. Hence an upward and downward mobility in the social order was quite common in the Buddhist period.

Purity of Blood :

The Kṣatriyas were very particular as to the purity of their blood through seven generations on the father's and mother's side and are described as fair in colour, fine in presence and stately to behold.⁴ They attached great importance to their own blood and did not consider any person, who through his mother or through his father belonged to another Varṇa, of pure blood, even though they looked upon him as of the same status as themselves. In the course of a discussion between Ambaṭṭha and Blessed one it is to be noted that even the son of a Kṣatriya by a Brahmin wife could not be regarded as true born Kṣatriya for he was not pure on his mother's side.⁵ Hence the oft-occurring expression used of a king '*Mahārājā Mātāpitsu Khattiya*'⁶ refers to same.

The Kṣatriyas had great pride and trust in their lineage⁷ as we often hear the statement 'The noble is the best among the

1. Vas. Dh. S., II.13-23.

2. Aggarwala (V.S.), India as known to Pāṇini, p. 454.

3. JRAS, 1901, p. 868.

4. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, Ch. IV, pp. 28-29.

5. DN, III.24.

6. Fausboll, J I, No. 122, p. 177, J V, No. 521, p. 123.

7. DN, III.28.

folk, who put their trust in lineage.¹ There is a reference to a special kind of pride of a Khattiya in the story of Tissa, the Fat, where we read the words 'Tissa recovering the pride of a warrior caste questioned.'² Hence the Khattiyas of the Buddhist literature seem to be of pure blood having their descent from the Aryans though Rhys Davids³ mentions some Kṣatriyas descended from the chiefs and nobles of the Dravidians and Kolarian tribes, who had preserved by conquest or by treaty, their independence or their social rank.

Rituals of the Kṣatriya child :

The Gṛhyasūtras which deal with domestic rites describe a number of rituals for persons of four-Varṇas. A child from the very birth had to undergo several rituals and sacraments. In a sense the life of an individual from birth till death was full of several kinds of rituals. Here we will deal only with some of the important rituals of a Kṣatriya child.

Nāmakaraṇa : The Sūtras draw a line of demarcation between the members of three Varṇas with regard to the performance of several sacraments such as the *Nāmakarṇa*, *Cūḍakarṇa*, *Upanayana*, etc. While describing the ceremony of naming the child, Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra says that the name of a Brahmin should end in *Śarman*, that of a Kṣatriya in *Varman* and that of a Vaiśya in *Gupta*.⁴ The ceremony generally took place on the tenth⁵ or twelfth⁶ day after birth.

Cūḍākaraṇa : The Cūḍākaraṇa of a Kṣatriya child was performed in the fifth year of his age while that of the Brahmin in the third year and in the seventh year for a Vaiśya child.⁷ The Pāraskara and Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtras allow the option that the Cūḍākaraṇa of a child could be performed in the first or third year after the birth.⁸

1. क्षत्रियो सेट्ठो जनेतस्मि । —AN, XI.1.10.

SN, VI.11.15.

2. Burlingame, Buddhist Legends, HOS, Vol. 29, pt. I, Story I.3.

3. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 29.

4. शर्म ब्राह्मणस्य वर्म क्षत्रियस्य, गुप्तेति वैश्यस्य ।

—P.G.S. I.17.4.

5. Ibid, I.17.1.

6. Baud. G.S., II.1.23.

7. Śāṅkh. G.S., I.28.1-4.

8. P.G.S., 2.1.1 2.

Upanayana : The education of the child started with the Upanayana. The ritual has been dealt in great details in almost all the Gṛhyasūtras and Dharmasūtras. This ceremony is so named because in this the child belonging to the three higher Varṇas is taken to the teacher by his parents for initiation and education. The age prescribed for Upanayana for a Kṣatriya child according to the most of the Sūtras was eleventh year.¹ At this stage the child approached a teacher who after performing certain rites accepted him as a student and started teaching him with *savitṛ* verse. A pupil had to be very dutiful and obedient to his teacher while living under him. After the completion of the education the pupil returned home.

Marriage : After the completion of the education when a youth returned to his home arrangements were made for getting him married. With regard to the marriage the Dharmasūtras lay down that a man could marry a maiden belonging to his own Varṇa.² This shows that inter-marriages were perhaps not favoured in this period though we come across certain references throwing light on man of one Varṇa marrying a maiden of another Varṇa.

The Sūtras mention eight forms of marriages,³ i.e., Brahma, Prājāpatya, Ārṣa, Daiva, Gāndharva, Āsura, Rākṣasa, Paiśāca. Out of these, the first four i.e., Brahma, Prājāpatya, Daiva and Ārṣa were considered best and sanctioned by the Śāstras.⁴ But according to some the first six forms were lawful.⁵ Out of these forms of marriages the first four were recommended for a Brahmin.⁶ Among these four each preceding form of the marriage was better than the following one. The fifth Gāndharva and the eighth Paiśāca were for the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras.⁷ The Gāndharva rite is recommended by some for all Varṇas for it is based on mutual affection.⁸ Sixth and seventh forms of

1. Gau. Dh. S., I.11; Āp. Dh. S., 1.1.1.18; P.G.S., II.2.1-3; Āśv. G.S., I.19.1-6.

2. Āp. Dh. S., II.6.13.1-3; Gau. Dh. S., IV.1.

3. Āśv. G.S., I.6; Baud. Dh. S., 1.11.20; Gau. Dh. S., IV.6.13.

4. Gau. Dh. S., IV.6.13, Āśv G.S., 1.6.

5. Gau. Dh. S., IV.6.13.

6. Baud. Dh. S., 1.11.20.10-15.

7. Ibid. Dh. S., 1.11.20.13.

8. Ibid, 1.11.20.16.

marriages i.e., Āsura and Rāksasa forms of marriage were meant for the Kṣatriyas¹ for power is their attribute. A Kṣatriya was even allowed to adopt with their power any marriage rites by which a disregard of conventionalities or strength was displayed. Vasiṣṭha² calls *Kṣatra* as the befitting form of marriage for the Kṣatriya.

The law-books forbid the marriage between the men and women born of the same mother (*sapiṇḍa*), of the same *Gotra* and of the same *pravara*.³ According to Gobhila and Āpastamba one should not marry a *sapiṇḍa* girl.⁴ Gautama says that these *sapiṇḍa* relations exist upto the seventh generation on the father's side and upto the fifth on the mother's side.⁵ But according to the Āpastamba it persists upto the sixth generation on both the sides.⁶ According to Āpastamba⁷ marriages between such agnates degrade both the *Varṇas*. At another place Gobhila⁸ says that one should marry a girl not belonging to the same *gotra*. So Āpastamba⁹ also enjoins upon a father not to give his daughter to a *sagotra* in marriage. Gautama¹⁰ and Vasiṣṭha¹¹ forbid marriage between persons having same *pravara*. Thus the law-books forbid *sapiṇḍa* marriage, *sagotra* marriage and marriage in the same *Pravara*.

The stability of the marriage relations was considered in terms of *varṇa*. In the opinion of Vasiṣṭha the higher the *Varṇa*, the

1. Baud Dh.S. 1.11.20.12.
2. Vas. Dh. S. 1.34.
3. Ibid, VIII.1. also Gau. Dh. S. IV.2. The term *gotra* may be defined as an exogamous patrilineal kinship whose members trace their descent back to common ancestor (Brough, Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara, Introduction, p. 2). According to Baudhāyana, a *gotra* is the whole group of persons descended from one of the seven ṛṣis or Agastya. A *Pravara* is a stereotyped list of names of ancient ṛṣis or seers, who are believed to be the remote founders of the families (Brough Introduction, p. 2).
4. Gobh G.S., III.4.5; Āp. Dh. S. II.5.11.16.
5. Gau. Dh. S. IV.3-5, See also Vas. Dh. S. VIII.2.
6. Āp. Dh. S. 2.5.11.16.
7. Ibid, 1.7.21.8.
8. Gobh. G.S. III.4.4.
9. Āp. Dh. S. II.5.11.15.
10. Gau. Dh. S. IV.2.
11. Vas. Dh. S. VIII.1.

more stable would be the marriage. Thus it was laid down that if the husband left his home, a wife of the Brahmin and Kṣatriya Varṇa, who had issue had to wait for five years, of the Vaiśya for four years and one of the Śūdra Varṇa for three years. If she had no issue the waiting period was cut down by two years each in the cases of the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra woman.¹

Polygamy :

There are clear traces of prevalence of the polygamy in the Sūtra period. Three wives were allowed to a Brahmin in accordance with the order of the Varṇas, two to Rājanya and one to Vaiśya.² In addition to this one Śūdra wife was allowed to all the three higher varṇas.³ Baudhāyana⁴ allows four wives to a Brahmin, three to a Kṣatriya, two to a Vaiśya and one to a Śūdra. According to Vasiṣṭha⁵ three wives are permitted to a Brahmin, two to a Kṣatriya and one each to a Vaiśya and a Śūdra. However Vasiṣṭha⁶ does not approve the idea of marrying a Śūdra wife by the three higher Varṇas as laid down by other Sūtrakāras for he says that it results in the degradation of family and loss of heaven.⁷ Thus the members of the two higher varṇas were allowed to keep more than one wives for it is obvious that a large number of wives could be maintained only by well-to-do persons. It is for this reason that Prof. Sharma holds that 'while the rule of polygamy for the members of higher varṇas seems to be in line with their better economic status, the monogamy of the Śūdra is in keeping with his unhappy economic situation.'⁸

Polygamy is not unknown among the Khattiyas of the Buddhist texts. In theory a king of Khattiya family was to marry a princess from the royal family of equal social rank. In practice however he could or did actually marry girls and women from all the social grades at his sweet will and promote them to the

1. Vas. Dh.S, XVII.7-8.

2. P.G.S. 1.4.8-10.

3. Ibid, 1.4.11.

4. Baud. Dh. S. 1.18.16.2-5.

5. Vas. Dh. S, I.24.

6. Ibid, I.26.

7. Ibid, I.27.

8. Sharma (R.S.), Śūdras in Ancient India, p. 128.

rank of his queens. The number of queens did not generally exceed three or five.¹ When a vacancy occurred especially in the rank of the chief queen, it was filled up by promotion or new appointment.² The royal harem was filled with maidens and women of all social grades. Besides having a number of wives the kings and nobles could well afford to keep prostitutes.³

Mixed Castes :

As shown earlier marriage between a male of higher Varṇa with a woman of lower Varṇa was permissible, but a union of woman of higher Varṇa with a male of Varṇa lower than hers was looked down upon. For these two kinds of relations the terms *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* have been used by the Sūtrakāras and were quite in use in Pāṇini's time also.⁴ These two words *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* of Dharmasūtras hardly ever occur in the Vedic literature. In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad the term *Pratiloma* does occur but it is applied to the procedure adopted by a Brahmin of going to a Kṣatriya for knowledge about Brahman. It can only be inferred from this that perhaps *Pratiloma* and *Anuloma* terms were applied to the marriages also in the Upaniṣadic time.

The children born of such alliances were generally known as *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* issues. The children begotten by *Pratiloma* union had undoubtedly a very low status.⁵ Even though *Anuloma* marriages were allowed there is no unanimity of opinion regarding the status of the progeny of such unions. Prof. Kane⁶ has put forth three different views on this issue. The first is that if a male of one Varṇa married a female of the Varṇa immediately after him the progeny belonged to the Varṇa of the father.⁷ The second view is that the progeny of *Anuloma* unions is in status lower than the father and higher than the mother and the third view i.e., the common view is that the

1. Law (B.C.), Ancient Mid Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, p. 136.
2. Law (B.C.), India as Described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 167.
3. Ibid, p. 176.
4. Aggrawala (V.S.), India as known to Pāṇini, p. 95.
5. प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीना । Gau. Dh. S. IV.25.
6. Kane (P.V.), History of Dharmasāstra, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 55.
7. Ibid, Baud. Dh. S. 1.8.16.6.

progeny of an *Anuloma* marriage is of the same *Varṇa* as regards its privileges and obligation as the mother's.¹

Out of the four *Varṇas* many other castes were formed by *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* unions which were known as mixed castes. These mixed castes (*Varṇasamkara*) were not very much desired and one of the duties of the king was to prevent mixture of castes.²

The *Jātakas* also refer to many cases of persons of higher *Varṇa* taking the women of lower *Varṇa*. In *Kula-Jātaka*,³ a Brahmin is said to have married a queen, though it may be an exception.

The *Dharmasūtras* give a long list of mixed castes having their origin from *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* unions. From a Brahmin and a Kṣātriya woman springs a *Savarṇa*, from a Brahmin and a Vaiśya woman a *Niṣāda*, from a Brahmin and a Śūdra woman a *Pāraśava*, from a Kṣātriya and a Vaiśya woman an *Ambaṣṭṭa*, and from a Kṣātriya and a Śūdra woman a *Duṣyanta*, from a Vaiśya and a Śūdra woman an *Ugra*.⁴ From *Pratiloma* unions emerge the following mixed castes: from a Kṣātriya and a Brahmin springs a *sūta*, from a Vaiśya and a Kṣātriya woman springs a *Māgadha*, from a Śūdra and a Vaiśya woman an *Āyogava*, from a Vaiśya and a Brahmin woman a *Kṣatri*, from a Śūdra and a Kṣātriya woman a *Vaidehaka* and from a Śūdra and a Brahmin woman a *Caṇḍāla*.⁵ According to *Vasiṣṭha*⁶ and *Baudhāyana*⁷ *Dharmasūtras* children begotten by Brahmins, Kṣātriyas, and Vaiśyas on females of the next lower, second lower, and third lower castes become respectively *Ambaṣṭṭas*, *Ugras* and *Niṣādas*. Of females wedded in the inverse order of the castes are born *Āyogavas*, *Māgadhas*, *Vainas*, *Kṣattris*, *Pulkasas*, *Kukkutakas*, *Vaidehakas* and *Caṇḍālas*.⁸

The Buddhist texts give a large number of Kṣātriya tribes.

1. Kane (P.V.) History of *Dharmaśāstra* Vol. II, pt.I, p. 55. *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 16.2. अनुलोमास्तु मातृसवर्णा ।
2. *Gau. Dh. S.* VIII.3.
3. *Cowell, J III*, No. 411, p. 392.
4. *Gau. Dh. S.* IV.16.
5. *Ibid*, IV.17.
6. *Vas. Dh. S.* XVIII.8.
7. *Baud. Dh. S.* 1.8.16.7.
8. *Baud. Dh. S.* 1.8.16.8 ; see also *Vas. Dh. S.* XVIII.1-6.

Prof. B.C. Law has done a memorable work in this regard. Below we give a list of Kṣatriya tribes of 600 B.C. as enumerated by Prof. B.C. Law. The tribes enumerated are the Licchavis, the Jñātrikas, the Videhas, the Magadhas, the Mallas, the Śākya, the Bulis, the Koliyas, the Moriyas, the Bhaggas, the Kālāmas, the Madras, the Kambojas and the Gandhāras.¹

Except Magadhas and Videhas which are enumerated as mixed castes in the Dharmasūtras, the other tribes have not been mentioned in any of the works of the Dharmasūtras. All these above mentioned castes of the Buddha's time emphatically declare themselves as Khattiya i.e., of the Kṣatriya origin.

Retirement :

The retirement from the world is known as *Isipabbajja* in Pāli. The persons who adopted this mode of religious life were mostly Brahmins and Khattiyas and a few of them were *gahapatis*. Moreover, a man of any Varṇa having good qualities could become bhikkhu². In the Buddhist literature we come across tendency among people not only world-sick but young and old and king and princes to take to the life of asceticism. It seems that the thought of the transitoriness of the worldly goods, of the unworthiness of the human existence generally supplied the impulse to renounce the world.³ Khattiya sages are mentioned in the Vidhurapandita Jātaka.⁴ Again, we see king of Gandhāra taking to asceticism leaving his kingdom to the ministers.⁵

Householder—Residence :

Some Gṛhya-sūtras prescribe plots of different kinds for persons of different Varṇas. The Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra⁶ states that a Brahmin should build his house on the ground having white soil, Kṣatriya on red soil and a Vaiśya on a black

1. Law (B.C.), Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India.

2. SBB, Vol. IV, Dialogues of Buddha, Pt. III, III.83.

3. Fick, Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time p. 68.

4. Cowell, J VI, No. 545, p. 126.

5. Ibid, J III, No. 406, p. 202.

6. Gobh. G.S, IV.7.5-7.

गौरपांसु ब्राह्मणस्य लोहितपांसु क्षत्रियस्य, कृष्णपांसु वैश्यस्य ।
Also Āśv. G.S, 11.7.6-8.

soil. The same Gṛhyasūtra further states that the ground on which *Darbha* grass grows should be chosen by one who is desirous of holy lusture, the ground which is covered by big grass should be chosen by one who is desirous of strength and the ground which is covered by tender grass should be chosen by one who is desirous of cattle.¹

Mode of Addressing

The form of question relating to for asking the welfare of a particular Varṇa varied from Varṇa to Varṇa. A Brahmin was asked about his spiritual well being (Kūśal). A Kṣatriya was asked about his physical fitness, a Vaiśya about his prosperity of wealth and a Śūdra about his health.² In saluting a woman, a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya were to use a pronoun and not his name.³

The Khattiyas of the Buddhist texts were never addressed by name or in second person.⁴

Food and Drinks

The Sūtras shed enough light on the food consumed by the people. Rice and barley seem to be the most common ingredients.⁵ Pāṇini also refers to rice and barley.⁶ Wheat does not seem to be very common as its mention is very rare in the Sūtras.

Milk and its products were quite common.

Meat was also an article of food for all the Varṇas. A guest was to be served with meat and Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra⁷ says that the *Argha* should not be without flesh. The meat of an ox or of a goat was served to a guest.⁸ The flesh of various kinds of birds like that of partridge, fish, krikasha and Ati are prescribed even for a child at the time of its first feeding.⁹ Meat was

1. Gobh. G.S, IV.7.9-11.

2. Āp. Dh. S, 1.4.14.27-29 ; Gau. Dh. S., V.41-42.

3. Ibid, 1.4.14-23.

4. Fick, Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, p. 83.

5. Om Prakash, Food and Drinks in Ancient India, p. 34.

6. Pāṇini, IV.2.136 ; V.1.90.

7. P.G.S, 1.3.29.

8. Vas. Dh.S, IV.8.

9. P.G.S, 1.19.7-12.

usually cooked on the occasion of *Śrāddha* and *Aṣṭakas*.¹ The Sūtras prescribe a long list of animals whose meat is prohibited to all.² According to J.C. Jain wine and meat were considered amongst foods of luxury³.

Meat-eating was quite common in the days of Jātakas. Sarbha-Migā Jātaka⁴ particularly mentions stag as meat for the Kṣatriya class.

Kṣatriyas washed their hands after and before meals and rinsed their mouth.⁵

Intoxicants were not forbidden for a Kṣatriya.⁶ The use of *Soma* survived only in the Śrauta ritual and was no longer a common drink. The Kṣatriyas freely drank *Surā* while it was severely forbidden for Brahmins according to Dharmasūtras.⁷

Wine-drinking was common is mentioned in the Jain and Buddhist texts but taking of strong drink was prohibited for Brahmins. Taverns and drinking shops are frequently mentioned.⁸ But Buddha and Mahāvīra did not allow their followers especially monks to indulge in wines.⁹ Thus we see that meat eating and drinking of strong liquors was quite common among the Kṣatriyas.

Hair-Dressing :

Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra lays down some instructions regarding the style of hair for four varṇas. He says that men of all varṇas may wear their hair arranged according to the customs fixed for their family or allow it to hang down excepting the lock on the crown of the head.¹⁰

(b) The Kṣatriyas and the Law

Law of Inheritance :

Gautama and Baudhāyana allot varying portions of ancestral

1. Baud. G.S, 11.11.65.
2. Gau. Dh. S, XVII.25.34; Baud. Dh. S, 1.5.12.1-8; Āp. Dh. S, 1.5.17.29-39; Vas. Dh. S, XIV. 39-48.
3. Jain (J.C.), Life in Ancient India as described in the Jain Canons, p. 124.
4. Cowell, J. IV, No. 483, p. 173.
5. Ibid, Bhadda Sala, J. IV, No. 465.
6. Āp. Dh. S, 1.5.17.21.
7. Gau. Dh. S, XXIII.1.
8. Om Prakash, Food and Drinks in Ancient India, pp. 74-75.
9. Ibid.
10. Vas. Dh. S, II.21.

property to the sons born of wives of different Varṇas. Gautama lays down the following injunctions : 'The son of a Brahmin by a Kṣatriya wife, being the eldest and endowed with good qualities, shares equally with a younger brother, born of a Brāhmaṇī¹ and he as the eldest son shall get no additional share.' He further holds that if there are sons begotten by a Brahmin on wives of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya Varṇas, the division of the estate between them takes place according to the same rules as between the son of a Kṣatriya wife and the son by a Brāhmaṇī.² The sons by a Kṣatriya wife and by a Vaiśya wife shared in the same manner if they had been begotten by a Kṣatriya father.³

According to Baudhāyana in the case of issues from the wives of different Varṇas, four shares would go to the Brahmin, three to the Kṣatriya, two to the Vaiśya and one to the Śūdra son.⁴ In such case Vasiṣṭha provides for the shares of the sons of only the three higher Varṇas leaving out the Śūdra son. He lays down the rule that the son of a Brahmin's wife shall receive three shares, the son of a Kṣatriya wife two shares and others shall inherit equal shares.⁵ Though a Śūdra son was regarded as a member of the family, he was not given the status of a heir.⁶ This inheritance of the ancestral property was one of the means of getting wealth for a Kṣatriya.

Criminal Law :

The law-codes prescribe a number of punishments, fines and penances, etc., for assault, defamation, rape and adultery, etc. Below we shall deal with them one by one.

If a Kṣatriya or persons of other lower Varṇas murdered a Brahmin, their property was to be confiscated and they were given capital punishment.⁷ Āpastamba⁸ lays down that a man of any Varṇa who has slain a man of first Varṇa, shall go on a battle-field and place himself between the two hostile armies.

1. Gau. Dh. S, XXVIII.35.

2. Ibid S, XXVIII.37.

3. Ibid, XXVIII.38.

4. Baud. Dh. S, II.2.3.10.

5. Vas, Dh. S, XVII.48-50.

6. Ibid. XVII.38.

7. Baud. Dh. S, I.10.18-19.

8. Āp. Dh. S, I.9.25.11.

There they shall kill him and thereby he becomes pure. Or such a person may tear from his body and make the priest offer as a burnt offering his hair, skin, flesh and the rest and then throw himself into the fire.¹ If a person killed a man of equal or lower Varṇa the king could suitably punish him in accordance with his ability.² A person slaying a Brahmin or a Kṣatriya who have studied the Vedas or have been initiated for *Soma* sacrifice was called *Abhiśasta*.³

Penances :

The nature of penances provided for the expiation of the sin of murder also varied according to the Varṇa of the murdered person. According to Gautama, for killing a Kṣatriya the guilty man was to maintain the normal vow of continence for six years, for killing a Vaiśya for three years and for killing a Śūdra for one year.⁴ Vasiṣṭha,⁵ however, increases the term of the penance by three years in the case of a Vaiśya and by two years in the case of a Kṣatriya. Baudhāyana still further increases the term of penance and prescribes that for killing a Kṣatriya one was to keep the normal vow of continence for nine years, for a Vaiśya three years and for a Śūdra one year.⁶ For killing a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya engaged in a sacrifice, Vasiṣṭha prescribes same penance as for killing a learned Brahmin.⁷

The Dharmasūtras for the first time introduce different rates of penalty for the members of different Varṇas. Three⁸ of them lay down that for slaying a Kṣatriya one had to give one thousand cows, for slaying a Vaiśya one hundred cows and for slaying a Śūdra ten cows with a bull in every case. There is a difference of opinion between Āpastamba and Baudhāyana regarding the person to whom the cows should be given. Āpastamba⁹ holds

1. Āp. Dh. S. 1.9.25.12.

2. Baud. Dh. S. 1.10.18.20.

3. Āp. Dh. S. 1.9.24.6.

4. Gau. Dh. S. XXII.14-16.

5. Vas. Dh. S. XX.31-33.

6. Baud. Dh. S. II.1.1.8-11.

7. Vas. Dh. S. XX.34.

8. Āp. Dh. S. 1.9.24.1-4; Baud. Dh. S. 1.10.19.1-2; Gau. Dh. S. XXII.14-16.

9. Ibid.

that it should be given to a Brahmin while Baudhāyana¹ says that it should go to the king.

The law codes lay down penances for other sins also. For the expiation of the sins of abusing respectable persons and speaking minor untruths a member of three higher Varṇas had merely to abstain from milk, pungent condiments and salt for three days only.² A Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and a Śūdra who unintentionally drank the spirituous liquor, called *Vāruṇi* or swallowed urine or faeces was to be initiated second time.³ Āpastamba⁴ holds that if a man has even committed great sins which do not cause him to fall, becomes free from guilt, if fasting he recites the entire *Śākhā* of the Veda three times consecutively. Baudhāyana gives a list of number of minor sins⁵ such as making voyages by sea, stealing the property of a Brahmin or a deposit, giving false evidence, trading in merchandise of any description whether forbidden or not, serving the Śūdras, begetting a son on a female of the Śūdra Varṇa, etc. He further mentions that these sins can be expiated by eating only a little food each time he dines, bathing at the time of three libations and by passing the day standing and the night sitting. In this way after the lapse of three years they throw off their guilt.⁶ Under the heading of secret penance, Vasiṣṭha advises that a Kṣatriya shall pass through misfortunes by the strength of his arms, a Vaiśya and Śūdra by their wealth and the Brahmin, the highest among twice-born men by muttering prayers and burning oblations.⁷

Fines :

A Kṣatriya was to be fined one hundred *Karṣapaṇas* if he abused a Brahmin and in case a Brahmin abused a Kṣatriya he was to pay a fine of fifty *Karṣapaṇas*. Again if a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya abused each other they were to pay the same fine as a Brahmin and a Kṣatriya.⁸ According to the law

1. Baud. Dh. S. I.10.19.1.

2. Āp. Dh. S. I.9.26.3.

3. Baud. Dh. S. II.1.1.21.

4. Āp. Dh. S. I.10.27.9.

5. Baud. Dh. S. II.1.2.2-8.

6. Ibid, II.1.2.10.

7. Vas. Dh. S. XXVII.16.

8. Gau. Dh. S. XII.8-14.

of Gautama¹ a Brahmin was to be fined only if he abused a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya but if he abused a Śūdra he would go scot free. In case a Kṣatriya unrighteously acquired any property he was fined thirty two times.²

Adultery :

Adultery seems to be common in all the Varṇas for Baudhāyana³ mentions that wives of all the Varṇas must be guarded more carefully than wealth. Baudhāyana lays down corporal punishment in the case of a non-Brahmin who commits such a crime.⁴ If a Kṣatriya had an illicit relations with a female of the Brahmin Varṇa, the king could cause the Kṣatriya to be tied up in leaves of Śara grass and he could be thrown into a fire. The head of the Brāhmaṇī was shaved and her body was anointed with butter, and placing her naked on a white donkey she was conducted along the high roads to become pure.⁵ A Vaiśya who offended with a female of Kṣatriya class was treated in the same manner.⁶ Vasiṣṭha further states that if a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya committed adultery with women of their respective Varṇas unintentionally he had to perform a *Krikkhra* penance in case the husband fulfils the religious duties of his Varṇa and an *Atikrikkhra* penance in case the husband did not fulfil his religious duties.⁷

The wives of the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas who had illicit relations with a Śūdra could be purified by a penance in case they had no child from their adulterous intercourse, not otherwise.⁸ Āpastamba⁹ lays down that, if a Śūdra committed adultery with a female member of the first three Varṇas, he was put to death. But according to the same authority if a member of the first three Varṇas committed the same offence he was to be banished.¹⁰

The Buddhist texts declare that if a Kṣatriya committed

1. Gau Dh. S, XII.11-13.
2. Ibid, XII.16.
3. Baud. Dh. S, II.2.4.2.
4. Ibid., II.2.4.1.
5. Vas. Dh. S, XXI.3.
6. Ibid, XXI.14.
7. Ibid, XXI.16-17.
8. Ibid, XXI.12.
9. Āp. Dh. S, II.10.27.9.
10. Ibid, II.10.27.8.

adultery he was to be killed or banished for he has lost his designation of a Khattiya.¹

Witness :

Kṣatriyas had the legal privilege of being produced as witnesses. The law-codes state that men of any Varṇa could give evidence regarding men of any other Varṇa.² Women could be witnesses for women, twice born men for twice born ones, good Śūdras for Śūdras and men of lower caste for men of low-birth.³ Baudhāyana⁴ states that men of the four Varṇas who have sons may be witnesses excepting Śrottriya, the king, ascetics and those who are destitute of human intellect. A witness rightly recollecting the facts was given commendation.⁵

(c) Religious Practices of the Kṣatriyas

Sacrifice and the Kṣatriyas :

Like the Vedic period here also a Kṣatriya was to perform a number of Gṛhya and Śrauta sacrifices. From cradle to death the life of an Aryan was full of a number of rituals and sacraments. A Kṣatriya in the same context had to perform a number of domestic rites and ceremonies like that of Upanayana, marriage and funeral, etc.

A Kṣatriya had the privilege to perform the five Mahāyajnās i.e., the sacrifice to gods, the sacrifice offered to manes, to all beings, to men and to Brahma.⁶

A Kṣatriya was supposed to consecrate the sacred fires⁷ with which all the religious ceremonies were to be performed.

Time for Consecration of Sacred Fires :

Āpastamba⁸ lays down that a Kṣatriya should consecrate sacred fires under the Chitranaḥṣatra or Āgnyadheya may be done on a parva day in spring by a Brahmin, in summer by a Kṣatriya and in rainy season by a Vaiśya or all the Varṇas may first consecrate the fires in Śiśir.⁹ Bhārdwāja agrees with Āpastamba regard-

1. MN, Discourse 84, II.88.

2. Vas. Dh. S, XVI.29.

3. Ibid, XVI.30.

4. Baud. Dh. S, 1.10.19.13.

5. Ibid, 1.10.19.14.

6. Ibid, II.6.11.1.

7. Gau. Dh. S, V.7-9 ; Baud. Dh. S, II.2.4.22 ; Vas. Dh. S, VIII.3.

8. Āp. Ś.S, V.3.13 ; ĀŚV.Ś.S. II.1.

9. Ibid, V.3.17.

ding the time for consecration of the sacred fires and states that a Rājānya should set up the sacred fires under the chitra constellation. A Brahmin should set up the sacred fires in spring, a Rājānya in summer or winter and a Vaiśya in autumn.¹

The Sacred Fires :

Āpastamba prescribes that a sacrificer desirous of prosperity should fetch fire either from a Brahmin or a Rājānya or a Vaiśya or a Śūdra who is wealthy.² In the ceremony of setting sacred fires a Brahmin sacrificer should put the fire sticks on the fire with the three *Gāyatri* verses, a Kṣatriya with three *Trīṣṭubh* verses and a Vaiśya with three *Jagatī* verses.³ Until the setting up of the sacred fires a sacrificer should according to the Bhārdwāja Śrauta Sūtra⁴ observe the vow of not eating meat, and of not approaching a woman. Neither one should carry fire from his house nor should he bring fire from elsewhere. He should not allow the fire to be extinguished. He should not go on a journey.

Āpastamba has certain interesting rules about *Agnihotra* in the case of Kṣatriyas. At first he says that a Kṣatriya should permanently maintain the *Āhavanīya* fire but he may not perform the daily *Agnihotra*. He should however send food from his house to a Brahmin at a time when the *Agnihotra* is generally performed, whereby he secures the performance of *Agnihotra*. A Rājānya who has performed Soma-yajña and always speaks the truth may perform *Agnihotra* daily.⁵ Āśvalāyana⁶ says that a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya may perform *Agnihotra* on the New-moon and Full-moon days and on other days he should send cooked food to a Brahmin.

Other Sacrifices :

Other sacrifices of the Kṣatriyas like Vājapeya, Rājasūya and Aśvamedha of the Vedic period are still common in the Sūtra period. The Śrauta Sūtras deal with them in great details differing here and there on certain points.

Pravara of a Kṣatriya Sacrifice :

In the case of a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya sacrificer, the invocation

1. Bhār. Ś.S., V.2.1-5.
2. Āp. Ś.S., V.14.1.
3. Bhār. Ś.S., V.3.12-13.
4. Ib.d., V.3.14-18.
5. Āp. Ś.S., VI.15.10-13.
6. Āśv. Ś.S., II.1.3.5.

is made of the *Pravara* sages of the Purohita of the sacrificer or of the name *Mānava*, *Aila* and *Purūrava* for all in case of doubt.¹ Moreover when the sacrificer was a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya the announcement was still to be this Brahmin, since after *Dīkṣā* a person was supposed to be reborn and to be a child of the holy power and to have become pure enough for receiving the spiritual influence.² The Kṣatriya was to regard the *Pravara* of his Purohita as his own *Pravara*.³ *Satyāśāḍha* and *Mānava Śrauta Sūtras* suggest that a Kṣatriya should either regard the *Pravara* of his Purohita or the *Pravara* of his preceptor to be his own *Pravara*.⁴ Thus we observe that the *Pravara* of a Kṣatriya was same as of his Purohita and at the time of the sacrifice the invocation was made of the *Pravara* of the Purohita in the case of a Kṣatriya.

Gifts :

The Kṣatriyas used to bestow gifts on Brahmins at the time of performance of sacrifices and ceremonies like marriage, etc. In the *Sūtras* we do get some details regarding these gifts. At the time of marriage cow was an optional gift to be given by a Brahmin, a village by a Rājanya and a horse by a Vaiśya.⁵ The *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*⁶ holds that if a sacrificer cannot afford to give cows as sacrificial fee, he should give to a Brahmin a drink of *Mantha* or a mess of ice and the same *sūtra* prescribes *Ajyamantha* for a Brahmin, *Payamantha* for a Rājanya, *Dadimantha* for a Vaiśya and *udamantha* for a Śūdra.⁷

The *Gobhila*⁸ and the *Khadira*⁹ *Gṛhyasūtras* lay down that the sacrificial fee to be given by a Brahmin at the *Godāna* consisted of an ox and a cow ; that to be given by Kṣatriya consisted of a pair of horses and that to be given away by a Vaiśya

1. Āśv. Ś.S, 1.3.3-5, Āp. Ś.S, XXIV.10.11-12.

2. Āp. Ś.S, X.11.5-6.

3. Vaikh. Ś.S, I, Āp. S.S. XIV.10.11-15.

4. Satyā Ś.S., 2.3.16-18, Mānava Ś.S, 11.8.10.12.

पुरोहितप्रवारो वा स्यादाचार्यप्रवारो वा राजन्य ।

5. P.G.S, 1.8.15-17.

6. Āp. Ś.S, XIX.13.12.

7. Āp. Ś.S, XXII.26.1.

8. Gobh. G.S, III.1.5.8.

9. Khad. G.S, II.3-5.

consisted of a pair of sheep or a cow was given by persons of all the Vārṇas.

Śuddhi :

Observance of purity was a religious practice. Every member of the four Vārṇas was supposed to take bath daily in the morning before observing any kind of religious ceremony.

Death of the member of the family caused impurity in the family and the suspension of all the religious works and the Dharmasūtras prescribe different number of days of impurity for different Vārṇas. Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra¹ says that a Brahmin is freed from impurity caused by death after ten days, a Kṣatriya after fifteen days, a Vaiśya after twenty days and a Śūdra after one month. Gautama² lays down that the impurity of a Kṣatriya lasts only for eleven days and nights and in case of those who die in battle one becomes pure immediately after the death.³

Vasiṣṭha⁴ and Baudhāyana⁵ Dharmasūtras prescribe that a Kṣatriya becomes pure by sipping water that reaches his throat.

3. Education of the Kṣatriyas

Upanayana Obligatory for three higher Vārṇas :

By the time of the Sūtras it became customary for all the three higher Vārṇas to be initiated with the sacred thread as a preliminary for entering the student life. The *Upanayana* ceremony which in a sense marked the beginning of the Vedic study was obligatory for all the three higher Vārṇas. 'All members except Śūdras and those who have committed bad actions have the right of initiation and the study of the Vedas', says the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra.⁶ These three Vārṇas who had the right of *Upanayana* were denoted as *Dvijas*⁷ for *Upanayana* is laid down as second birth,⁸ the first being from the parents. The

1. Vas. Dh.S, IV.26-27.

2. Gau. Dh.S, XIV.2-3.

3. Ibid, XIV. 11.

4. Vas. Dh. S, III.32.

5. Baud. Dh. S, 1.5.8.23.

6. Āp. Dh. S, I.1.1.5.

7. ब्रह्मो वर्णा द्विजातयो ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रिय वैश्यतः । —Vas. Dh. S, II.2.

8. Āp. Dh.S, 1.1.1.15-16.

Śūdras were called *Ekajātayah*.¹

For a Brahmachārī, Pāṇini uses the term *Varṇī*² and according to the Kāśikā of the *Sūtra* 5.2.134 the Brahmachārīs of the three higher Varṇas were designated as *Varṇī*.³

The start of the study meant acquainting the youth with the cultural heritage and Brahmacharya was one of the four stages of the Hindu Society⁴ through which a person of the three higher Varṇas had to pass. This was a period of strict moral and religious discipline and was in a sense a start for entering the second *Āśrama* of life i.e., *Grhasthāśrama*.

Unlike the Brahmanic education, the Buddhist education was not restricted to the three higher Varṇas only but was open to all the Varṇas of the society. Any person irrespective of his Varṇa could be admitted to the Buddhist educational system. Originally the Buddhistic education was purely monastic and was meant only for those who entered the Buddhist order. But gradually it was felt that the best way to popularise the Buddhism was to educate the masses and hence opportunity was provided to all to enter the Buddhist educational institutions.

The non-performance of the Upanayana ceremony in proper time by the people belonging to three higher Varṇas degraded their position and they were known as *Patitasāvīṭkas* and were also subjected to social boycott.

Period of Education :

As regards the period of education, the Upaniṣads considered it to last upto twelve years⁵ or upto one's last breath.⁶ According to Āpastamba, twelve years was the minimum time for a student to live with his teacher.⁷ According to Gautama also, the period of studentship was twelve years which was considered sufficient to master one Veda only,⁸ but a student desirous of studying all the four Vedas had to devote twelve years for each

1. ऋद्रश्चतुर्वर्णः एकजातिः । —Gau. Dh. S, X.50.

2. Pāṇini, 8.3.97.

3. ब्राह्मणादयोस्त्रयो वर्णा वर्णिन उच्यन्ते । —Ibid, 5.2.134.

4. Āp. Dh. S, II.9.21.1 ; Gau. Dh. S, III.2 ; Vas. Dh. S, VII.2.

5. Chā. Up, 4.10.1.

6. Br. Up, 2.23.2.

7. Āp. Dh. S, 1.1.2.16.

8. Gau. Dh. S, II.46.

of the Vedas. The total period of the Vedic studies thus would come to forty eight years.¹ This could be done only by a person of exceptional calibre and ability. The Jain and Buddhist texts do not lay down any rule about period of education.

Age of the Student :

According to the general view expressed by the Sūtrakāras the Upanayana was to be performed in the eighth year for a Brahmin, in the eleventh year for a Kṣatriya and in the twelveth year for a Vaiśya.² Hiranyakeśin and Jaiminiya Gṛhyasūtras lay down that the Upanayana of a Brahmin should be performed at the age of seven years, that of a Kṣatriya at the age of eleven and that of a Vaiśya at the age of twelve years.³ Some of the Gṛhyasūtras count these years from the time of the conception of the child⁴ while others count it after the birth of the child.⁵ But the Pāraskara and Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtras give the option to count the time either from the birth or conception of the child.⁶

Moreover, if the fulfilment of a certain desire was aimed at then some particular age was chosen for the Upanayana. Pāraskara says that Upanayana of all the Varṇas should be performed when it is considered auspicious.⁷ For fulfilment of certain desires Gautama and Āpastamba lay down that the children should start their studies a little earlier; the Brahmin in the fifth year of his age, the Kṣatriya in the sixth and a Vaiśya in the eighth.⁸ According to Jaiminiya one that is desirous of spiritual lustre should be initiated in the fifth year and one that is desirous of attaining long life should be initiated in the ninth year.⁹ The Āpastamba¹⁰ prescribes that one should initiate a

1. Āp. Dh. S, I.1.2.12.

2. Āśv. G.S, I.19.1-6; P.G.S, II.2.1-3; Śān. G.S, II.1.1-9; Gobh. G.S, II.10.1-3; Gau. Dh. S, I.11; Āp. Dh. S, I.1.1.18.

3. Hir. G.S, I.1.1.1-3; Jai. G.S, 1.2.

4. Śān. G.S, II.1.1-5; Āśv. G.S, I.19; 1.2; Baud. G.S, II.5.2; Bhār. G.S, I.1.1.5; Gau. Dh. S, I.11; Āp. Dh. S, I.1.1.18.

5. Hir. G.S, I.1.1.1-3.

6. P.G.S, II.2.1; Āśv. G.S, I.19.1-2.

अष्टमे वर्षे ब्राह्मणमुपनयेत् । गर्भाष्टमे वा ।

7. P.G.S, II.2.4.

8. Gau. Dh. S, 1.6; Āp. Dh. S, 1.1.1.19-20.

9. सप्तमे ब्राह्मणमुपनीयत पञ्चमे ब्रह्मवर्चसकामं नवमे त्वायुष्काममेकादशे क्षत्रिय द्वादशे वैश्यं नाति षोडशमुपनीयत । —Jai. G.S, I.12.

10. Āp. Dh. S, I.1.1.20-26.

person desirous of spiritual lustre in his seventh year, a person desirous of long life in the eighth year, a person desirous of manly vigour in ninth year, a person desirous of strength in the eleventh year, a person desirous of prosperity in the fourteenth year, a person having a rival in the fifteenth year and a person desirous of all these objects in the sixteenth year.

Age-limit for entering studenthood

Rules regarding the maximum age for Upanayana are also laid down in the Sūtras. The time for Upanayana of a Brahmin did not expire till the sixteenth year, till twenty second year in the case of a Kṣatriya and till twenty fourth year in the case of a Vaiśya¹ and those who failed to perform the Upanayana by the said age were declared to be *Patita-sāvitrkas*, i.e., deprived of the right of learning the Savitṛ verse and they became *Vrātyas*.² These *Vrātyas* had a very low position as they were neither initiated nor taught by any teacher. A Brahmin was not to perform sacrifice for him. He was considered as an outcaste and no one dared to have any kind of relations with him.³

The difference in ages with regard to start of study of persons of different Vārṇas is attributed to many factors. According to Prof. Valavalkar this difference is due to the nature of different duties to be performed by persons of different Vārṇas in life.⁴ Thus 'The Brahmin's duties of life were centred round learning and teaching; the earlier he started to learn, the better it would help him to become a master of as much knowledge as possible.'⁵ He further comments that 'it would be quite natural to expect a hereditary-predisposition for a Brahmin child to develop tendencies to learn earlier owing to his family and social surroundings than it could be for a Kṣatriya and Vaiśya, the age when either of them is called upon to start the studies.'⁶ S.K. Dass⁷ and Pandey⁸ attribute the early initiation of a Brahmin child to his intellectual superiority and superiority complex.

1. Āp. D.S., I.1.1.21; Gau. Dh. S., I.12-13; Śāñ. G.S., II.1.6-13; Āśv. G.S., I.19.5.7; Gobh. G.S., II. 10.4-6; Baud. G.S., II.5.3-4.

2. Āp. Dh.S., I.1.1.21.

3. Śāñ. G.S., II.1.9-13.

4. Valavalkar (P.N.H.), Hindu Social Institutions, p. 105.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Dass (S.K.), Educational System of Ancient India, p. 72.

8. Pandey (R.B.), Hindu Saṃskāras, pp. 198-201.

According to Keay,¹ the later age at which the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya youths started their studies may be taken to indicate that its character was somewhat different for them from the instructions which a Brahmin youth received. Scholars like Oldenberg² fancy the difference in ages for performing the Upanayana of persons of three Varṇas from the number of syllables of the metres. As the number of syllables of metres connected with the Brahmin, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya happened to be eight, eleven and twelve the Brahmins took fancy to them and laid down eighth year, eleventh year and twelfth year as age for initiation of a Brahmin, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya respectively. The only plausible reason for the late Upanayana of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya youths seems to be that while the Brahmin was taught from a very early age at home by his father which in case meant his early initiation, the Vaiśya and Kṣatriya youths were sent to the other teachers in their hermitages for study and hence their Upanayana was delayed.

Age of a student according to Pāli texts :

In several Jātaka stories we read a boy leaving his home for receiving instructions at the age of sixteen years.³ But Fick says that it does not mean that before this age a child did not have any education at all. He is of the opinion that upto this age a boy was instructed in elementary sciences and physical education at home, perhaps by his father and at this stage he was supposed to start the study of higher spiritual and religious subjects.⁴

Seasons fit for Upanayana

It has been ordained in certain Gṛhya and Dharmasūtras that the Upanayana for persons of different Varṇas should be performed in different seasons. Vasant, Grīṣam and Śarad have been viewed as auspicious seasons in which Upanayana should be solemnised by Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas respectively.⁵ Bhāradvāja enjoins that a Brahmin should be initiated in spring, a Rājanya in summer or winter, a Vaiśya in autumn, a Ratha-

1. Keay, Indian Education in Ancient and later Times, p. 47.

2. Oldenberg, SBE, XXIX, p. 59.

3. Cowell, J I. No. 50, p. 126; J I. No. 51, p. 128; J II, No. 181, p. 60; J II, No. 287, p. 287; J IV, No. 458, p. 67.

4. Fick, Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, p. 94.

5. Āp. Dh. S, 1.1.1.18; Hir. G.S, 1.1.1.4; Āp. G.S, IV.10.4; Baud. G.S, 2.5.6.

kāra in rainy season or all of them in the Śiśir season.¹ As suggested by Dr. Pandey,² these different seasons for performance of Upanayana of three Varṇas somewhat symbolise their temperament. The moderate season of spring signifies the moderate life of a Brahmin, the heat of the summer represents the fervour and vigour of the Kṣatriyas, autumn suggests the period of wealth and prosperity of a Vaiśya.

What in short we can conclude is that a Kṣatriya was initiated at the age between eleventh years and twenty second years and summer was considered the best season for the Upanayana of a Kṣatriya.

Student's Dress :

The dress of a student varied according to his Varṇa. Āpastamba³ allows skin to be worn only as an upper garment. The skin worn by a Brahmin was to be of a common deer or of a black doe, of a Kṣatriya of a spotted deer and of a Vaiśya of he-goat.⁴ According to Āpastamba, the skin of a sheep was fit to be worn by all the Varṇas.⁵ Other Gṛhyasūtras lay down that the upper garment of a Brahmin should be of antelope skin, that of a Rājanya of a skin of spotted deer and that of a Vaiśya of a goat's or cow's skin.⁶ The Jaiminiya Gṛhyasūtra prescribes the skin of an antelope for a Brahmin, that of a ruru-deer for a Kṣatriya, that of a goat for a Vaiśya or the skin of antelope for all.⁷ If the above skins were not available the cow's skin was considered best to be worn.⁸

The under garment of a student was to be of hemp, flax or wool according to one's Varṇa respectively.⁹ Āpastamba¹⁰ prescribes cloth made of hemp for a Brahmin, of a flax for a Kṣatriya and of the skin of animal for a Vaiśya. Gautama¹¹ lays down that hempen or linen cloth, the inner-bark of trees

1. Bhār. G.S, I.1.

2. Pandey (R.B.), *Hindu Saṁskāras*, pp. 216-217.

3. Āp. Dh. S, I.1.3.10.

4. Ibid, I.1.1.3-6 ; Gau. Dh. S, I.16.

5. Ibid, I.1.3.7.

6. P.G.S, II.5.17-19 ; Bhār. G.S, I.1.1.11 ; Baud. G.S, II.5.16 ; AŚV. G.S, I.19.10 ; Śāh. G.S, II.1.2-5.

7. Jai. G.S, I.12.

8. P.G.S, II.5.20.

9. P.G.S, II.5.16.

10. Āp. Dh. S, I.1.2.40.

11. Gau. Dh. S, I.17.

and woollen plaids may be worn as lower garments by students of all the Varnas. The Jaiminiya¹ prescribes linen or hempen cloth for all the Varnas.

Colour of Cloth :

The colour of the lower garment also varied according to one's Varṇa. A student was supposed to wear a dyed garment only. A Brahmin used to wear reddish-yellow garment, a Kṣatriya had to wear a garment dyed with madder and a Vaiśya used to wear the yellow dyed garment.² The Āpastamba³ and Gautama⁴ say that the cloth of a Brahmin should be dyed with red *lodh*, that of a Kṣatriya with madder and that of a Vaiśya with turmeric.

The Girdle :

The students had to tie a girdle round their waists and its material varied from Varṇa to Varṇa. The girdle of a Brahmin was usually made of *muñja* grass, that of a Kṣatriya of *jya* (bow-string) and that of a Vaiśya of woollen thread.⁵ The Āpastamba⁶ and Gautama⁷ Dharmasūtras lay down the same rules regarding the girdle worn by students of different Varnas. The Jaiminiya says that the girdle of a Brahmin should be of *muñja* grass, of a Kṣatriya of *mūrvā* grass, of a Vaiśya of *tāmala* bark mixed with *muñja* grass or for all, the girdle of *muñja* grass.⁸ The Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtra⁹ prescribes girdles of *muñja* grass, bow-string and of *mūrvā* for the Brahmin, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya respectively. He further holds that in the absence of above girdles, the girdles should be of *kuśā* grass or of the *simantaka* plant or of a *balbaja* grass for a Brahmin, Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya respectively.¹⁰ The Baudhāyana Gṛhya-sūtra prescribes a girdle of *muñja* grass for all the Varnas.¹¹

1. Jai. G.S, I.12.

2. ĀŚV. G.S.I.19.11.

3. Āp. Dh. S, I.1.2.41 and I.1.3.1-2.

4. Gau. Dh. S, I.20-21.

5. Śāṅ. G.S. II.1.14-17 ; ĀŚV. G.S, I.19.12.

6. Āp. Dh. S, I.1.2.33-35.

7. Gau. Dh. S, I.15.

8. Jai. G.S, I.12.

9. P.G.S, II.5.21-23.

10. Ibid, II.5.24.

11. Baud. G.S, II.5.13.

The Staff :

The staff used by different Varṇas was to be made of wood of different trees. There is a sharp difference of opinion in the Sūtras on the point of the kind of staff. Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra¹ says that the staff of a Brahmin should be of *palāśa* wood, that of a Kṣatriya of *udumbara*, that of a Vaiśya of *bilwa* or all the Varṇas may employ a staff of any of these three trees. The Āpastamba² prescribes the staff of *Palāśa* wood for a Brahmin, that of the branch of the Banyan tree for a Kṣatriya and that of a *Badra* or *Udumbara* tree for a Vaiśya. Gautama³ prescribes *Aśvattha* wood for Kṣatriya's staff. The Jaiminiya⁴ prescribes the staff of *palāśa* wood, of *nyagrodha* wood, of *Udumbara* wood respectively for a Brahmin, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya or *palāśa* wood for all. Baudhāyana⁵ Gṛhyasūtra also prescribes staff of *nyagrodha* wood for a Kṣatriya. The Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra⁶ says that a Brahmin should have a staff of *palāśa* wood, Rājanya of *bilwa* wood and a Vaiśya of *Udumbara* wood. Some of the Gṛhyasūtras are very liberal in nature and are of the view that any kind of wood and other articles may be used by students of all the Varṇas if the proper articles were not available.⁷

The Sacred Thread :

The sacred thread worn by the higher Varṇas (Yajñopavīta) was suspended from the left shoulder and kept under the right armpit.⁸ It was made up of a string of *Kuśa* grass or of string of cotton.⁹ Though it was necessary for all the Varṇas in the early days to wear the sacred thread but gradually the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas neglected the constant wearing of Yajñopavīta, so much so that the Brahmins only came to be regarded the wearers of Yajñopavīta.

1. Āśv. G.S, I.19.13.

2. Āp. Dh. S, I.1.2.38.

3. Gau. Dh. S, I.23.

4. Jai. G.S, I.12.

5. Baud. G.S, II.5.17.

6. P.G.S, II.5.25-27.

7. Ibid, II.5.28 ; Kāth. G.S, 41.22, etc.

8. श्रीवायुं प्रतिमुच्य दक्षिणं बाहुमूढृत्य यज्ञोपवीति भवति ।

—Khad. G.S, I.1.5.

9. यज्ञोपवीतं सूत्रं कौश वा ।

—Khad. G.S, I.1.4.

The Teaching of Savitṛ :

The Gṛhyasūtras also give rules for teaching of Savitṛ verse to students of different Varṇas. The Śāṅkhayana¹ and Pāraskara² Gṛhyasūtras lay down the injunction that the teacher should recite the Savitṛ verse in the *Triṣṭubh* metre to a Kṣatriya, in *Gāyatrī* metre to a Brahmin and in the *Jagatī* metre to a Vaiśya. Further the Pāraskara³ holds that Savitṛ could be taught to all the Varṇas in the *Gāyatrī* metre. Usually the Savitṛ verse was taught to a student in the metre connected with his Varṇa as mentioned before. Brahmins were connected with *Gāyatrī*, Kṣatriyas with *Triṣṭubh* and Vaiśyas with *Jagatī*.

Alms :

As regards the begging of alms, the Sūtras state different forms of addresses to be used by students of different Varṇas. The Sūtras⁴ prescribe that when a Brahmin student goes for begging he should beg by addressing the woman with the word 'Lady' put at the beginning of his request, a Rājanya with the word lady inserted in the middle and a Vaiśya with the word lady put at the end. This indicates a sense of humility on the part of a newly initiated student.

Duties of Students :

The life of a student was a life of strict moral and religious discipline. The Sūtras lay down a bundle of rules and duties to be observed strictly by a student during his student life. The Āpastamba⁵ mentions the duties of a student (in the following manner) the duties of pleasing the spiritual teacher and the observance of rules conducive to his studies and welfare. According to the Pāraskara⁶ the standing duties of a student

1. Śāṅ. G.S, 2.5.4-6.

2. P.G.S, II.3.7-9.

3. Ibid, II.3.10.

4. Āp. Dh.S, I.1.3.28-30 ; P.G.S, II.5.2-4 ; Baud. G.S, II.5.47-51 ; Kau. Sūtra, 57.16-20 ; भवन्वपूर्वा ग्राह्यो मि क्षेत । भवन्मध्या राजन्य । भवदन्त्यो वैश्यः । Baud. Dh.S, I.2.3.16-18 ; Vas. Dh. S, XI.68-70 ; Jai. G.S, I.12.

5. Āp. Dh. S, I.2.5.9.

6. P.G.S, II.5.11.

were wearing of staff, worshipping the fire, being obedient to his *guru* and asking for alms.

The highest duty of a student was to obey his spiritual *guru*¹ and to do whatever was serviceable to his teacher. He was never to contradict him.² He had to be always ready to do whatever was ordered by his *guru*.³ A student had to bring daily in the morning and evening the water for his *guru*, fetch fuel from the forest and clean the place.⁴ A student had to get up in the last watch of the night and standing near his teacher was to salute him.⁵ A pupil had to place before his teacher all the alms and had to eat only after being ordered by his *guru*,⁶ and after eating he himself cleaned his *guru's* utensils.⁷ A student was to avoid sleep while teacher was awake.⁸

A student was to regard his teacher as a deity⁹ and had to observe certain rules while approaching his *guru*,¹⁰ while answering him,¹¹ while walking with him¹² and while sitting with him.¹³

The student was to lead a life of strict Brahmacharya and was not to indulge in sensual pleasures. It was prohibited for him to touch a woman or to look at her with any bad motive.¹⁴ He was not allowed to watch a dance performance, neither he could indulge in gossiping nor go to the assemblies of gambling.¹⁵ Eating of pungent condiments, salt, honey or meat was prohibited for him.¹⁶ He was not allowed to sleep in day time.¹⁷ He

1. Āp. Dh. S, I.1.2.19.

2. Ibid, I.1.2.20.

3. Ibid, I.2.7.25.

4. Ibid, I.1.4.13-14.

5. Ibid, I.2.5.12.

6. Ibid, I.1.3.31.

7. Ibid, I.1.3.36.

8. Ibid, I.1.4.22.

9. Ibid, I.2.6.13.

10. Ibid, I.2.6.10.

11. Ibid, I. 2.6.6.

12. Ibid, I.2.6.8-9.

13. Ibid, I.2.6.17 & 20.

14. Ibid, I.2.7.3,8-10.

15. Ibid, I.1.3.11-13.

16. Ibid, I.1.2.23 ; ĀśV. G.S, I.22.2.

17. Ibid, I.1.2.24.

never used perfumes¹ and was to avoid the use of shoes, umbrella and chariot etc.²

A student should be forgiving, untiring in fulfilling his duties, modest, possessed of self-command, energetic and free from anger and envy.³ The Buddhist texts also prescribe certain hard rules to be observed by a student.⁴

A student had to work from morning till night. He had to get up early in the morning and labour throughout the day till he went to sleep after his *guru*. He had to do hard labour to study the Veda. He had to be very attentive the whole day never allowing his mind to wander from the lesson during the study time.⁵ During rest he used to meditate over doubtful and difficult passages.⁶ A student was to study after having been called by his teacher and was not to request the teacher to teach, says the Āpastamba.⁷

Subjects of Study :

Regarding the details of subjects of study we do not find any comprehensive data in the Sūtras. Like the Vedic period the study of the Vedas was the main branch of learning even in this period. As shown above it was obligatory for all the three higher Varnas to pursue the study of the Vedas which was a part of their duty. Not only the Sūtras but the Pāli texts also advocate the study of the Vedas.

It is only in the Gautama Dharmasūtra that we have some idea of the subjects to be studied by a king. According to him a king should be well-versed in the three Vedas and in *Ānvīkṣikī* (metaphysics).⁸ Gautama further says that a king has to rely for carrying out his duties on the Vedas, the Dharmaśāstras, the subsidiary lores of the Vedas, the Upavedas and the Purāṇas.⁹

1. Āp. Dh. S, I.1.2.25.

2. Ibid, I.2.7.5.

3. Ibid, I.1.3.17-24.

4. Mahāvagga, I.25. quoted by Kaey on p. 84-85—Indian Education in Ancient and later Times.

5. Āp. Dh. S, I.2.5.24.

6. Ibid, I.2.5.26.

7. Ibid, I.2.5.27.

8. Gau. Dh. S, XI.3.

9. Ibid, XI.3.

In the Buddhist book *Milindapanha* nineteen subjects of study including the four Vedas have been enumerated. In some of the Jātakas¹ the eighteen sciences are mentioned apart from the three Vedas.

No Specific Subjects of Study for Kṣatriyas :

Like the Vedic period here too we have no mention of specific fields of study for a Kṣatriya youth. As to the education of the Kṣatriyas we have hardly any directions in the Dharmasūtras. But this much is certain that the Kṣatriya youths like the Brahmins had a zeal to study the Vedas and the other Śāstras. But these studies however were not deep and prolonged² for it did not suit their calling in life. It was of little significance for them as compared to the Brahmins. It seems that the curriculum of the Vedic studies only meant for them the memorizing of Vedic hymns, an acquaintance with the philosophical teachings, as such were necessary for Vedic studies and which were useful for knowledge of duties to be performed in the later life.³ As mentioned above the Buddhist texts do not mention the Vedas distinctly as course of studies for the Kṣatriyas but the Kṣatriyas learnt the sciences (*sippam*).

The Kṣatriya youths used to go to study armoury.⁴ There was a famous school of archery in Kapilvatthu where the Kṣatriya youths studied military science. According to Kaey the knowledge of arms and of military skill was what was desired from a Kṣatriya. So it must have been necessary for him to have instructions in these very subjects.⁵ Pāṇini⁶ uses the term *Kavachharah* for a Kṣatriya youth. According to him a youth of Kṣatriya Varna was well-versed in his profession which means that a Kṣatriya took training in the military science and after that he became a *Sabheya* worthy of taking part in a Sabhā.⁷

1. Cowell, J I, No. 50, p. 126 ; J I, No. 80, p. 203 ; J I, No. 130, p. 285 ; J III, No. 338, p. 81 ; J II, No. 181, p. 60.
2. Altekar, Education in Ancient India, p. 43.
3. Kaey, Indian Education in Ancient and later Times, p. 47.
4. Pañcavada, J I.55, p. 137.
5. Kaey, Indian Education in Ancient & later Times, p. 50.
6. Pāṇini, 3.2.10. 'वयसि च' ।
7. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, पाणिनिकालीन भारत, पृ० ४३२.

Hence Vedic studies and a knowledge of military science seem to be the subjects over which the Kṣatriyas had mastery.

Khattavijja :

The Pāli *Khattavijja*, mentioned in the Mahabodhi Jātaka,¹ is the same term as Kṣatriya in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad² taken in the sense of *Dhanurveda*, the science of archery and military science. B.C. Law³ says that 'those willing and aspiring for the position of *Senāpati* and other military ranks were required to study this branch of learning. The art of warfare, the forming of battle-arrays, the mobilisation of forces, the methods of offence and defence, the training of the four divisions of army, the strategy, the principles of war and peace, the knowledge of handling of weapons of war, the maintenance of military discipline and control over the rank and file, etc., appear to have been the subjects of study under the same.'

Khattavijja, according to a Pāli canonical⁴ texts belongs to a group of low arts and wrongful occupations by which false ascetics and the Brahmins in contrast with the perfect Buddha used to earn their livelihood.

U.N. Ghoshal⁵ in his book has touched upon this topic of *Khattavijja*. Taking the references given in story No. 528 and 546 of the Jātaka tales he concludes that Kṣatriya science is 'conceived to be a systematized body of knowledge' which may be identified with the Arthaśāstra or science of Politics. The censuring of this science in both the stories is due to the fact that it teaches selfishness and cruelty even to the extent of killing one's own parents.⁶ Hence it can be assumed that censuring of the word *Khattavijja* in Buddhist texts is due to the ethical tendencies working in the Buddhist order which were extremely against the Arthaśāstra state-craft.

1. Cowell, J V, No. 528, p. 117.

2. Ch. Up, VII.1.2, Also Pāṇini, 32.12. क्षत्रविद्या.

3. Law (B.C.) India as Described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 258.

4. DN, I, p. 9.

5. Ghoshal (U.N.), Indian Political Ideas, pp. 65-66.

6. Mahābodhi, J. 528, Vol. V, p. 117.

Brahmins as Teachers :

The teachers of this age like the Vedic period were all Brahmins with a very few exceptions. It has been ordained in the Dharmasūtras that teaching was mainly the occupation of the Brahmins¹ and as quoted by Āpastamba² a Brahmin should alone be chosen as a teacher. The Jātaka stories also reveal that the princes were generally sent to the Brahmin teachers for study.³

In distress we hear of Brahmins studying under the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya teachers.⁴ Further Fick holds that like the Kṣatriyas of the Upaniṣadic period who took active part in the philosophical learning, the Khattiyas of the Buddhist period also did not lag behind but they further developed those philosophical ideas like that of migration of soul, emancipation and of salvation, etc. Buddha, who was a Khattiya himself was a great teacher of Upaniṣadic doctrines and was the leading figure to show the path of salvation.⁵ In his opinion the Khattiyas of the eastern land enjoyed a spiritual culture similar to that of the Brahmins.⁶

Place of Education :

Usually the education was imparted in the hermitages of the teachers far away from the city life. A Brahmachārī was to live in the hermitage is stated in Dharmasūtra.⁷ The Jātakas say that a Kṣatriya youth was sent away from the home for studies at the age of sixteen which shows that before this period a child had some elementary education by his parents at home. Taxilā⁸ was the most important centre of learning in the Buddhist literature where the Kṣatriya youths used to go from different parts of the country for higher learning.

1. Āp. Dh. S, II.5.10.4-6.

2. Ibid, II.2.4.24.

3. Musika J No. 373, Vol. III, p. 142.

4. Āp. Dh. S, II.2.4.25-26.

5. Fick, Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's Time, p. 90.

6. Ibid, p. 91.

7. Āp. Dh. S, I.1.2.11.

8. Cowell, J I, No. 50, p. 126 ; J I, No. 55, p. 137 ; J II, No. 181, p. 60.

4. Duties and Occupations of the Kṣatriyas

Specific duties assigned to different Varṇas :

In the Vedic period as laid down earlier members of the different Varṇas were quite at liberty to choose any profession of their liking. It was due to the fact that at that time various professions had neither become hereditary nor were they properly defined. By the time we come to the period under review the professions of various Varṇas had more or less been properly defined. The members of all the Varṇas were not free to adopt any occupation of their choice and in most of the cases they had to follow only the hereditary occupations.¹

The interchange of avocations was more or less freely permissible in the early Vedic Society. But in the Sūtra period a person of one Varṇa could not adopt the occupation of a member of another Varṇa in normal circumstances. It was only in the times of difficulty and distress when a person could take to the occupation of the other Varṇa and that too of a lower one. If a person leaving the occupation of his own Varṇa wanted to take up the profession of another Varṇa it was regarded as a sin and degradation of one's status.

Duties of Kṣatriya :

Now let us examine the specific duties assigned to the Kṣatriyas in the Sūtra period.

In General :

The duties and privileges of a Varṇa occupy a very prominent place in all works on Dharmaśāstras. The study of the Vedas, offering sacrifices and giving of alms were the lawful occupations of a Kṣatriya along with other three Varṇas as observed in the various Dharmasūtras.² These three, i.e. study, sacrifices and liberality were Dharma of all the Varṇas³ with the exception of teaching the Veda which was the special

1. Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpa Sūtras*, p. 117.
2. Āp. Dh. S, II.5.10.6.
Gau. Dh. S, X.1.
Vas, Dh. S, II.15-16.
3. Kane (P.V.), *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 105.

privilege of the Brahmins. The Bhūridatta Jātaka while explaining duties of various castes says 'Brahmins he made for study ; for command he made the Kṣatriyas, Vessa plough the land, Suddas the servants made to obey the rest. Thus from the first went forth the Lord's behest.'¹

The Study of the Vedas : The study of the Vedas was binding on all the Vārṇas including the Kṣatriyas class from the early Vedic period. The Upanayana ceremony performed for a Kṣatriya meant the start of his Vedic studies. It was absolutely necessary for a Kṣatriya youth to devote some years to Vedic studies so as to discharge his ṛṣi-debt.

Sacrificing : The Sūtras prescribe offering of sacrifices as one of the duties of a Kṣatriya. But a Kṣatriya could not perform sacrifices for others except for himself. One of the big sacrifices that a Kṣatriya could perform was *Rājasūya*² with the Brahmins acting as priests. A Brahmin could not perform a *Rājasūya* sacrifice but he could perform a sacrifice called *Brhaspatisava*³ which was not less important than the *Rājasūya*.

Alms-Giving : Giving of alms has been enumerated as one of the duties of the Kṣatriyas. More than this we have no information regarding the giving of alms in the whole of the Sūtra literature. The Kṣatriyas seem to bestow gifts on the Brahmins.

Special Duties of a Ksatriya :

Besides the above mentioned common duties enjoined on Kṣatriyas they had some special duties to perform.

Fighting : The special duties of a Kṣatriya as laid down by the Dharmasūtras are governing and fighting.⁴ One of the peculiar duties of a Kṣatriya was to protect the people with his weapons.⁵ The Kṣatriyas had a vast field opened to them for appointments in military and administrative service.⁶ Theoreti-

1. Cowell, J VI, No. 543, p. 107.

2. Āp. Ś.S, XVIII ; Kāt. Ś.S, XV, ĀŚV. Ś.S, IX.3.4.

3. ĀŚV. Ś.S, IX.9.19 ; Baud. Ś.S, XVIII.1.

4. Āp. Dh. S, II.5.10.6.

क्षत्रियस्याध्यापनयाजनप्रतिगृह्णानीति परिहाप्य दण्डयुद्धाधिकानि ।

Baud. Dh. S, I.10.18.3.

5. Vas. Dh. S, II.17.

6. Dutt (N.K.), Origin and Growth of Caste in India, p. 161.

cally speaking the Kṣatriyas had the right to rule, maintaining internal order and peace and protecting their countries against the enemies.¹ "All martial occupations such as fighting, conquering and ruling were peculiar to the Kṣatriyas" says V.M. Apte.²

No duty was considered higher for men of Kṣatriya Varṇa than to risk their lives in battle.³ There was no question of committing sin by slaying or injuring foes in the battle.

Fighting-Monopoly of the Kṣatriyas : In the Vedic society which was less caste-conscious, the protection of people and fighting were the concern of the whole community. In the Sūtra period with the allotment of different occupations to different Varṇas, fighting and protection of the people became the exclusive monopoly of the Kṣatriyas thus giving rise to a special warrior class. Like the Vedic period we do not here come across all the sections of society fighting against the foes as one unit. But it was only the Kṣatriyas who were exclusively left to perform this duty.

Fighting was absolutely forbidden for the Brahmins and the Vaiśyas. They were not allowed to take up weapons like the Kṣatriyas for fighting against the enemies. It was only in some special circumstances that both these Varṇas have been permitted by the Sūtrakāras to take up the arms. Baudhāyana says that a Brahmin and a Vaiśya should take up arms only for the protection of the cows and when there is risk of confusion of castes.⁴ Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra⁵ allows a Brahmin and a Vaiśya to wield weapons only in self-defence and to avert confusion of castes. Again Āpastamba states that a Brahmin should not take weapon in his hand though he be only desirous of examining it.⁶

1. Law (B.C.), India as Described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 164.
2. Apte (V.M.), Social and Religious Life in the Gṛhyasūtras, p. 134.
3. Āp. Dh. S, II.10.26.2-3.
4. Baud. Dh. S, II.2.4.18.
5. Vas. Dh. S, III.24.
6. परीक्षार्थोऽपि ब्राह्मण आयुधं नाददीत ।

—Āp. Dh.S, I.10.29.6.

The Sūtras on one hand lay down that a man of higher Varṇa when unable to earn his living by his usual mode of living may adopt the occupation of a lower Varṇa¹ which means that a Brahmin in case he is unable to earn living by his own profession may naturally take up the profession of a Kṣatriya—next in Varṇa to him. On the other hand the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra forbids a Brahmin to adopt the Kṣatriya profession for the duties of a Kṣatriya are too cruel for a Brahmin² which naturally means that the duties of a Kṣatriya were of a peculiar type which only suited their Varṇa.

Moreover we find the Brahmins following the occupations of arms from the ancient times. Pāṇini teaches the formation of the word Brāhmaṇaka³ as applied to a country in which the Brahmins followed the occupation of arms. Āpastamba Dharmasūtra⁴ also mentions men other than the Kṣatriyas living by the use of arms. Thus it can be presumed that the persons of non-Kṣatriya families also took to the occupation of arms and then by regularly following the occupation of fighting they were perhaps later on designated as Kṣatriyas—the fighting class by the Brahmins. Thus the Yavanas who appeared to the Indians as military people are described by Gautama as born of Kṣatriya father and Śūdra mother.⁵ Whatever may have been the case, the Kṣatriyas by the time of Sūtra period had become a military caste with special duty of fighting to perform.

Laws of Fighting : With the growth of the military caste certain codes of chivalry were framed. To die while fighting on the battlefield was considered to be the highest moral duty of a Kṣatriya. In war a Kṣatriya was supposed to act according to the instructions laid down by those who were learned in the art of war.⁶ The Dharmasūtras⁷ pointedly forbid the slaughter of the following persons : women, children, old men, Brahmins, messengers, those who have lost their horses, chariots or arms,

1. Baud. Dh. S, II. 2.4.16 ; Vas. Dh. S, II.22-23.

2. Ibid, II.2.4.17.

3. Pāṇini, V.2.71.

4. Āp. Dh. S, 1.6.18.19.

5. Gau. Dh. S, IV.21

6. Āp. Dh. S, II.5.10.10.

7. Ibid, II.5.10.11 ; Gau. Dh. S, X.17-18 ; Baud. Dh. S, I.10.18.11.

those who join their hands in mercy, those who flee, those who are with flying hair, those who are with faces turned aside, those who declare themselves to be the Brahmins and those who have laid down their arms. The Dharmasūtras also enjoin upon warriors to stand firm in battle and not to retreat.¹ The use of poisonous weapons in the battle was prohibited by Baudhāyana.² This shows that the dictum 'all is fair in love and war' was not approved of by our ancient Sūtrakāras.³

Kṣatriyas as Rulers :

One of the foremost duties of a Kṣatriya was to rule and govern the people and hence it could be emphatically said that in actual sense a ruler or a king belonged to a Kṣatriya Varṇa. There is overwhelming evidence in the Sūtras to show that the king was normally of the Kṣatriya Varṇa. Pāṇini calls the Kṣatriya kings of the *Janapadas* as *Janapadins*.⁴

According to the Buddhist texts a king was to be of a Kṣatriya clan and it meant one who reigned and governed the people.⁵ The other texts declare all kings and chieftains to be Khattiyas.⁶ The Khattiyas represented the ruling class.⁷

Though the Buddhist Texts declare kings to be of the Khattiya class still it was not necessary that a reigning king was always to be of the Khattiya family.⁸ Kingship did not lie only in the hands of the Khattiyas but the persons of other Varṇas may also occasionally become kings.⁹ In the texts which speak of kings to be of the Kṣatriya Varṇa debaring the Brahmins from this privilege who however had a great influence over the king as his house-priest, we do come across some references in

1. Gau. Dh. S, X.16 ; Baud. Dh. S, 1.10.18.9.

2. Baud. Dh. S, 1.10.18.10.

3. Ram Gopal, India of Vedic Kalpasūtras, p. 185.

4. जनपदस्वामिनः क्षत्रियाः । —Pāṇini, 4.3.100.

5. SBB, Vol. XXIII, Milinda's Questions, Vol. II, V.226.

6. DN, 1.69 ; III.44 ; AN, 1.106 ; III.299 ; IV.259.

7. Law (B.C.), India as described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 163.

8. Ibid p. 164.

9. Fich, Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's Time, p. 126..

the Jātakas where Brahmins are being installed as kings. The Saccainkira Jātaka refers to a Brahmin who was appointed as a king.¹ In another place a deceased king's temporal and spiritual adviser was enthroned as king.² A certain other Brahmin instigated a revolt against a king and after his death was enthroned as a king.³ The Brahmins thus seem to be installed as kings only in the unusual circumstances such as the death of an heirless king or when there was a revolt against a particular king. Such cases were very few and we do not hear any family of Brahmins who would have ruled as a dynasty. By the evidence rendered by the Sūtras as well as Pāli texts it can be safely assumed that the kings of the period were, if not all, mostly of the Kṣatriya Varṇa. A king was considered to be the chief representative of the Kṣatriyas whose duty was to rule over the people.

Duties of a King :

Voluminous work has been done on the subject of the duties of a king. Here we will only elaborate the main functions of a king as depicted in the Sūtras and the Pāli texts. A king had diversified duties to perform which were quite hard and strenuous. It is mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya⁴ that the duties of a king are very hard as he is included among five persons who sleep little at night. The main function of a king was to protect the life and prosperity of the people as the main duty of the Kṣatriya was the protection of the people. A king had a keen desire to keep his subjects happy. A Buddhist text⁵ declares that a king is actually one who wins over his people and gives them happiness giving grief to his opponents. The text further says that a king is born into the world to give happiness. Thus the happiness of the subjects was the main concern of the king.

The Sūtra texts lay down that the main functions of a king were to protect all created beings and to inflict lawful punishment.⁶

1. Cowell, J I, No. 73, pp. 324-36;

मोहनलाल महुतो व्याखी, जातककालीन भारतीय संस्कृति, पृ० १३.

2. Ibid, J II, No. 247, p. 264.

3. Ibid, J III, No. 394, pp. 313-14.

4. AN, V.XIV.VII.

5. SBB, XXVIII, Milindas Questions, Vol. II, V. 226.

6. Gau. Dh. S, X.7-8.

As the king was the lord or *rāja* of the people, the king had Dhamma as his king.¹ A righteous king was in a sense Dhamma himself. A king had to rule righteously over his folk and had to keep constant watch over warriors, Brahmins and householders.²

It was only on the righteousness of a king that the righteousness of ministers, householders, Brahmins and villagers depended.³

The care of the Brahmins was one of the foremost duty of a king.⁴ The Brahmins were to be supported by a king and a king who lavishly bestowed on the Brahmins gained endless worlds.⁵ The Brahmins were to be protected by the king and a king who while striving to recover the wealth of a Brahmin stolen by a thief ended his life in the effort was said to perform a sacrifice, in which his body was the sacrificial post and the fees were incalculable.⁶

Besides the Brahmins, a king had to support a Śrotriya Brahmin, those who were free from taxes and the needy students.⁷

The duty of a noble anointed king was to execute one deserving execution, to fine one deserving to be fined and to banish one deserving banishment.⁸ A bandit or a malefactor was punished by king by binding his arms behind with a stout cord and by making him to parade from street to street.⁹ A person who transgressed his Varṇa was to be punished by the king.¹⁰

One of the important duties of the king was to punish the thief.¹¹ The Buddhist texts also claim that a king could punish the thief and evil doers for their misdeeds.¹² A ruler could sub-

1. AN, III.2.14; V.XIV.3.
2. Ibid.
3. AN, IV, VII, X.
4. Āp. Dh. S, II.10.25.11.
5. Ibid, II.10.26.1.
6. Ibid, II.10.26.2.
7. Gau. Dh. S, X.9-12.
8. MN, Discourse 84, II.122.
9. AN, IV.XXV.II.
10. Āp. Dh. S, II.5.11.1.
11. Baud. Dh. S, II.1.1.17.
12. MN, Discourse 129, III.163.

ject a thief to diverse punishments, i.e., flogging him with whips, with canes, with cudgels, cutting of his hand, his foot, his ear and nose and torturing him.¹ Moreover an assassin was never to be spared by a king.²

A king could take the sixth part of the wealth of his subjects as his pay in accordance with the sacred law.³ A king could get from the Brahmins his share of spiritual merit. But he could not covet the wealth of a Brahmin. The prosperity and the wealth of a childless person after his death was confiscated by king.⁴ A king while guarding the property of a man belonging to a non-Brahmin, could take it himself if the owner was not available for a year.⁵ A king could add to his treasury only in a lawful and righteous manner.

Gainful Occupations of a Kṣatriya

Having examined the duties and privileges of the Kṣatriyas and their representative—the king, let us now discuss the means of livelihood adopted by the Kṣatriyas. Except working in army and holding some royal posts of Senāpati, minister and village officer, etc., the Kṣatriyas had no other source of livelihood. There were other professions like that of a trader and money-lender, etc., which a Kṣatriya could adopt only in times of emergency.

The Warriors :

The kings had started keeping a kind of standing army which was mostly formed of the Kṣatriya warriors by this period. The Dharmasūtra⁶ emphatically lays down that a Kṣatriya may gain his livelihood by the use of weapons and protection of the people. Again Āpastamba Dharmasūtra⁷ states that the Kṣatriyas lived by the use of arms, whose food could not be taken by a Brahmin.

The Buddhist texts also agree with the Sūtra texts regarding

1. AN, II.1.1.

2. Baud. Dh. S, 1.10.18.12.

3. Vas. Dh. S, I.42.

4. SN, III.2.9.

5. Baud. Dh. S, 1.10. 18.16 ; Vas. Dh. S, XVI.19-20.

6. Vas. Dh. S, II.17.

7. Āp. Dh.S, 1.6.18.19.

the use of arms as means of livelihood of the Kṣatriyas. The Majjhima Nikāya¹ informs us that the Brahmins live on charities, the Kṣatriyas on the use of bows and arrows, the Vaiśyas on agriculture and tending of cattle and the Śūdras on the use of sickle. The same text again goes on to say that 'a Brahmin's wealth is walking for alms, a noble's wealth is the bow and quiver, a merchant's wealth is agriculture and cow-keeping'.

According to B.C. Law,³ by training and occupation, the Kṣatriyas as a class were to be the warriors. Though the Kṣatriyas were the warriors par excellence, the recruits to the military regiment of a kingdom or a territory were not necessarily all Kṣatriyas.⁴ The persons of other Varṇas would have also joined the army as warriors.

Regarding the salary or maintenance allowance of a warrior working in a king's army we have no records. In one place in Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra it is mentioned that the wives of slain soldiers were to be provided by the king.⁵ It could be presumed that the king provided the maintenance to the warriors in his service.

Royal Officers : The Kṣatriyas were assigned important state duties. A king could appoint only Āryas i.e., the members of the three higher Varṇas as officials in charge of towns and villages for the protection of the people.⁶ Only those who were pure and honest could be given such assignments. Lower category officers serving under them were also required to fulfil the same qualifications. Āpastamba⁷ also lays down that the king's court should be adorned by pure and truthful Āryas who were to act as counsellors of the king. In these references the term Ārya is rightly interpreted as the member of the first three Varṇas.⁸ No Śūdra was ever regarded to be fit to be appointed to any of the

1. MN, II.180 ; Sharma (R.S.), Śūdras in Ancient India, p. 91.

2. MN, Discourse 95, II.180.

3. Law (B.C.), India as Described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 164.

4. Ibid.

5. Vas. Dh. S, XIX.20.

6. Āp. Dh. S, II.10.26.4.

7. Ibid, II. 10.25.12-13.

8. Haradatta's Comm. to Āp. Dh.S. II.10.25.13.

above posts. The three classes of royal officers such as *Ratthikas*, *Pettanikas* and *Bhojakas* seem to be mostly represented by the Khattiya class.¹

Senāpati : To the post of the *Senāpati* or Commander-in-Chief usually a Kṣatriya was appointed.² This Kṣatriya was sometimes the near relative of the king.

Minister : A Kṣatriya and a Brahmin were usually appointed as ministers, though Fick remarks that by the term *amacca* neither a Khattiya nor a Brahmin is to be understood.³ *Amacca* was a special class of ministers with ministerial virtues. Still the posts of ministers were filled either by the Khattiyas or the Brahmins.

Property of a Kṣatriya : Gautama⁴ lays down following laws regarding the ownership of the property : a man becomes owner of the property by inheritance, purchase, partition, conquest or if he finds it lying somewhere. For a Brahmin acceptance of gifts is an additional mode of earning ; conquest in which booty is collected is an additional mode of acquiring property of a Kṣatriya. Gain by labour is an additional mode of acquiring property in the case of a Vaiśya and Śūdra. Gains which were acquired by conquest and spoils of war were generally divided among the warriors. Thus booty was a special source of income for a Kṣatriya.

Mahāsālas : The Pāli canonical Texts often speak of the Khattiya Mahāsālas or wealthy nobles, Brahmin Mahāsālas or wealthy Brahmins and Gahapati Mahāsālas or wealthy gentry. The term Mahāsāla literally means having great halls. Economically speaking, the Kṣatriyas were not very rich and prosperous one for they had very meagre means of income. Only a small percentage of the Khattiyas were wealthy according to the time and place.⁵

1. Law (B.C.), India as Described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 173.
2. Cowell, J I, No. 6, p. 27 ; J IV, No. 467, p. 105.
Fick, Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, p. 142.
3. Ibid, p. 143.
4. Gau. Dh. S, X.39-42.
5. Pāli-English Dictionary, p. 232 ; AN, IV.239.

Occupations in Distress : Though the Sūtras prescribe strict rules regarding the occupations followed by the different Varṇas, yet it was not always possible for a person to live upto them. Hence the three Varṇas, i.e., Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas could earn their livelihood by adopting the occupations of other Varṇas whenever the need to do so arose. In emergency or when a person was unable to support himself by his lawful occupations he was permitted to take the occupation of the Varṇa next inferior to him so as to support himself.¹ But a person belonging to a lower Varṇa could not resort to the means of livelihood peculiar to a higher Varṇa.² A person of one Varṇa could live by the avocations of other Varṇa till the existence of calamity or distress. But it is ordained that as soon as the calamity is over a man should take up his normal profession, should perform *prāyaścitta* and should abandon the wealth acquired by the improper means of resorting to other Varṇa occupations.

In times of distress, as ordained by the Dharmasūtras a Kṣatriya may follow the occupation of a Vaiśya³ which means that a Kṣatriya in abnormal times could earn his living by trade, agriculture and other occupations befitting a Vaiśya. According to the commentator Haradatta, one of the interpreters of Gautama Dharmasūtra VII.4, all the three higher Varṇas may earn their livelihood through priesthood, teaching and acceptance of gifts, in times of distress, though these modes of earning livelihood were allowed to Brahmins only in normal times.

Change of vocation was also allowed in the Buddhist Texts. The Buddhist canonical texts were not very strict regarding the occupations to be followed by a particular Varṇa. Like the Sūtras, the Buddhist texts also have no mention of separate occupations to be strictly followed by the members of the separate Varṇas. On the other hand change in occupation was easily permissible here. We even learn of Brahmins, the higher

1. Vas, Dh. S, II.22.

2. Ibid, II.23.

3. Gau. Dh. S, VIII 26.

Varna taking to all kinds of occupations. Thus people could and did change their vocations by following one or the other of the low trades. In a Jātaka story we hear of a love-lorn Kṣatriya working successively (without any dishonour or penalty) as a potter, basket-maker, reed-maker, garland-maker and cook.¹

Trade : Trade was a legitimate occupation followed by the Kṣatriyas in times of distress. The law-books lay down a number of restrictions and injunctions in this connection. Even if a Kṣatriya was free to follow the occupation of trade he was not free to sell and barter any article he liked. However there were a number of restrictions on the sale and barter of certain commodities. Among the articles prohibited for sale by the Kṣatriyas are mentioned as stones, salt, hempen cloth, silk, linen and skins.² The sale of any kind of dyed cloth was not allowed to a Kṣatriya.³ A Kṣatriya could not sell prepared food, flowers, fruit, roots, perfumed substances used for flavouring (food), water, juice extracted from plants, Soma, poison, flesh, milk, iron, tin, lac and lead.⁴

Among objects which could be sold by a Kṣatriya were animals having teeth in one jaw, as well as minerals excepting salt and undyed thread.⁵ They were free to deal in weapons.⁶ The trade of all kinds of arms was only in the hands of the Kṣatriyas as they were quite adept and best suited for this work due to their training in this art.

The Jātakas also mention Kṣatriyas as traders and as traders they were liable to pay duties and taxes like other members dealing in trade.⁷

Money-Lending :

The lending of money at interest on not very hard terms

1. Cowell, J V, No. 531, pp. 151-52.
2. Vas. Dh. S, II.24.
3. Ibid, II.25.
4. Gau. Dh. S, VIII 8-21 ; Vas. Dh. S, II.26.
5. Bau. Dh. S, II.1.2.29
6. Vas. Dh. S, III. 25.
7. Cowell, J IV, No. 454, p. 53.

was allowed to a Kṣatriya. The law-books lay variations in the rate of interest to be charged from different Varnas for lending money.¹ The Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra enjoins upon the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas not to lend money like *usurer*² and quotes two verses³ while defining usury and says that a usurer is a great sinner. The same Dharmasūtra⁴ allows the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas to lend what is sold by weight taking eight times, the original value on repayment.

The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra gives an account of the persons to whom the Kṣatriyas could at their pleasure lend money at a normal rate of interest. A Kṣatriya could lend money to one who neglected his sacred duties, to a miser, to an atheist or to a very wicked man.⁵ The sūtra texts thus show that taking money at interest was not looked upon as good at all. Moreover lending of money at interest was also not very much favoured for a lender used to charge as cruelly as he could.

Miscellaneous :

The privilege of officiating as priests at sacrifice was totally denied to a Kṣatriya in this period. As mentioned earlier they could take up teaching as their profession like the Brahmins in normal as well as abnormal times. The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra states that during distress a student could study under a non-Brahmin,⁶ meaning it to be certainly a Kṣatriya. The Pāli-texts mention a number of Kṣatriyas working as teachers for which they were richly paid by their pupils.

The Kṣatriyas were thus economically not very sound and they were able to maintain themselves by adopting the above mentioned professions.

5. Struggle for Supremacy between the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins :

Kṣatriyas and Brahmins as supporters of the world : Like the

1. Vas. Dh. S, II.48.

2. Ibid, II.40.

3. Ibid, II.41—42.

4. Ibid, II.47.

5. Baud. Dh. S, I.5.10.25 ; Vas. Dh. S, II.43.

6. Ibid, I.2.3.41.

Vedic and the Brahmin period, vital importance has been attached to the two Varṇas i.e., the Kṣatriya and the Brahmin for the support and well-being of the society. The Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins were the pillars of the society. Gautama takes Vedas as authority in this regard and says that as ordained in the Vedas the Brahmins united with the Kṣatriyas uphold gods, manes and men.¹ The idea of the Vedic period of the dependence of the prosperity of a Kṣatriya and the mutual assistance of these two Varṇas is also propogated here by the Sūtrakāras. The Kṣatriyas it is said who are supported and assisted by the Brahmins only prosper and do not fall in distress.²

According to the authors of the Dharmasūtras it is only a learned Brahmin and a king on whose shoulders lie the combined duty of upholding the moral order of the world,³ protection of off-springs, prevention of confusion of castes and the sacred law.⁴ The existence of the four-fold human race is dependent on the king and the Brahmin,⁵ for, while the Brahmin declares the duties of the four Varṇas, a king governs accordingly.⁶

Bracketing the Brahmin with the king in the above passages, it is observed that the combined functions of the two dignities i.e., the advice of a Brahmin and the punishment inflicted accordingly by the king protect the people and safeguard the society. U.N. Ghoshal⁷ holds the same views and states that it is the co-ordinated efforts and functions of the two powers i.e., the Brahmin and the king which safeguard and protect the interests of the other sections of the society.

As in the Sūtra literature, so in the Buddhist literature, we find the closer relations between two higher orders of the society who stood in sharp distinctions from the lower orders. Buddha is stated to have said that 'There are four Varṇas. Among these

1. Gau. Dh. S, XI.27.

2. Ibid, XI.14.

3. Ibid, VIII.1.

4. Ibid, VIII.3.

5. Ibid, VIII.2.

6. Vas. Dh. S, I.40-41.

7. Ghoshal (U.N.), A History of Indian Political Ideas, p. 59.

four Vārṇas two are said to be the chief, the nobles (Khattiya) and the Brahmins with regard to addressing them, rising up from one's seat for them, saluting them with joined hands and rendering them service.¹

The higher social status enjoyed by these two Vārṇas is again to be observed in connection with the birth of the Boddhisattva. It is said that Boddhisattva never takes birth in a lower Vārṇa but only in a Brahmin and a Kṣatriya caste. When the Brahmins are held in high esteem he takes birth in a Brahmin family and when the Kṣatriyas are greatly esteemed he appears in a Kṣatriya form and since at the time of Buddha's birth the Kṣatriya power was at its climax he took birth in a Kṣatriya family.²

Brahmins—Superior to Kṣatriyas in the Sūtra Texts : Though we do not come across sufficient data bearing on the social superiority of the Brahmins in the Sūtra literature, yet this much is undoubtedly certain that by the time of the sūtra literature the Brahmins had the foremost position in the society as well as the unchallenged superiority over the Kṣatriyas. The question of discussing Kṣatriyas being superior to Brahmins or Brahmins being superior to the Kṣatriyas has no place here for by this time the Brahmins had established an unquestioned authority over the other sections of the society.

The Brahmin was an object of reverence for all the Vārṇas by the mere fact of birth.³ The Brahmin had the sole privilege of expounding the duties of all other Vārṇas, to indicate to them proper conduct and their means of livelihood, and they were to abide by his direction and a king was to rule according to the directions indicated by the Brahmins.⁴ This means that a Brahmin was not only socially superior but moreover he had an

1. MN, Discourse 90, Kannakanthāla Sutta :

चत्तारोमे, महाराज, वण्णा-खत्तिया, ब्राह्मणा, वेसूया, सुद्धा ।

इमेसं खो, महाराज, चतुन्नं वण्णानं द्वे वण्णा अगगभवन्नायन्ति - खत्तिया ब्राह्मणा च—
यदिदं अभिवादनपञ्चद्वयानं अञ्जलिं कम्मसामी विक्कमानी ति ।

2. Lalita-vistara, Ch. III.

3. चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मणसन्निवर्षेयशूद्राः । तेषां पूर्वः पूर्वो जन्मतः श्रेयान् ।

—Āp. Dh. S, I.1.1.4.

4. Vas. Dh. S, I.39-41.

overall authority of directing the other sections of society in various fields of life.

The sense of superiority of a Brahmin was carried so far that Āpastamba¹ says that a Brahmin only ten years old was to be honoured as a father by a Kṣatriya of hundred years old. The person of a Brahmin was regarded so sacred that *Brahmahatyā* was even now looked upon as the greatest sin like the ancient Vedic times.

Kṣatriyas Superior to Brahmins in the Buddhist Texts : While the Dharmasūtras emphasise the supremacy of the Brahmins, the Buddhist and the Jaina Texts on the other hand emphasise the primacy of the Kṣatriyas.

In the enumeration of the Varṇas, the place of two higher Varṇas i.e., the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas is interchanged in the Buddhist literature while the remaining two Varṇas have been assigned the same place. Hence the premier position in society is generally assigned to the Kṣatriyas instead of the Brahmins. Kṣatriyas are always placed first² in the Buddhist literature. The Khattriya is considered to be the best of all bipeds.³

There is a passage in the 'Dialogues of the Buddha' which says that only Brahmins are superior and other Varṇas are low. Brahmins are of clear complexion and of pure breed. They are genuine children of Brahma being born from his mouth. Buddha is here asked why he renounced the pure Varṇa and went to the lower one. In reply to this Buddha says that it is wrong that Brahmins are born from Brahma as wives of the Brahmins give birth to children.⁴ Again he says that bad qualities like being unchaste, greedy, malevolent and holding wrong views found in the Kṣatriyas can also be found in the other

1. Āp. Dh.S, I.4.14.25.

2. ये ते खलिय पण्डिता पि ब्राह्मणपण्डिता पि गृह्यतिपण्डिता ।

MN, 58, I.396; 90, II.128 ; I.176-77 ; II.120 ; DN III.97 ; SN. II.6 (XII.2.).

3. SN, I.2.4. (I.6) खलियो द्विपदं सेट्ठो ; MN, I.358 खलियो सेट्ठो ; AN, XI.1.10 (V. 327) ; SN, VI.11.15.

4. SBB, Vol. IV, Pt. III. Dialogues of Buddha, III.82, p. 78.

Varṇas and in contradiction to these the good qualities can be found in other Varṇas.¹ Thus there arises no question of Brahmins being the superior one.

Bodhisattva calls the Brahmins as low-born (*hīnajacco*) and thinks himself to be born to a superior Varṇa of nobles.²

The interesting talk between the Blessed one and Ambaṭṭha regarding the position of a child of Kṣatriya father and Brahmin mother and a child of a Brahmin father and a Kṣatriya mother is of great value for assessing the position of a Kṣatriya against a Brahmin. Here the blessed one claims superiority for the Kṣatriyas and says that 'so it is clear, whether you regard it from the male or female side, that it is the Kṣatriya who are the best people and the Brahmins, their inferiors.'³ Buddha holds that even when a Kṣatriya has fallen into the deepest degradation he is still the best and the Brahmins are his inferiors.⁴ Moreover it is also held that 'the Kṣatriya is the best of those who put their trust in lineage.'⁵

The Brahmanical doctrine 'The Brahma is the head of all this'⁶ finds the counter-statement in the oft-quoted expression 'The king is the head of men' in the Buddhist texts⁷.

Materially speaking, the Brahmins of the Buddhist literature were at par with the other members of the society. The Jātakas represent them as greedy and hoarders of money.⁸ We also find Brahmins acting as teachers, working behind the plough, in the court of king interpreting signs or predicting the constellation of the stars, the future of the newly-born prince, now as a rich merchant having big treasure and again at the head of a big

1. SBB, Vol. IV, pr.III. Dialogues of Buddha, III.82, p. 79.

2. Cowell, J V, No. 529.

3. DN, III.26.

4. Ibid, III.27.

5. Ibid, III.28.

6. ŚB, III.9.1.4.

7. Sutta Nipāta, p. 107 ; Mahāvagga, VI.35.8.

8. Law (B.C.), India as described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 152.

caravan.¹

In the Buddhist literature, the Brahmins are introduced either as those who were in the service of the king or those who had followed different professions of their own. The most prominent of the Brahmin professions represented in Jātakas are those of dream-reading and fortune-telling. Other callings adopted by the Brahmins are those of a hunter,² a carpenter,³ a shepherd⁴ and an archer.⁵ Land cultivating and cattle-rearing are the works mostly done by the Brahmins.⁶ Even with regard to a Brahmin the Khattiya felt himself so much superior that king Arindama calls Sonaka, the son of Purohita, a man of low birth (*Hīmajacco*).⁷ In general Buddhism had a dislike for the Brahmins, for Buddha himself was against tormenting or torturing oneself which was practised by the Brahmins and the Sanyāsīs.⁸ He also disliked big sacrifices in the halls where hundred of animals were slain and many hard practices such as sleeping on baregrounds were practised.

Brahmins taking Refuge in Buddha : As in the Upniṣads, so in the Pāli books we find that the ruling class was not inferior to the priestly in spiritual culture. The Buddhist monks who mostly belonged to the Kṣatriya Varṇa had a good knowledge of spiritual matters. Buddha, himself of the Kṣatriya descent is seen instructing the Brahmins in such matters as : who is a real Brahmin and how did the Brahmins give up ancient Brahmanical customs ? There are a number of examples of the Brahmins

1. Mehta (R.L.), Pre-Buddhist India, p. 246.
Law (B.C.), India as described in the Early Texts of Buddhism & Jainism, pp. 152-55.
Fick, Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's Time, pp. 182-83.
2. Cowell, J II, No. 222, p. 141.
3. Ibid, J IV, No. 475, p. 129.
4. Ibid, J III, No. 413, p. 242.
5. Ibid, J III, No. 374, p. 145.
6. Ibid, J III, No. 354, p. 108.
7. Ibid, J V, No. 529, p. 132.
8. MN, Discourse 51, I. 343-44.
9. Sutta-Nipata, 1.4; 11. 7.

taking refuge in Buddha. A Brahmin named Bahmayu living in Mithilā was master of the three Vedas and was well-versed in all the Vedaṅgas. He took refuge in Buddha.¹ Another Brahmin Sela by name well-versed in the Vedas took ordination from Buddha being impressed by him with three hundred other youths.² After a heated discussion which went on between a Brahmin named Bhārdwāja and Buddha, the Brahmin finally took refuge in the Blessed one.³ Moreover the Khattiyas of the east felt themselves standing on the same level with the Brahmins in spiritual matters.

Thus because of their temporal power, equality in spiritual culture and pride of birth, together with the inferior type of the Brahmins in the eastern provinces, the Kṣatriyas might reasonably claimed a superior hold in the social scale.

Why Brahmins Inferior in Pāli Texts and Criticism : According to Richard Fick,⁴ the Brahmins of the Pāli literature do not represent any special element of the Indian society which may be called the spiritual element just as the Khattiyas represent the ruling class. They also do not represent purely a hereditary rank.

Moreover the monarchical form of the government is thought to be the most suitable for the Brahmins and it was only in the monarchical form of the government that the influence of the Brahmins was much greater. As in Buddha's time oligarchy was the form of the government of the time, the Brahmin influence as a class war waning.⁵

As seen above the picture of the Brahmin Varṇa as depicted in the Buddhist texts is quite different from that of the Brahmanical sources. But it should not be very much surprising. As the authors of the Brahmanical texts were mostly Brahmins

1. MN, Discourse 91, II. 133-145.

2. Ibid, 92, II, 103-112.

3. Ibid, Discourse 95, II. 1168-177. Also Sutta Nipāta II. 7: III. 4. for Brahmins taking refuge in Buddha.

4. Fick, The Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time p. 180

5. Law (B. C.), India as Described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 286.

they could not help showing some favour to their own Varṇa; but as the authors of the Pāli texts were mainly Kṣatriya monks they could not resist themselves from depicting the Brahmins in their own fashion. Prof. N.K. Dutt¹ also opines that 'unlike the authors of the Law-books, many of the Buddhist authors before they had become monks belonged like Buddha himself to the Ksatriya Varṇa,² and even in their monkhood they could not divest themselves of the jealousy which a Kṣatriya naturally felt at the pretensions of superiority of the Brahmins'. Thus it would be an error to think that the Kṣatriya Varṇa was higher than the Brahmins in the social scale simply because the Kṣatriya often finds precedence in the list of the four Varṇas as mentioned by the Buddhist writers.

As noted earlier the Buddhism from the very beginning had a dislike for the Brahmanical practices such as sacrifices, the study of the Vedas, penances and fasts, etc., and for the Brahmins who were the custodian of such practices. In a sense every thing which gave the Brahmins their special position, was looked upon as worthless by the monks and challenged.³

Moreover the Jātakas give a prejudiced and contemptuous view of the Brahmins.⁴ As R.L. Mehta⁵ observes the Jātakas did commit the mistake of over-drawing the picture of the Brahmins. In many narratives the Brahmins are represented as greedy, shameless and immoral and serving as a foil to the Kṣatriyas who play the part of the virtuous and noble humanity.⁶ The whole of the Junha Jātaka⁷ depicts the shameful behaviour of

1. Dutta, (N. K.), *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, p. 256.

2. Also Fick, *Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's Time*, p. 15.

3. *Ibid*, p. 14.

4. Mehta (R. L.), *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 246.

Fick (Richard), *Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, p. 183.

5. Mehta (R. L.), *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 246.

6. *Ibid*, p. 246.

Fick (Richard), *Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, p. 183.

7. Cowell, J IV, No. 456, p. 63.

of a Brahmin who pours his wisdom only to fetch a handsome reward from the king. The Jātakas give many examples of the greed of the Brahmins.¹ The instances though exaggerated perhaps seem to reflect the one-sided picture of the actual conditions for we can also see the figure of the true Brahmins in the Brahmanical sense.

Assigning of the primary position to the Kṣatriya Varṇa is taken to be a reactionary attitude by Fick and it is interesting to note his words in this connection. In his book² he mentions that 'The circumstance that in the enumeration of castes the Khattiyas are mentioned first is not a matter of secondary importance. As from Brahmanical sources which place the Brahmins always at the head whenever the castes are enumerated, not only the claims of the Brahmins to be the best caste but also their real position as such within the specially Brahmanical culture-sphere, can be inferred, so we have, in my opinion, in this assigning of the premier position to the Khattiyas a reaction brought about by the view which prevails in the Eastern Buddhist lands and by the balance of powers which rules here. The superior position of the Khattiyas in the eastern countries and the corresponding decline of the Brahmanical influence present themselves to us with irresistible necessity when we study the Pāli literature, even the Jātakas affirm the correctness of this view'.

In spite of the fact that the Pāli literature is a biased one and the monks were ill-disposed towards the Brahmanism, still we find enough ground for establishing an actual superiority of the Khattiya Varṇa. This superiority of the Khattiyas appears not only in the social domain, but also in the spiritual sphere.³

It can be briefly concluded that waning of the Brahmanical influence was partly due to the fact that the Buddhist monks were ill-disposed towards Brahmanism and partly to the actual

1. Cowell, J I, No. 113, p. 255; II, No. 163, p. 33; DN. II. 245.

2. Fick (Richard), *Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, p. 85.

3. *Ibid*, p. 89. See also *JRAS of Bengal*, 1894, p. 342.

superiority of the ruling class in general and degraded condition of the Brahmins in the eastern provinces.¹

No Stories of Struggle of the Kṣatriyas & the Brahmins : The history of the contest for the superiority between these two Vārṇas was indeed as old as the remote Vedic age. But we see no open contest between these two classes in the period under review. The stories of struggle between the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins found in the Vedic period do not have their existence here.

Special Privileges Enjoyed by the Brahmins : Several special privileges as compared to other Vārṇas of the society were enjoyed by the Brahmins of the time. A Brahmin was to be supported by a king. Kings used to bestow royal gifts in the forms of lands and villages on the Brahmins. King Pasendi of Kośāla granted land to a Brahmin as a royal gift.² Even in the Dīgha-Nikāya mention is made in several places of villages which are given to Brahmins by kings as *Brahmadeyya*.³

According to the Dharmasūtra a king who bestowed wealth on the Brahmins according to their desires gained endless worlds.⁴

It seems from the Pāli texts that most probably the Brahmins were free from taxes, for whenever the question is of taxes, the *gahapati* is mentioned as a person who is taxed.⁵ A Brahmin according to the Dharmasūtras was not to be taxed⁶ because he pays taxes to the king in the form of his pious acts.⁷ Like the Vedic period the king had no right on the property and wealth of a Brahmin. It is laid down in the text that a king should not take the estate of a Brahmin for the property of a Brahmin

1. Dutt (N.K.), *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, p. 265.

2. DN, III. 1, Tr. SBB, Vol. II, *Dialogue of Buddha*, Pt. I, p. 108. Also MN, Discourse 95, II. 164.

3. DN, II. 166.

4. Āp. Dh. S, II. 10. 26. 1.

5. Fick (Richard), *Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, p. 212.

6. Vas. Dh. S, XIX. 23; Āp. Dh. S, II.10.26.10.

7. Gau. Dh. S, X.9.

is a terrible poison. The property of a Brahmin is such a destructive poison that it destroys one's property along with one's sons and grandsons, etc¹.

The Brahmin as laid down earlier had the special right of laying down and of expounding the duties of all other Varnas.² Again a Brahmin was not supposed to rise up to receive a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya though they may be learned³ but on the other hand a Brahmin was to be received by rising up from one's seat. Nevertheless, while walking on the road even the king had to give way to a Brahmin for the road belongs to the latter.⁴

In the eyes of law the Pāli texts know of no privileged position of the Brahmins. It is clearly stated in the Madhura Sutta that a criminal whether a Brahmin or not was liable to execution.⁵ The Jātakas definitely speak of execution⁶ of the Brahmins. A Brahmin was not to be attacked and if attacked he was not supposed to do so in return for his aggressor.⁷ A Brahmin should not offend anyone with body, word or thought.⁸

The Dharmasūtras give a detailed account of the legal rights enjoyed by the Brahmins. Corporal punishment was never awarded to a Brahmin.⁹ Moreover a Brahmin could not be imprisoned, he could neither be fined nor exiled. He could neither be reviled nor excluded.¹⁰ Other forms of punishments like public exposure, prevention of repetition of offence, banishment and branding were permissible.¹¹ According to Baudhāyana if a Kṣatriya or a man of other Varna murdered a Brahmin he was to be punished with death and confiscation of all his

1. Baud. Dh. S, I. 5. 11. 15.

2. Vas. Dh. S, I. 39-41; Gau. Dh. S, XI. 25-27.

3. Āp. Dh. S, II. 2. 4. 18.

4. Ibid, II.5.11.6.

5. MN. II, p. 83.

6. Fick. Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time, p. 212.

7. Dhammapada, SBE, Vol. X, XXVI. 389.

8. Ibid, SBE Vol. X, XXVI. 391.

9. Gau. Dh. S, VIII. 13; Baud. Dh. S, I.10.18.17-18.

10. Ibid, VIII. 12-13.

11. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXII, p. 84.

property.¹ Āpastamba further lays down that if a man of any Varṇa other than a Brahmin slays a Brahmin, he should seek death in battle, or else to throw himself into the fire after cutting his bodily parts and presenting them as a burnt offering.² Gautama prescribes a number of atrocious severity for the murder of a Brahmin.³ For threatening a Brahmin in anger, for striking him and drawing blood in the act of striking, the offender according to the Gautama Dharma Sūtra, will lose heaven for one hundred years, one thousand years and for as many years as the particles of dust which split the blood binds together.⁴ A Brahmin is mentioned in a list of persons against whom the king must not fight unless they are assassins.⁵

The atrocious penances and severe punishments prescribed in the Dharmasūtras for serious offences against the Brahmins seem to mark a desperate attempt by the Brahmin Varṇa to preserve and protect their privileges which could otherwise be challenged by other members of the society.

Whatever have been the opinion of the Buddhist authors for the Brahmins, it can be safely said that they were still respected, honoured and revered in the society.

King and Purohita : The priestly functions had become so much separated from the royalty that a Brahmin priest or Purohita was indispensable for the performance of religious rites even by the king. The most important office held by the Brahmins in the Dharmasūtras and the Pāli texts as in the older Vedic state, was that of the Purohita. Vasiṣṭha says, "If a Brahmin is appointed as a Purohita, there is prosperity."⁶ A king was supposed to act according to the instructions laid down by the Brahmin priest.⁷

The king is asked to appoint as his Purohita one who is learned, of noble family, handsome, middle aged, eloquent, of

1. Baud. Dh. S, 1. 10. 18. 19.

2. Āp. Dh. S, 1.9. 25. 11-12.

3. Gau. Dh. S, XXII. 2.

4. Gau. Dh. S, XX. 20-22

5. Baud. Dh. S, 1. 10. 18. 11-12.

6. Vas. Dh. S, XIX. 4.

7. Ibid, I. 40-41.

good conduct and foremost in all sorts of transactions.¹

Both the Buddhist and the Jain texts show the Purohita as one of the most important persons of the state. The Purohita was always a Brahmin endowed with numerous virtues.² The Purohita was appointed preferably from among the teachers, playmates, comrades or classmates of the king, so that he might be always trusted and relied upon both in the weal and woe.³ Thus intimacy associated from the early age used to make the king and Purohita, the inseparable companions. The priest-hood was often, though not always hereditary according to the Buddhist and Jain sources⁴ and remained with the same family for generations together.⁵ But there were also exceptions to this rule. In certain cases a more famous person was appointed as a new priest and the old one was removed.⁶ In such appointments virtues of a person were main consideration as revealed from the story of the Sila-Jātaka.⁷ The priest was to be a clever man and well-versed in all the omens, signs and dreams.

The Purohita was teacher (ācārya), the sacrificial priest and the house-priest of the king.⁸ Numerous evidences supplied by Jātakas indicate that the Purohita was the spiritual and temporal adviser of the king.⁹

The Purohita was employed even by the kings of the Buddhist age to perform sacrifices. It was the Purohita who led the Brahmins at all the ceremonies. The Purohita performed big

1. Baud. Dh.S., I.10.18.7.
2. Cowell, J VI, No. 545, p. 255.
3. Ibid, J I, No. 62, p. 289; II, No. 253, p. 282; No. 310, p. 31.
4. Dutt (N.K.), *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, p. 267; Fick, *Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, p. 170. Mehta (R.L.), *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 130.
5. Cowell, J. II, No. 163, p. 32; III, No. 411, p. 237.
6. Ibid, III, No. 412, p. 397.
7. Ibid, III, No. 362, pp. 262-63.
8. Fick, *Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time* p. 169. Cowell, J III; No. 376, p. 154; I, No. 8, p. 29-30.
9. Law (B.C.); *India as described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 156; Dutt (N.K.), *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, p. 267; Cowell, J II, No. 183; II, No. 158, p. 21; No. 184, p. 67; No. 195, p. 88.

and costly sacrifices for the kings to avert bad omens and misfortunes.¹ He sometimes and not casually took part in the administration of justice.²

In the Jaina Texts³ also the Purohita finds an important place in the king's assembly. He is enumerated amongst the most important officers of administration and is also counted among the seven jewels.⁴

The Purohita was a constant and inseparable companion of the king who accompanied him on all the important occasions.

1. Law (B.C.), *India as Described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 156.
2. Mehta (R.L.), *Pre-Buddhist India*; p. 132.
3. Jain (J.C.), *Life in Ancient India as Described in the Jain Canons*, p. 58.
4. *Ibid.*

Ksatriyas in the Mauryan Period

1. Social-status of the Kṣatriyas

Social structure as of Brahmanical type : The social system outlined in the Arthaśāstra is modelled after the Brahmanical pattern and it follows the Brahmanical religious practices. The *Varṇāśramadharmā* which in the post-Vedic times had become the very foundation of the social structure is expounded by Kauṭilya¹ as similar to that of later law-books. Kauṭilya insists that everyone should perform his duties according to his own Varṇa and thus by performing one's assigned duties one could achieve heavenly bliss. In case one fails to fulfil one's assigned duty the world is likely to be destroyed on account of the inter-mixing of the Varṇas.² It is also stated that if *Varṇāśramadharmā* perishes, the king should act as the founder of the *Dharma*.³ The above references clearly indicate that Kauṭilya wanted head of the state (king) to preserve Brahminical social structure and to enforce Brahminical laws. The prevalent rules of villages, castes and families were recorded in the records and Audit Office. The administrator was to keep in his accounts the number of persons belonging to the four Varṇas.⁵

1. AŚ, I.3.17.

2. Ibid, I.3.15.

3. Ibid, III.1.38.

4. Ibid, II.7.2.

5. Ibid. II.35.4.

Change of Varṇa not seen :

The social structure seems to have become stable by this time for we do not get cases of social mobility in the upper or lower strata of society. Birth became the very basis of Varṇa. A person born in a Brahmin family was a Brahmin and a Kṣatriya born in a Kṣatriya family was a Kṣatriya. Hence we do not have any evidence of a Kṣatriya attaining the status of a Brahmin or Vice-versa.¹ Arrian also supports it by saying that custom prohibits an individual from changing over to another Varṇa.

Residence :

Kṣatriyas lived in the eastern quarters of the kingdom² while the Brahmins, Vaiśyas and Śūdras lived in the northern, southern and western quarters respectively.³ Moreover, different parts of a cremation ground were assigned to different Varṇas, Northern or the eastern was meant for the best among the Varṇas and the south of the cremation ground was meant for the low Varṇas.⁴ It was a legal offence to violate this rule and 'lowest' fine for such a violation was imposed on those found guilty for it.⁵

Marriage :

As regards marriage Kauṭilya mentions that marriage should be endogamous, i.e., marriage in the same family and Varṇa was allowed but not in the same *Gotra*.⁶ The Greek writers also give an account of the marriages being endogamous as it is mentioned that no one was allowed to marry in another caste.⁷

The maximum age limit for marriage laid down for a man and a woman was sixteen and twelve years respectively⁸ and in case they crossed this age limit, the fine for a woman was twelve

1. Arrian, AIMA, p. 218.

2. क्षत्रियाश्च पूर्वा दिक्षमधिबसेयुः । AŚ, II.4.9.

3. Ibid, II.4.11-15.

4. Ibid, II.4.21.

5. Ibid, II.4.22.

6. Ibid, I.3.9.

7. McCrindle (J.W.), AIMA, fragment I, p.41; Arrian, AIMA, p. 218.

8. AŚ, III.3.1.

Paṇas and for a man was double of it,¹ Among the three higher *Varṇas*, rejection of the bride before the rite of hand-taking was thought valid, but among the *Śūdras* it was valid till the time of co-habitation.²

Kauṭilya mentions usual eight types of marriages without ascribing any special form to any *Varṇa*. The kinds of marriages mentioned are *Brāhma*, *Prājāpatya*, *Ārṣa*, *Daiva*, *Gāndharva*, *Āsura*, *Rākṣasa* and *Paiśāca*.³ The first four forms of the marriage were valid for they were approved by the father. The rest four were to be sanctioned by both the parents for both of them received money from the bridegroom.⁴ Divorce was not permissible in the case of the first four approved forms of the marriage,⁵ which implies that it was permissible in the case of the *Gāndharva*, the *Āsura*, the *Rākṣasa* and the *Paiśāca* forms of marriage.

A man was allowed to remarry in case of no issue or for procuring a son.⁶ It is laid down that a husband was to wait for eight years if his wife did not bear offsprings or did not bear a son or was barren, for ten year if she had dead offsprings and for twelve years if she gave birth to daughters only.⁷

Kauṭilya also advises widow-remarriage in case of a woman being issueless or willing for it.⁸ Long absence of husband could also lead to the dissolution of the marriage, except in case of a king's servant sent away on duty.

Kauṭilya fixes practically the same waiting periods for the wives of the absent husbands of the different *Varṇas* as is done by Vasiṣṭha. The wives of a *Śūdra*, a *Vaiśya*, a *Kṣatriya* and a Brahmin who were away on a short journey had to wait for a period of one year, two years, three years and four years respectively if they did not have any children. In case of having children the period for waiting was extended for one year in each case i.e., two years for a *Śūdra* wife, three years for a *Vaiśya*

1. AŚ, III.3.2.

2. Ibid, III.15.

3. Ibid, III.2.2-9.

4. Ibid, III.2.10.

5. Ibid, III.3.19.

6. Ibid, III.2.39.

7. Ibid, III.2.38.

8. Ibid. -

wife, four years for a Kṣatriya wife and five years for a Brahmin wife.¹ Those women who were provided for, were to wait for double the period.² Separation was allowed only if the husband was of a bad character or had been absent for too long a period, was a traitor to the king, was a potential danger to the life of his wife or had become an outcaste or was bereft of virility,³

Mixed castes :

Though endogamy was the sanctioned practice still some marriages took place between the members of the higher Varṇas and the Śūdras as is evident from Kauṭilya's law of inheritance and his list of mixed castes. He declares that members of mixed castes could marry in their own castes,⁴ Children born out of the unlawful marriages were called *Vrātyas*.⁵

Both the *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* forms of marriages⁶ have been mentioned by Kauṭilya. He gives an account of the sons born from *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* marriages. The sons of a Brahmin and a Kṣatriya born from the wives belonging to next Varṇa were known as *Svarṇa* i. e., of the same Varṇa as the father, of a wife belonging to the next but one Varṇa were not *Svarṇa*.⁷ But if a Vaiśya married a Śūdra woman the son born was a Śūdra. If a Brahmin married a Vaiśya woman, the son born was *Ambaṣṭha*, from a Śūdra wife a *Niṣāda* or a *Pāraśava*. A Kṣatriya's son from a Śūdra wife was *Ugra* and a Vaiśya son from a Śūdra wife was nothing but a Śūdra.⁸

Regarding the *Pratiloma* marriages Kauṭilya mentioned *Āyogava* born from a Śūdra of a Vaiśya wife, *Kṣatta* of a Kṣatriya wife and *Caṇḍāla* of a Brahmin wife. From a Vaiśya of a Kṣatriya wife was born *Māgadha* and from a Brahmin wife was born *Vaidhekas*. From a Brahmin wife of a Kṣatriya was born

1. AŚ, III.4.24.

2. Ibid, III.4.25.

3. Ibid, III.2.48.

4. Ibid, III.7.36.

5. Ibid, III.7.24.

6. Ibid, III.7.20-30.

7. Ibid, III.7.20.

8. Ibid, III.7.20-25.

Sūta.³ Hence the origin of the mixed castes like *Ambaṣṭha*, *Niṣāda*, *Pāraśava*, *Ugra*, *Āyogava*, *Kṣatta*, *Caṇḍāla*, *Māgadha*, *Vaidheka* and *Sūta*. is ascribed to the *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* forms of marriages. Though Kauṭilya specifically does not prohibit *Pratiloma* marriages, yet it is implied when he says that origin of such marriages is due to the king's violation of his duties.²

Food and Drinks :

Kauṭilya does not provide us with any kind of direct evidence regarding the food habits of the Kṣatriyas but it is certain that they took meat³ and were also interested in drinking of liquor. There were state-owned drinking shops but Kauṭilya favours the sale of small quantities of liquor⁴ so as to save the Āryas from violating rules of decency and for maintaining a high moral character.⁵

Some kinds of food and drinks seem to be prohibited for some Vārṇas for it is observed that if a person forced another to take prohibited food or drink he was to be punished. Thus if a man caused a Brahmin to take prohibited drink or food he was punished with the highest amercement; the same offence against a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra was punishable with the middle amercement, with the first amercement and with a fine of 54 paṇas respectively.⁶

Kauṭilya differentiates between the diet of an ordinary Ārya and that of a Śūdra. An Ārya should get as his ration one *Prastha* of pure and unsplit rice, 1/64 *Prastha* of salt, 1/4 *Prastha* of soup and 1/64 *Prastha* of butter or oil, while *Anārya* should get the same quantity of rice and salt but 1/6 *Prastha* of soup and only half of oil⁷ recommended for an Ārya, butter being not provided in his case. Thus rice, soup and butter formed the part of a diet of a Kṣatriya.

1. AŚ, III.7.26-28.

2. Ibid, III.7.30.

3. Ibid, II.26.7.

4. Ibid, II.25.

5. Ibid

6. Ibid, IV.13.1-2.

7. Pran Nath, *Economic Condition in Ancient India*, pp. 150-51.

Law of Inheritance :

In case of law of inheritance Kauṭilya maintains the old distinction between the Varnas and the idea of the division of property as given by Kauṭilya is inherited from Uśanas.¹ Kauṭilya maintains that among sons of the same wife the share of the eldest was to be goats in case of Brahmin, horses in the case of a Kṣatriya, cows in the case of a Vaiśya and sheep in the case of a Śūdra.² In case of Brahmins, Kangale³ holds that goats were given to them because of their being used in the sacrifice; same way bestowal of horses to a Kṣatriya can be justified for their use in the battle. Among the above animals the one-eyed and the lame were to be the share of middle-most and animals of mixed colours were the shares of the youngest.⁴ In the absence of animals the eldest received one part of every ten articles except jewels for the duty of offering oblations to the manes was binding on him.⁵

From the personal belongings of the father the share of the eldest was the carriage and ornaments; the share of the middle most was bed and seat and metal dishes used for meals and the youngest one received black grains, iron objects, household furnishings and the bullock-cart.⁶ Of the remaining articles or of a single article there was to be an equal division.⁷ The eldest son if he was devoid of manly qualities could receive only a third of an eldest son's share, and one-fourth only if he behaved in an unjust manner or has given up religious practices.⁸ But if an eldest son behaved unworthy he had to part with his whole share.⁹ On the other hand if a son among the middlemost or the youngest was endowed with manly qualities he could get half

1. AŚ, III.6.5.

2. एकरत्रीपुत्राणां ज्येष्ठानां—ब्राह्मणानामजाः, क्षत्रियाणामश्वा, वैश्यानां गायः शूद्राणामवयः
AŚ, III.6.1.

3. Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, Pt. II. p. 244, fn. I.

4. AŚ, III.6.2.

5. Ibid, III.6.3-4.

6. Ibid, III.6.6.

7. Ibid, III.6.7.

8. Ibid, III.6.9.

9. Ibid, III.6.10.

of an eldest son's special share.¹

Among a Brahmin's son from wives belonging to four Varṇas, the son of a Brāhmaṇī received four shares, the son of a Kṣatriya wife three shares, the son of a Vaiśya wife two shares and the son of a Śūdra wife only one share.² Kauṭilya gives another alternative. A Brahmin's son born of a wife belonging to the immediately next Varṇa was to have an equal share.³ Similarly the son of a Kṣatriya born from a Kṣatriya wife was to get three shares, the son of a Vaiśya wife two and that of a Śūdra one.⁴

If a person had only one son among two wives, one belonging to the same Varṇa as the husband and the other of the different Varṇa. The former son was to receive everything and was supposed to maintain the kinsmen.⁵ When a legitimate son was born, the others if of the same Varṇa received a one-third share. if not of the same Varṇa, received only food and clothing.⁶

Punishment and Fines

In the award of punishments Kauṭilya upholds the Varṇa distinctions of the Dharmaśāstras. Thus according to him if anyone of a lower Varṇa defamed the character of a person among Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, the fine imposed increased from three *Paṇas* upwards (commencing from the lower Varṇa). If anyone of the higher Varṇa abused one of the lower Varṇa, fine imposed was decreased by two *Paṇas*.⁷ It is also said that amputation of the leg or of the hand or a fine of 700 *Paṇas* was the punishment for one who struck against the hands or legs of persons of higher Varṇa or of elders.⁸

Forcing a person to take forbidden food or drink was also

1. AŚ. III.6.12.

2. चातुर्वर्ण्यपुत्राणां ब्राह्मणपुत्रश्चतुरोऽंशान् हरेत् क्षत्रियापुत्रस्त्रीनंशान् वैश्यापुत्रो द्वावंशो एकं शूद्रापुत्रः ।

Ibid, III.6.17.

3. ब्राह्मणस्यानन्तरापुत्रस्तुल्यशः ।

Ibid, III.6.19.

4. Ibid, III.6.17.

5. Ibid, III.6.21.

6. Ibid, III.7.19.

7. Ibid, III.18.7.

8. Ibid, IV.10.12.

considered a crime and was punishable with fine, etc., If any one made a Brahmin to consume a drink or food which was unfit for human consumption the fine was highest and for making a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra to do so, the fine was middle, lowest and a fine of fifty-four *Paṇas* respectively. Those who consumed such forbidden things of their own accord could be exiled from the country.¹

The fine for one who sold or kept as a pledge a minor Ārya except a slave for livelihood, the fine for kinsmen in case of a Śūdra was twelve *Paṇas*, twenty four *Paṇas* in the case of a Vaiśya, thirty six in the case of a Kṣatriya and fortyeight in the case of a Brahmin.² Kauṭilya clearly recognises an Ārya as a free man and states that on no account could an Ārya be subjected to slavery.³ According to Prof. Sharma the rule laid down by Kauṭilya clearly shows that, with the exception of the minor Śūdra sons and of the members of the three Varṇas, other members of the fourth Varṇa could be made slaves.⁴

Adultery: Regarding adulterous acts, the Kṣatriya offender was awarded the highest punishment for the act of committing adultery with an unguarded Brahmin woman. For the same offence a Vaiśya was deprived of his whole property and a Śūdra was burnt alive. The only punishment prescribed for a Brahmin offender was branding.⁵ For having relations with a king's wife, the punishment for all was cooking in a big jar.⁶ If any one polluted a maiden of the same Varṇa before puberty, the cutting of the hand or a fine of four hundred *paṇas* was the

1. AŚ, IV.13.1-2.

2. Ibid, III.13.1.

3. न स्वेवायस्य दासभावः ।

Ibid, III.13.4.

4. Sharma (R.S.), Śūdras in Ancient India. p. 163.

5. ब्राह्मण्यमनुष्ठायां क्षत्रियस्योत्तमः, सर्वस्वं वैश्यस्य, शूद्रः कटाग्निना दह्येत् ।
...AŚ, IV.13.32.

6. सर्वत्र राजभाषागमने कुम्भीपाकः ।

...Ibid, IV. 13.33.

punishment for him.¹ In case that maiden died the person was awarded death penalty.² For violating a maiden who has attained puberty, the middle and the index fingers were cut off or a fine of two hundred was imposed.³ It was not an offence if a maiden having menstruation for three years approached a man of same Varṇa.⁴

Witness :

In cases of verbal and physical injury, theft and adultery, except an enemy, a wife's brother and an ascetic or any one could be called upon as a witness. While appearing as a witness before a judge, a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya were asked to speak the truth.⁵ For the judge said to them, "Let there be no fruit of sacrificial and charitable deeds for you. (if you speak untruth) you would go potshered in hands begging for alms to house of your enemy."⁶ Similarly a Śūdra was asked to speak the truth.⁷ Element of truth for recording the statement of the witness was given top priority for Kauṭilya suggests the fine of twelve *Paṇas* after seven days for those who did not speak the truth and after three fortnights they were to pay the fine of the suit.⁸

2. Education of the Kṣatriyās

The educational system was fully developed at the time of Kauṭilya, though he does not go in details regarding the education of different Varṇas except the prince—a youth of the Kṣatriya Varṇa.

Age of the Student :

The first beginning of the education of a prince was made after his tonsure ceremony, which was generally performed in

1. सवर्णमिप्राप्तकलां कन्यां प्रकुर्वतो हस्तवधः, चतुःशतो वा दण्डः ।

...AŚ, IV.12.1.

2. Ibid, IV.12.2.

3. Ibid, IV.12.3.

4. Ibid, IV.12.10.

5. Ibid, III.11.35.

6. Ibid, III.11.36.

7. Ibid, III.11.37.

8. Ibid, III.11.38.

the third year, and after that he was first given lessons in the alphabets (*lipi*) and arithmetic (*samkhyāna*).¹

Age and mental development was considered to be a great factor for giving him instructions in higher studies. A prince was considered to be a fit recipient of higher course of studies only after his initiation ceremony,² which was generally performed in the case of a Kṣatriya at the age of eleven.

Period of Education :

The education of a Kṣatriya youth started after his tonsure ceremony and it lasted upto the sixteenth year of age,³ after which on the eve of his return from school *godāna* (cutting of hair) ceremony was performed and then he was made to enter the next stage of life by marrying.⁴ Simply speaking, a Kṣatriya youth was supposed to observe the vow of *brahmacharya* generally upto the age of sixteen which seems to be a very short duration of education as compared to the period assigned for education of a Kṣatriya by the Sūtra literature.

Subjects of Study :

As we will examine below a Kṣatriya youth had to master a heavy curriculum of study within his short term of student-hood.⁵ Kauṭilya mentions four *Vidyās* (Sciences) in which a prince should be quite well-versed, namely, philosophy, the three Vedas, economics and the science of politics.⁶ Quoting the ancient authorities on the number of sciences which mention them as three,⁷ two⁸ and one,⁹ ignoring the *Ānvīkṣikī* (philoso-

1. वृत्तबोधकर्म लिपि संख्यानं चोपयुञ्जीत ।

...AŚ, I.5.7.

2. वृत्तोपवननस्त्रयीमान्बोक्षिकीं व शिष्येभ्यो वार्तामध्यक्षेभ्यो दण्डनीतिं वक्तुं प्रयोक्तुम्यः ।

...AŚ, I.5.8.

3. ब्रह्मचर्यं चा षोडशाद्वर्षात् । Ibid, I.5.9.

4. अतो गोदानं दारकर्म चास्य । Ibid, I.5.10.

5. As he started his education at the age of eleven and it terminated at the age of sixteen.

6. आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्या । Ibid, I.2.1.

7. त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति मानवः । Ibid, I.2.2.

8. वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्च बार्हस्पतयाः । Ibid, I.2.4.

9. दण्डनीतिरेका विषेयोजानसाः । Ibid, I.2.6.

phy), Kauṭilya on the other hand gives vital importance to the study of philosophy as it is supposed to be the lamp of all the sciences and the means of all the actions.¹ The science of economics includes agriculture, cattle rearing and trade.² Under *dandanīti* (science of politics) Kauṭilya explains means of ensuring the pursuit of philosophy, the Vedas and the economics.³

Besides the subjects enlisted above, a Kṣatriya youth had to be acquainted with *Purāṇas*, *Itivṛtta*, *Ākhyāvikā*, *Udīharāṇa*, *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra* which constitute the *Prihāsa*.⁴ The study of the six Vedāṅgas also formed the part of the curriculum.⁵

Military training also formed part of the education of a prince. He was given training in the use of elephants, horses, chariots and weapons.⁶

As it was not possible to have a thorough knowledge of all the branches of sciences enumerated above, Dr. Altekar⁷ remarks that only such a knowledge was imparted to a prince which was necessary for general culture. Keeping in view the duties and responsibilities which a prince was to discharge in his later life a special attention was supposed to be given to the practical study of history, economics, politics, administration and civil and criminal law.

Teacher and Taught :

The education of the prince was entrusted to competent teachers from his infancy. The beginning of education as stated earlier was made at home where probably father acted as teacher of the child. At the prescribed suitable age the child was sent to a *guru* for acquiring knowledge. A prince was to pursue a three-fold course of study. All these courses of study were taught by different experts and qualified teachers. The first course of study included *trayī* and religious and philoso-

1. प्रदीपः सर्वाविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् । AŚ, I.2.12
2. कृषिपशुपाल्ये वाणिज्या च वार्ता । Ibid, I.4.2.
3. भान्वीक्षिकीन्नयोवार्त्तानां योगक्षेममाधनोदण्डः तस्य नीतिर्दण्डनीति । Ibid, I.4.3.
4. पुराणमिवित्त माश्वयिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतित्तिहासः । Ibid, I.5.14.
5. Ibid, I.3.3.
6. Ibid, I.5.12.
7. Altekar (A.S.), Education In Ancient India, p. 197.

phical subjects. The teachers of this course were known as *Śiṣyas*¹ i.e., teachers whose authority was acknowledged as much for their character as for their learning. The second course of study consisted of economics. This was to be learnt under the supervision of the practical experts, viz, the head of the departments² of various subjects who actually administered those subjects. The third course of study related to *dandanīti* (Science of politics). The teachers for this course of study were to be equally proficient in theory and practice of the subject concerned.³

Thus it is to be viewed that importance was given not only to theory but the practical side of the course was given equal weightage. For a practical knowledge of the administration a prince was given charge of a responsible post in government department where he worked as a subordinate under the head of the department. When found competent and qualified he was made a commander or an heir-apparent.

Daily-routine of a student :

During the period of studenthood the prince had to lead the austere life of a *brahmachārī* observing celibacy and undergoing the hardships involved in the study of different subjects.

The necessity for the rigorous discipline was well-realised by the ancient Hindu Statesmen, for a prince could not be a successful ruler without passing through a disciplined life. Kauṭilya also holds the same views for he opines that from continuous hard study one gets a trained intellect and by trained intellect comes practical application and then from it comes self-possession for the ruler.⁴ According to him a ruler who is well-disciplined by education and is always bent on the good will of all living beings can enjoy the whole earth without a rival.⁵

A heavy and busy daily time-table for a prince is prescribed in Kauṭilya Arthśāstra. During the first part of the day a prince

1. AŚ, I.5.8.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid,

4. Ibid, I.5.16.

5. Ibid, I.5.17.

was given training in the military exercises, i.e., in the use of chariots and different kinds of weapons, etc.¹ The afternoon was devoted to listening to *Itihāsa*.² During the remaining part of the day and night he was supposed to learn new things, revise the lessons already imparted and master those lessons which he had not yet clearly learnt.³

Education after studenthood :

The education of a prince did not terminate with the end of his studenthood. Even after he entered upon married life he was supposed to be in touch with his studies. Actually the practical training in administration and other spheres started from this time onwards. Kauṭilya stresses that a prince should enjoy the constant association and companionship of those elderly men who were of ripe wisdom and culture for improving his knowledge and training because they can learn a lot from the experiences gained by elders.⁴

Thus it can be concluded that like present day educational system combining theory with practice, Kauṭilya attaches unique importance to the practical side of education with theory. This system of education only could help in producing princes of balanced mind and personality.

3. Duties and Occupations of the Ksatriyas

Kauṭilya like the Dharmaśāstrakāras lays down separate duties for the separate Varnas and enjoins that one who performs his special duties goes to heaven and enjoys eternal bliss on account of his observance of special duty.⁵ Moreover, the transgression of one's special duties would lead to the extermination of the people through the intermixture of duties and

1. AŚ, I.5.12.

2. Ibid, I.5.13.

3. श्रेयमहोरात्रमागमपूर्वग्रहणं गृहीतपरिचयं च कुर्वीत जगृहीतानामासीदस्य श्रवणे च ।
Ibid, I.5.15.

4. Ibid, I.5.11.

5. Ibid, I.3.14.

6. Ibid, I.3.15.

Varṇas.¹ According to Megasthenes² and Arrian³ men of one Varṇa were bound to the duties and calling of their own Varṇa and were not allowed to take the occupation of another Varṇa.

Duties of a Kṣatriya :

Kauṭilya lays down certain duties which were common to all the Varṇas. The common duties of all the Varṇas were abstaining from injury to living creatures, truthfulness, purity, freedom from malice, compassionateness and forbearance.⁴ The special duties of a Kṣatriya included studying, performing sacrifices for the self, making gifts, living by the profession of arms and protection of beings.⁵

Studying :

As seen in the chapter on 'Education of a Kṣatriya' the study of the Vedas, economics and philosophy, etc., were absolutely essential for a Kṣatriya prince and it was desired that he should put his soul and heart in learning the theoretical as well as the practical aspect of all the branches of learning which were to be of help to him in his future life.

Performing Sacrifices for the Self :

A Kṣatriya had the right of performing sacrifices for himself, the right of sacrificing for others being reserved for the Brahmins.

Making Gift :

Bestowing gifts on the Brahmins at the time of the sacrifices and other important ceremonies like marriage, etc., was also one of the duties of a Kṣatriya.

Living by the Profession of Arms :

Will be discussed under sub-head gainful occupations of a Kṣatriya. But here it can be safely said that earning one's living by the profession of arms was the special duty of a

1. AŚ, I.3.15.

2. McCrindle, AIMA, fragment I, p. 41.

3. Arrian, AIMA, p. 218.

4. AŚ, I.3.13.

5. क्षत्रियस्याध्ययनं यजनं दानं शस्त्राधीनो भूतारक्षणं च ।

Ibid, I.3.6.

Kṣatriya though others also adopted this mode of occupation.

Protection of Beings :

One of the foremost duty of the Kṣatriyas from the being-ing of the Sūtra period seems to be the protection of beings. The state was dependent on the Kṣatriyas for the protection and safety of his subjects and of the treasury. For this purpose the Kṣatriyas had to bear arms and exercising of coercive powers based on *danḍa* was an exclusive privilege of the Kṣatriyas.

Kṣatriyas as Rulers :

The king usually belonged to the Kṣatriya Varna. Kauṭilya also endorses the preference given to the Kṣatriya kings by Dharmasūtras and Jātakas. Prof. Sharma holds that as to the Varna of a king, he was to be a Kṣatriya.¹ We also have examples of certain Śūdra kings such as that of Chandragupta Maurya, etc. Though there are different opinions regarding the Varna of Chandragupta, still if we take him to belong to a Śūdra Varna he was surely elevated to the rank of a Kṣatriya Varna when he ascended the throne. Hence the rulers either originally belonged to the Kṣatriya Varna and if of the lower Varna were elevated to the Kṣatriya-hood according to the tendency prevalent at the time.

Duties of a King :

The utmost duty of a king was to protect the four Varnas and for their protection he could even use secret practices against the unrighteous.² The king had the authority to promulgate laws when all existing laws became inoperative, by virtue of his guarding the right conduct of all the world consisting of the four varnas and four āśramas.³ It seems that the king could revive laws that were languishing by protecting the right conduct of subjects. But the king as a rule had no right to

1. Sharma (R.S.), Aspects of Political History of India, p. 185.

2. चातुर्वर्ण्यं रक्षार्थं मोपनिषदिकमघमिच्छेत् प्रयुञ्जीत ।

—As, XIV, 1.1.

3. चतुर्वर्णश्रमस्यायं लोकस्याचाररक्षणात् ।

नश्यतां सर्वघमणिं राजा धर्मप्रवर्तकः ॥

Ibid. III.1.38.

interfere in social and religious matters or to change the law.¹

Kauṭilya enumerates the main duties of a king in the following lines: "A king who discards the good and favours the wicked, who starts unrighteous injuries not prevalent before, he who discontinues the righteous customary practices, he who indulges in impiety and suppresses the piety, a king by doing unwanted acts and by ruining rightfml acts and by not giving what ought to be given and by securing what ought not to be secured, by not punishing deserving to be punished and by punishing those deserving not to be punished, by seizing those ought not to be seized, by doing harmful things and destroying beneficial things, by failing to protect from thieves, and by robbing them himself by ruining human exertions, by spoiling the excellences of the work done, by doing harm to the principal men and by dishonouring those who are worthy of being honoured, by opposing the elders, by falsehood and partiality, by not requisiting what is done and by not carrying out what is done through the negligence and indolence of the king and because of the destruction of well being, decline, greed and disaffection are produced in the subjects."²

The highest duty of a king obviously was to keep his subjects satisfied. It was his duty to identify himself with his people and to protect their all interests. His was a life of duty and not of enjoyment. The main aim of the king was to ensure the happiness of his subjects.³ A king had to try to make measures to counteract causes of decline, greed and disaffection arising in his subjects.⁴ The subjects if they are poor become greedy and greed gives rise to disaffection and there is risk of disaffected subjects either going to the enemy's side or revolting against their own king.⁵ The king should thus try to keep his

1. Bandyopādhyaīya (N.C.), *Kauṭilya or An Exposition of his social and political Theory*, Vol. I, p. 107.
2. AŚ, VII.5.19-26.
3. Bandyopādhyaīya (N.C.), *Kauṭilya or an Exposition of his Social and Political Theory*, Vol. I, p. 107.
4. AŚ VII.5.28.
5. Ibid, VII.5.27

subjects as much satisfied as he could. Kauṭilya lays down certain rewards for a king who lawfully observes his duties towards his subjects. A king who protects his subjects according to law goes to heaven and on the contrary one who does not protect his subjects and inflicts unjust punishment meets the reverse condition.¹

Safety and security of the subjects were to be watched by the king and in this regard it was his duty to punish the thieves and the robbers. In case of undetection of robbery the loss was to be compensated by the king.

By virtue of his being the custodian of law, the king was to confer punishment and reward on the guilty or the worthy. Justice was his primary duty and impartiality was the first criterion of justice.²

A king should award equal punishment to his son and his enemies according to the offence committed.³ But in case the king inflicted punishment on those not deserving to be punished, thirty times that as a fine for the king was placed in water for Varuṇa and given to the Brahmins after that.⁴ The idea conveyed is that even the king was not spared for his misdeeds and unjust laws and he had the fear of being punished by the Varuṇa, the upholder of law.

The king was to cause the honouring of all duties and hermitages, and had to make grants of land, money and exemptions to men distinguished in learning, speech and piety, order the release of all prisoners and render help to the distressed, the helpless and the diseased.⁵ He should order the stoppage of slaughter for half a month in every four months.⁶

1. AŚ, III.1.41.

2. Bandyopādhyāya (N.C.), Kauṭilya or an Exposition of His Social and Political Theory, Vol. I. p. 69.

3. दण्डो हि केवलो लोकं परं चेमे च रक्षति ।

राज्ञा पुत्रे च शत्रौ च यथाधोर्ध्वं समं धृतः ॥

AŚ, III.1.42.

4. अदण्ड्यदण्डेन राज्ञो दण्डस्त्रिंशद्गुणेभ्यति ।

वरुणाय प्रदातव्यो ब्राह्मणोऽभ्यस्ततः परम् ॥

—Ibid. IV.13.42.

5. Ibid, XIII.5.11.

6. Ibid, XIII.5.12.

To keep the treasury always full so as to avoid financial difficulties was one of the concerns of the king. For this purpose he could release a third or a fourth part of the grains from a region, whether big or small in size, not depending on rains and yielding abundant crops.¹ He was to exempt forest produce and the property of a Brahmin learned in the Vedas.² He could even levy tax on dealers of various goods.³ The king could also ask the rich to contribute some wealth or they may contribute of their own accord.⁴

Gainful Occupations of a Kṣatriya :

Having dealt upon the topic of duties of a Kṣatriya we will now discuss the various occupations adopted by the Kṣatriyas for earning livelihood. One of the most important occupations of a Kṣatriya was to join the army.

Enlistment in the Army :

As seen earlier the primary duty of a Kṣatriya was protection of beings and their occupation bearing of arms. The Dharmasūtras give the impression that normally only the Kṣatriyas and in emergency the Brahmins and the Vaiśyas could take up arms. While defining the army as an indispensable element of the state and its excellences Kauṭilya also holds that one of the excellences of an army is that 'it should consist mostly of the Kṣatriyas inherited from fore-fathers, constant obedient, the sons and wives of the soldiers being satisfied, not disappointing during marches, unobstructed every where, able to bear all troubles, skilled in the science of all types of wars and weapons, that has fought many battles, having no interest because of the prosperity and adversity shared with the king.'⁵

According to Kauṭilya the army composed of the Kṣatriyas trained in the art of weapons is the most splendid.⁶ Magasthenes

1. AŚ. V.2.2.

2. Ibid. V.2.6.

3. Ibid. V.2.17-22.

4. Ibid. V.2.35.

5. AŚ, VI.1,11.

6. प्रहृष्टविद्यविनीतं तु क्षत्रियबलं श्रेयः ।

—Ibid, IX.2.24.

while enumerating seven castes of the Indian society holds the Kṣatriyas—a martial race to be the *fifth caste* which was well organised and equipped for war and held the second place in point of numbers.¹ This is also corroborated by Arrian who refers to the fighting men as forming the fifth of the Indian population. Their primary duty was military activity. Others made their arms, others supplied them with horses and they had others to attend on them in the camps, who took care of their horses, cleaned their arms, drove their elephants, prepared their chariots and acted as their charioteers.² The Kāmandakanīṭisora, which draws heavily upon Kauṭilya states that the Kṣatriyas make the most excellent material for the army.³ All this may indicate that at least in the Mauryan period Kṣatriyas generally constituted the standing army of the state working as warriors.

Regarding the recruitment of men of other Varṇas in the army Kauṭilya has no liking for the army of the Brahmins who according to him could be won over by the enemy by persuasion and supplications.⁴ On the other hand Kauṭilya prefers the army of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras on account of their numerical strength.⁵ But it is doubtful whether the members of the two lower Varṇas were actually recruited as soldiers during this period. Even Megasthenes does not agree on this point. He clearly states that the husband-men (Vaiśyas) far numerous in number were exempted from fighting and other public services. Their main occupation was agriculture and soldiers were meant to protect them.⁶ Śūdras were possibly recruited as menial servants in the army who worked as attendants of the soldiers⁷ and not as full-fledged soldiers. It is to be concluded that Vaiśyas and Śūdras could be enlisted in the army in the time of the emergency but the standing army mostly consisted of the Kṣatriya warriors.

1. Mccrindle, AIMA, fragment I, p. 40.

2. Arrian, AIMA, fragment LVII, p. 217.

3. IV.65-67.

4. प्रणिपातेन ब्राह्मणं बलं परोऽभिहृरयेत् ।

—AŚ, IX.2.23.

5. Ibid, IX.2.25.

6. Mccrindle, AIMA, fragment I, p. 39.

7. Arrian, AIMA, fragment LVII, p. 217.

The kinds of troops which a king could employ were hereditary, the hired, the banded, the allays, the alien and the forest troops.¹ Each earlier one was supposed better than each later one.² Again the army was composed of the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots, and the elephants each having separate functions to perform.³

Incentive to warriors :

The warriors were encouraged to fight bravely by announcing for them rewards to be obtained in future life as well as of money⁴ by the king himself and the bards. The bards and the panegyrists used to describe the attainment of heaven by the brave and the absence of heaven for the cowards and used to sing the praises of the Varṇa, corporation, family, deeds and conduct of the warriors.⁵ Collecting the troops, the king should exhort these by saying these words 'I receive a wage like you; this kingdom is to be enjoyed together with you, the enemy should be attacked by you at my request'.⁶ The warriors were encouraged by announcing rewards for killing various kinds of enemies. One hundred thousand was announced as prize for killing the enemy's king, fifty thousand for killing the commander-in-chief, or a prince, ten thousand for killing a foremost warrior, five thousand for killing an elephant or chariot warrior, one thousand for killing a horseman, one thousand for killing a chief of infantry men, twenty for head (of infantry) besides double the wage and whatever one seizes.⁷

Commander-in-chief :

The key-post in the army was that of the commander and it was generally held by a Kṣatriya and sometimes by a Brahmin.⁸

1. AŚ. IX.2.1.

2. Ibid. IX.2.13.

3. Ibid. X.4.13-16.

4. Ibid. X.3.28-31.

5. Ibid. X.3.43.

6. Ibid. X.3.27.

7. Ibid. X.3.45.

8. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga was the Brahmin commander-in-Chief of the last Mauryan king and Brihadratha Vaiyadeva was a great general of Kumārpāla—Majumdar (B.K.), *The Military System in Ancient India*, p. 62.

Royal Officers :

The government posts were looked upon as the special preserve of the members of the three higher varṇas. The high posts like that of the minister and chaplain were filled with the persons of the higher varṇas i.e., Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. A minister was to be endowed with nobility of birth, intellect, integrity, bravery and loyalty because of the supreme importance of the qualities.¹

Other Professions :

N.K. Dutt² lays down two other professions for the Kṣatriyas which are of non-military character i.e., first is the profession of scribes and the second that of the *Sūtas* (bards). According to him in the Mauryan reign which reached a high standard of efficiency a special class of clerical experts was created and it was mostly held by the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas which later on became a hereditary one. Being divested of their military activity these Kṣatriyas were perhaps looked down upon.

The second occupation adopted by the Kṣatriyas of non-military character was that of the bards. They lived at the courts of the kings and composed and recited poems of their heroic deeds. From the evidence of singing of a Brahmin bard and Kṣatriya bard as noted earlier at the Aśvamedha sacrifice, it can be conjectured that originally this profession was adopted by the Brahmin and the Kṣatriyas. The Kṣatriyas adopting this profession were also regarded as of lower-rank.

Remuneration :

The warrior caste was maintained by the state. During war and after war they were maintained at the cost of the king's treasury. While the warriors were engaged in fighting their families were paid from the state treasury. Arrian holds that the pay which they received from the state was so liberal that they could with ease maintain themselves and others besides.³ A foot soldier was paid 500 paṇas and the pay of a sacrificial priest, the precep-

1. तस्मादाभिजनप्रज्ञाशौचशौर्यनुरागयुक्तज्ञानमात्रवान्कुर्वन्ति गुणप्राधान्यात् इति ।

—AŚ, 1, 1.8, 28.

2. Dutt (N.K.), *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, pp. 163-64.

3. Arrian, *AIMA*, fragment LVII, p. 217.

tor, the minister, the Chaplain, the commander-in-chief, the crown prince, and of the king's mother was 48000 paṇas.¹ This huge amount was whether a monthly salary or yearly has not been clarified in the text. Kangale² takes it to be a yearly salary but N.N. Law³ takes it to be a monthly salary. Kauṭilya opines that this huge amount of money was paid to these personages so as to lead a full-satisfied life and not to be a party to instigations and revolts.⁴ Regarding the other sources of income of a Kṣatriya we do not have any data and moreover it is also not known whether they were paid any share of booty received during battles, etc.

Peace Time Activities of a Kṣatriya :

The Kṣatriyas so far they were required to fight, fought with full courage and bravery. But the moment the fight was over they indulged in enjoyments. Megasthenes also holds that in the times of peace the military caste gives itself upto idleness and amusement.⁵ Arrian holds the same view regarding the peace time activities of the Kṣatriyas.⁶ In the absence of fighting they had no other work but to relax themselves with various means.

4. Struggle for Supremacy between the Kṣatriyas and Brahmins

Absence of evidence for establishing Supremacy of the Brahmins over the Kṣatriyas :

In the last chapter on the subject regarding the relation of the Kṣatriyas with the Brahmins we were acquainted with two types of literature, viz, the Brahmanical literature and the Buddhist literature, the former emphasising the primacy of the Brahmins and latter those of the Kṣatriyas though a little biased. Here the primacy of one varṇa over the other is not to be evidenced from any source whatsoever. Whatever evidence in this regard we do get is that royal power (Kṣātra) triumphs even without arms and ever remains invincible and unconquered when

1. ऋत्विगाचार्यमन्त्रिपुरोहितसैन्यापतियुवराजराजमातृमहिष्योऽवृक्षत्वारिशत्सहस्रतः ।

—AŚ V.3.3.

2 . Kangale. fn. to AŚ, V.3.3.

. Law (N.N.), IHQ, Vol. V, 780 ff.

4 . AŚ, V.3.4.

. Mcerindle, AIMA, fragment I, p. 40.

. Arrian, AIMA, fragment LVII, p. 217.

it is held up by the Brahmins, is sanctified by the counsel of ministers and follows the precept of the Śāstras.¹ The Dharma-sūtras also dilate upon the necessity of having the common front of the two upper varṇas and so also Manu.

Evidence of the Brahmins being highly honoured :

Among the four varṇas, the Arthaśāstra accords a respectable position to the Brahmins in the society.² The Brahmins were still highly esteemed and honoured. There is at any rate no doubt about the highest place assigned to Brahmins by Kauṭilya who states that they occupy the same position among human beings which gods occupy in heaven.³ This view of the status of the priestly class (Brahmins) is perhaps corroborated by epigraphic evidence for Aśoka seems to have exposed the Brahmins who were considered deities on earth.⁴

Arrian also states that the Sophists (Brahmins) held the place of dignity and honour. They were under no pressure of doing any bodily labour or contribute from their own produce.⁵

Though the Arthaśāstra holds the Brahmins to be highly esteemed in society yet it does not give them an undue advantage over the other varṇas. Still the Brahmins having some special privileges are to be seen in the Arthaśāstra.

Special privileges enjoyed by the Brahmins :

Kauṭilya unequivocally recognises the Brahmins special privileges to officiate at the sacrifices and to receive gifts in return. These are not only retained but sanctified by the laws enforced by the state. We have detailed regulations regarding the realisation of the sacrificial fee. Thus in case the priest dies, the fee as fixed according to the nature and importance of the sacrifice, big or small, was to be paid to the heir of the priest.⁶ If a sacrificer dismissed the priest before the completion of the sacrifice,

1 . . . 9.11.

2. Ibid, III.16.28.

3. Ibid, XIV.3,

4. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, p. 357.

5. Puri (B.N.), India as Described by Early Greek Writers, p. 75 (Fragment XI of Indika).

6. AŚ, III.14.

he was to be punished with the lowest fine for violence.¹ The incorporation of the payment of fee to the priest in the section dealing with the wages of labourers, etc., implies that *dakṣiṇās* were not voluntary but obligatory in as much as they were to be enforced by the State.

The king granted lands to priests, preceptors, Chaplains and Brahmins well versed in the Vedas and they were also exempted from fines and taxes.² The property of a Brahmin learned in the Vedas was not taxable.³ In all offences a Brahmin was not to be tormented.⁴ A Brahmin could not be tortured but his behaviour was to be watched by secret agents in case of a crime by him.⁵

A successful plaintiff after paying a fine had the right to make the defendant to work for him.⁶ This was not so in the case of a Brahmin⁷ and a Brahmin even though successful in his case in the capacity of a defendant could not be made to work for the successful plaintiff.

The King and the Purohita :

From the earliest times it is to be seen that a king could not dispense with the services of a Purohita. Here the importance of a priest is stressed in these words : "A king whose prosperity is increased by a Brahmin and who enjoys the good advice of his ministers conquers the unconquered (even though) unarmed."⁸

The appointment of a Purohita was made for supervision of the sacrifices connected with domestic and state affairs.⁹ A king was to appointment a priest on the basis of his birth, character and learning. He was to be thoroughly expert in omens and divine signs. He was to be well-versed in the Vedas and the *Āngas* and in the science of politics. He was supposed to have

1. AŚ, III.14.

2. Ibid, II.1.7.

3. Ibid, V.2.7.

4. सर्वविद्येऽप्येवमिदं ब्राह्मणः ।

Ibid, IV.8.27.

5. AŚ, IV.8.19.

6. Ibid, III.1.35.

7. Ibid, III.1.37.

8. Ibid, 1.9.11.

9. Ibid, 1.17.

a knowledge of preventing calamities providential and human by the Atharvanic rites.¹

Kauṭilya advises the king to obey his Purohita as a student his teacher, a son his father or a servant his master. This above fact is corroborated by the command of Aśoka saying that the Brahmins and the *Śarmans* must be shown proper respect.² This does not signify any domination of the Purohita over the king but simply emphasises the role and importance of a Purohita.

The Purohita could check the prince from doing wrong deeds and Kauṭilya himself declares that a prince can be prevented from doing wrong and evil deeds by the ministers or the Purohita.³ The king used to hear law-suits in the company of the Brahmins well-versed in the three Vedas.⁴ On certain occasions a priest had to teach the Vedas.

The importance of the Purohita at the time of the battle and at the battle-field cannot be underestimated. In times of war, a Purohita accompanied the army on the battle-field and incited the soldiers to fight bravely by emphasising the rewards obtained by death on the battle-field.⁵

The Purohita also gave a helping hand to the king in governing things and people. In this regard Kauṭilya remarks that a king should seek the Purohita's help in testing the loyalty of the officials. In such case a king would order a Purohita to officiate as a priest at sacrifices performed by unworthy persons. The Purohita would refuse and thus would ultimately be dismissed. Then he would approach the ministers and other high officials of the state and would incite them against the king. If they were thus incited, they were considered to be unloyal.⁶

1. पुरोहितमदितोदितकुलशीलं माङ्गं वेदे देवं निमित्ते दण्डनीत्याम् ।
चाभिनिनीतमापदां देवमानुषीणामधर्वभिरासयैश्च प्रतिकूलारं कुरीत् ।

—Ibid, I.9.9.

2. Aśoka's R.E. III, IV, PE VII.

3. AŚ VIII.4.26.

4. Ibid, I.19.32.

5. Ibid, X.3.32.

6. Ibid, I.10.2-3.

The role of the Purohita seems to be fairly important according to Kauṭilya, but he assigns him no place among the state organs.¹ This clearly indicates debarring him from the royal polity.

¹ Sharma (R.S.), *Aspects of political History of India*, p. 23. Kauṭilya mentions seven organs of the state viz., *Swāmi*, *Amātya*, *Janapada*, *Durga*, *Koṣa*, *Daṇḍa* and *Mitra*.

Kṣatriyas in the Post-Mauryan Period

1. Origin of the Kṣatriyas

Regarding the origin of the Kṣatriya Varṇa Manu repeats the tradition as laid down in the Puruṣa-Sūkta of the RV and propounded in other texts. Kṣatriyas were created from the *bāhus* (arms) of Brahma as Brahmins from the mouth, Vaiśyas from the thighs and Śūdras from the feet.¹ Hārta Saṃhitā also declares that it was Brahma who created Brahmins for the successful performance of sacrifices from his mouth, Kṣatriyas from his arms and Vaiśyas from his thighs.²

2. (a) Social Status of the Kṣatriyas

Varṇa-system :

Manu³ and Yājñavalkya⁴ speak of the four-fold division of the society viz, Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. Patañjali⁵ and Vātsyāyana⁶ also enumerate them in the same fashion. The first three Varṇas are called twice-born.⁷ The four Varṇas have

१. लोकानां तु विवृद्धयर्थं मुखबाह्वपादतः ।

ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रियं वैश्यं शूद्रं च निरवर्तयत् ॥

—Manu I.31; Yaj III.126.

2. Hārta Saṃhitā, I.6.

3. Manu, I.31.

4. Yāj, I.10.

5. Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya, I.1.7, p. 408.

6. Kāmasūtra, V.11.

7. Manu, X.4, Yāj, I.39.

been enumerated in the descending order and change from one Varṇa to another was not permissible. However, we do find the doctrine of *Jātyutkarṣa* and *Jātyaparkṣa* mentioned in the Smṛtis¹ which means that a person of lower Varṇa could rise to a higher Varṇa and of higher Varṇa could fall to lower one. Yājñavalkya speaks of two kinds of *Jātyutkarṣa* and *Jātyaparkṣa*, viz. one due to marriage and another due to avocation followed.² A person taking to the occupation of a lower Varṇa neglecting the duties of his own higher Varṇa sank to the lower order. Similarly a person continuously doing good deeds could rise to a higher Varṇa.

The Sacraments :

The ceremony of *garbhādhāna* and other sacraments of a Kṣatriya child were performed with auspicious rites prescribed by the Vedas.³ Before cutting the navel-string, the birth-rite for a male child was performed and while *mantras* were being recited, he was to be fed with honey and ghee from a gold spoon.⁴

The naming ceremony of a Kṣatriya was performed on the tenth or twelfth day after birth, or on a lucky day of the moon at a lucky hour, under an auspicious star.⁵ Varṇa distinctions were maintained in naming of the child also. According to Manu a Brahmin's name should denote something auspicious, that of a Kṣatriya power, that of a Vaiśya wealth and that of a Śūdra contempt.⁶ The names of four Varṇas should respectively imply happiness, protection, prosperity and service.⁷ The *Cūdā-karṇa* (forming a tuft of hair) of a Kṣatriya child was performed in the first or third year.⁸ The rite of *Upanayana* (initiation) of

1. Manu, X.64-65; Yāj.1.96.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, II.26.

4. Ibid, II.29.

5. Ibid, II.30.

6. Ibid, II.31.

7. शर्म शत्रुद्राह्मणस्य स्वाद्राज्ञो रक्षासमन्वितम् । वैश्यस्य पुष्टिसंयुक्तं शूद्रस्य प्रेक्षसंयुक्तम् ॥

—Manu, II.32.

8. Ibid, II.35.

a Kṣatriya was performed in the eleventh year after the conception.¹ After the child had completed his *brahmacarya*, i.e., student-hood, he was bound in the wed-lock.

Marriage :

The marriage of a Kṣatriya generally took place after his return from the hermitage of a *guru* where he had gone for studies. Manu enumerates eight types of marriages, viz, *Brahma*, *Daiva*, *Ārṣa*, *Prājāpatya*, *Āsura*, *Gondharva*, *Rākṣaṣ* and *Puṣṣāca*. Out of these eight, six according to the above order were lawful for a Brahmin, the last four for a Kṣatriya, and the same four, excepting the *Rākṣaṣa* for a Vaiśya and Śūdra.² Among these six also, four are stated to be lawful for a Brahmin, the *Rākṣaṣa* in the case of a Kṣatriya and the *Āsura* in the case of a Vaiśya and of a Śūdra.⁴ Manu mentions the view that the *Gāndharva* and *Rākṣaṣa* forms of marriage whether mixed or separate are proper for a Kṣatriya.⁵ The *Gāndharva* form of marriage was very much in vogue in the royal families.⁶

Marriage was allowed only within one's own Varṇa⁷ for endogamy was the order of the day. It was also forbidden to marry a Sapiṇḍa girl on the mother's side and a girl of the same gotra.⁸ Sons begotten on wives of the same Varṇa were called *Savarṇa* sons.⁹ Polygamy was also not unknown for Manu¹⁰ and other Smṛtikāras¹¹ as they mention that a Brahmin besides the wife of his own Varṇa can have three wives, a Kṣatriya two more, and a Vaiśya even one more. Though marriage within ones own Varṇa

1. Manu, II.36.

2. Ibid, III.21; Yāj. I.58-61 also enumerates these eight types of marriage and calls Manu's Prājāpatya as Kaya; Nār, III.38-39.

3. Ibid, III.23.

4. Ibid, III.24.

5. Ibid, III.26.

6. Kane (P.V.), History of Dhārmasāstra, Vol. II, Pt.I, p. 522.

7. Manu, III.4; III.12.

8. Ibid, III.5.

9. Yāj, I.90.

10. Manu, III, 12-13.

11. Yāj, I.57. A Kṣatriya can have two wives, a Vaiśya one and a Śūdra only of his own Varṇa, Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, XXIV.1-4.

was preferred still a twice-born could take a wife who was not of his own Varṇa even after marrying one of his own order.¹ A Brahmin could marry a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya girl, a Kṣatriya could take a Vaiśya wife and a Vaiśya could wed a Śūdra's daughter. But Vyasa holds that a member of lower Varṇa cannot wed a girl of superior Varṇa.² In all matters of peity and religion, the wife belonging to one's own varṇa was allowed to participate.³ Vyāsa opines that among several wives all belonging to same Varṇa as of their husband, she who has the greatest attachment to piety, should have preference as regards companionship in the celebration of religious rites,⁴ while Yājñavalkya⁵ assigns this position to the first married one. It seems that seniority and status, etc. of wives of different Varṇas were settled according to the order of the Varṇa.⁶ Lust appeared to be the only motive for having extra wives from other Varṇas.⁷ The idea of marrying Śūdra girl was disapproved by Yājñavalkya,⁸ It is declared that a twice-born who marries a girl of lower Varṇa (Śūdra) will sink to the status of a Śūdra along with the progeny.⁹ Manu declares that a Śūdra woman is not mentioned in any (ancient story) as the first wife of the three higher Varṇas.¹⁰

Mixed Castes :

Like the ancient authors of the Dharmaśāstras, the Smṛtikāras also enumerate the various castes originated from *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* unions. Yājñavalkya mentions *Mūrdhāvasikta*, *Ambaṣṭha*, *Niṣāda*, *Ugra* and *Karaṇa*¹¹ as six *Anuloma* castes.

1. Vyāsa Samhitā, II.10.
2. Ibid, Samhitā, II.11.
3. Manu, III.12; Vyāsa II.12; Yāj, I.88.
4. Vyāsa Samhitā, II.12.
5. Yāj, I.88.
6. Manu, IX.85.
7. Ibid, III.12, Nār, XII.4-6.
8. Yāj, I.66.
9. Manu, III.14-16.
10. Ibid, III.14.
11. Yāj. I.91-92.

(i.e. born of parents where father belongs to the higher and the mother to the lower Varṇa). Manu also mentions six Anuloma castes¹ but actually names three only, i.e., *Ambaṣṭha*, *Niṣāda* and *Ugra*.² Yājñavalkya does not say anything explicitly about the social status of these *Anuloma* castes but simply remarks that the *Anulomas* are to be known as *Sat* or good in contrast with the *Pratilomas* who are *Asad* or bad,³ which according to Manu are not entitled to perform the rites performed by *Dvijas*.⁴ In Manu's view the progeny of *Anuloma* unions is in status lower than the father, but higher than the mother⁵ and calls them as *Apasada*⁶ (base-born). Yājñavalkya speaks of six castes-*sūta*, *Vaidehaka*, *Caṇḍāla*, *Māgadha*, *Kṣāttara* and *Āyogava* as *Pratilomas* (i.e. born of parents where father belongs to the lower and the mother to the higher Varṇa). Manu also speaks of the same *Pratiloma*⁷ castes which are like *Śūdras*.⁸ Manu accounts for the *Jhallas*, *Mallas*, *Licchavis*, the *Natas*, the *Karṇas*, the *Khaśas* and the *Dravidans* as degraded Kṣatriyas by ancestry.⁹ He traces them to *Vrātya* ancestors, spiriting from the first three Varṇas. Manu also holds that certain Kṣatriya tribes gradually sank to the position of the *Śūdras* by omitting the performance of enjoined Vedic rites and *Samśkāras* and failing to consult the Brahmins.¹⁰ Among these are the *Paṇḍrakas*, the *Cōdas*, the *Dravida*, the *Kāmbojas*, the *Yavanas*, the *Śakas*, the *Cīnas*, the *Kirātās*, the *Daradās* and the *Khaśas*.¹¹

Miscellaneous

Modes of Enquiry : Different modes of enquiry are also laid down with regard to different Varṇas. A man on meeting a Brahmin should enquire about his health with the word *Kuśala*,

1. Manu, X.10.
2. Ibid, X.8-9.
3. Yāj, 1.95.
4. Manu, X.41.
5. Ibid, X.6.
6. Ibid, X.10.
7. Ibid, X.11-12.
8. Ibid, X.41.
9. Ibid, X.21-23.
10. Ibid, X.43.
11. Ibid, X.44.

a Kṣatriya with the word *Anāmaya*, a Vaiśya with the word *Kṣema* and a Śūdra with the word *Ārogya*.¹

Guest Honouring : Manu observes certain rules regarding the honouring of a guest.² A guest (atithi) is one who does not stay (*sthita*) long (anityam).³ Non-Brahmins were not received as guests in the house of a Brahmin.⁴ If a Kṣatriya came as a guest to a Brahmin, he was to be entertained after the Brahmin guests had been looked after.⁵ Vaiśya and Śūdra guests were to be fed along with the servants of the Brahmin hosts.⁶

Mourning Period : Different mourning periods have been assigned to the different Varnas. A Brahmin was purified after ten days, a Kṣatriya after twelve days, a Vaiśya after fifteen days and a Śūdra after thirty days.⁷ The impurity caused by death in case of a Kṣatriya lasts for twelve days according to Yājñavalkya also.⁸ No impurity befell a person for one who died fighting.⁹ At the end of the period of impurity a Brahmin could become pure by touching water, a Kṣatriya by touching the animal on which he rides and his weapons, a Vaiśya by touching his goad or the nose-string of his oxen and a Śūdra by touching his staff.¹⁰

Food and Drinks :

Flesh-eating seems to be quite common for Manu has laid down several rules for flesh eating.¹¹ Fish and flesh of goats, gazelles, kids, spotted deer, black antelope, *ruru*-deer, boars, buffaloes, hares, tortoises and birds were the various kinds of

1. Ibid, II.127.

2. Ibid, III.105.

3. Ibid, III.102.

4. Ibid, III.110.

5. Ibid, III.111.

6. Ibid, III.112.

7. Ibid, V.83; Uśāna Samhitā, VI.34; Angiras Samhitā I.51.

8. Yāj III.22.

9. Manu, V.98.

10. Ibid, V.99.

11. Ibid, V.23,27,36. Caraka 27.86 considers meat as a very nourishing diet and recommends it for weak, convalescent and for persons addicted to wine and woman, etc.

flesh offered to manes.¹ But Manu does not encourage students to take meat.² Animals whose meat was allowed³ and whose meat was tabooed,⁴ both the categories are enumerated by Manu. Barley and wheat as well as preparations of various kinds made by these two were consumed by all the twice-born.⁵ Garlic, onions, leeks, mushrooms, all vegetables arising from impurity,⁶ rice and pulse boiled together, wheat boiled in milk, rice-milk, cakes not prepared for a sacrifice, flesh not offered to gods,⁷ etc. were forbidden to be eaten by a twice-born men. If a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra was forcibly made to eat the forbidden food, a man doing so was punished according to his Varṇa.⁸ In case a twice-born one knowingly ate mushrooms, a village pig, garlic, a village cock, onion, or leeks he became an outcaste.⁹ A person who had taken dried meat, mushrooms, growing on the ground or the meat which had been kept in a slaughter house had to perform lunar penance.¹⁰

Milk seems to be the common and popular drink as milk and all its preparations were favourites of all the twice-borne ones.

Drinking of spirituous liquor was considered a sin for Yājñavalkya regards eating of forbidden food, bringing of a serious but a false charge against a person before a king, speaking false-hood and eating of saliva of a woman as equal to that of sin of drinking spirituous liquor.¹¹ He also forbids drinking *Surā* for all the three higher Varṇas.¹² The medical treatises prescribe its use in a limited quantity as a curative.¹³

(b) The Ksatriyas and the Law

Law of Inheritance : Manu, following the Dharmaśāstras

1. Manu, III.267-272. Yāj, I.257-260.
2. Manu, II.158.
3. Ibid, V.11-19.
4. Ibid, V.16-18.
5. Ibid, V.25.
6. Ibid, V.5.
7. Ibid, V.7.
8. Yāj, II.299.
9. Manu, V.19
10. Ibid, XI.155; Uśāna Samhitā, IX.55.
11. Yāj, III.229.
12. Ibid, III.263.
13. Caraka, 27, 177-87.

suggests that after the death of the father and mother, the brothers may divide the ancestral property among themselves for during their life time (parents) they have no hold over it.¹ Out of the remainder of the estate, the son of a Brāhmaṇi could take three shares, the son of a Kṣatriya wife two shares, the son of a Vaiśya wife one and a half share and the son of a Śūdra wife one share.² Moreover, Manu suggests another criterion for distribution of the property, i.e. by dividing it in ten equal shares which should be distributed in the following manner: 'a Brahmin son should take four shares, a Kṣatriya son three, a Vaiśya son two and a Śūdra son one'.³ Bṛhaspati while laying down rules for division of the inherited property among the brothers allots equal shares to all sons of twice-born begotten on woman equal in varṇa after giving a preferential share to the eldest.⁴ Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra begotten in order by a Brahmin could take four, three, two and one share respectively.⁵ These begotten by a Kṣatriya could take three, two and one share respectively.⁶ The son of a Kṣatriya wife was allotted equal share with a Brahmin son if he was elder in birth and was endowed with superior qualities and so could a son of a Vaiśya wife share equally with a Kṣatriya son.⁷ Land obtained in the form of gift was never to be given to a son of Kṣatriya wife.⁸ The son begotten on a Śūdra woman by the men of three higher Varṇas was not entitled to a share of the landed property.⁹ The property of a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and a Śūdra who died without leaving any male issue, or wife or brother was taken by the king as escheat.¹⁰

Criminal Law : Like the authors of the Dharmasūtras, the Smṛtikāras have also thrown an abundant light on the Civil and Criminal law as practised at the time. The gradation of punish-

1. Manu, IX.104.

2. Ibid, IX.151.

3. Ibid, IX.152-53.

4. Br. Smṛti; XXV.8. Manu IX.156.

5. Ibid, XXV.27; Yāj. II.128.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid, XXV.29.

8. Ibid, XXV.30.

9. Manu, IX.155; Br. Smṛti, XXV.32.

10. Br. Smṛti, XXV.67.

ment existed for every Varna¹ with regard to various kinds of offences, being the highest for the lower Varna. Excepting Brahmins Manu has named ten places of punishment in case of other three Varnas,² namely : 'privy parts, the belly, the tongue, the two hands, the two feet, the eye, the nose, both ears, the property and the body' (corporal punishment).³

Murder of a Kṣatriya : Regarding the murder of a Kṣatriya, Manu counts it as a minor offence like that of slaying a Vaiśya, Śūdra and a woman,⁴ etc, while slaying of a Brahmin is counted among great crimes.⁵ It is laid down that one half of the sin of Brahmanicide visits a man for killing a Kṣatriya.⁶ For killing a Kṣatriya, a person had to give away a thousand kine with bulls, or had to perform for three years the penances consequent on brahmanicide.⁷ Similarly the killer of a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya, initiated into the celebration of some sacrifice, had to practise the vow of destroyer of a Brahmin.⁸ If a Kṣatriya was intentionally killed one fourth of the penance for the murder of a Brahmin has been prescribed as expiation, one eight for a Vaiśya and one sixteenth for a Śūdra.⁹ In case a Brahmin unintentionally killed a Brahmin he had to give a thousand cows and a bull.¹⁰

Assault : Manu lays down harsh or sometimes even unspeakable punishments for Śūdras who assault or hurt a member of the higher varṇa but in case of assaulting a member of same varṇa, the punishment prescribed is of mild nature.¹¹ Yājñavalkya says that the limb of a person except a Brahmin which inflicts pain on *Vipra* should be cut off, and in case of uplifting a weapon for the same purpose the penalty should be the lowest form of pecuniary punishment.¹² For raising the hand or foot for striking

1. Yāj. II.209, Nār. Smṛti, XIV

2. Manu, VIII.124.

3. Ibid, VIII.125.

4. Ibid, XI.66.

5. Ibid. XI.54.

6. Atri Samhitā, I.166.

7. Yāj. III.267; Uśāna Samhitā, IX.80.

8. Ibid, III.251.

9. Ibid. XI.126.

10. Manu, XI.127.

11. Ibid, VIII.279-84.

12. Yāj, II.218.

a person of the same Varṇa, Yājñavalkya lays down a penalty of ten or twenty *Paṇas*¹ while Manu says that hand and foot of that person should be cut off.² Ten *Paṇas* was the fine for one who pulled another of the same Varṇa by holding his feet, hands or cloth, etc.³ Manu prescribes a fine of hundred *Paṇas* for breaking the skin or drawing blood of a person of the same Varṇa, for cutting a muscle a fine of six *niṣkas* and banishment for breaking the bones.⁴

Fines for Abusing : Yājñavalkya lays down that in case of a person using abusive language towards one of the superior Varṇa, the punishment should be double or three-fold but when a superior vilifies a person of inferior Varṇa he should be punished in order with half of the penalty.⁵ Manu lays down a general rule saying 'for offences of twice-born against those of equal Varṇa the fine shall be also twelve *Paṇas*'.⁶ For mutual abuse by a Brahmin or a Kṣatriya the fine imposed was lowest amercement for a Brahmin but for the Kṣatriya it was middlemost.⁷ For a Brahmin abusing a Kṣatriya the fine prescribed is fifty *Paṇas* while in case of Vaiśya and Śūdra it is twenty five and twelve and a half *Paṇas* respectively.⁸ A Vaiśya reviling a Kṣatriya was fined a hundred *Paṇas* and a Kṣatriya had to pay half of that fine for the same offence against a Vaiśya.⁹ If a Śūdra abused a Kṣatriya the fine imposed was middling and in case of a Brahmin it was the highest.¹⁰

Defamation : The defamation of one Varṇa by the other was a crime punishable under law. Yājñavalkya provides that the punishment for defamation depends on the higher or lower Varṇa or Varṇa of the offender as well as of the person defamed. If a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya defamed a Brahmin and conversely if a

1. Yāj, II.219.

2. Manu, VIII.280.

3. Yāj, II.220.

4. Manu, VIII.284.

5. Yāj, II.210.

6. Manu, VIII.269; Nār. Samhitā, XV, XVI.17

7. Ibid, VIII.276.

8. Br. Smṛti, XX.6.

9. Ibid, XX.9.

10. Ibid, XX.11.

Brahmin defamed a Kṣatriya the fine was reduced by half in each successive Varṇa.¹ Manu prescribes that if a Kṣatriya defames a Brahmin, he shall be fined a hundred *pañās*, a Vaiśya 150 or 200 *pañās* but a Śūdra shall suffer a corporal punishment.² But, in case a Brahmin defames a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or a Śūdra, he shall be fined respectively 50, 25 and 12 *pañās*.³ Manu, Nārada and Bṛhaspati prescribe very harsh punishments for a Śūdra offending the persons of higher Varṇas.⁴ If a Śūdra even mentioned the name and the caste of the twice-born man contemptuously, a ten finger long iron nail was thrust into his mouth.⁵ If he insulted a twice-born his tongue was cut off.⁶

Theft : Manu holds that higher the Varṇa, the greater was the crime in committing theft, the guilt of a Śūdra was considered the lowest.⁷ In the case of theft the guilt of a Śūdra was considered eight-fold, that of a Vaiśya sixteen-fold, that of a Kṣatriya thirty-two fold and that of a Brahmin sixty-four fold.⁸

Coming to the problem of purging the punishment, whereas members of other Varṇas were required to purge their fines with physical labour if unable to pay, the Brahmin was exempted from this provision as well.⁹

Adultery : The highest form of pecuniary punishment was reserved for a man committing adultery with a woman of same Varṇa, the second form was prescribed for committing it with a woman of inferior Varṇa and death for committing it with a woman of higher Varṇa. Hence Yājñavalkya lays down that if a woman of inferior Varṇa was ravished against her will with scratches on her person made by nails, cutting of fingers was the penalty prescribed.¹⁰ Death was the penalty if same offence was committed against a woman of higher Varṇa.¹¹ Manu declares

1. Yāj, II.206-217.
2. Manu, VIII.267.
3. Ibid, VIII.268.
4. Ibid, VIII.271, Nār, XV.22,23-25; Br. Smṛti, II.37.
5. Ibid, VII.271.
6. Ibid, VIII.270.
7. Ibid, VIII.337-38.
8. Ibid, VIII.338.
9. Ibid, IX.229; Kāt. 479-80.
10. Yāj, II.289.
11. Ibid, II.291.

that if a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya had an intercourse with a guarded Brāhmaṇī then the whole property of a Vaiśya was forfeited after imprisonment for a year and a Kṣatriya was fined one hundred *paṇas* and was shaved with the urine of an ass.¹ In case of same offence with an unguarded Brāhmaṇī a Kṣatriya was fined one thousand *paṇas* and a Vaiśya only fifty *paṇas*.² Similarly if a Kṣatriya approached a guarded Vaiśya woman and vice-versa, they both deserved the same punishment as in the case of approaching an unguarded Brahmin woman.³ For intercourse with an unguarded Kṣatriya woman a Vaiśya was fined five hundred *paṇas*, but for the same offence a Kṣatriya was only shaved with the urine of a donkey or he had to pay the same fine.⁴ But, a Brahmin who approached a guarded female of Kṣatriya or Vaiśya Varṇa had to pay a fine of one thousand *paṇas*⁵ and for similar offence with unguarded women of these both Varṇas he was to be fined five hundred *paṇas*, but for intercourse with a female of Śūdra Varṇa only one thousand.⁶ To avoid illegal unions Manu suggests that all women irrespective of their Varṇas should be protected and guarded.⁷

Witness: Manu and other *Smṛtikāras* repeat the old principle that members of all the four Varṇas and the untouchables can act as witnesses in the transactions of their respective communities.⁸ Kātyāyana declares that a litigant of a lower Varṇa should not be cited as witness by a person of a high Varṇa to prove his case⁹ while Nārada allows members of all the Varṇas to appear as witnesses in the cases of all the Varṇas.¹⁰ In some special cases, such as in cases of adultery, theft and assault, etc. anyone could act as witness.¹¹ Laying down the qualifications of the witness

1. Manu, VIII.375.
2. Ibid, VIII.376.
3. Ibid, VIII.382.
4. Ibid, VIII.384.
5. Ibid, VIII.383.
6. Ibid, VIII.385.
7. Ibid, VIII.359.
8. Ibid, VIII.62, 68; Nār, I.154; Kāt, 348.
9. Kāt, 348.
10. Nār, I.124.
11. Yāj, II.14.

Manu says that trustworthy men of all the four Varṇas could be produced as witnesses in law suits.¹ In addition to it Bṛhaspati enjoins that witnesses should belong to respectable families and regularly perform religious rites.² A king, an artisan, a dancer, a *śrotṛiyā*, a *Brahmachārī* and an ascetic were not permitted to appear as witnesses.³ In the absence of qualified witnesses even slaves and servants could act as witnesses.⁴ Manu lays down that a judge should cause a Brahmin to swear by his veracity, a Kṣatriya by the chariot or the animal he rides on and by his weapons, a Vaiśya by his kine, grain and gold and a Śūdra by imprecating on his own head the guilt of all grievous offences⁵ at the time of appearing for witness. A judge examined a Brahmin (beginning with), 'speak', a Kṣatriya (beginning with) 'speak the truth', a Vaiśya (admonishing him) by (mentioning) his kine, grain or gold and a Śūdra (threatening) him with the guilt of every crime that causes loss of caste.⁶ Men of all the Varṇas were supposed to speak out truth at the time of giving evidence.⁷ But Manu sees no harm in uttering a lie when speaking of truth would cause death to a Śūdra, a Vaiśya, a Kṣatriya and a Brahmin.⁸ He lays down that a just king should fine and banish a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra if they give a false evidence, but in such case a Brahmin should only be banished.⁹ Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana lay down that a Brahmin should be tested by the balance, a Kṣatriya by fire, a Vaiśya by water and a Śūdra by poison.¹⁰ Ordeal of poison could be administered to all the Varṇas except Brahmins, according to Nārada.¹¹ Manu prescribes test of fire, water and touching of heads of the wife and children for proving one's innocence.¹²

1. Manu, VIII.63.

2. Br. Smṛti, V.38.

3. Manu, VIII.65.

4. Ibid, VIII.70.

5. Ibid. VIII.113.

6. Ibid, VIII.88.

7. Ibid, VIII.83.

8. Ibid, VIII.104.

9. Ibid, VIII.123.

10. Nār. I.334-335; Br. Smṛti, VIII.12; Kāt. 422.

11. Ibid, I.322.

12. Manu, VIII.114.

Religious Practices of the Kṣatriyas : Yājñavalkya lays down abstention from impurity, truthfulness, non-stealing, purity, control of the sense, charity, mercy, self-restraint and forgiveness as the religious practices to be observed by all the twice-born persons.¹ Celebration of sacrifices, making of gifts and study of the Vedas were the religious works binding on all the members of the three higher Varṇas.² Regarding celebration of sacrifices, Manu enjoins a householder to daily perform the five great sacrifices, viz, sacrifice to *Brahma*, sacrifice to the *Pitris*, sacrifice to the gods, sacrifice to the *Bhūtas*, and sacrifice to men.³ Giving of gifts is lauded by Manu. A twice-born person who bestowed gifts gained good fruits as that of a student who offered cow to his teacher.⁴ Similarly study of the Veda was binding on all the three higher Varṇas.

All the twice-born persons had equal rights in the religious acts of *iṣṭā* and *pūrtā*. A Śūdra was qualified to perform the *iṣṭā* but not the Vedic rites.⁵ He who was reexcavated and restored dilapidated wells, tanks, lakes and temples reaped the fruits of *pūrtā* acts.⁶ Adoration of sacred fires, ascetic austerity, truthfulness, the study of the Vedas, hospitality and worship of the Viśvedevas are spoken of as *iṣṭā*.⁷ As spoken before, various forms of penances were observed by all the three higher Varṇas for purifying their sins as of committing theft, touching of untouchables and eating of forbidden food.

3. Education of the Kṣatriyas

Education obligatory for all Dvijas : Like the authors of Dharmaśāstras Manu also ordains that 'no citizen, at least no dvij should remain uneducated, undisciplined and impervious to

1. Yāj, I.122. Manu enjoins the following ten-fold laws to be observed by all the twice-born, contentment, forgiveness, self control, abstention from unrighteously appropriating anything, purification, coercion of the organs, wisdom, knowledge, abstention from anger-VI.92.
2. Atr., I.14-15.
3. Manu, III.69-70; Samvarta Samhitā, 35 & 37.
4. Ibid. II.95.
5. Atri, I.46, Likhita Samhitā, 6; Vyāsa Samhitā, I.5.
6. Likhita, 4.
7. Ibid, 5.

his social and spiritual duties.¹ Education was everyone's birth-right. Manu also reproduces the old injunction confining Vedic studies to the twice-born only.² The Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas were twice-born.³ Their first birth was from their natural mother but the second birth took place on tying the girdle of the Muñja grass.⁴ In contrast to them the Śūdras were called *ekajāt*; (having one birth).⁵ The great importance attached to the Vedic studies for the twice-born is corroborated by the fact that a twice-born man, who, not having studied the Veda, applies himself to other (and worldly study) soon falls, even while living, to the condition of a Śūdra and his descendants after him.⁶

Age of a student for Upanayana : In case of a Kṣatriya child the *Upanayana* ceremony took place in eleventh year of birth while a Brahmin and a Vaiśya were initiated in the eighth and twelfth year.⁷ Yājñavalkya⁸ and Vyāsa⁹ also hold the same opinion, but Yājñavalkya adds that the *Upanayana* of a twice-born man could be performed according to the family customs.¹⁰ Moreover the *Upanayana* of a Kṣatriya who wished to become powerful could be performed in the sixth year.¹¹

1. Aiyangar (K.V. Rangaswami), *Aspects of the Social and Political System of Manu-Smṛti*, p. 146.
2. Manu, II.165.
3. ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यस्त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयः ।
Ibid, X.4.
4. मातुरग्रेऽघ्नजननं द्वितीयं मौञ्जिवन्धने ।
तृतीयं यज्ञदीक्षायां द्विजस्य श्रुतिचोदनात् ॥
Ibid, II.169.
Vyāsa Samhitā, I.21; Yāj. I.39.
5. Manu, X.4.
6. Ibid, II.168.
7. गर्भाष्टमे कुर्वीत ब्राह्मणस्योपनयनम् ।
गर्भादिकादशे राज्ञो गर्भातु द्वादशे विशः ॥
Ibid, II.36.
8. Yāj. I.14.
9. Vyāsa Samhitā, I.19.
10. Yāj. I.14.
11. Manu, II.37—Initiation of a Brahmin who longed for proficiency in Vedic learning could be performed in the fifth year and for a Vaiśya wishing success in business in eighth year.

It was in a sense compulsory for a twice-born person to be initiated within the prescribed age limit; for, sons of the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas not invested with the holy thread having respectively attained the ages of sixteen, twenty-second and twenty-four years became *Vrātyas* (out-caste) and were deprived of the right of studying the Vedas.¹ Vyāsa prescribes the ages of fifteen years and two months, twenty one years and two months and twenty-three years and two months respectively for the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas after which they were devoid of the *savitṛ*.² Such persons are ordained by Yājñavalkya and Vyāsa to expiate their guilt by performing the *Vrātyastoma* sacrifice.³ Any connection with an out-caste regarding marriage, etc. was prohibited by the law-givers.⁴

Outfit of a Student : As regards the outfit of a *Brahmachārī* such as garments, girdle, sacred thread and the staff *Manu* agrees with the authors of the *Dharmasūtras*. *Manu* lays down that students according to their *Varnas*, should wear as upper garments the skins of black antelopes, deer or goats; as under garments cloth made of hemp, flax or wool.⁵ A white excellent piece of cotton or silk without any hole and not used before is also prescribed for a *brahmachārī*.⁶ The girdle of a Brahmin consisted of a triple cord of *Muñja* grass, smooth and soft, of a Kṣatriya of a bow-strong made of *Mūrvā* grass and of a Vaiśya of hempen thread.⁷ If the above grasses could not be procured the girdles would be made of *Kuśā*, *Aśmantaka* and of *Balbaja*.⁸ The sacred thread of a Brahmin was made of cotton, twisted to the right, consisting of three threads, that of a Kṣatriya of hempen

1. *Manu*, II.38-39; *Yāj*, I.37; *Vyāsa*, I.20.

2. *Vyāsa*, I.20.

3. *Yāj*, I.38; *Vyāsa*, I.20.

4. *Manu*, II.40.

5. *Ibid*, II.41.

6. *Uśāna Samhitā*, I.7.

7. मोज्जी त्रिवृत्समा श्लक्ष्णा कार्या विप्रस्य मेखला ।

क्षत्रिपस्य तु मोर्वी ज्या वैश्यस्य मणान्तवी ॥

Manu, II.42.

8. *Manu*, II.43.

threads and that of a Vaiśya of woollen threads.¹ A Brahmin was to carry a staff made of *Bilwa* or *Palāśa*, a Kṣatriya of *Vaṣa* or *Khadira* and a Vaiśya of *Pilu* or *Udumbara*.² A Brahmin's staff was to be of such a length as to reach his hair; that of a Kṣatriya to reach his forehead; and that of a Vaiśya to reach his nose.³ According to Kātyāyana, the daṇḍas should be all straight, without knots, handsome to look at, unproductive of anxiety to men, covered with bark and unsullied by fire.⁴

Asking Alms : Having taken a staff to his liking, having worshipped the sun and walked round the fire from left to right, the students had to beg alms according to rules prescribed for them.⁵

A student was first to beg food from his mother, or from his sister, or from his maternal aunt, or from some other female who would not disgrace him.⁶ Using the word *Bhavatī* (Lady) respectively in the beginning, middle and end, a Brahmin, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya should beg alms⁷ from the above mentioned persons.

Duties of a Student : A student had to lead a life of celibacy. Manu⁸ and Yājñavalkya⁹ have laid down rules of behaviour in the presence of the teacher by the student. The foremost duty of a student was to show reverence and honour to his *guru*.¹⁰ Manu lays down that one who obeys his teacher gains the Brahma-world.¹¹ A person who pleases his parents and teachers obtains all the rewards of austerities.¹² A student had to collect fuel, beg food, sleep on the ground and had to do what pleased his teacher until he returned home.¹³ He had also to

1. Manu, II.44.

2. Yāj. I.29; Manu, II.45.

3. Manu, II.46; Kāt. XXVII.12.

4. Kāt, XXVII.13.

5. Manu, II.48.

6. Ibid, II.50.

7. Ibid, II.49; Yāj, I.30; Uśāna, I.51.

8. Manu, II.198.

9. Yāj, I.26-27.

10. Manu, II.119; II.198; II.200.

11. Ibid, II.233; II.244.

12. Ibid, II.228.

13. Ibid, II.108; Hārta, III.2.

fetch water, flowers, cow-dung, earth and *Kuśā* grass as needed by his teacher and had to go out daily to beg.¹ A student was to abstain from honey, flesh, perfumes, garlands, juices, women, all sweets turned sour, and injuring living beings, ointments, collyrium for the eyes, sandals, carrying an umbrella, sensual desires, anger, covetousness, dancing and music, gambling, disputes, back-biting, looking at or embracing a woman and hurting others.² According to Motwani³ the thread of three chords signifies reminding the student of the three-fold control; control of thought, control of action and control of desire. Having collected as much food as he needed and having informed his guru, a student was to eat the food.⁴ Commanded by his teacher, and even when not commanded, he had always to study diligently and do what was useful to his teacher.⁵

Place of Teaching and Period of Studentship : A student was sent to the hermitage of sages for getting education.⁶ The word *Brāhmaṇakulūm* used by Patañjali probably refers to such educational institutions.⁷ Regarding the period of education Manu lays down that a student should keep the vow of studying the three Vedas for thirty-six years, or for half of that time or for a quarter or until the student has perfectly learnt them.⁸ Yājñavalkya declares that for each Veda the period of *Brahmacharya* should be twelve years.⁹ A student after having perfectly learnt the Vedas should enter the life of a householder.¹⁰

Curriculum : Regarding the courses of study to be specially pursued by a Kṣatriya student the Smṛtikāras have nothing more to say. Curriculum detailed by Manu lays emphasis upon

1. Manu, II.182.
2. Ibid., II.177-79; Hārta III.8; Also Vyāsa 3.28-29.
3. Motwani (Kewal), *A Study in Hindu Social Theory*, p. 78.
4. Manu, II.51.
5. Ibid., II.191.
6. Mahābhāṣya, 4.2.2.2., p. 104.
7. Ibid., 1.1.4.7.
8. Manu, III.1.
9. Yāj., I.36.
10. Manu, III.2.

the study of the three Vedas, leaving out the Atharvaveda.¹ Hārīta² and Vyāsa³ also emphasise the study of the Vedas by the students. The Vedas with the *Kalpa* and *Rahasya*⁴ together with *Vedaṅgas*⁵ were studied. Besides the study of the Vedas Manu lays down three-fold (sacred science) the primeval science of government (*Daṇḍanīti*), the science of dialects (*Ānvīkṣikī*), the knowledge of the supreme soul and the theory of various trades and professions (*vārtā*)⁶ as the subjects to be studied by a student. These subjects more or less seem to be pursued by the Kṣatriya students who were supposed to be expert in these subjects for efficiency in their professions. Vyāsa recommends the study of *Smṛtis*, *Purāṇas*, *Itihāsa* and *Upaniṣads* either entirely or in parts.⁷ He also ordains that a twice-born man should study the Dharmaśāstras under the guidance of his preceptor for learning the rules of decorum and cleanliness.⁸

The curriculum prescribed by Yājñavalkya is more extensive and exhaustive than what is stated by Manu. Yājñavalkya ordains that a *Brahmachārī* should read his four Vedas, *Vakovākyaṃ* (the Vedic sayings in the form of questions and answers), the *Purāṇas*, the *Nārāyaṇas*, the *Gāthās*, the *Itihāsa* and the *Vidyās*.⁹ Though Yājñavalkya recommends the study of the *Vidyās*, but what these different *Vidyās* were we can hardly guess, Chattopādhyāya regards Yājñavalkya to be the earliest of the Dharmaśāstra writers who presents us with such a heavy curriculum of the student.¹⁰ This shows that in his time learning in the different branches of arts and sciences had made considerable progress and that is undoubtedly one of the reasons why

1. Manu, III.1.

2. Hārīta. III.12.

3. Vyāsa, I.22.

4. Manu, II.140.

5. Ibid, II.141.

6. त्रिविद्येभ्यस्त्रयीं विद्यां दण्डनीतिं च शाश्वतीम् ।

आन्वीक्षिकीं चात्मविद्यां वाङ्मरिम्भाश्च लोकतः ॥

Ibid, VII.43.

7. Vyāsa, I.22.25.

8. Vyasa, I.25.

9. Yaj, I.40-46.

10. Chattopādhyāy (Sudhākar), *Social Life in Ancient India*, p. 40.

the age in which he lived¹ is called the golden age of the Ancient Indian History. Yājñavalkya also states that a priest should be well-versed in astrology and the theory of punishment.² It can be thus presumed that these subjects formed part of the courses of study. Caraka and Suśruta who lived in the first century A. D. had composed very important works on surgery and medicines which were being studied with great care. A perusal of the curriculum prescribed reveals the absence of the study of the military science as one of the subjects of study which shows that this branch of science was perhaps given no importance.

Usually these subjects were taught to a student by a Brahmin but in times of distress a student could learn it even from a non-Brahmin.³ A *guru* was denoted even by the names of Āchārya⁴ and Upādhyāya.⁵

4. Duties and Occupations of the Ksatriyas

Duties in general : The Smṛtikāras assign separate duties and functions to each Varna basing their view-point on the theory of the origin of the Varnas that the Creator himself assigned separate duties and functions to those who sprang from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet for the protection of this universe.⁶ Bestowing gifts, offering sacrifices, studying the Vedas and abstaining from attaching oneself to the gratification of the senses⁷ were the duties to be observed by a Kṣatriya with protection of people as his foremost duty.⁸ Protecting people is

1. Jolly thinks the work of Yājñavalkya to be of about 600 A.D. while Kane places it between 100 B.C. & 300 A.D. His work was thus undoubtedly composed in the early days of the Gupta period.
2. Yaj, I.313.
3. Manu, II.241.
4. Ibid, II.140.
5. Ibid, II.141.
6. Ibid, I.87.
7. प्राजानां रक्षणं दानमिज्याऽऽयनमेव च ।
विषयेष्वप्रसक्तितश्च क्षत्रियस्य समासतः ॥
Manu, I.89, Xaj, I.118.
क्षत्रियस्य परोधर्मः प्रजानामेव पालनम् ।
निदिष्टफलभोक्ता हि राजा धर्मेण युज्यते ॥
Manu, VII.144.
8. Manu, I.89; Yaj. I.119; Aiyangar, K.V. Rangaswami, *Aspects of Social and Political System of Manu-Smṛti*, p. 117.

regarded by Manu as austerity of a Kṣatriya.¹

Regarding the various duties to be performed by a Kṣatriya it is to be seen that he was to study the Veda but was not allowed to teach it to others² for this was a Brahmin's job. Similarly a Kṣatriya was forbidden to accept gifts and to perform sacrifices for others³ while it was binding on him to bestow gifts on the Brahmins and needy as suited him and to perform sacrifices for himself as a part of religious act. The denial of these duties to the Kṣatriyas as well as Vaiśyas was based on certain important factors. According to K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar⁴ a Vaiśya was a affluent member of the society with primary function of acquiring wealth and enjoying it. For him trade and agricultural pursuits, etc., were quite enough to engage his attention sparing no time for spiritual activities. Similarly a Kṣatriya engaged in army affairs had hardly any time for these works. Moreover, if he was allowed to resort to accepting of gifts it was likely that he would have indulged in forced exaction instead of free gifts voluntarily offered by others. Thus these two Varnas engaged in wordly matters neither had time nor were interested in learning the techniques of sacrifices.

Kṣatriya as Ruler : The two main duties of a Kṣatriya were military and administrative. Motwani⁵ takes the word Kṣatriya to refer to the group of people engaged in the administration of the state. In real sense a Kṣatriya was one who was actively devoted to the political life of the state. The chief administrator of the state was denoted by the name of the king who was a Kṣatriya and whose chief duty was to rule the country righteously.⁶ A Kṣatriya was the most popular person to

1. Manu, XI. 235.

2. Ibid, X. 1; X. 77.

3. त्रयो धर्मा निवर्तन्ते ब्राह्मणात्क्षत्रियं प्रति ।
अध्यापनं याजनं च तृतीयञ्च प्रतिग्रहः ॥

—Ibid, X. 77

4. Aiyangar, (K.V. Rangaswami), *Aspects of Social and Political system of Manu-Smṛti*, p. 101.

5. Motwani (Kewal), *A Study in Hindu Social Theory*, p. 160.

6. Aiyangar (K.V. Rangaswami), *Aspects of Social and Political System of Manusmṛti*, p. 117.

be a king. While elaborating on Rājadharmā, Manu states that 'now we will declare Rājadharmā,¹ and in the very next term he employs the word Kṣatriya and remarks that a Kṣatriya who has undergone the Upanayana should afford protection to all in his kingdom.² Thus in the Smṛti period a king seems to be mainly belonging to the Kṣatriya Varṇa though existence of kings of non-Kṣatriya Varṇa is also to be evident. But these non-Kṣatriya kings were not favoured by the society for we see Manu forbidding Brahmins from accepting gifts from a king other than a Kṣatriya.³

Duties of King: As the king was a Kṣatriya par-excellence his main duties as a ruler mostly correspond to a Kṣatriya in general with some specific duties assigned to him as a ruler and administrator of the state. Nārada⁴ summarises the king's duties as protection of the people, honouring the aged and the wise, the trial of law-suits and to make each Varṇa abide by the duties assigned to it. A king seems to be created to be the protector of the Varṇas and orders.⁵ He should righteously protect his subjects⁶ and should save them by cheats, wicked people and robbers, etc.⁷ A king had to restore the property stolen by thieves to men of all Varṇas and a king using same property for himself incurred the guilt of a thief⁸. A king engaged in the work of protection of his subjects was not to shirk from battle⁹ and without turning back he was to fight with the utmost exertion¹⁰ ending in conquest which was his

1. Manu, VII. 1.

2. ब्रह्म प्राप्तेन संस्कारं क्षत्रियेण यथाविधि ।
सर्वस्यास्य यथान्यायं कर्त्तव्यं परिरक्षणम् ॥

—Ibid, VII. 2.

3. न राज्ञः प्रतिगृह्णीयादराजन्यप्रसूतिः ।

—Man—IV. 84.

According to Kullūka राजशब्दः : क्षत्रियदत्तः—Com.m. on IV.81

4. Nār. Smṛti, XVIII. 33.

5. Manu, VII. 35.

6. Hārta Samhitā, II. 2.

7. Yāj. I. 336.

8. Manu, VIII. 40.

9. Ibid, VII. 87.

10. Ibid, VII. 87-89.

peculiar duty.¹ Thus a king by righteously protecting his subjects reaped the sixth part of their virtue which was considered to be superior to all forms of gifts.² A king was to receive revenue from people³ for the protection offered to them. According to *Hārta Saṁhitā*,⁴ the king should take 1/6 part of the income of his subjects as revenue.

The Smṛtis lay down that it was the duty of a king to support the Brahmins learned in the Vedas⁵ and to assign proper means of livelihood to them in the distress⁶ for a kingdom where a Śrotriya dies through hunger suffers from famine and disease.⁷ A king should daily adore and revere in the morning the Brahmins learned in the Vedas.⁸

The settlement of disputes between men and men and maintaining everyone within his own *dharma* were the duties binding on a king. It is laid down by Manu that the king should take up the cases of the litigants in the order of their Varṇas⁹ and in settling the law he should take into account the customs of every Varṇa.¹⁰

Gainful Occupations of a Kṣatriya

Soldiery : The duty to protect involved fighting. Out of all the occupations most commendable for a Kṣatriya was protecting the people.¹¹ The best means for a Kṣatriya to earn his living seems to be carrying of arms for striking, according to

1. Manu, X. 119.
2. Yāj, I. 335.
3. Manu, X. 119.
4. *Hārta Saṁhitā*, II. 3; Manu X. 120. A king should take from a Vaiśya 1/8 as tax on grains and 1/20 on the profits on gold and cattle.
5. Yāj, III. 40; *Hārta Saṁhitā*, II. 3.
6. Yāj, III. 44.
7. Manu, VII. 134.
8. Ibid, VII. 37; *Hārta Saṁhitā*, II. 4.
9. Ibid, VIII. 24.
10. Ibid, VIII. 41.
11. वेदाभ्यासो ब्राह्मणस्य क्षत्रियस्य च रक्षणम् ।
वार्ताक्रमैव वैश्यस्य विशिष्टानि स्वकर्मसु ॥
—Ibid, X. 80.

almost all the Smṛtikāras.¹ This shows that a Kṣatriya alone had the duty to be a soldier for to him was entrusted the duty of protection.² Manu allows the Brahmins and the Vaiśyas to take up arms only in self-defence, in defence of women and Brahmins, or to prevent the violation of their own duties and to prevent intermixture of castes.³

A soldier was enjoined to perform the responsible task of protecting the people with the spirit of service and efficiency. Motwani⁴ compares warrior group to the hermitage stage which is only engaged in the active life of politics. A soldier should be ready to lay down his life for the service of the people. He should fight bravely and should die in battle rather than run away. The authors of the Dharmasūtras call upon soldiers to make death on the battle-field as their aim. A fighting spirit was inculcated in the soldiers by announcing several rewards wordly as well as heavenly.⁵ Acquisition of booty and territory were the wordly awards for the soldiers who became victorious⁶. Yājñavalkya maintains that 'those who while fighting with weapons which are not treacherous for the sake of protecting the land of their master die without turning back from the field go to heaven like Yogins and each step of those who do not flee away even when their comrades have been killed is equal to the solemn sacrifice (Aśvamedha sacrifice).'⁷ Manu also enjoins upon the king while protecting his subjects against any invasion not to run away from the battle-field and promises heaven as rewards to those who die on battle-field.⁸

1. मन्त्रास्त्र भूत्वं क्षत्रस्य वणिक्शकुपिर्विशः ।

आजीवनार्थं धर्मस्तु दानमध्ययनं यजिः ॥

—Manu, X. 79.

Atri, 1.14; Chattopadhyaya (Sudhakar), *Social Life in Ancient India*, p. 92.

2. Aiyangar (K.V. Rangaswami), *Aspects of Social and Political systems of Manu-Smṛti* p. 101.

3. Manu, VIII. 348-49.

4. Motwani (Kewal), *A Study in Hindu Social Theory*, p. 161.

5. Manu, VI. 87-89, Yāj, I. 324.

6. Ibid, VIII. 206.

7. Yāj, I. 324.

8. Manu, VII. 87-89.

But contrary to this if a Kṣatriya while turning back from the battle out of fear is slain he takes upon himself all the sin of his master.¹ These remarks were applicable to all the soldiers irrespective of their Varṇa who maintained themselves by following the profession of arms.

Rules of Fighting : The soldiers were not allowed to perform treacherous acts of their liking during fighting but on the other hand they had to observe certain codes of fighting. Thus Manu states that while fighting a soldier should always keep in mind a Kṣatriya's *dharma*, i.e. he should fight righteously.² A Kṣatriya should not strike one who in flight has climbed on an eminence, nor an eunuch, nor one who joins the palms of his hands in supplication, nor one who flees with flying hair, nor one who sits down, nor one who says, 'I am thine'.³ 'He should not slay one who sleeps, nor one who has lost his coat of mail, nor one who is naked, nor one who is disarmed, nor one who looks on without taking part in the fight, nor one who is fighting with another foe.'⁴ A Kṣatriya was forbidden to strike a man whose weapons were broken, who was afflicted with sorrow, who had been severely wounded, who was in fear and who had turned to flight.⁵

Royal Officers: High administrative and judicial posts were generally in the hands of either the Brahmins or the Kṣatriyas. Manu lays down that the king should appoint seven or eight ministers whose ancestors have been royal officers, who are skilled in the use of weapons, descended from noble families and are men of experience.⁶ Mostly the judges were appointed from the Brahmins but the commentator adds that in cases of necessity Kṣatriyas could also be employed for such posts but they never mentioned Śūdras at all.⁷

1. Manu, VII. 94.

2. Ibid, VII. 93 Comm. of Kullūka.

3. Ibid, VII. 91.

4. Ibid, VII. 92.

5. Ibid, VII. 93.

6. Ibid, VII. 54.

7. Kullūka Comm. on Manu. VIII. 20. Also Kāt. 67.

यत्नं विप्रो न विद्वान्स्यात्क्षत्रियं तत्र योजयेत् ।

वैश्यं वा धर्मशास्त्रज्ञं शूद्रं यत्नेन वर्जयेत् ॥

Occupations in Distress

Occupations allowed of lower Varṇa: In normal circumstances there should be no encroachment by any Varṇa on the functions, duties and means of livelihood of others for Manu states that it is better to discharge one's own appointed duty incompletely than to perform completely that of another, for a person who lives according to the law of another is instantly excluded from his own.¹ The smṛtikāras are aware of the fact that in practical life man has to follow often the occupation of some other Varṇa to keep his body and soul together. The Smṛtis lay down that persons of three higher Varṇas, should, if they cannot maintain themselves by the peculiar avocation of their own Varṇa, resort to the means of livelihood prescribed for the Varṇa, which is immediately below their own.² It is further laid down that a person belonging to lower Varṇa should not resort to the occupation peculiar to a person of higher Varṇa.³ The Smṛtis also ordain that when the difficulty of a person is over, the person who has taken up the profession of another should do *prāyaścitta* (expiations), should resume his profession and should also abandon the wealth acquired by means of resorting to the occupation of another Varṇa.⁴ Moreover, if a twice-born, who without being in distress, performs his duties assigned for times of distress, obtains no reward for them in the next world.⁵ A Kṣatriya in distress was to live by the occupations of a Vaiśya, i.e. he was to pursue the profession of trade and commerce but he could never arrogantly adopt the mode of livelihood of a Brahmin.⁶

Sale or Trade in Articles: In times of distress a Kṣatriya was allowed to trade in commodities sold by the Vaiśya with

1. Manu, X. 97.
2. Ibid, X. 81-12, Yāj. III. 35; Nār, I. 55.
3. Manu, X. 95.
4. Ibid, X. 192-193, Yāj, III. 35, 36, 44.
5. Ibid, XI. 28.
6. Ibid, X. 95. Manu also adds that learning mechanical arts, work for wages, rearing cattle, traffic, agriculture, contentment (with little) alms and receiving interest on money are the ten modes of subsistence permitted to all in times of distress—X. 116.

following exceptions : condiments of all sorts, cooked food and sesame seed, stones, salt, cattle, human beings, all dyed cloth, as well as cloth made of hemp, or flax or wool, even if not dyed, fruit, roots, medical herbs, water, weapons, poison, meat, Soma, perfumes of all kinds, fresh milk, sour milk, honey, clarified butter, oil wax, sugar, Kuśāgrass, all beasts of the forest, animals with fangs or tusks, birds, spirituous liquor, indigo, lac and all one-hoofed beasts.¹ Manu allows barter of condiments for condiments, through not of salt, cooked food for (other kinds) of cooked food and sesame seed for grain in equal quantities.²

Agriculture : Manu³ holds that if a Brahmin or a Kṣātriya is ever compelled to take up the profession of a Vaiśya, he should by all means avoid agriculture which causes injury to human beings and implies dependence on others. But Bṛhaspati softens this view of Manu by making some rational amendments and holds, that if a Kṣātriya taking to agriculture offers 1/20 of the harvest to the gods, gives 1/30 in gifts to Brahmins and 1/6 to a king is freed from censure.⁴

Money-Lending : As regards practice of usury Manu forbids it for a Brahmin and a Kṣātriya but in time of distress allows them to charge a very low rate of interest from persons engaged in low actions.⁵ Manu introduces different rates of interest according to Varṇas as two, three, four and five for a hundred respectively.⁶

Other Means of Livelihood : If a Kṣātriya as well as a Vaiśya was economically in distress, the wealthy Brahmins if they could were supposed to support them by employing them on work which was suitable for their Varṇas (he should employ a poor

1. Manu, X. 85-89.

2. Ibid, X. 94.

3. वैश्यवृत्त्यापि जीवस्तु ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियोऽपि वा ।
द्विसाप्रयां पराधीनां कृषिं यत्नेन वर्जयेत् ॥

—Ibid, X. 83-84.

4. Br. Smṛti, I. 113.

5. ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वापि बृद्धिं नैव प्रयोजयेत् ।
कामं तु खलु धर्मार्थं यद्यात्वापीयसेऽलिकाम् ॥

—Manu, X. 117.

6. Manu, VIII. 142.

Kṣatriya as a watchman and a Vaiśya as a herdsman).¹ But if a Brahmin making misuse of his power and out of greed made a twice-born man against his will to do the work of a slave was to be fined six hundreded *paṇas* by the king².

A Kṣatriya had the right to have a portion of booty acquired during war. It is laid down that the soldiers after presenting a choiced portion of the booty to the king should distribute it among themselves. Thus booty as means of income added to their resources.

Property of a Kṣatriya : While laying down seven lawful modes of acquiring property viz, inheritance, finding or friendly donation, purchase, conquest, lending at interest, the performance of work, and the acceptance of gifts from virtuous, Manu points out conquest as the lawful source of acquiring property for a Kṣatriya.³ Nārada⁴ writing on the same theme states that property obtained by inheritance, gifts made from love, and what has been obtained by a wife as dowry are the pure types of wealth to be acquired by all the Varnas. He further mentions the pure wealth peculiar to a Kṣatriya. The pure wealth of a Kṣatriya is stated to be of three sorts; i.e. obtained in the shape of taxes, by fighting and by means of fines declared in law suits⁵ and he classifies the first wealth as of white type while the remaining two are mentioned as of black and spotted type⁶.

Economically speaking, the Kṣatriyas of the Smṛti period were not very well sound. It seems that gradually and gradually they abandoned sticking to their established mode of earning livelihood and started taking to even low occupations for acquiring wealth not only in hard times but in normal circumstances as well.

5. Struggle for Supremacy between the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins

Mutual Relationship of a Kṣatriya and a Brahmin: Touching

1. Manu, VIII. 411.
2. Ibid, VIII. 412.
3. Ibid, X. 115.
4. Nār, 1.51.
5. Ibid, I. 53.
6. Ibid, I. 45.

upon the topic of the relationship of the Kṣatriyas with the Brahmins, Manu asserts that their unity is highly desired. The close unity of the two Varnas is expressed in a verse which claims that a Kṣatriya cannot prosper without a Brahmin and a Brahmin without a Kṣatriya. Hence when closely united they prosper in this world and the next world.¹ Again a Brahmin is declared to be the root of the sacred law and the Kṣatriya its top, and thus a person who confesses his fault before these two is purified of his sin.² Nārada observes no difference between a Brahmin and a king, who are both devoted to their duty in protecting mankind in accordance with the sacred law.³ Again the king and the Brahmin have been listed among the eight sacred objects in the world.⁴

Superiority of the Brahmins : The period of the Smṛtis was the period of the Brahmin revivalism in which the Brahmins made their head-way. The Brahmins established their superiority not only over the Kṣatriyas but they even exerted their superiority over all the created beings for it is said that 'a Brahmin, coming into existence, is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created beings, for the protection of the treasure of the law⁵'. Manu places the Brahmin at the top of the social system by virtue of his birth. He states that as the Brahmin sprang from (Brahma's) mouth, as he was first born, and as he possesses the Veda, he is by rights the lord of this whole creation.⁶ A Brahmin is declared to be the creator of the world, the punisher, the teacher and hence a benefactor (of all created beings) so no one should say unpropitious or harsh words to him.⁷ Brahmins are said to be the most excellent of men.⁸ This superiority of the

1. नाब्रह्म क्षत्रमृध्नोति नाक्षत्रं ब्रह्म वर्धते ।

ब्रह्म क्षत्रं च संपृक्तमिह क्षामुत्र वर्धते ॥

—Manu, IX. 322.

2. Ibid, XI. 83.

3. Nār, XVIII. 42.

4. Ibid, XVIII. 54.

5. Manu, I. 99.

6. Ibid, I. 93; Also IX. 245, Brahmin is the Lord of all creation.

7. Ibid, XI. 35.

8. Ibid, I. 96.

Brahmins is attested in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali¹. We read that in a compound, words like Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, take the first and second or third and fourth position according to their position in the social set up². At another place Patañjali assigns the Brahmins the foremost place in the society³.

The Brahmins are said to be the incarnation of *Dharma* on earth⁴. They were given the status of a deity⁵. The Brahmins were originated before all from the mouth of the Brahma so that offerings might be conveyed to the gods and manes and that this universe might be preserved⁶. In this way a Brahmin is a link between the gods and the men. Moreover in emphatic words Manu declares that 'what created being can surpass him, through his mouth the gods continually consume the sacrificial viands and the manes, the offerings to the dead?'⁷ It conveys the idea of Brahmins being unsurpassable by all other created beings. 'A Brahmin does not depend on others, he eats but his own food; wears but his own apparel; bestows but his own in alms'⁸.

Coming to our point of the Brahmin's superiority over the Kṣatriyas Manu ascribes the very origin of the Kṣatriyas to the Brahmins.⁹ A Brahmin of ten years and a Kṣatriya of a hundred years stand to each other in the relation of father and son; but between these two the Brahmin is the father¹⁰. Again it is stated that if a person meets many people at a time, the teacher and the king must be given precedence, and between these two, the former receives honours from the latter¹¹. A Brahmin's own

1. Mahābhāṣya, 2.2.2., p. 473; 5.1.115, p. 347; 2.2.34.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, 6.2.1, p. 188.

4. Manu, I. 98.

5. Ibid, IX. 317, 319.

6. Ibid, I. 94.

7. Manu, I. 95.

8. Ibid, I. 101.

9. अन्नस्यातिशब्दस्य ब्राह्मणान्प्रति सर्वशः ।

ब्रह्मैव सनियन्तु स्यात्सर्वं हि ब्रह्मसंभवम् ॥

—Ibid, IX, 320.

10. Ibid, II. 135.

11. Ibid, II. 138-39.

power is said to be the greater than the power of the king¹ which shows that a Brahmin was even superior to a king.

Here it may be worthwhile to examine the causes of this superiority ascribed to the Brahmins. Motwani puts forward a number of arguments. The supremacy of a Brahmin was due to his being born first from the mouth of Brahma². The second reason of his superiority was in the field of intellect *i.e.* his mastery of the Vedas and finally the virtuous conduct of the Brahmins strengthened his claims.³ The Brahmin is said to be the master of all the Varnas due to his pre-eminence, due to superiority of his origin, due to his observance of (certain) restrictive rules and because of the special sanctity attaching to his person⁴.

Privileges Enjoyed by the Brahmins: The Brahmins were highly esteemed in the society. They commanded respect and honour from all sections of the society. A Brahmin even commanded respect and a distinguished seat at the king's court. A king should show his face in the morning before the Brahmins first of all and should salute him and worship him⁵. A king should be constantly intent on showing honours to the Brahmins⁶ for Manu states that many ancient kings suffered through want of humility⁷ while others gained high positions by humility⁸.

Maintenance was provided to the learned Brahmins by the king.⁹ Even houses and lands were bestowed on them and they were exempted from all sorts of taxes.¹⁰ Manu says that entire universe is the property of a Brahmin who has no worldly poss-

1. Manu, XI. 32.

2. Motwani (Kewal), *A Study in Hindu Social Theory*, p. 101; Manu, I. 53.

3. Ibid.

4. वैशेष्यादप्रकृतिर्ब्रह्मैवास्मिन्निमित्तस्य च धारणात् ।

संस्कारस्य विशेषाच्च वर्णानां ब्राह्मणः प्रभुः ॥

—Manu, X. 3,

5. Ibid, VII. 37-38; Nār, XVIII. 35.

6. Ibid, VII. 38.

7. Ibid, VII. 41.

8. Ibid, VII. 42.

9. Br. Smṛti, XVII. 2; Manu, VII. 135.

10. Manu, VII, 134; Br. Smṛti, XVII. 3.

essions¹. Even when a learned Brahmin found treasure deposited he could take the whole of it, for he is said to be the master of everything². When a king found a hidden treasure he was supposed to hand over one half to the Brahmins keeping the other half in his treasury³. A Brahmin's property could never be taken was a settled rule. It was the duty of a king not to allow any Brahmin to die of hunger in his kingdom⁴, for the kingdom of a king where a Brahmin dies of hunger will be afflicted with famine.⁵

Manu lays down that a king should be lenient towards the Brahmins⁶. Capital punishment could not be awarded to a Brahmin but a king could either only banish him or cause to be branded⁷. A king could punish Brahmins like elders and persons commanding respect with admonition only.⁸ A twice-born man by merely making an intention of doing injury to a Brahmin had to wander for hundred years in a hell.⁹ A man causing injury to a Brahmin had to suffer great pains.¹⁰ Thus Manu lays down that a wise man should never threaten a Brahmin, nor strike him with a blade of grass and never cause his blood to flow.¹¹ A person desirous of prosperity should never despise a learned Brahmin.¹²

King and Royal Priest : The importance of the Brahmin as a royal priest was not undermined even in this period. Manu lays down, 'Let him (king) appoint a domestic-priest (*Purohita*) and choose an officiating priest (*Ṛtvij*), they shall perform his domestic rites and the sacrifices for which three

1. Manu, I. 100.
2. Ibid, VIII. 37.
3. Ibid, VIII. 38.
4. Ibid, VII. 133.
5. Ibid, VII. 134.
6. Ibid, VII. 32.
7. Br. Smṛti, XXVII. 6.
8. Ibid, XXVII. 7.
9. Manu, IV. 165.
10. Ibid, IV. 166-167.
11. Ibid, IV. 169.
12. Ibid, IV. 135.

ficres are required.¹ The qualifications of a Purohita laid down by Yājñvalkya are that he should have knowledge of astrology, should be highly exalted, and should be well-versed in the theory of punishment as well as *Aṅgiras*.² The Purohita was sometimes appointed to be a *guru* of a prince for instructing him in the Śāstras and conducting the necessary rites upto *Cūḍā-Karaṇa*.³ These ancient law-givers make the Purohita as an essential part of ancient Indian polity. According to Motwani a most important minister in a cabinet should be a Brahmin.⁴ A king used to administer the kingdom with the help of a Brahmin.⁵

It can thus be safely concluded that the Brahmins in the period under review were able to establish an unchallenged superiority over all the sections of the society for we get no data of their authority being questioned by any other Varna or by Kṣatriyas.

1. पुरोहितं च कुर्वीत वृणुयादेव चत्विजः ।

तेऽस्य गृह्याणि कर्माणि कुर्यान्नैतानि कानि च ॥

—Manu, VII. 78.

2. Yāj, I. 313.

3. Manu, II. 140; Yāj, I. 34.

4. Motwani (Kewāl), *A Study in Hindu Social Theory*, p. 91; Manu, VII. 58-59.

5. Yāj, I. 312.

Conclusion

The main findings regarding the evolution of the position of the Kṣatriyas in the period under review, can be summarised as follows :

The word *Kṣatra* from which Kṣatriya is derived was used primarily in the sense of power, dominion, might and supremacy and was applied to the power of Vedic gods in the Ṛgveda, but nowhere in the whole of the Ṛgveda this term denotes Kṣatriya Varṇa. It was only in the later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas that the term came to signify both the sense of might and Kṣatriya Varṇa and consequently the term *Kṣatra* receded into background giving its place to Kṣatriya word which stood for the Kṣatriya Varṇa in the Vedic as well as in the post-Vedic period.

The Vedas and the Sūtra-texts ascribe divine origin to the Kṣatriya as being born from the arms or vigour of the Brahma sidewise also attributing their origin to *Bhuvah* and *Trīṣṭubh* metre, etc. On the other hand, in Pāli-texts the origin of the Khattiya class (Kṣatriyas) is ascribed to human beings. In the beginning an individual was asked to look after the fields of another and for this he was given some share of the field and he being the protector of the field was called Khattiya. This selection of a Khattiya was the origin of a Khattiya class.

In the Ṛgvedic society where Varṇa restrictions were not observed, Kṣatriyas as a class with special rights and privileges did not exist, but it is only in the later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas that the Kṣatriyas can be seen as a seprate class with their special rights and privileges. The Kṣatriyas were assigned

second position in the class hierarchy, the Brahmins standing at the top of it. An important feature of the period is that in this period the Kṣatriyas are more closely bracketed with the Brahmins with the specific exclusion of the other two Varnas i. e. Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The Vaiśya Varṇa was certainly under the control of the Kṣatriyas. The supremacy of the Kṣatriyas over the Vaiśyas was unquestionably established in Vedic period though there went on a kind of tussle between the Kṣatriyas and the Brahmins for establishing their superemacy over each other. The Kṣatriyas were jealous of the superior position of the Brahmins and at times tried to subjugate and harass them but they were always threatened with serious consequences. The seeds of the Brahmin-Kṣatriya rivalry are sown in this period in the story of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. The Kṣatriyas also rivalled with the Brahmins in the field of learning. They were authors of many Vedic hymns and were known as the propounders of philosophical knowledge. Moreover the Kṣatriyas had different modes of addressing and welcoming. They also had different seasons for performance of the sacrifices. The Aśvamedha, Vājpeya, Rājasūya and Sūtrāmaṇi were the special sacrifices meant for Kṣatriyas.

Kṣatriyas with exclusive duty of fighting were unheard in the early Vedic period. With the expansion of Aryadom to the east and the society being complex day by day a need was felt for a special class to whom the duty of protection could be assigned. In Kṣatriyas was found such a class whose duty was protection of the state. The head of the state i.e. Rājā was generally of the Kṣatriya Varṇa.

In the post-Vedic literature, we can notice an increase in the rigidity of the Varṇa system. The Sūtra texts clearly assign second position to the Kṣatriyas, making them a little separate from the first Varṇa. But the Buddhist and the Jain texts depict a somewhat different picture. In the enumeration of castes, they always put Kṣatriya at its head and superior to all other Varnas. This view of the Pāli texts seems to be biased for they were prejudiced against the Brahmins and their practices. Moreover, these texts lay more emphasis on virtue than on birth. The factor determining caste of a person according to Buddhists was virtue and not his birth.

The Sūtra texts depict Kṣatriyas as a special class with

separate rights and duties, etc. distinguishing them from other Vārṇas. For instance distinction is seen with regard to the age, the season, the girdle and the staff for Upanayana of a Kṣatriya child. In the field of education, besides the study of the Vedas, they had to study Dharmaśāstras and Ānvīkṣiki, etc. They had their separate social and legal codes.

The main duties of the Kṣatriyas were to study, to offer gifts and to protect people. The Kṣatriyas came to be known as warrior class who could wield weapons for the protection of the people and state. The other sections of society were devoid of it but only in abnormal circumstances. The means of livelihood of the Kṣatriyas were connected with the duties performed by them. They maintained themselves by the use of the arms. The royal posts and the post of Senāpati was held by the Kṣatriyas only. In times of distress a Kṣatriya could follow the occupation of a Vaiśya. He could indulge in trade but trade in certain articles was prohibited for him. Besides trade they could take to money-lending though it was not very much favoured. At times the Kṣatriyas could act as teachers too.

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya which is a manual of statecraft assigns Kṣatriyas a superior position in the society. They were regarded as the protectors of society and Dharma. The army consisted of Kṣatriya soldiers was regarded as the excellent and all the high posts of royal officers and of commander-in-chief were filled by the Kṣatriyas. Regarding social privileges enjoyed by the Kṣatriyas, they had special privileges as composed to other Vārṇas of the society. As regards education a Kṣatriya youth was heavily burdened with the curriculum prescribed for him which consisted of the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Ānvīkṣikī, Ākhyāyikā and Dharmaśāstras, etc. Vital importance was attached to the study of politics. Military training also formed part of the education of a Kṣatriya. He was giving training in the use of weapons, horses, chariots and elephants, etc.

The Kṣatriyas were paid by the state treasury. They also took to non-military occupations such as of scribes and bards. During peace time they indulged in enjoyment.

The Smṛtis regard Kṣatriyas as a special class with specific duties of fighting, second in position to the Brahmins but superior to the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. Besides fighting, a Kṣatriya could adopt trade, agriculture and money-lending as his profess-

ion in hard times only. But if he took to these in normal circumstances he was to do the *prāyaścitta*. Hence from this time onwards, the Kṣatriyas came to be regarded as a warrior class whose primary duty was fighting.

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चरकसंहिता—महर्षि अग्निवेश प्रणीत द्वितीय संस्करण.

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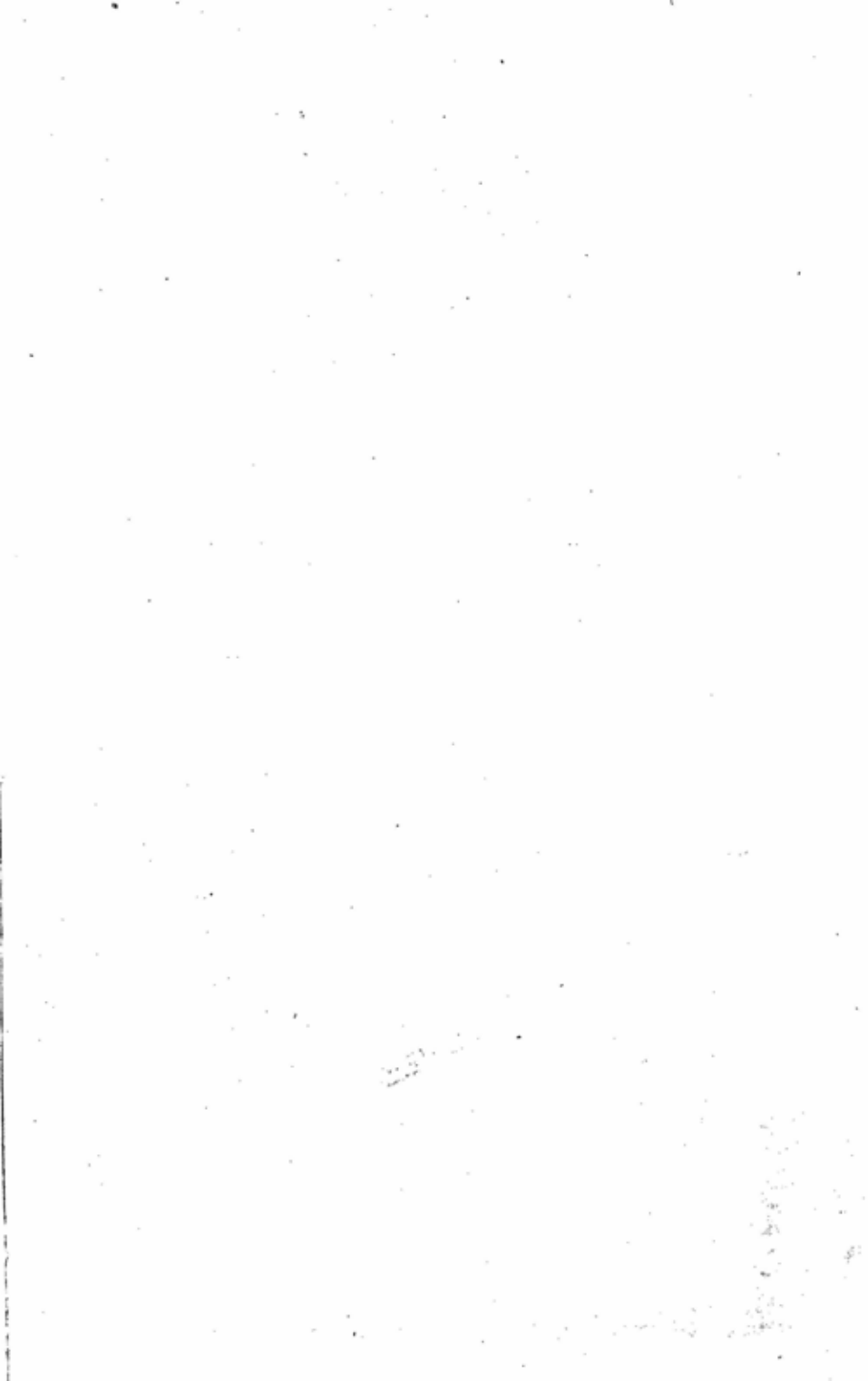
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