HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS
AND CIVIL LAW IN INDIA)

BY

MAHĀMAMPAṬHYAYA PANDURANG VAMAN KANE,
M. A., LL. M., D. Litt. (All.)

SENIOR ADVOCATE, SUPREME COURT OF INDIA, AND ADVOCATE,
HIGH COURT, BOMBAY; FELLOW OF THE BOMBAY ASIATIC
SOCIETY AND OF THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL
AND AFRICAN STUDIES; AUTHOR OF
"HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS" &C.

Vol. IV

(PĀTAKA, PRĀYAŚCITTA, KARMAVIPĀKA,
ANTYEŚTI, ĀŚĀUCA, SŪDDHI, ŚRĀDDHA
AND TĪRTHAYĀTRA)

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

1953
GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL SERIES

CLASS B, No. 6
Copies can be had direct from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4, India.
Price Rs. 50 per copy, exclusive of Postage.

Printed by Mr. K. G. Sharangpani, at the Aryabhushan Press,
915/1 Shivaji Nagar, Poona 4,
and
Published by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M. A., Ph. D., Hon. Secretary,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>i—iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>v—viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronological Table</td>
<td>ix—xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brief Synopsis of the contents</td>
<td>xiii—xvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of works consulted</td>
<td>xviii—xxiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of Law cases</td>
<td>xxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additions and Corrections</td>
<td>xxvi—xxxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. IV</td>
<td>1—827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix containing long passages in Sanskrit</td>
<td>828—833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Index</td>
<td>835—922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of technical or important Sanskrit words</td>
<td>923—926</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREFACE

The third volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra was published in October 1946. In the brief preface to that volume I intimated that the remaining topics of Dharmaśāstra would be dealt with in one volume. But as I proceeded with the task I found that that was a miscalculation. To present in one volume all the topics that remained in the manner and on the scale that I had adopted in the first three volumes was found to be impossible. Besides, as my age advanced, I could not maintain the same speed and finish the whole history in a few years as I intimated I would do in the preface to the third volume. Therefore, I had to decide, however reluctantly, to spread the remaining work over two volumes. Owing to the scarcity of paper and paucity of skilled workers, this volume has been in the press for more than three years. This volume deals with eight topics, viz. Pātaka, Prāyaścitā, Karmavipāka, Antyeṣṭi, Āśauca, Śuddhi, Śrāddha and Tirthayātā. These subjects are of great interest to anthropologists. There was great temptation for me, when dealing with these topics, to indulge in dwelling upon similar beliefs, usages and rites described in such works as Frazer’s ‘Golden Bough.’ For two reasons, however, I have rarely succumbed to this temptation. In the first place, there was the fear of increasing the bulk of the work which has already assumed enormous proportions. In the second place, dwelling on comparisons of ancient and medieval Indian usages and rites with similar usages and rites found elsewhere is liable to serious misunderstanding. Frazer’s volumes are largely made up of materials concerning the beliefs, usages and rites of very primitive people. It appeared to me that readers of such comparisons might be led to think that people in ancient and medieval India were at a primitive stage of culture, while as a matter of fact they had a very high culture in most matters, although they retained certain beliefs and usages derived from remote antiquity. Many cultured societies retain some usages that belong to periods of antiquity. The queen in France was not to leave for a whole year the room in which the death of her consort was announced to her. Wretched old women deemed to be witches were prosecuted and sentenced to death in England up to the beginning
of the eighteenth century, while Manu (IX, 290) more than two thousand years ago prescribed the mild punishment of a fine of two hundred yanás for all incantations intended to destroy life, for magic rites and for raising ghosts and goblins. My main aim has throughout been to discover, collect, classify and interpret the facts of the various departments of Dharmásāstra and my endeavour has been, as far as in me lies, to present the truth with detachment and intellectual integrity and without bias (except what might have been unconsciously engendered in my mind owing to my being born and brought up in a brāhmana family) to show the continuity, the developments and transformations in Indian beliefs, rites and usages throughout the ages and, while bringing the past in its causal relations with the present, to indicate and suggest future trends and changes in these matters.†

The fifth and last volume will mainly deal with the following subjects: vratas and utsavas; śānti rites; kāla and muhurta; paurāṇa-dharma; the influence of the Purvamināmśa and other śāstras on dharmāstāra; the cosmological, religious and philosophical background of dharmāstāra; the fundamental aspects of our culture through the ages; the impact of modern social and other ideas and trends on the dogmas and ideals of dharmāstāra and the future of the latter. This by itself is rather an ambitious programme. Now that I am over seventy-three years of age and suffering from several ailments I have misgivings whether I would be able to write this last volume and publish it while all mental and physical faculties are sound. I am myself extremely anxious to write this last volume as early as possible and bring to a conclusion an undertaking to which I have devoted all my leisure for over thirty years regardless of monetary losses and bodily ailments. With that object in view I have given up either entirely or very largely most of my other activities and engagements and have thereby offended many of my friends.

This volume also is full of quotations, references to inscriptions and judicial decisions. The reasons for this have

† Prof. J. B. Bury, a distinguished Professor of History in the Cambridge University, thought that freedom from bias was not possible and was not also desirable, since a man writing history completely free from bias would produce a colourless and dull work. Vide 'Selected Essays' (edited by Harold Temperley, 1930) p. 70.
been stated at length in the preface to the second volume and therefore they need not be repeated here. The list of additions to this volume is much larger than in the preceding volumes. I may be pardoned for frankly stating the reason. The first and second volumes of the History of Dharmaśāstra were published so far back as 1930 and 1941 respectively. No second edition of these has yet been called. It seems to me quite possible that during my life-time no second edition of the volumes of the History, or at least of this volume, might appear. Therefore, I tried to incorporate by way of additions such information as had escaped me while the work was being written in order to make it as complete as possible.

I now discharge the pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations to others. Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith, and the volumes of the Sacred Books of the East have been very useful in preparing this volume as in the case of its predecessors. Paramahamsa Swami Kevalananda Sarasvati of Wai has been a tower of strength in all matters of doubt and difficulty and has helped me by offering prompt guidance in solving some intricate problems. I am highly obliged to Mr. S. N. Savadi of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, for help in the correction of proofs and to Mr. P. M. Purandare, Advocate (O. S.), Bombay High Court, and Tarkatirtha Raghunath Shastri Kojé of Lonavla for reading the printed sheets as they came and making valuable suggestions.

It is difficult to name all those who in various ways, during the progress of this volume for over six years, kindly rendered assistance, but I should like to make special mention of Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mr. N. G. Chapekar, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, Dr. G. S. Gai, Prof. P. K. Gode, Tarka-tirtha Lakṣmanashāstri Joshi, Mr. G. H. Khare, Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar, Dr. Umesha Mishra, Dr. V. Raghavan, Prof. L. Renou, Prof. H. D. Velankar. Thanks are due to these scholars and many others for help and interest in this volume. I am conscious that in spite of so much help and generous encouragement from friends there are in this volume several mistakes, the sole responsibility for which rests on my shoulders. In a work replete with thousands of quotations and references
it is quite likely that many slips have escaped my attention. § For these and for the elision of a few diacritical marks and the displacement of parts of Sanskrit letters in the process of printing the indulgence and forgiveness of all readers are sought. I sincerely thank the Manager of the Aryabhushan Press, Poona, for carrying out the work of printing this volume with care in spite of difficulties caused by paper and labour shortage.

BOMBAY,  
10-10-1953  
P. V. KANE

§ I take this opportunity of correcting two mistakes that I regret I committed in the third volume of the History of Dharmaśṭra. In note 1886 on p. 968 (of vol. III) I refer to a work of Mr. Batuknath Bhattacharya that contains a full treatment of Kalivarjya. I suggested in that note that Mr. Bhattacharya probably retouched his thesis after 1937 though it was written in 1933, in view of the fact that he referred to the Smṛtimuktāphala (which was published in 1937 by Mr. Gharpure). Through oversight I forgot that Mr. Bhattacharya had expressly stated that he used the transcript of a ms. of the Smṛtimuktāphala specially made for him. Therefore, I was wrong in my surmise that he probably retouched his thesis and I must say that the thesis as published in 1943 is the same as that written in 1933 for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize. The second mistake refers to Dr. U. N. Ghosal on p. 32 (of vol. III). I stated ‘it is not possible to hold as Jayaswal, U. Ghosal and others do that the theory of social contract was the earlier one and the theory of divine right of kings was later on propounded by the Manusmṛti to support the brāhmaṇa empire of Puruṣamitra’. In writing this sentence my memory was at fault. I find that Dr. Ghosal does not hold the view that I attributed to him. In the 'Indian Historical Quarterly' (vol. 23, pp. 68-70) Dr. Ghosal justly protests against my bracketing him with Jayaswal, but I cannot help observing that the last sentence in the paper shows unexpected acerbity. In his whole career as a writer Dr. Ghosal was not probably guilty of a single slip and could not therefore bring himself to believe that my mistake might have been bona fide.
ABBREVIATIONS

( Most of the abbreviations on pp. 728–29 are not included in this list )

A. G. = Ancient Geography of India
Ain. A. = Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal
Ait. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
A. I. R. = All India Reporter
A. K. D. = Antya,karmadīpaka
All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad series
Anu. = Anuśāsana-parva
Ap. = Āpastamba
Ap. Dh. or Ap. Dh.S. = Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra
Ap. Gr. = Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra
Ap. M. P. = Āpastamba-mantra-pātha
Ap. Sr. or Ap. Śr. S. or Āp.Ś.S. = Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra
A. S. R. = Archaeological Survey Reports
Āśv. gr. or Āśv. gr. S. = Āśvalāya-grhya-sūtra
Āśv. Sr.S. or Āśv.Śr. = Āśvalāya-śrauta-sūtra
A. V. = Atharvaveda
Baud. = Baudhāyana
Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra
Baud. Gr. = Baudhāyana-grhya-sūtra
Baud. P. S. = Baudhāyana-pitr-medha-sūtra
Baud. Śr. = Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra
Beng. L. R. = Bengal Law Reports
Bom. G. = Bombay Gazetteer Volumes
B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica series
Bom. = Indian Law Reports, Bombay series
Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter
Br. Up. = Brhadāranyakopaniṣad
B. R. W. W. = Buddhist Records of the Western World by Beal
Cal. = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta series
C. I. I. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Chān. Up. = Chāndogyopaniṣad
C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal
C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes
Dh. or Dh. S. = Dharma-sūtra
ed. = edited
E. I. = Epigraphia Indica
Gaut. or Gaut. Dh. S. = Gautama-dharma-sūtra
Gobhila Gr. = Gobhila-grhya-sūtra
G. O. S. = Gaikwad Oriental series
G. P. S. = Gautama-pitrmedha-sūtra
Gr. R. = Gṛhamatharānakara
H. of D. or H. of Dh. = History of Dharmaśāstra
Hir. Gr. or Hir. gr = Hiranyakesi-grhya-sūtra
Hir. P. S. = Hiranyakesi-pitr-medha-sūtra
I. A. = Indian Antiquary or Law Reports, Indian Appeals (according to context)
I. L. R. = Indian Law Reports series
History of Dharmakšāstra

I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly
J. A. S. B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
Jai. = Jaimini’s Pūrvamāmāsūtra
Jaimini Gr. = Jaimini-gṛhya-sūtra
JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
Jiv. = Jivananda Vidyāsagara’s edition
J. O. R. = Journal of Oriental Research (Madras)
Kāt. = Kātyāyana
Kāt. Sr. or Kāt. Sr. S. = Kātyāyana-sūtra
Kāthaka Gr. = Kāthaka-gṛhya-sūtra
Kātyāyana = Kātyāyana-smṛti-sārodhāra (ed. by me)
Kauś or Kauśika = Kauśika-sūtra
Kauś. Up. = Kauśitaki Upaniṣad
Khādīra Gr. = Khādīra-gṛhya-sūtra
m. = mentioned
Mārk. = Mārkandeyapurāṇa
Mit. = Mitakṣarī, commentary on Yājñavalkya
M. S. = Maitreyani-samhitā
Nir = Nirūkta
Pān = Pāṇini’s Astādhyāyi
Pār. gr. = Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra
Par. M. = Parāśara-Mādhaviya
Pr. M. = Prāyāscittamayūkha
Pr. Pr. or Pr. Prakāśa = PrāyāscittapraKāśa
Pr. Prakārama = PrāyāscittapraKārana
Pr. S. or Pr. sāra = Prāyāscittasāra
Pr. T. or Pr. Tattva = Prāyāscittatattva
Pr. V. or Pr. Vi. = Prāyāscittaviveka
q = quoted
Q. B. D. = Queen’s Bench Division
Rg. = Rgveda
Sām. Br. = Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa
Sām. Br. = Sānkhāyana Brāhmaṇa
Sām. gr. = Sānkhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra
Sān. Sr. or Sān. Sr. S. = Sānkhāyanaśrauta-sūtra
Sat. Br. = Satapatha Brāhmaṇa
Sat. Sr. = Satyāsādhasūtra
S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East (ed. by Maxmuller)
S. K. = Śuddhikaumudi
S. K. L. = Śrāddhakalpata
Smr. C. or Smr. C. = Smrteandrikā
Smr. M. = Smrte-kāthopākṣa
Sr. P. or Sr. Pr. = Śrāddhaprakāśa
Sr. K. K. = Śrāddhakriyākaumudi
S. V. = Śāmaveda
Tai. A. or Tai. Ar. = Taittiṛiya Aranyaka
Tai. Br. = Taittiṛiya Brähmana
Tai. S. = Taittiṛiya Samhitā
Tai. Up. = Taittiṛiya-upaniṣad
Tāndya Br. = Tāndyamahā-brāhmaṇa
Tir. C. = Tirthacintāmani
Tir. K. = Tirthakalpataru
Tirthapra. or Tir. Pr. = TirthapraKāśa
Tri. S. = Tristhalisetu
T. S. = Tirthasāra
Up. = Upaniṣad
Vaik. Smāra or Vaik. Sm. S = Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra
Vaik. Sr. or Vaik. Sr. S = Vaikhānasaśrauta-sūtra
Vāj. S. = Vājasaneyamahīna
Vas. = Vasiṣṭha-dharma-sūtra
Visṇu Dh. or Visṇu Dh. S. =
Visṇudharmasūtra
Vy. M. = Vyavahārāmayukha
Yaj. = Yajnavalkya-smṛti

अ. क. = अन्यकालीकक
अभि. or अभिपु. = अभिपुरण
अर्थे. = अर्थविद्व
अवनु. = अवनुपासनवर्ण
असत्स्थिति. = अनसत्स्थिता of नाशायण
आ. य. परि. = आश्रयाधिकारिशिष्ट
आन्ध. = आस्तमन्त्रमूल
आप. य. = आपलसन्ध्यामूल
आभ. य. or आभ. य. सू. = आश्रयाधिकारिशिष्ट
आप programs = अपस्तमन्त्रमूल
आप. य. or आभ. य. सू. = आश्रयाधिकारिशिष्ट
आभ. य. or आभ. य. सू. = आश्रयाधिकारिशिष्ट

भू. = भूबनेश्वर
ऐ. आ. = एवलय-आश्रयक
ऐ. भ्र. = एवलयाधिकार
क. य. or कठ. or कठोप. = कठोपणिद्ध
केल. = केल्याचक्तत्व or केलत. of केलात्तर
काल. = कालमनुष्ठितसारांगिर
को. य. or को. य. सू. = कोलयाधिकारिशिष्ट
को. य. or को. य. सू. = कोलयाधिकारिशिष्ट
को. य. or को. य. सू. = कोलयाधिकारिशिष्ट

g. भ्र. or g. भ्र. = ग्लोककिरस्वत्तु
ग. भ्र. or g. भ्र. = ग्लोककिरस्वत्तु
ग. भ्र. or g. भ्र. = ग्लोककिरस्वत्तु

व. ल. = वायुक्तिकारिशिष्ट

वनान्ध. = वनान्धकेरि
वनान्ध. = वनान्धकेरि
वनान्ध. = वनान्धकेरि
वनान्ध. = वनान्धकेरि

ते. आ. = तेरियारायण
ते. उप. = तेरियायिकारिशिष्ट
ते. ब्र. = तेरियायिकारिशिष्ट

t. सं. = तेरियायिकारिशिष्ट

तिय. से. = सत्यार्थितानुसार

प्रय. से. = दिन्यायेंचिन्तामणि of

प्रय. से. = दिन्यायेंचिन्तामणि of

प्रय. से. = दिन्यायेंचिन्तामणि of

प्रय. से. = दिन्यायेंचिन्तामणि of

प्रय. से. = दिन्यायेंचिन्तामणि of

प्रय. से. = दिन्यायेंचिन्तामणि of
वाज. सं. = वाजसुन्दरसंहिता
बाय. या यायु. = यायुपुरण
क्रिया. = क्रियापुरण
श्ल. १. = शब्दसंग्रहकर
क्रिया. या क्रिया. सू. = क्रियाधर्ममूल
हदया. = हदयाकल्प
च. सू. = चन्द्रनात्मक
व्यव. भि. = व्यवहारिनिषेध
व्य. सं. = व्यवहारसूत्र
शत. श्रा. या शतपथ या शतपथभि. = शतपथ-स्मृति
शताक्षर = शताक्षरसूति
शास्त्रायतना. या श्रा. = शास्त्रायतनाद्रायण
शा. भि. या शा. भि. सं. = शास्त्रायतनाद्रायण
शास्ति. = शास्तिपर
श. की. या शंकको. = शंककोमुद्री
शंककल्प. = कल्पनरो हं शंक
शंककी. या श्रा. ग्र. = शंकक्रियकाय
शा. सं. = शास्त्रस्मृति
शया. भि. = शास्त्रायाँकायमूल
शास्त्र. भि. या शास्त्रायतनाद्रायण
साम. श्रा. = सामविज्ञानाद्रायण
स्नेन. या स्नेनपु. = स्नेनपुरण
स्मृति. = स्मृतिविद्या
स्मृतिपु. या स्म. सू. = स्मृतिसुधाकर
शा. भि. = शास्त्रविद्या या शंक
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

of some important Sanskrit works and authors referred to in volume IV

N. B.—Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are conjectural and disputed by several scholars. Most of the dates about authors from the 8th or 9th century refer to the probable periods of their literary activity except in the case of a few authors such as Sankaracārya and Vidyāpati.

4000 B. C.—1000 B. C.—The period of the Vedic Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. Some hymns of the Ṛgveda, of the Atharvaveda, and in the Taittirīya Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa may possibly go back to a period earlier than 4000 B. C. and some of the Upaniṣads (even from among those that are regarded by most scholars as the earliest ones) may be later than 1000 B. C. Some scholars have criticized me for ascribing the Vedic samhitās to such an early date as 4000 B. C. Time and health permitting, I may have to deal with this question in a separate work after I finish the 5th and last volume on which I am now engaged.

800 B. C.—500 B. C.—The Nirukta of Yāska

800 B. C.—400 B. C.—The principal śrautasūtras (of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Satyāṣadha and others) and some of the gṛhyasūtras (such as those of Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana)

600–300 B. C.—The Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and the Gṛhyasūtras of Pāraskara and a few others.

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—Pāṇini

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—Jaimini’s Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—The Bhagavadgītā

300 B. C.—Vararuci Kātyāyana, author of Vārtikas on Pāṇini’s sūtras

300 B. C.—100 A. D.—Arthaśāstra of Kautilya (rather nearer the former date than the latter)

150 B. C.—100 A. D. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (probably nearer the former date than the latter)

200 B. C.—100 A. D.—Manusmṛti

H. D. ii
History of Dharmaśāstra

100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Yājñavalkyaśruti
100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Visnudharmasūtra.
100 A. D.—400 A. D.—Nāradasmṛti
200 A. D.—400 A. D.—Śabarā’bhaṣya on Jaimini’s Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-
sūtra (rather nearer the former date)
300 A. D.—500 A. D.—Bṛhaspati-smṛti on Vyavahāra and other
topics (not yet found). Extracts on Vyavahāra were trans-
lated in S. B. E. vol. 33 and extracts on many topics of Dharma
were collected by Prof. Rangasvami Aiyangar and published in
Gaikwad Oriental series
300 A. D.—600 A. D.—Some of the extant Purāṇas such as Vāyu,
Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu, Mārkandeya, Mātṣya, Kurma
500 A. D.—550 A. D.—Varāhamihira, author of Pañca-siddhāntikā,
Bṛhat-samhitā, Bṛhat-Jātaka and other works.
600 A. D.—650 A. D.—Bāna, author of the Kādambari and Harṣa-
carita
650—665 A. D.—Kaśikā, commentary by Vāmana and Jayāditya on
Pāṇini’s Āstādhyaśī
650—700 A. D.—Kumārilabhaṭṭa, author of Tantravārttika and other
works.
600 A. D.—900 A. D.—Most of the smṛtis such as those of Parāśara,
Śaṅkha, Devala and some of the Purāṇas such as Agni, Garuḍa.
788 A. D.—820 A. D.—Śaṅkarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher
800 A. D.—850 A. D.—Viśvarūpa, the commentator of Yājñavalkya-
smṛti
825 A. D.—900 A. D.—Medhātithi, a commentator of Manusmrī
doing numerous works
966 A. D.—Utpala composed his commentary on the Bṛhajjātaka of
Varāhamihira
1000 A. D.—1050 A. D.—Dhārerśvara Bhoja, author of numerous
works
1080 A. D.—1100 A. D.—Viṭṇānesvara, the author of the Mitākṣara
commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti
1080 A. D.—1110 A. D. Govindarāja, a commentator of Manusmrī
1100—1130 A. D.—Lakṣmidhara, the author of a vast digest on
Dharmaśāstra called Kalpaṭaru or Krtyakalpataru
1100—1150 A. D.—Jīmuṭavāhana, author of the Dāyabhāga, Kāla-
viveka and Vyavahāramārktā.
1100—1150 A. D. Bhavadevabhaṭṭa, author of Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa
and other works
1110 A. D.—1130—A. D. Aparārka, Silāhāra king, composed a
commentary on Yājñavalkyasṛti
1127 A. D.—1138 A. D.—Mānasollāsa or Abhilāṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi of
Someśvaradeva
Chronological Table

1150 A.D.—1160 A.D.—Rājataraṅgini of Kalhana
1150 A.D.—1180 A.D.—Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, author of Hāralata and Pitrdayitā
1150 A.D.—1200 A.D.—Smṛtyarthasastra of Śrīdhara
1150 A.D.—1300 A.D.—Haradatta, commentator of the Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba and some grhyasūtras
1200 A.D.—1225 A.D.—Smṛticandrakā of Devanabhāṭṭa
1150 A.D.—1300 A.D.—Kulluṅka, a commentator on Manusmṛti
1175 A.D.—1200 A.D.—Halāyudha, son of Dhanañjaya and author of Brāhmaṇasarvasva
1260 A.D.—1270 A.D.—Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādri
1275 A.D.—1310 A.D.—Śrīdatta, author of Pīṭḥbhakti, Samyaprādipa and other works
1300 A.D.—1370 A.D.—Caṇḍeśvara, author of Grhaṭharaṇākara, Vivādaṛaṇākara, Kṛtyāraṇākara and other works
1300 A.D.—1380 A.D.—Śāyana, compiler of bhāṣyas on Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas
1300 A.D.—1380 A.D.—Mādhavaśārya, commentator of Parāśara-smṛti and other works and brother of Śāyana
1360 A.D.—1390 A.D.—Madanāpatijāta and Mahārṇavaprakāśa compiled under king Madanapāla and his son
1360 A.D.—1448 A.D.—These are the dates of the birth and death of Vidyāpati, author of Gaṅgāvakyāvali and other works. Vide Indian Antiquary vol. 14 pp 190–191 for an inscription which records in four eras the grant of the village Bisapi to Vidyāpati by king Śivasimha, son of Devasimha (śake 1321, samvat 1455, La. Saṃ. 283 and saṃ 807)
1375 A.D.—1440 A.D.—Śūlapāni, author of Dipakalikā, commentary on Yañāvalkya, Prāyaścitta-viveka, Durgotsavaviveka and other works.
1375–1500 A.D.—Pṛthvīcandra, son of Nāgamalla, author of a vast digest called Dharmatattvakalānīdhi, divided into Prakāṣas on śrāddha, vyavahāra and other topics.
1425–1450 A.D.—Madanaratna, an extensive digest compiled by king Madanasmihadeva
1425 A.D.—1460 A.D.—Rudradhara, author of Suḍdhiviveka, Śrāddha-viveka and other works
1425–1490 A.D.—Vācaspati, author of Suḍdhicintāmaṇi. Tirthacintāmaṇi and numerous other works.
1450–1500 A.D.—Vardhamāna, author of Daṇḍaviveka, Gaṅgākṛtya-viveka and other works
1490 A.D.—1515 A.D.—Nṛsimhaprasāda of Dalapati, of which Śrāddhasāra, Tirthasāra, Prāyaścittasāra and several more are parts.
1500 A.D.—1540 A. D.—Govindānanda, author of Śuddhikaumudi, Śrāddhakriyākaumudi and other works
1513—1580—Nārāyanabhaṭṭa, author of Prayogaratna, Antyeṣṭīpaddhati, Tristhalisetu
1520—1575—Raghunandana, author of numerous works called Tattvas on Śrāddha, Tirtha, Śuddhi, Prāyaścitta and other topics
1520—1589—Todarānanda compiled under the patronage of Tōdarmal and divided into Saukhyas on Śuddhi, Śrāddha, Tirtha, Prāyaścitta, Karmavipāka and about 15 more topics
1590—1630 A.D.—Nandapandita, author of several works such as Vaijayantī (com. on Viṣṇudharmasūtra), Śrāddha-kalpalatā, Śuddhicandrikā, Dattakamīmāṁsā
1610—1640—Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa, author of Niṃayasindhu and over 20 works besides
1610—1640—Vīrāmitrādaya of Mitramiśra, of which Tirthapraṅgā, Prāyaścittaprakāsa, Śrāddhapraṅgāsa are parts
1610—1645—Nilakanṭha, author of Bhagavantabhāskara in 12 Mayūkas on Prāyaścitta, Śuddhi, Śrāddha and other topics
1700—1740—Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha
1700—1750 A. D.—Nāgese or Nāgojibhaṭṭa, author of about 30 works among which Tirthenduṣekhara, Prāyaścittenduṣekhara, Śrāddhenduṣekhara were used in this volume
1790—Kāśinātha Upādhyāya, author of Dharmasindhu, composed it in 1712
1730—1820—Bālamṛhaṭṭa, author of a commentary on the Mitākṣarā, called Bālamṛhaṭṭi
BRIEF SYNOPSIS
OF THE
CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV

Section I:—Pāṭaka. Prāyaścitta, Karmavipāka

Chapter I  Sin in Rgveda, conception of ṛta, enumeration and classification of sins, grave sins and lesser lapses, doctrine of karma ... 1—40

Chapter II  Means of reducing the consequences of sins, viz. confession, repentance, prāṇāyāma, tapas, homa, japa (muttering sacred texts), gifts, fasting, pilgrimages. ... 41—56

Chapter III  Prāyaścitta (expiation), derivation of the word, origin and meaning; expiations and secular punishments; circumstances to be considered in prescribing expiations; pārīṣad (assembly of learned men) and its duties. ... 57—86

Chapter IV  Expiations for grave sins such as brāhmaṇa murder and for lesser sins; procedure followed; tonsure; substitutes for expiations ... 87—129

Chapter V  Names and descriptions of all individual expiations. ... 130—152

Chapter VI  Consequences of not undergoing expiations; historical account of the ideas of Heaven, Hells and torments; doctrine of karmavipāka. ... 153—178

Section II:—Antyeṣṭi (rites after death), āśauca (impurity on birth and death), Śuddhi (purification).

Chapter VII  Eschatology; Rgveda X. 14—18 translated; rites on death of āhitāgni in Śat. Br. and śrauta and grhya sūtras; cremation; burial; offering
of water to deceased; collecting charred bones and casting them into sacred waters; sānti rites: graves; persons competent to perform rites after death. ... 179-266

Chapter VIII Śuddhi includes purification after āśauca (impurity on birth and death), purification of the body, of substances (pots, wells, food), of images and temples; derivation of the word āśauca, its meaning and two varieties (on birth and on death); circumstances on which periods of āśauca depended: exception to rules about observance of āśauca; Nārāyaṇabali for those who commit suicide; emphasis on mental purity. ... 267-333

Section III:—Śrāddha

Chapter IX Derivation and definition of 'śrāddha'; śrāddha and the doctrines of karma and punarjanma; pitṛs; panegyrics of śrāddha; only three rites for the departed in ancient times viz. pindapitr-yajña, mahāpitr-yajña and aṣṭakās; the adhikārīn (person entitled to perform) for śrāddha; meaning of the word 'putra'; proper times and places for śrāddha; classification of śrāddhas; qualifications of brāhmaṇas to be invited; persons unfit to be invited; food recommended and condemned in śrāddha; pinda-pitr-yajña as described in Taittirīya Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa; pārvanāśrāddha as described in Āśvālayanagṛhya, in Yājñavalkya, and in Padmapurāṇa; Viśve-devas; agnau-karaṇa; number of āhutis; number of ancestors to whom pindas are offered (3, 6, 9 or 12); description of modern pārvanāśrāddha; meaning of sapinda; āmāśrāddha. ... 334-515

Chapter X Ekoddiṣṭa and other śrāddhas; hemasrāddha; procedure of sapindikaraṇa or sapinda; occasions for and description of ābhuyadayaśrāddha; pratisāṁvatkarika śrāddha and mahālayasrāddha;
Brief Synopsis

mātāmahaśrāddha; letting loose of a bull; gift of cow

Section IV:—Tīrthayātrā (pilgrimages to holy places)

Chapter XI Holy places (mountains, rivers, forests) play important part in the culture and unity of India; meaning of tīrtha in Ṛgveda and later texts; grounds on which places become tīrthas; number of tīrthas very large; four classes of tīrthas, viz. daiva, āsura, ārṣa and mānusa; who should go on a pilgrimage; rites on starting; tonsure and fast.

Chapter XII Ganges eulogised in Ṛgveda, Mahābhārata and purāṇas; Tristhali i.e. Prayāga, Kaśi and Gayā; eulogy of Prayāga; tonsure at Prayāga; suicide at Prayāga; sub-tīrthas of Prayāga such as Aksayavāta.

Chapter XIII Kaśi; ancient history and eulogy of Kaśi; Banaras known under five different names; derivation of the words Kaśi and Vārānasī; Viśvesvara and Manikarnikā; five essential tīrthas at Banaras; Paṇcakrośī pilgrimage; sub-tīrthas, such as Jhānavāpi: numerous liṅgas at Banaras

Chapter XIV Gayā; Gayāmāhātmya in Vāyupurāṇa (chapt. 105–112); views about its date; Viśṇupada and Gayāsīras in Nirukta; brief summary of Gayāmāhātmya; most important spots in Gayā are the Phalgu river, Viśṇupada and Aksayavāta; the five tīrthas of Gayā; offering of śrāddha and pīndas at Gayā; the seven holy cities, twelve Jyotir-liṅgas, and four Dhāmas

Chapter XV Kurukṣetra and some other famous tīrthas. History of Kurukṣetra and its other names viz. northern Vedi of Prajāpati and Samantapaṇcaka; tīrthas of Kurukṣetra such as Sarasvatī,
Prthūdaka, seven forests; Mathurā, its history, twelve forests, Vṛndāvana, Govardhana, Gokula or Vraja; Puruṣottama tīrtha or Jagannātha; peculiar features of Jagannātha, viz. car festival, army of attendants; five important tīrthas; obscene sculptures on walls of Jagannātha temple. Narmadā, eulogy of and sub-tīrthas on Narmadā; Godāvari and 100 tīrthas thereon described in Brahmapurāṇa such as Tryambaka, Janasthāna, Nāsik, Govardhana, Pañcavaṭi, Kāñci, Pandharpur, its chief temple of Viṭhobā; large staff of priests; temple of devotee Puṇḍalika, Vārkarīs.

Chapter XVI  Comprehensive list of tīrthas and concluding remarks on tīrthas
IMPORTANT WORKS CONSULTED

(N.B.—Works referred to only once or twice have generally been omitted)


Aitareya Āranyaka (ed. by Prof. Keith in Anecdota Oxoniensia)

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with Sāyana’s bhāṣya (Ānān.)

Atharvaveda-saṁhitā (ed. by S. P. Pandit and sometimes the edition of Pandit Sātavalekar)

Brhadāranyakopaniṣad

Chāndogyopaniṣad

Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (B. I. series)

Jābālopaniṣad

Jaiminiya Saṁhitā, ed. by Dr. Raghu Vira.

Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā (Pandit Sātavalekar’s ed.)

Kathopaniṣad

Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa (ed. by Lindner, Jena, 1887)

Kauśitaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad

Maitrāyani Saṁhitā (Pandit Sātavalekar’s ed.)

Ṛgveda Saṁhitā with Sāyana’s bhāṣya (ed. by the Poona Vaidika-saṁśodhana-mandala)

Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa (ed. by A. C. Burnell, 1873)

Śaṁkhāyana-brāhmaṇa (Ānān.)

Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (ed. by A. Weber)

Taittiriya-āranyaka (Ānān.)

Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa (Ānān.)

Taittiriya-saṁhitā (Ānān.; sometimes Pandit Sātavalekar’s edition has been used)

Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa (also called Paṁcavimsa-brāhmaṇa)—B. I. series

Vājasaneyā Saṁhitā (ed. by Pandit Sātavalekar).

Śrauta, grhya and dharma sūtras, Vedāṅgas

Āpastamba-dharmasūtra with the commentary of Haradatta published at Kumbhakonam by Halasyanatha Sastri

H. D. iii
History of Dharmaśāstra

Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra with the com. of Sudarśanācārya (Mysore Govt. Oriental Library series)

Āpastamba-mana-pātha (ed. by Dr. Winternitz, 1897).

Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra with Nārāyana’s commentary (Nīrṇ.)

Āśvalāyana-srautasūtra with the com. of Nārāyaṇa (B. I. series).

Baudhāyana-dharmaśāstra (Ānan.)

Baudhāyana-grhya-sūtra with grhya-śeṣa-sūtra, grhyaparibhāṣā and Baudhāyana-pitrmedhasūtra (ed. by Dr. Sham Sastri in Mysore University Oriental Library Publications, 1920).

Baudhāyana-srautasūtra (ed. by Dr. Caland in B. I. series)

Bhāradvāja-grhya-sūtra (ed. by Dr. Salomons, Leyden, 1913)

Brahmasūtra—see Vedāntasūtra

Bṛhad-devatā (ed. by Prof. A. A. Macdonell)

Gautamadharmaśāstra (Ānan.)

Gobhila-grhya-sūtra (B. I. series)

Gobhilaṃṛti or Karmapradīpa (Ānan.)

Hiranyakṣi-grhya-sūtra (ed. by Dr. J. Kirste, 1889)

Jaimini’s Pūrvamāṁsāsūtra with the bhāṣya of Śabara and the Tantravārtika of Kumārila (Ānan.)

Kāṭhaka-grhya with the commentaries of Ādityadas’aṇa, Devapāla and Brāhmaṇabala (ed. by Dr. Caland, 1925)

Kātyāyana-srauta-sūtra (ed. by A. Weber)

Kauśikasūtra (ed. by Prof. Bloomfield)

Kauśitaki-grhya-sūtra (Benares Sanskrit series) or Madras University Sanskrit series

Khādiragṛhya-sūtra with the com. of Rudraskanda (Mysore Govt. Oriental Library series)

Mānavagṛhya-sūtra with the com. of Aśṭāvakra (G. O. S.)

Nirukta of Yāska, ed. by Roth: sometimes the edition of Prof. V. K. Rajwade with a translation and notes in Marathi has been relied upon

Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra—edited by M. M. Shridharshastri Pathak with a Marathi translation

Ṛgvidhāna of Saunaka (ed. by Prof. Jagadish Shastri), 1940

Sāṅkhāyana-grhya-sūtra (same as Kauśitaki-grhya-sūtra)—published in the Benares Sanskrit series

Sāṅkhāyana-srauta-sūtra (ed. by Dr. Hillebrandt)—B. I. Series

Satyāśāda-srauta-sūtra (Ānan.)
Important Works Consulted

Vaikhānasa-smārtta-sūtra (edited with English translation by Dr. Caland)
Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra ed. by Dr. Caland (B. I. series, 1941)
Vārāhagṛhyasūtra (G. O. S.)
Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (Bombay S. series)
Vedāntasūtra with the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara (Nīrṇ.)
Viṣṇudharmasūtra (ed. by Dr. Jolly)

Smṛtis

Āpastambasmṛti in verse (Ānan.)
Atri-smṛti (Ānan.)
Auśānasa-smṛti (Jīv.)
Bhagavad-gītā
Bṛhat-Parāśara-smṛti (Jīv.)
Caturvimāsati-mata-saṅgraha (Benares Sanskrit Series)
Dakṣāsmṛti (Ānan.)
Devalasmṛti (Ānan.)
Harivanśa (Chitraśāla Press ed. Poona)
Kātyāyanasmṛti on Vyavahāra (reconstructed by P. V. Kane under the title 'Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāra' with English Translation and notes)
Laghu-Hārīta (Ānan.)
Laghu-Viṣṇu (Ānan.)
Laghu-Āśvalāyana (Ānan.)
Mahābhārata with the com. of Nīlakaṇṭha (oblong Bombay edition)
Manusmṛti with the commentary of Kullūka (Nīrṇ.); where other commentaries on Manu are referred to, it is Mandlik's edition with several commentaries that is cited.
Nāradasmṛti (ed. by Dr. Jolly)
Parāśarasmṛti (Bombay S. series)
Prajāpatismṛti (Ānan.)
Saūvartasmṛti (Ānan.)
Śaṅkhasmṛti in verse (Ānan.)
Vedavyāsa-smṛti (Ānan.)
Vṛddha-Gautama-smṛti (Jīv.)
Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti (Ānan.)
Yājñavalkya-smṛti with the com. Mitākṣarā (Nīrṇ.)
History of Dharmaśāstra

PURĀNAS

The Ānandāśrama editions of the Agni, Brahma, Brahmavaivarta, Matsya, Padma and Vāyu have been used; the Nīrṇ. edition of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (text only) and the edition of the Narasimhapurāṇa published by Messrs Gopal Narayan and Co. have been relied upon; the Venkatesvara Press editions of the Bhaviṣya, Brahmānda, Brāhan-Nāradiya (or simply Nārādiya), Garuḍa, Kālikā, Kūrma, Liṅga, Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇupurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara have been used; the Nilamatapurāṇa, ed. by Pandits Ramlal Kanjilal and Jagadbār Zadoo (1924)

COMMENTARIES, DIGESTS, MISCELLANEOUS SANSKRIT, PĀLĪ AND PRĀKRIT WORKS AND AUTHORS.

Abhilaśitārthacintāmaṇi (= Mānasollāsa), published by Mysore Oriental Library and in G. O. S.

Antyakarmadiṃaka of Nityānanda (Kashi Sanskrit series)

Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (Nīrṇ.) except on pp. 212, 303 where a ms. of it was used.

Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkyaśmrī (Ānan.)

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (ed. by Dr. Sham Shastri, second ed.)

Āśaucadasāka of Vījñāneśvara (printed in Appendix pp. 832-833)

Āśaucāṣṭaka of Vararuci (published in Trivandrum S. series)

Bālambhaṭṭi, commentary on the Mitākṣara on Yājñavalkya, ed. by Mr. Gharpure

Bārhaspatya-sūtra (ed. by Dr. F. W. Thomas, Lahore 1921)

Brahmaṇasarvasva—D. C. ms. No. 9 of A 1883-84

Brāhmaṇasamhitā of Varāhamihira with the com. of Utpala (ed. by M. M. Sudhakara Dvivedi)

Dāndaviveka of Vardhamāna (G. O. S.)

Dayabhāga of Jīmūtavāhana (Jiv.)

Dharmadvaītanirnaya of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa (Ghar.)

Dharmasindhu of Kāśinātha with Marathi translation (Nīrṇ., 6th ed. of 1936)

Dīpākalikā, com. of Śūlapaṇi on Yājñavalkyaśmrī (Ghar.)

Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅgini of Gaṇapati, published at Darbhanga (oblong size) 1500-1550 A. D.

Gaṅgāvākyāvalī of Vidyāpati under patronage of Viśvāsadevi, ed. by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, 1940

Govindarāja's commentary on Manusmrī (Mandlik's edition)
Important Works Consulted

Grhaśtharatnākara of Candesaśvara (B. I. Series)
Grhyaṅgīśara of Nārāyaṇa Ārde (ms. in the Bombay Asiatic Society)
Halayudha's com. on Kātyāyana's Śrāddhasūtra (ms. No 518 p. 170 of B. B. R. A. S. cat.)
Haracakita-cintāmanī of Jayadratha (Nīr. Kāvyamālā series)
Haradatta's com. on Gautamadharasūtra (Ānan.)
Hāralata of Aniruddha (B. I. series)
Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmani, section on śrāddha (B. I. Series)
Jātakas (ed. by Fausböll)
Kalpataru or Kṛtyakalpataru, sections on āśuca, prāyāścītta, śrāddha and tīrtha (G. O. S.)
Kāśikā, commentary on Pāṇini's sūtras
Kāvyamāṁśa of Rājaśekhara (G. O. S.)
Kṛtyaratnākara of Candesaśvara (B. I. series)
Kṣirasvāmin's com. on Amarakośa (ed. by K. G. Oak, Poona)
Kullūka's com. on Manusmṛti (Nīr.)
Kumārila's Tantravārtika and Tuptikā on Jaimini's sūtras (Ānan.)
Madanapārijāta (B. I. series)
Madanaratna (section on vyavahāra ed. by P. V. Kane for the Anup Library series, Bikaner)
Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali (ed. by Kielhorn in Bombay S. series)
Mahābhāṣyakaravāmpāka of Māṇḍhātṛ—D.C. ms.No. 239 of A 1881-82
Medhatithi's com. on Manusmṛti (Mandlik's edition)
Mitākṣara of Vijnāneshvara, com. on Yājñavalkyaśrūta (Nīr.)
Nandapandita, author of Vaijayanti, com. on Viṣṇudharasūtra
Nirṇayasindhu with Marathi translation (Nīr. 2nd ed. of 1935)
Pāṇini's Asādhyāyī with Siddhānta-kaumudi of Bhaṭṭoji (Nīr.)
Parāśara-Mādhavīya (Bombay S. series)
Pitṛbhakti of Śrīdatta—D. C. ms. No. 152 of 1892-95
Pitṛdayitā of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa (published by Sanskrit Sāhitya-pariṣad, Calcutta, 1930)
Prāyāścittamayukha of Nilakaṇtha (Ghar.)
Prāyāścittamuktāvalī of Divākara, son of Mahādeva (D. C. ms. No. 249 of 1886-92)
Prāyāścittaprakaraṇa of Bhavadeva, published by Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi
Prāyāścittapraśāsa (part of Viramitrodaya)—ms. in the Anup Sanskrit Library No. 2610 at Bikaner
Prāyaścittasāra (part of Nṛsimhaprasāda) ed. in Sarasvatibhavana series
Prāyaścitta-tattva of Raghunandana (Jiv.)
Prāyaścittaviveka of Śūlapāṇi with the com. Tattvārthakaumudi of Govindānanda (Jiv.)
Prāyaścittendusekhara of Nāgoji supplemented by Kāsinātha-upādhyāya, son of Ananta (Anan.)
Prayogaratna of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (Nīrn. pothi size, 1915)
Prthvīcandrodaya (section on śrāddha) ms. in the Ichcharam Suryaram Desai collection in the Bombay University. Vide No. 251 of the catalogue by Prof. Velankar
Puruśottamatattha of Raghunandana (Jiv.)
Raghuvarṇa of Kālidāsa (Nīrn.)
Rājatarāṅgini of Kalhana (text and English translation by Dr. Aurel Stein)
Rāmāyana of Vālmīki (ed. by R. Narayansvami Aiyer at the Madras Law Journal Office)
Śabara, author of bhāṣya on Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra (Anan.)
Śādaśīti of Kaśīkāditya with the com Śuddhicandrikā of Nandapandita (Chowkhamba S. series)
Śaṅkarācārya's bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra (Nīrn.)
Śāyana's bhāṣyas on the Ṛgveda and other Sanskrit, Brāhmaṇas and Āranyakas
Saṃnattīśrāddha of Śivabhāṭṭa (Bhadkamkar collection, Bombay University ms No. 1176 p 421 in catalogue, prepared by Prof. Devasthali)
Smṛṭicandrikā of Devaṃnabhaṭṭa (Ghar.)
Smṛṭicandrikā on āśauca (published by Mysore University)
Smṛṭimuktāphala on āśauca, prāyaścitā, śrāddha (Ghar.)
Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara (Anan.)
Śrāddhakalikā D. C. ms. No. 421 1891-95
Śrāddhakalpalatā of Nandapandita (Chowkhamba S. series)
Śrāddha-kriyākaumudi of Govindānanda (Chowkhamba S. series)
Śrāddhaprakāśa of Mitramiśra (part of Vīramitrodaya) Chowkhamba S. series
Śrāddhamayūkha of Nilakanṭha (Ghar.)
Śrāddharatna of Lakṣmīpati (printed at Darbhanga)
Śrāddhasaukhya (part of Ṭōḍaraṇanda) D. C. ms. No. 257 of 1884–1887
Śrāddhasāra (part of Nṛsimhaprasāda) printed in the Sarasvatibhavana series, Benares
Sraiddhatattva of Raghunandana (Jiv.)
Sraiddhatattva of Raghunandana (a different work from the above), ms. in the Iccharam Desai collection of the Bombay University dated šake 1539
Sraiddhaviveka of Rudradhara, Kashi S. series
Suddhikaumudi of Govindananda (B. I. series)
Suddhimayukha of Nilakantha (Ghar.)
Suddhiprakasa (part of Viramitrodaya) Chowkhaba Sanskrit series
Suddhitattva of Raghunandana (Jiv.)
Suddhiviveka of Rudradhara (D.C. ms. No. 309 of 1887-1891)
Tantravarti of Kumari (Ānan.)
Tirthacintāmani of Vācaspati (B. I. series)
Tirthapraakasa (part of Viramitrodaya of Mitramistra, Chowkhaba S. series)
Tirthasāra (part of Nṛsimhaprasāda) in Sarasvatibhana series, Benares
Tirthayatra-tattva of Raghunandana
Tristhalisetu of Nārāyanabhaṭṭa (Ānan.)
Tirthendusekhara of Nāgāsa or Nāgoji, Sarasvati-bhavana series
Tristhalisetusāra-sangraha of Bhaṭṭoji (Sarasvatibhavana series)
Trimśat-ślokā with com. of Raghunātha (Ānan.)
Trikāṇḍa-mandara
Viśvarūpa, commentator on Yājñavalkyāsmṛti (work published in Trivandrum S. series)
Vivādatanākara of Caṇḍesvara (B. I. series)
Vṛṣotsargattattva of Raghunandana (Jiv.)
Yajurvedi-sraiddhatattva of Raghunandana (Jiv.)
Yogasūtra with bhāṣya and commentary of Vācaspati, edited by Rajaramshastri Bodas, 1892
Yogayātṛa of Varāhamihira, ed. by Prof. Jagadish Lal Shastri, Lahore, 1944

AUTHORS AND WORKS IN ENGLISH
(Some works such as those mentioned on pp. 618, 693, 716 are not included here)
Ain-i-Akbari (translated by Blochman and Jarret, three volumes)
Alberuni’s India (tr. by Sachau in two volumes, London, 1888)
R. G. Bhandarkar’s ‘Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism &c.’
Barbour’s ‘Sin and the New Psychology.’
B. M. Barua’s ‘Gayā and Buddha-Gayā’ (1934, in two volumes)
Beal’s Buddhist Records of the Western World
Bloomfield’s ‘Religion of the Veda’
E. A. W. Budge’s ‘Egyptian Heaven and Hell’
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. I (ed. by Dr. Hultsch)
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. III (ed. by Dr. Fleet, also
 cited as ‘Gupta Inscriptions’)
G. G. Coulton’s ‘Five centuries of Religion’ (1936)
Cunningham’s ‘Mahābodhi’ (1892)
‘Ancient Geography of India’
Dr. S. K. De’s ‘Vaishnava faith and movement in Bengal’
Nundo Lal Dey’s ‘the Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and
 Medieval India’ (1927)
Prof. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar’s translation of Silappadikāram
Elliot and Dowson’s ‘History of India as told by its own historians’
7 volumes
Epigraphia Indica, volumes 1–28
Fa Hien’s ‘Records of Buddhist kingdoms’ translated by James
Legge (1886)
Gibbon’s ‘Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire’ (Smith’s ed.
of 1862)
K. P. Jayaswal’s ‘History of India, 150–350’ (1933)
S. N. Kanga’s ‘Heaven and Hell and their location in Zoroastrian-
ism and in the Vedas’
Prof. Keith’s ‘Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads’
Dr. B. C. Law Presentation vol. I and II
Dr. B. C. Law’s ‘Heaven and Hell in Buddhist perspective’
Dr. A. Lefever’s ‘The Vedic idea of sin’
MacCrindle’s ‘Ancient India as recorded by Megasthenes,’ ‘Invasion
of India by Alexander’ and ‘Ancient India as described by
Ptolemy.’
A. A. Macdonell’s ‘Vedic Mythology’
Sir John Marshall’s ‘Mohenjo-daro’ (in three volumes)
Rajendraal Mitra’s ‘Buddha-Gayā’ (1878)
B. S. Puckle’s ‘Funeral customs’
Reginald Reynolds on ‘cleanliness and godliness’
Sacred Books of the East, edited by F. Max-Muller
Tawney’s translation of ‘Prabandha-cintāmaṇi’
C. E. Vulliamy’s ‘Immortal man’
INDEX OF CASES CITED

Akshayacandra v Haridas 511
Chandrachooora Das v Bihuti Bhushan 218, 220
Darbarilal v Govindilal 569
Digambar v Motilal 510
Dinanath v Hrishikesh 569, 573n
Dwarkanath Misser v Rampertab 581
Ganpat v Tulsiram 569
Gangaram Babaji Badve v Baji Shankar 713n
Gangaram Babaji v Narayan Annaji 714n
Gooroo Gobinda Saha v Anandilal 510
Gopala Muppanar v Dharmakarta Subramania 318
Hari v Bajrand 569n
Lachman Lal v Baldeo Lal 581
Lachman Lal v Kanbaya Lal 581
Maharani Hemanta Kumari v Gaurishankar 633n
Mutteram v Gopal 569
Nalinaksha v Rajanikanto 510
Narayan Lal v Chulhan Lal 581
Narhari v Bhimrao 323
Reg. v Price 233
Sardar Singh v Kunj Behari
S. K. Wodeyar v Ganapat 318
Sakharam Bhimaji Benare v Gangaram Babaji 713n
Saklat v Bella 320
54 All. 698 27n
6 Cal. 27n
22 Cal. 609 581n
13 C. L. J. 449, 581n
15 C. L. J. 376, 581n
22 I. A. 51, 581n
41 I. A. 27n
2 Patna L. J. 581n
A. I. R. (1945) Patna 211, 220
2 Patna Law Journal 581n
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

N. B.—Some cases where the correction can be easily made [as in the elision of an anusvāra or mātrā or a diacritical mark] have not been noted.

Page  Line or Note
8     note 17  Read न स स्यो दक्षो वासना धृतिः;
9     note 19  Add at end ‘Vide also विश्वामित्र 33.1’
15    last line  Put a full stop after the word ‘Viṣṇu’.
17    note 36  Read ‘हयपोरेषु’.
18    line 25  Read ‘selling of flesh’
19    note 43 l. 8  Read ‘अमितुराण 173.5’
24    note 58  Read न तु तुरोरक्षना तुरोरक्षना
28    note 68 line 7  Read दोषों न संसर्गः
36    line 34  Read ‘they pray’.
37    note 88  Read ‘लक्षणेऽद्व वसना शैवे’
42    line 24  Read ‘to be spread over from one’
43    line 23  Read ‘यादाधिव्य’ (Tai. Ā. II. 4.1, and Baudh. Dh. S. III. 7. 10’
44    line 29  Read ‘by offering either’
46    note 107 line 4  Read अष्टक्षेत्रम्
47    line 7  Read ‘four पाकर्याज्ञाः or महायाज्ञाः’
47    note 109  Read ‘the five महायाज्ञाः or पाकर्याज्ञाः as they are called in Manu II. 86’
54    note 133a  Add—The verse ‘उपात्तस्य…वर्जितः’ is अमितुराण 175.5–6 and is cited as from भारतेन्द्र त्रिपुरुणस्य। त्रिपुरुणस्य। हेमाद्रिस्य।
58    note 139 line 6  Read प्रायीतीकं विषयाकर्षे
94    lines 19  Add at end ‘It may be noted that the digests on Dharma forbid bathing in the sea at any
time one pleases and allow it only on Full Moon, on Amāvasyā and on parvan days and prescribe that at Setubandha one may bathe in the sea on any day. Compare: अष्टशमास्त्रौ सत्त्वाः न सत्त्वाः कठारणां। अष्टशत्वां मन्दवरे च सागरं पल्लवं स्थऽते। न कालिनयं: सत्त्वाः सत्त्वाः अर्थमोखन-करोणु। ॥ प्रामेश्वरः I. 1 p. 36

106 note 242 line 3 Read प्राय. वि।

108 note 247 Add at end 'Verses from गाव: दूरबंधो विल्ले से हेरिस्याः तिष्ठसि ते अतिमुरुण 292. 14-20'

113 note 257 At the end add 'The Mit. on Yāj. III. 280 remarks: यदा गाईस्यपवरिषाण सन्नातासास्वयर्तो भवति तदा संवत्तुकं श्रव्यः—सन्नयस्य दुर्विदं कविविदवापति ब्रजेश्वरी। स कृष्णोऽन्तम्भार: यमासात्सात्सायनन्तरम्।।' This is संवत्तुकं 171-72

114 line 2 Add 'Vide the bhāṣya of Saṅkara on Vedaṇat-सूत्रa III. 4. 43 (bahis-tūbhayathāpi)'.

116 line 23 Add after the words 'for a month' — 'It appears that simply officiating as a priest or accepting a gift entailed a prāyaścittā; vide Tai. A. II. 16. 17 'साजस्वित्व व्रत: वान्तन्तर विन: स्वाभावम् वेदमुद्री:।' Manu X. 109-111 appear to endorse this view.

140 line 7 Read 'and as marking'

149 line 23 Add at end 'Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III 248 states that in the Āṅgirasa-smṛti an expiation called Vajra is described and it is provided therein that those who are guilty of a mahāpātaka are purified after three years. The Mit. on Yāj. III 254 quotes the same half-verse as of Āṅgiras'.

164 n 395 line 2 Read अभिविशिष्यितकास्थः:

169 n 406 Add 'This verse is quoted by नीङ्कुङ्क in his commentary on उद्धोगमध्ये 33. 72 and in the सांस्कृतिकविवृति-वाचयतं Chowkambha S. series p. 45.'

185 line 11 Add after 'नामो वासुदेवव्या'—Vide अवन्धहिता 8. 5-6 and पद्यपुराण V. 47. 262 'सरये या मनि: पुरुष गतिपनति ताही', for the belief about the thoughts of a dying man.'
Read ‘शान्तिपृष्ठ, 285. 74 ff. for शिवसहस्ननम्’

Read ‘Fargard’

Read in 2nd line ‘recital’ and ‘bones’ in line 3.

Add a new paragraph after this line viz ‘A peculiar rite called Sampratti (transmission) is described in Br. Up. I. 5. 17 and Kauśitaki-brāhmaṇopanisad II. 15, wherein a father when about to die calls his son and transmits to him his own finished and unfinished work such as yajñas.

Add footnote 500a ‘Though in modern times Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa’s Antyesṭipaddhati is generally followed, it must be stated here in order to avoid misunderstanding that now no one spreads kusas and antelope skin on the funeral pile nor is the wife made to sit down near the deceased nor is she then raised up by anybody’.

Read ‘मित्र. on या. III. 2, मद्र. पा. p. 395’

Read ‘text of Samvarta that a’

Put the figure 555 above Rg. VIII. 95. 7–9

Read in last line but one तद्वर्धनमेऽन्तः

Read तन्तू तन्त्रजयः मात्रायनयज्ञवाहो

Add after the word ‘death.’ ‘It should be noted that in almost all parts of India except in Bengal members of all varnas including śūdras observe by usage only ten days’ impurity on death’

Read ‘preferably’

Read ‘पतितानां च’

Omit the words ‘with Sanskrit explanation’

Read ‘समाधिव्य उत्त’

Add at end ‘Though Manu V. 130 says generally ‘निवयमात्रे बुधि श्रीब्राह्मण:’ the words must be narrowed down to the occasions of dalliance in view of what Baud. Dh. S. I. 4. 57 (ज्ञितथा रतिसंपन्ने), Vas.28.8, S’ankha 16.16, Atri V. 14 and most of the commentators of Manu say.’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Line or Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>321</td>
<td>lines 11-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I should have mentioned here the four verses beginning with ‘Hiranyavarnāḥ’ of the Tai. S. V. 6.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>345</td>
<td>top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Read ‘Pañcajanāḥ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; n. 776 l. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Read ‘पञ्चजातस्तान् पिन्न परिच्छते’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>355</td>
<td>n. 807 l. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Read ‘भेष्मज वायर्यन्ते’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>368</td>
<td>n. 838 l. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Read श्रुतिः इव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377</td>
<td>n. 851 l. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Read तवेच्चु समुमव ै व मयात :</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>382-383</td>
<td>note 861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Add at end “In several works the 96 śrāddhas are enumerated somewhat differently. For example the यमोऽयोऽयोऽय (II. 2-p. 39 says: ‘अमी १३ “ युग ४ मनु १४ अस्व १२ चालिं १२ पाल १२ सहायता: १५ &quot; अन्नका ५ समान्यका ५ पूर्वं &quot; आद्यमेविशब्द पदी इति हेमानी है” For 12 Āstakās there is very ancient authority; vide note 861 quoting शस्त्रभजनम्. It is very rare to find 15 Āstakās mentioned; vide p. 361 and note 828 above.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>388</td>
<td>note 870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In last line but one read प्रद्ववा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>389</td>
<td>note 873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Read अन्तम् हृदयकथेवेत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>410</td>
<td>note 921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Read स यात्र नरः घाट ि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>427</td>
<td>n959 l.5 from end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Read समायवज्ञि सवते</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>441</td>
<td>note 985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Read अहंशीयां गुरुः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>442</td>
<td>l. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Read ‘then turn it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>457</td>
<td>note 1018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Add at end of note ‘The विश्वसत्तार्क (III. 176-1-5) reads the names of the ten विश्वेदेवाः somewhat differently.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>532</td>
<td>note 1195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Read ‘विक्षुत्तार्कविनिविनिं सम्बंधे (separate as विनिविनिं and असम्बंधे)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>534</td>
<td>note 1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Add at end—“Vide ‘बर्त इऽ प्राणः’ ऐ. ब्रा. 33:1”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>546</td>
<td>l. 17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|      | Add after ‘in an intercalary month’ the following:— According to the Nirmayasindhu (p. 12) the first year anniversary śrāddha has to be performed in the intercalary month and subsequent anniversary śrāddhas are to be performed in the pure month and not in the intercalary month, if the deceased died in an ordinary month, while at the time of the first anniversary or subsequent anniversary śrāddha
the year has the same month as an intercalary as well as an ordinary month. The Dharmasindhu also (p. 5) holds the same view 'शिनमासों मूतानां तु प्रथमावधिश्च महमास कार्त्तिक न 
श्रद्धे द्वितीयावधिश्च न श्रद्धे एव।'

560  note 1260 After line 13 in note add 'The विष्णुमूत्तरपुराण III. 
chap. 174 mentions nine mountains 'हिमवाड़ान्त मोक्ष 
निपोधो नील एव च। श्रेष्ठ श्रृंखला में मोक्षवाहनम् 
माथन। श्रेष्ठ श्रृंखला में मोक्षवाहनम् 
माथन। श्रेष्ठ श्रृंखला में मोक्षवाहनम् 
माथन। श्रेष्ठ श्रृंखला में मोक्षवाहनम् 
mādān।' (in प्रेष्ठां मोक्षवाहनम्)

561  l. 7 Read 'a work like that of Dr. Alexis Carrel.'

577  n. 1308 l. 5 Read 'वेश्य म: and attributes it to गहडपुराण.'

588  note 1333 Read 'विश्वकर्मारिखे च' 

592  n. 1340 l. 21 Read 'Another rule is that one makes '

595  n. 1347 l. 2 Read 'जले स म: प्ररत दर्ति' 

599  note 1360 Read 'पादस्मृति' 

605  n. 1372 l. 6 Read 'the Apsad stone Inscript.' 

609–613 The figures of the notes and the notes themselves 
have been wrongly arranged in these pages. 
On p. 609 l. 5 put the figure 1385 above the 
word 'Gangavākyāvali' and note (as printed) 
1387 should be 1385 and brought under p. 609. 
On the same page (both in the text and notes) 
the figures 1384a, 1385 should be changed to 
1386 and 1387. On the same page the note 
1386 should really be 1393a, which figure 
should be placed on p. 613 in line 24 on the 
word 'mokṣa' and the footnote so numbered should 
be placed after footnote 1393

615  note 1397 last line but one—Read 'occur in नास्त्राय' 

633  note 1448 line 4 Read 'तावतेव' 

648  n. 1473 l. 3 Read 'तपेदेव' 

664  note 1500 Read 'गृहा पादोद्रक' 

667  line 36 After 'difficult to say.' add 'Recently the Bihar 
State Legislature passed 'The Bodh Gaya 
Temple Act' (Act XVII of 1949) for the 
better management of the Bodh Gaya 
Temple and the properties appertaining 
thereto. It is provided by this Act that 
the Government of Bihar Province shall 
constitute a committee for the manage-
ment and control of the temple and its 
properties, consisting of a chairman and
eight members, of whom four shall be Buddhists and four shall be Hindus including the Mahant i.e. the presiding priest for the time being of the Saivite monastery of Bodh Gaya, that the District Magistrate of Gayā shall be the ex-officio chairman, but that, if the District Magistrate happens to be a non-Hindu, the Provincial Government may nominate a Hindu as chairman and that Hindus and Buddhists of every sect shall have access to the temple and temple land for the purpose of worship and pīnda-dāna.'

670 l. 6 Read 'srāllhas at Gayā'

673 note 1524 l. 4 Read 'तथैवविभि.'

689 n.1565 l.2 Add: It may be noted that in the विष्णुमोतिर I. chapters 201–202 it is stated that Gandharvas, sons of Sālvāsa, devastated the country on both banks of the Sindhu and Rāma sent his brother सत to chastise them; ‘जद्ध चेत्तससत्यान्यान् गण्डरवान् पाणिनिखयान्’ विष्णुमोतिर I. 202. 10’

691 n.1568 l. 2 Read 'सुप्राधा'

695 line 9 Add at end: 'Vide, for example, the statement that Purusottama is situated on Nilaparvāta (chap. 1), that a dialogue between Śabarā (a bhīlā) and Vidyāpati the brother of Indrayumna's purohita took place (chap. 7), that three rathas were manufactured for the three images (chap. 27) for being worshipped.'

696 n.1577 l. 3 Read 'यस्तै धर्मः'

99 l. 13 Add after this line 'Millions of devotees visit Jagannatha every year and the endowments of the principal temple and the shrines and sacred places within its premises are worth millions of rupees. Great dissatisfaction is felt about the management of the funds and about the due performance of religious rites at Puri. The State of Orissa passed the Puri Shri Jagannath Temple Administration Act (No. XIV of 1952) providing for the consolidation of the rights and duties of the Sevaks Pujaris and such other persons as are connected with the Seva, Puja and management of the devadāsam. But this Act does not, in the opinion of many devotees, go far enough. It only provides for some supervision.'
Add at the end ‘The mantra occurs in the भ्रमणयोग-संहिता II, 9. 10 and भै. आ. X. 45.1’.

Read ‘in Pañcavātī and on the left bank’ &c.

Add at end ‘Vide a paper on ‘Identification of the idol of Viśnū in the Viśnū temple at Hampi’ by Dr. C. Narayanrao in the Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference held at Mysore pp. 715–728 and a very informative and exhaustive thesis for Ph. D. Degree on ‘the cult of Viṣhṇu’ by Rev. G. A. Deleury accepted by the Poona University in 1952.’

Add under Āmardaka ‘Vide E. I. vol. I pp. 354 ff. for Āmardakātirtha in Rāṇod in Gwalior State.’

Under ‘Irāvati’ add—‘Vide Viṣṇudharmottara I. 149 (twenty-five verses) for a fine poetic description of this river and I. 162, 61–65 for the confluence of Irāvati with Sindhu and of ten more confluences of several rivers of northern India.’

Column 2 under Kōṇārka add “Vide Proceedings of the 8th Indian Historical Congress pp. 153 ff. for an article ‘Sungod of Kōṇārak—where is he’, which criticizes the article in the Modern Review.”

Add under Rohitaka—‘In the Madānpur plate of S’rīcandra in E. I. vol. 28 at p. 53 the place of origin of the Chandra dynasty is said to be Rohitagiri (acc. to some Rohasgadh in Bihar and Lalmāi Hill, West of Comilla, acc. to others).’

Column one under Sōna add—‘The Nirnayasindhu p. 110 quotes a verse of Devala enumerating seven nadas: शोभासितन्त्रह्रिण्याष्ट्रा: कोक्कोटेणिन्धपपसः। शतरूपे नदिः सन्न प्रवासं परिक्रियिता॥ It is difficult to say what rivers are meant by ह्रिण्य and कोक. Lohita is Brahmaputrā”

Read “अंडरवब”

Read मूलों and मूले

Read वर्ष

Read स्नाने
SECTION I

PĀTAKA, PRĀYAŚCITTA AND KARMAVIPĀKA

(Sins, expiations and the residual consequences of sins).

CHAPTER I

The Article on sin in Hasting's Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics (vol. 11) will clearly show how the idea of sin varies from religion to religion, from age to age and from country to country. We are concerned here with the growth and development of the doctrine of sin in India from Vedic times to the medieval digests and commentaries on Dharmasastra.

Sin (pātaka) is a word that belongs to the terminology of religion rather than to that of Ethics. It is very difficult to define sin. In a general way it may be said that it is an act which is regarded as a wilful rebellion against or disobedience of some law supposed to be laid down by God or Revelation; it is opposition to the will of God manifested in an authoritative work or at least failure to abide by the regulations contained therein.

1. In these days many people, both in the East and the West, question the very existence of sin. As Barbour puts it in his 'Sin and the new Psychology' (p. 19) "The feeling is gaining wide acceptance that there is no such thing as sin in the Christian sense. Evil may encompass a man's life and bring disaster to his personality, but it is not sin. It is psychic evil that can be explained by psychic causes and perhaps cured by psychological therapy. ... Many say 'nothing is right and nothing is wrong. Everything is the result of complexes'. It has resulted in an easy tolerance of sin". Sir Oliver Lodge in his article on 'Christian Doctrine' in the Hibbert Journal for 1903–4 at p. 466 says 'The higher man of to-day is not worrying about his sins at all, still less about their punishments. His mission, if he is good for anything, is to be up and doing and in so far as he acts wrongly or unwisely he expects to suffer'. The followers of Ĉārāvāka who was the prince of Atheists in ancient India used to say 'man should live among pleasures as long as life lasts; he should feed himself sumptuously (lit. should drink ghee) even by borrowing money from others. There is no coming again into the world after the body is reduced to ashes by cremation'.
The Rgveda is full of fervent and heart-felt expressions of the sense of sin and betrays intense desire on the part of the sages of old to be free from it. The idea of sin in the Rgveda is bound up with the conception of rta. The conception of rta cannot be discussed here in detail. But a brief statement is absolutely necessary in order to be able to convey what the Vedic doctrine of sin was.²

*rta* had a threefold aspect. It means 'the course of nature' or 'the regular and general order in the cosmos'; with reference to sacrifice it means 'the correct and ordered way of the cult of the Gods'; and thirdly, it also means the 'moral conduct of man'. A few passages to illustrate these three aspects of rta may be cited here. Rg. IV. 23. 8–10 are³ three verses in which the word rta occurs no less than twelve times and which breathe the all-pervading influence of rta throughout the universe. 'Plentiful waters (or riches or gifts) belong to rta; the thought (or laudation) of rta destroys crooked acts (sins), the brilliant and rousing hymn of praise to rta pierces the benumbed ears of man. The props of rta are firm, its (physical) manifestations are many and lovely for the sake of the body (i.e. man). Through rta they (people) desire food. The cows (sun's rays) entered rta by rta. He who wins over rta acquires it. For the sake of rta (heaven) and earth are wide and deep; the two highest cows (i.e. Heaven and Earth) yield milk (desires or rewards) for the sake of rta.' Some other passages are: 'The Sindhus (rivers) follow the rta of Varuṇa' (ṛtam sindhavo Varuṇasya yanti, Rg. II. 28. 4); similarly Rg. I. 105. 12 (ṛtamāṛṣantī sindhavah); The wheel of rta (i.e. the year) revolves round the

2. For the conception of rta and the idea of sin in the Rgveda the following may be consulted: 'The religion of the Veda' by M. Bloomfield (pp. 12, 123 ff); 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads' by Prof. A. B. Keith (pp. 35, 83–85 &c.); 'The Vedic idea of sin' by Dr. Henry Lefever (1935). One regrets to observe that Bloomfield's work is marred here and there by a certain levity of thought and expression out of keeping with the seriousness of the subject.

3. कालयोऽस्व घनयेश्वरे सन्ति शौर्यसिद्धिविजयिनि हलि। कालयां भेदायें बच्चिन प्रत्येकते रूप्ताच। जैसे जपेऽपि हथयो। जैसेन निरुक्तमुखे द्वाराय वमदाय हस्यसिद्धि न भक्ति। जैसेन बृहस्पतिविनाशकम अति वधूर्ज मलीयायश। जैसेन संन्यस्तापि बच्छिन ज्ञेयाय धर्मस्य सङ्कुचित्त:। कालयोऽस्व घनयेश्वरे सन्ति कालयोऽस्व घनयेश्वरे। अनुष्ठानविधि कालयोऽस्व घनयेश्वरे। अवसराद्य मन्त्रस्य व्यंजननि व विभक्तिं च।
sky with twelve spokes (dvādaśāram .......... varvartī cakram pari dyām-ṛtasya, Rg. I. 164. 11); ‘the dawr, the daughter of heaven, correctly follows the path of ṛta ..........’ (‘ṛtasya pan-thānam-anveti sādhu’, Rg. I. 124. 3); the young woman (Uṣas) does not destroy (or come in the way of) the light of ṛta (Rg. I. 123. 9); the sun is the bright and lovely face of ṛta (Rg. VI. 51. 1, ‘ṛtasya śuci darātam-anikam’); ‘the path of ṛta became united with the rays’ (Rg. I. 136. 2); ‘when exhilarated by drinking this (Soma) Indra released for the sake of ṛta the concealed host of cows’ (Rg. I. 121. 4, probably a reference to drought and subsequent rainfall).

Many of the principal gods of the Vedic pantheon are described as the guardians, promoters or charioteers of ṛta. Mitra and Varuṇa rule over all the world by ṛta (Rg V. 63.7, ṛtēna viśvam bhuvanam vi rājathāḥ); Mitra and Varuṇa, the protectors of ṛta, occupy a chariot (Rg. V. 63.1); Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman are said to be charioteers of ṛta (yūyamṛtasya rathyaḥ, VII. 66.12); they and Aditi and Bhaga are protectors of ṛta (Rg. VI. 51.3). Agni is called ‘the charioteer of ṛta’ (rathī ṛtasya, Rg.III. 2.8), the protector of ṛta, in Rg. I. 1.8, III. 10.2, X. 8.5, X.118.7 and ṛtāvān (in Rg IV. 2.1). Soma is styled the protector of ṛta (in Rg. IX. 48.4, IX. 73.8) and is said to support ṛta (IX. 97.24 ṛtām bharat subhitām cārvinduḥ). In Rg. VII. 66.13 the Ādityas4 are said to be ṛtāvan (acting according to the fixed order of nature), ṛtajāta (sprung from ṛta) and ṛtavrīdh (augmenting or rejoicing in ṛta) and further they are said to be fierce haters of anṛta (what is opposed to ṛta).

Ṛta is distinguished from sacrifice (yajña). It is not any particular sacrificial rite itself nor the institution of sacrifice. It stands for the ordered course of sacrifice in general. In Rg. IV. 3.4. Agni is styled ṛtacīt (conversant with or observing ṛta) and is invoked to know the ṛta (of the sacrifice); in several verses we meet with the words ‘ṛtena ṛtām’ (e. g. in Rg.IV. 3.9 ṛtēna ṛtām niyātām-īla ā gōḥ, V. 15.2 ‘ṛtena ṛtām dharuṇam dhārayanta yajñasya śāke, V. 68.4 ṛtāṁ-ṛtēṇa sapānta ‘conforming to or joining ṛta with ṛta’, where ‘ṛtena’ appears to mean the correct course of sacrificial rites and ‘ṛtām’ the settled order in the universe. Soma is said to be the thread of ṛta spread on the datāpaviṭra (Rg. IX. 73.9 ‘ṛtasya tantur-vitataḥ paviṭra ā). In

4. जयैरस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्रस्र
Rg. I. 84.4 it is said ‘O Indra, drink this (soma) that is extracted ...the streams of the bright (soma) flow towards thee in the seat of rta’ (i.e. in the soma sacrifice). Vide also Rg. IV. 1.13—(asmākam-ātra pitaro manuṣyā abhi pra sedur-ṛtam-ā susānāḥ) ‘in this world former men, our ancestors, approached rta etc.;’ Rg. I. 71.3 (dadhanṛtum dhanayannasya dhīṁ-ādīdaryo) Rg. X 67.2 (ṛtāṁ śaṁsanta ṛju didhyānā...yajñasya dhāma prathamam mananta) ‘the Āṅgirasas, declaring the rta and reflecting straightforwardly first thought of the abode of Yajña’; Rg. X. 37.1 (maho devāya tad-ṛtam saparyata, ‘offer this rta to the great God’).

The conception of rta as a moral imperative occurs in several passages. Rg. I. 90.6 (madhu vātā ṛtāyate madhu kṣāranti sindhavah) ‘the winds carry sweets, the rivers do the same to him who keeps rta’; Rg. V. 12.2 ‘O Agni, that knowest rta, know rta alone (in me)....I shall not resort to magic either by force or by duplicity, I shall conform to rta of the reddish bull (i.e. of Agni);’ Rg. X. 87.11 ‘O Agni! may the evil spirit who injures rta by anṛta be thrice bound in thy fetters’. Yama in rejecting Yami’s advances says (Rg. X. 10.4) ‘What indeed we never did before (shall we do it now?); shall we who have spoken rta (so far) now speak anṛta?’ (ṛtā vadanto anṛtāṁ rapema).

In two or three instances rta appears to be almost personified and invoked as a divinity. ‘O Agni! for us offer sacrifice to Mitra and Varuṇa, to the gods and to the great (brhat) rta’ (Rg I. 75. 5). Similarly, in Rg. X. 66.4 the great (mahat) rta is mentioned alongside of Aditi, Heaven and Earth, Indra, Visṇu, the Maruts &c.

Rta and satya were distinguished in several passages of the Rgveda. For example, Rg. V. 51.2 speaks of the Visve Devas as ‘ṛtadhītayāḥ’ (whose thoughts were fixed on rta) and ‘satyadharmaṇāḥ’ (whose characteristic is truth or whose dharmas are true). In Rg. IX. 113.4 rta and satya both occur and appear to mean almost the same thing. In Rg. X. 190.1 rta and satya are distinguished as having sprung from ‘tapas’. Rta involves a wider conception and satya had originally a restricted meaning (viz. truth or static order). The word anṛta, however, is the
opposite of both rta and satya as may be seen from Rg. X. 10.4, Rg. VII. 49.3 (Varuṇa who marks the satya and anṛta of people), Rg. X. 124.5 (Varuṇa who separates anṛta by means of rta). Gradually, however, the word rta receded into the background and satya took its place even in Vedic literature, though here and there (as in Tai. Up. II. 1 and I.9.1) both rta and satya are found in juxtaposition.

The sages of the Rgveda were acutely conscious of sin or guilt and pray to the gods, particularly to Varuṇa and the Ādityas, for forgiveness and for being freed from the consequences of sin. In this connection they employ numerous words such as āgas, enas, agha, durīta, duṣkṛtā, drugdha, añhās. A few examples of the employment of these words may be cited here. The most frequent words are āgas and enas, both of which appear to import sin in its deepest and most ethical sense. Rg. VII. 86 is a hymn to Varuṇa in which there are several verses that breathe a deep and heart-felt consciousness of guilt. The sage begins in verse 3 by saying that all wise men of whom he inquired told him the same thing viz. ‘Varuṇa is angry with you’. Then the sage proceeds ‘O Varuṇa! what is that great guilt (āgṛs) (of mine) whereby you desire to injure your worshipper and a friend? Declare that to me, then I shall quickly approach thee with an obeisance and be free from sin (enas). Cast away from us the transgressions (drugdha) of our father and those that we committed in our own person; ...free Vasiṣṭha (from guilt) like a calf from the rope (that binds it)’. In Rg. VII. 89.5 (almost equal to Atharva-veda VI. 51.3) the sage says ‘whatever transgressions (abhidroha) we who are mere men have practised as against the divine hosts and whatever dharmas laid down by you we may have confounded through our ignorance (or heedlessness) do not destroy us on account of that guilt (enas).’ It will be noticed that in these verses the words āgas, abhidroha and enas are employed in the same verses and therefore practically mean the same thing. In Rg. II. 27.14 the sage prays ‘O Aditi! O Mitra! O Varuṇa! take pity on us though we may have committed some sin against you’. In Rg. II. 28.5 Varuṇa is implored to loosen sin (āgas) from the devotee just like a girdle. Rg. VIII. 45.34 states: ‘O Indra! do not kill us for one sin, for two sins or three sins or for many (āgas).’ In Rg. II. 29.1 the Ādityas are implored ‘cast away from me sin (āgas) as a woman who gives birth to a child in secret’. For some other passages

6. पुत्रता आदित्यः हनिष्ठा अर्थे नक्तान्तरसौरितम्। 1 ध. II. 29.1.
in which *aṅgas* or its opposite *anāṅgas* occurs, vide Rg. I. 162.22, I. 185. 8, II. 29.5, IV. 12.4, IV. 54.3, VII. 51.1, VII. 57.4, V. 85.7, VII. 87.7, VII. 93.7, X. 36.12, X. 37.7 and 9. *Aṅgas* and *enās* are employed in the same verse, ‘Rg. IV. 12.4 *O Agni!* Whatever sin (aṅga) we may have committed through heedlessness make us free from it before Aditi and loosen from us our sins (enās) from all sides’.

Some more passages about *enās* are: Rg. VI. 51-7 ‘May we not have to enjoy (i.e. suffer for) the *enās* committed by another’ and Rg. VI. 51-8 ‘Whatever sin be committed by me I shall remove it by obeisance’; Rg. VI. 74-3 ‘O Soma and Rudra! Loosen from us and cast away from us whatever sin attaches to our person’; Rg. VII. 20-1 ‘Indra is our saviour even from a great sin’; vide also Rg. I. 189.1, II. 28.7, VII. 52.2. The word ‘*aṅha*’, also seems to mean sin. ‘Apa nah śośucad-agham’ (may our sins perish) is the refrain of Rg. 1.97. 1-8. ‘O gods! May your fetters and may sins (aghnī) be far away from us’ (II. 29.5, in which verse in the first half ‘*aṅha*’ occurs); X. 117. 6 (kevalāgho bhavati kevalādi) ‘one who simply eats food alone (without offering to others) reaps only sin’.

Another word is *aṁhas*. The following passages may be cited. In Rg. II. 28.6 Varuṇa is implored 'remove *aṁhas* (sin) as one removes the rope from the (neck) of the calf; one has not the power even to wink without you (your favour)' 7. It should be noted that in the preceding verse (II. 28.5) already quoted the simile of the girdle is employed with regard to *aṅgas*. ‘May Indra take us away from *aṁhas* as persons on both sides (of a river) call one who is going in a boat’ (Rg. III. 32. 14.); ‘No evil caused by the gods or by men reaches him from any side who worships Agni with fuel, oblation or sacrifice’ 8. Rg. VIII. 19. 6; ‘May Aditi, the mother of the affluent Mitra and Varuṇa, save us from all sin’ (Rg. X. 36. 3). 9 Rg. X. 36. 2 also prays Heaven and Earth, the upholders of r̥ta, to protect the sage from ‘aṁhas’. Vide also Rg. X. 126. 2.

Another important word is *vṛjina* which is often placed in opposition to *sūdhu* or *ṛju*. The Ādityas are said to ‘see inside

---

7. द्वारे ससांदर्शणपर्यथो नाहि श्राद्धो निमित्तवनेश:। स्र. II. 28-6; *compara* II. 28-5 ‘वि मर्याधार वा नमनिषिषाद व वर्ष वातावरण वृजना।’

8. न तथाया देवकातुः कुत्थन न दअथे श्राद्धो नमये । स्र. VIII. 19-6

9. शब्दांशिल्पो अक्षरिति: पारवेस्तो माता निमित्तवनेश वर्षान्य रेवते:। स्र. X. 36-3.
(the hearts of men) sins as well as good (thoughts and actions)\textsuperscript{10} and it is added that everything though far-off is near to them who are kings. In Rg. II. 27, 2 the Ādityas are called ‘avrjinaḥ’ (free from avrjina). The Sun is said to mark among men their right and sinful deeds (Rg. IV. 1. 17). The same words (ṛju marēṣu vṛjinā ca paśyān) occur in Rg. VI. 51, 2 and VII. 60,2 about the Sun.

The word ‘ānṛta’ is often used in the Rgveda. It has already been shown how Varuna is said to mark the satya and ānṛta of men. In Rg. VII. 60, 5 it is said ‘these gods, Mitra, Aryaman and Varuṇa mark (or know) many sins; they flourish in the abode of ṛta’. Rg. VII. 66, 13 calling Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman haters of ānṛta has already been quoted (in n. 4).

The word ‘durīta’ is sometimes used in the sense of sin. In Rg. I. 23, 22 the waters are invoked as follows:\textsuperscript{11} ‘O waters! carry away from me whatever sin may exist in me, whatever transgressions I may have been guilty of as regards my sensual appetite or whatever falsehood I may have uttered’. Here all three words ‘durīta, droha and ānṛta’ are brought together and convey almost the same idea, viz. sin or guilt against the law of the Gods. In Rg. I. 185, 10 Heaven and Earth are called father and mother and are invoked to save the worshipper from durīta (sin) which involves blame (pātām-avadyād-durītād). ‘Avadyā’ means ‘garhya’ acc. to Pāṇ. III. 1. 101. Rg. VII. 82, 7 states ‘Him neither amhās (sin) nor durīta nor worry reaches from anywhere to whose sacrifice you go, O Mitra and Varuṇa!’ In Rg. X. 126, 1 ‘amhās and ‘durīta’ are brought together (na tam-amhō na durītam devāso aṣṭa martyam). In Rg. VIII. 67, 21 the words amhāti and rapas\textsuperscript{12} seem to be employed in the sense of sin. ‘Duskrta’ (evil deed) is used in the sense of sin in Rg. VIII. 47, 13 and in Rg. X. 164. 3 Agni is implored to keep far away from the worshipper all sins\textsuperscript{13}. The word ‘pāpa’ generally\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{10} अन्तः पद्यामि ब्रजिनिनात साहु सवऽर्जनः परमा विचुस्ति || स्थ. II. 27-37. आ धूरायं ब्रह्मविनिग्रो हदु मर्नसं ब्रजिनि च पवित्रय॥ स्थ. IV. 1.17.

\textsuperscript{11} इदमाप: यथा निर्विलासं च दुःस्वते मयः। पद्धामिनिविद्वद्म हया लोप उला:तः॥ स्थ. I. 23-22. शेष (व-अ) में स्थेषः।।

\textsuperscript{12} विषै देवे स्वप्नतिमाहित्याय विसंहीतिः। विश्वासी ब्रह्मा एवः॥ स्थ. VIII. 67-21; ‘एव: गियंतिः पापप्रसेन्यो भवतः’ निषेधः IV. 21.

\textsuperscript{13} पञ्चत्वेंधः हेवायं अति दुःस्वते । यिनेन सम्धिज्ञास्य अहं अस्वभावतः।। \| स्थ. VIII. 47-13; अभिप्रायान्युपस्थाय आस्वभावतः॥ स्थ. X. 164,2

\textsuperscript{14} पापमाः हस्तार्थ तिग्नायात्तृ। स्थ. X. 10.12; पापस: सम्भो अशुता अस्वर्य \| पञ्चसारं जीवभावं समर्पये॥ स्थ. IV. 5-5.
occurs in the Rg. in the sense of 'sinner' (Rg. VIII. 61. 11, X. 10. 12, IV. 5. 5) or 'sinful' or 'evil' (Rg. X. 108. 6, X. 164.5, I. 129. 11). In Rg. VII. 32. 18, VII. 94. 3, VIII. 19. 26 'pāpaṃ' occurs and appears to mean 'sinfulness'. In the Brāhmaṇas 'pāpaṃ' (neuter) occurs in the sense of 'sin' as in Sat. Br. XI. 2. 7. 19; vide also15 Ait. Br. 33. 5. In the Upaniṣads 'pāpaṃ' means 'sin' (e.g. in Tai. Up. II. 9, Chāndogya IV. 14. 3). Certain important modifications of the doctrine about sin and Karma were introduced in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā, which will be discussed later on.

In spite of the voluminous references to the consciousness of guilt and sin in the Rgveda and to the transgression of divine laws briefly indicated above, European scholars were not wanting who boldly affirmed that the idea of sin was altogether unknown to the Rgvedic sages. Vide S. B. E. vol. I. p. XXII where Max-Müller replies 'the gradual growth of the concept of guilt is one of the most interesting lessons which certain passages of these ancient hymns can teach us.'

How sin arises in the individual mind has been a difficult problem at all times16. Men are conscious of the sins they commit, though they may have no definite conclusions or theories about the origin of sin. In the Rg. VII. 86. 6 a sage17 pleads with Varuna that sin is not due to a man's own power, but it is rather due to fate, to surā (intoxicants), to anger, dice or heedlessness and even dream state leads one to commit what is not right. In the Kausitaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad (III. 9) it is stated: 'the Lord of all makes that man perform good works whom He desires to raise to higher worlds.

15. सहोद्रवचाचीतः: सौपकसिताः ना तत्ता तपति पार्यं कर्मं मया जुलम्। रै. भा. 33. 5 (=VII.17.)

16. Christianity seems to have solved it by stating that the source of actual sin is the Devil (Matthew 13. 39) and by the legend of Adam's Fall (vide Romans 5. 12 'as by one man sin entered into the world and death by sin') it affirmed that there was a dose of original sin in all men. In modern times many people don't accept the idea of 'original sin'; for example, Sir Oliver Lodge says (in his article on 'Christian Doctrine') in Hibbert Journal for 1903-4 at p. 466 "As for 'original sin' or 'birth sin' or other notion of that kind ... that sits absolutely lightly on him (the man of to-day). As a matter of fact it is non-existent, and none but a monk could have invented it'.

17. न शो मायो व्यक्त्र भौतिक अतिक्षितः। अति उपास्याक्षेपस उपरि स्मरणेनेन्द्रितर्थं प्रयोगः॥ रै. VII. 86.6.
than these and He makes that man commit bad deeds whom He wishes to drag down’. It appears to be suggested that some men are chosen by God for being saved and some are chosen for being damned. This sounds like the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. In the Bhagavadgītā (III. 36) Arjuna questions Śrīkrṣṇa as follows: ‘impelled by whom does a man commit sin as if constrained thereto by force, even though he does not desire to do so?’ The answer given is (III. 37) ‘it is lust and anger springing from the element (guṇa) of rajas (passion) that are the enemies of man in this world. In another place the Bhagavadgītā (XVI. 21) says ‘this is the three-fold door or entrance to Hell that is ruinous to the self viz. lust, anger and greed; therefore a man must shun these three.’ But it must be said that this does not go to the real root of the matter. The question is why should carnal lust, anger or greed themselves arise in the mind of man. The only answer that is indicated is in accordance with the tenets of the Sāmḥkya philosophy viz. that there are three guṇas, sattva, rajas and tamas which combine in various proportions in different men and that it is rajo-guṇa that is the cause of man’s sinfulness. In the Śānti-parva, chap. 163, it is stated that there are thirteen very powerful enemies of men beginning with anger (krodha) and kāma (lust) and it is said that krodha springs from lobha (covetousness), which latter arises from ignorance (verses 7 and 11). But there is no satisfactory discussion of the origin of ignorance in that chapter. Gautama 19.2 observes20 that ‘man in this world is polluted by a vile action such as sacrificing for a man unworthy to offer a sacrifice, eating forbidden food, speaking what ought not to be spoken, neglecting what is prescribed and practising what is forbidden’. Yājñavalkya III. 219 prescribes: ‘by

18. एवं श्रवे साधृ कार्याश्च ते यम्मभो लोकेषु उक्षिनोधितः एव उ एवासाधृ कार्या
   कार्याश्च ते यम्मभो निन्दिष्टे । कौपीलकिचिदा । उप. III. 9. This is the basis of
   Brahmāṣṭīra II. 1.34 and II. 3.41.

19. तिःशिष्यं नरस्करणे द्वारं साध्याः साध्यां। कायम् नीपत्वा लोकस्तम्भतथावर्त्तया त्येनेन
   भागवद्गीता XVI. 21 = तिःशिष्यं नरस्करणे द्वारं साध्याः साध्यां। कायम् नीपत्वा लोकस्तम्भतथावर्त्तया

20. तिःशिष्यं नरस्करणे द्वारं साध्याः साध्यां। अनिल्यक्षिप्तिः नर: पतन-मुख्याश्च
   याः प्राप्तिः समयं नारो निमित्या तु वर्णं। साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः
   साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः साध्याः

19. अथ ज्ञानं पुरुषोऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर्जुनेऽर
   थी. 19. त्रिश्रवीर्यं नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा
   नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा
   नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा नीपत्वा

H. D. 2
omitting to do what is ordained, by resorting to what is condemned (prohibited) and by not controlling the senses, man incurs fall (i.e. sin). Manu XI, 44 and Sāntiparva 34.2 are similar verses. The Mitākṣarā explains that matters ordained are such as performing Sandhyā (morning and evening adorations) and Agnihotra and what are condemned are such actions as drinking liquor. Viśvarūpa explains that patana (fall or sinfulness) in Yāj. III, 219 is not used in the technical sense attached to that word by Gautama 21.4 viz. 'to be a patita means to be deprived of the right to follow the lawful occupations of twice-born men,' but it is used only in the sense that the man so acting (as mentioned in Yāj. III, 219) becomes liable to undergo prāyaścitta and that the words of Gautama (21,4) are restricted only to what are called mahāpātakas. The word pātaka is derived from the causal of the root 'pat.' Vide Medhātithi on Manu XI.54 'pātakasābhā pātayatiti vyutpatyā sarva-vyatikrama-mesu vartate' and Madanapāriñjata p. 786. In ancient works the word pataniya (meaning the cause of patana) has been employed as in Ap. Dh. S. I, 7.21.7. The Pr. V. (p. 35) paraphrases pataniyāni by 'pātakāni' and derives it from the root 'pat' (patayanena iti pataniyam) with the addition of the termination 'antiya' according to Pāṇ. III. 3.113. The word occurs also in Yāj. II. 210, III. 297, Śāṅkha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 237 (in prose) and other smṛtis.

The enumeration of sinful acts and the classifications of sins into several degrees or grades has gone on from very ancient times. In the Rg. X. 5.6 it is said21 "the wise made (lit. chiselled) seven limits; the man who goes against even one of them becomes sinful." The Nirukta (VI. 27) explains that the seven sins indicated in this verse are 'theft, violating the bed (of the guru), murder of a brāhmaṇa, murder of a bhrūṇa, drinking of liquor, continual performance of the same sinful act, telling a lie as to a sinful matter.' Rg. VII. 86. 6 quoted above (in n. 17) makes it clear that drinking surā and playing with dice were regarded as sinful. From the Tai. S. II, 5.1, 2, V. 3. 12. 1-2, Śat. Br. XIII. 3. 1. 1. and other Brāhmaṇa texts it appears that the murder of a brāhmaṇa was generally regarded in early vedic times as the gravest of all sins, though in the Kāthaka samhitā (31.7) it is stated that there is no sin as

21. सत मयोः कथोपतत्तुसमानिधिकर्मणि गणन्। श्र. X. 5.6; सत एव मयोः कथोपतत्तुसमानिधिकर्मणि \
तत्संकीकरणं अधिराज्ञः भक्तिः। सतं तत्परसयों ब्रह्मभक्तिः प्रायद्व्यं \
हरापरं दुःखस्य करणं युद्धं युद्धं: पति सरसं कर्मणि अतिर्गति। निर्तः VI. 27.
heinous as—killing a brhūṇa which is even worse than brāhmaṇa murder. The Tai. Br. in detailing the story of Ekata, Dvīta and Trita who was made a scapegoat for keeping off sins, enumerates the following sinners, viz. sūryabhīvyātita (one who sleeps on when the sun rises), sūryābhīviniruktita (one who slept when the sun set), one who has black nails or teeth, agrādīdhāṣṭu (one who married a younger sister while the elder sister was yet unmarried), the elder brother remaining unmarried even though a younger brother has married, one who allows his sacred sacrificial fires to be extinguished, the killer of a brāhmaṇa. It may be noticed that most of these occur almost in the same order in Ap. Dh. S. II. 5, 12, 22 where it is said that though

22. Brhūṇahan is either a killer of a learned brāhmaṇa or the killer of a foetus when its sex is not known. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 148n and vol. III. p. 612n for quotations and explanations. It may be noted that the four main prohibitions contained in the Decalogue (Exodus, chap. 20. 13-16 and Deut. 5. 17-20) against killing human beings, theft, adultery and bearing false witness are to be found in all well-known religious or moral codes.

23. ते देश सत्याश्रयसुजात। आश्वः आशुध्येत। सदृशायदित्र। सदृशसदृशायदित्र। अन्वादित्रेषु। परिवर्तिनी। धर्मशालिनी। तद्वादि नार्त्तवभवति। से. भा. III. 2. 8.11. In the corresponding story in the Kaṭakasthānta (31.7) we read तद्वादि भाषिणां पारमाणविनामो भाषिणेऽर्थातिर्भिस्वरूपाणि...क्लिणाणि भाषिणेऽर्थातिर्भिस्वरूपाणि. The story of Trita is briefly referred to in the Atharvaveda (VI. 113). The germ of it is found in Rg. VIII. 47.13 quoted above in n. 13.

24. अन्वादित्रेषु–कुन्याश्रयशादित्रेषु। विद्वेष्टापितानार्थातिर्भिस्वरूपाणि–परिवर्तिनी—परिवर्तिनी। विद्वेष्टापितानार्थातिर्भिस्वरूपाणि। सत्याश्रयसुजाती। आप. II. 5. 12. 22. It may be noted that both brothers (elder and younger) and sisters (elder and younger) were held guilty of sin in case of supercession in marriage. विद्वेष्टापितानार्थाति विद्वेष्टापितानार्थाति परिवर्तिनी परिवर्तिनी. विद्वेष्टापितानार्थातिर्भिस्वरूपाणि सत्याश्रयसुजाती. आप. III. 171-172, Acc. to Manu III. 173 a didhisūpati is one who feels love for his brother's widow and has intercourse with her under the system of nāgagra. विद्वेष्टापितानार्थाति is the same as परिवर्तिनी. अन्वादित्रेषु explained by Devala and by Aparārka p. 451, by Haradatta on Gaut. 15.15 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 26 as 'a younger sister who marries before her elder sister' and विद्वेष्टापितानार्थाति is the elder sister who is thus superceded by a younger one. In Ap. the word विद्वेष्टापितानार्थाति is to be connected with both अन्वादित्रेषु and विद्वेष्टापितानार्थाति. The Amarkosa explains विद्वेष्टापितानार्थाति differently. तपस्विति (17. 43-44) makes even the father or other guardian for marriage getting a younger son or daughter married before an elder one and the priest officiating at such a marriage equally guilty. परिवर्तिनी: परिवर्तिनी परिवर्तिनी. तत संस्कारे कुष्टियांनानांकामः।
these actions are not to be styled *palaniyas* according to Āp. yet they cause impurity which being greater and greater in each succeeding one requires higher and higher penances. Āp. adds a few more sinners to those in the Tai. Br. viz. *didhisupatī* (husband of an elder sister whose younger sister was married before her), *paryāhita* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother kindled fires), *parivividāna* (a younger brother who takes his share of the ancestral property before his elder brother), *parivinna* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother takes away his share of the ancestral property). The Chāndogya Upaniṣad²⁵ (V. 10. 9.) quotes a verse that declares that the five great sinners are the thief of gold, the drinker of *surā*, the violator of the guru’s bed, the murderer of a brāhmaṇa, and one who associates with any of the preceding four. The Br. Up. (IV. 3. 22) mentions as great sinners the thief and the murderer of a bhrūṇa.

Coming to the sūtras there is great divergence as to the classification of sins and the enumeration of sins in each class. The Āp. Dh. S. divides sins into two classes viz. *palaniya* (those that cause loss of caste), *aśucikara* (those that cause impurity, though no loss of caste is caused). Āp. Dh. S. (I, 7.21.7–11) states that *paliniya* sins are theft (of gold), crimes whereby one becomes an *abhisūsta*, complete loss (by neglect) of the Vedic learning that one secured by study, destruction of a foetus, incestuous connection with relations born of the same womb as one’s father or mother and with the children of such persons, drinking of *surā*, intercourse with persons with whom intercourse is forbidden, intercourse with the female friend of one’s female guru (mother &c.) or with the female friend of one’s guru (father &c.) and with the wife of any stranger, constant commission of immoral acts (*udharma*) other than those already mentioned. Āp. Dh. S. 1. 7.21.10 notes that, according to some, intercourse with a woman who is not the wife of a guru is not a palaniya sin. Among acts which render a man impure are (Āp. Dh. S. 1. 7. 21. 12–18) the cohabitation of an Ārya woman with śūdras, eating the flesh of forbidden animals such as that of a dog or a human being or village cock or pig or other carnivorous animals, eating the excrement of human beings, partaking of food left by a śūdra, and cohabitation by Ārya men with apapātra.

²⁵ तद्विषेधः। सत्यस विरोधः दुः सत्यविरोधः उपेश्वरमानसः। बढ़ता श्रीति पलिनि यज्ञाचार्यः। इति। छ. उप. V. 10.9.
women. According to some, those acts that are declared to be *akucikara* are also *pataniyās*. *Āp. Dh. S.* (I. 7.21.19) states that acts other than those enumerated are also *asucikara*. *Āp. Dh. S.* (I. 9. 21.6-9) enumerates those who are *abhiśās*, viz. one who slays a person belonging to the first two varṇas (viz. brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya) who had studied the Veda or who had been initiated for the performance of a soma sacrifice, one who kills a mere brāhmaṇa (though he may not have studied the Veda or be not initiated for a soma sacrifice), also one who destroys the embryo of a brāhmaṇa even though its sex be undistinguishable, or slays a woman who is an *ātriya* (in her monthly course). The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra divides 27 sinners into three classes, viz. those who are *enāsvins*, those guilty of mahāpātakas and those guilty of upapātakas (I. 19-23). Among those who are styled *enāsvinaḥ* are those mentioned in *Āp. Dh. S.* II. 5.12.22, with this difference that the 'brahmajīha', who is included among 'pataniyās' by *Āp. Dh. S.* I. 7. 21. 9 is put among 'enāsvins' by Vasiṣṭha. In Vas. 20. 4-12 special prāyaścitās for each of these 'enāsvinaḥ' (ordinary sinners) are prescribed. The Mahāpātakas (mortal sins) according to Vasiṣṭha are five, viz (violating) a *guru*’s bed, drinking of spirituous liquor, murder of a bhṛuṇa (a learned brāhmaṇa), stealing gold from a brāhmaṇa and associating with a *pūtita*. Those guilty of upapātakas (minor sins) are: He who forsakes sacred Vedic fires, he who offends a guru, an atheist, he who earns his livelihood from atheists, and he who sells the soma plant. The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra 28 (II. 1) divides sins into *pataniya, upapātaka* and *akucikara*. Among the first it cites making voyages by sea, stealing the property of a brāhmaṇa or misappropriating a deposit, giving false evidence

---

26. For the meaning of *apāatrā* vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 309n and 785n. For the meaning of *ātriya*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 527 note 970.


regarding land (dispute), trading with merchandise of all descriptions, serving sūdras, begetting a son on a female of the sūdra caste and begetting a child (either male or female) from her. The upapātakas, acc. to Baudh. Dh. S. (II. 1. 60–61), are intercourse with females who must not be approached, cohabitation with the female friend of a female guru or with the female friend of a male guru or with an apāpatra woman or with a female outcast, following the profession of medicine, officiating as a priest for a village, living by dramatic performances, following the profession of a teacher of dancing or singing or acting, tending cows and buffaloes and similar (low occupations) and fornication. Among asuṣeikara (causing impurity), Baudh. Dh. S. mentions gambling, black magic, subsisting by gleaning corn fallen in the field by one who has not consecrated sacred fires, subsisting by begging on the part of one who has returned to his home after finishing Vedic study, staying for more than four months at his teacher's seminary on the part of him who has finished his studies, teaching one who has finished his studies, gaining livelihood by astrology. Gautama (21.1–11) appears to include among patanīyas the usual five mortal sins and also some of those that are mentioned by Ap. Dh. S. (I. 7. 21. 9–11) and Vasiṣṭha I. 23 (such as nāṣṭikya) and adds a few more (such as not casting off persons guilty of patanīyas, forsaking blameless relatives and instigating others to commit acts causing loss of caste.

29. That this is the correct translation of Baudh. and not the one in S. B. E. vol. XIV p. 218 'becoming thereby her son' is clear from Mann III. 16 'कृत्यान्तः सुन्तोत्सवः नक्षतस्तवः भूयिः'. Saunaka condemned the begetting of a son from a sūdra female (and not the begetting of a daughter), while Bṛhacondemned the begetting of a child (whether male or female did not matter).

30. It must be supposed that these lists relate to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas alone. Trading with merchandise or tending cows could not have been regarded as patanīya for Vaiśyas since trade and tending cows have been always prescribed as their special avocations. Vide Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 7, Gaut. X. 50, Manu X. 79, Yaj. I. 119. Following the profession of medicine or living by teaching, dancing or by going on the stage made brāhmaṇas unfit to be invited at a śrāddha Vide Gaut. 15. 15–16 for long lists of those brāhmaṇas who were not to be invited at Śrāddha dinners &c.

31. भास्माहुर्दुःक्षालकोषःपाणिनिष्ठानिःमहाभारतानिःपाणिनीतिकृत्यानिःपलित्यायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिःपलितायानिः
The above statement about the classification of sins and their inclusion among the several classes or grades of sins will show that among the early sūtra works there was no general agreement about the nature and number of mahāpātakas, upapātakas and other classes of sins, even though as early as the Chāndogya Upaniṣad the mortal sins had been declared to be five. It must be supposed that that Upaniṣad represented only one school of thought in the times of Āp., Baud. and Gaut., who did not entirely accept the tradition of that Upaniṣad, but followed other divergent ideas. It is impossible to suppose that the verse quoted in that Upaniṣad is later than the Dharmasūtras of Āp., Gaut., Baud., and Vas.

It appears that Kātyāyana divided sinful acts into five classes viz. mahāpāpa (mortal sins), atipāpa (the highest sins than which there is nothing worse), pātaka (sins similar to mahāpātakas), prāsāṅgika (due to association or contact) and upapātaka (minor sins). The Bhavisya-purāṇa also says that those sins that are declared to be equal to mahāpātakas (by Manu and others) are called pātakas. Vṛddha-Hārītī also (IX. 215–216) speaks of five kinds viz. mahāpāpa, pātaka, anupātaka, upapāpa and prakīrṇaka (miscellaneous) and states (IX. 216–218) that those sins which are said to be like mahāpātaka are pātakas, that anupātakas are sins lesser than pātakas, that upapātakas are lesser than pātakas and prakīrṇaka sins are the least sinful of all. The Viśuddharmasūtra (33.3–5) speaks of nine kinds of lapses viz. atipātaka, mahāpātaka, anupātaka, upapātaka, jātibrahmsākara (effecting loss of caste), saṅkarikaraṇa, (rendering one as degraded as a man of a mixed caste), apātri-kaṇa (rendering the perpetrator unworthy of receiving a gift), malavaha (causing defilement) and prakīrṇaka (miscellaneous). Atipātakas, acc. to Viśnu Dh. S. 34.1, are sexual intercourse with one’s mother, daughter or daughter-in-law and the only expiation for them is entering fire. Manu omits the separate mention of atipātaka and anupātaka and includes most of them under those that he designates as equal to one of the four well-known mahāpātakas. Kātyāyana quoted in the Prāyaścittamuktāvali of Divākara (folio 3 a) adds sexual intercourse with one’s sister as atipātaka to the three mentioned by Viśnu.
Hārīta Dh. S. (it appears) quoted by the Mit. knew\textsuperscript{33} of a variety of pātakas called anupātaka, but from the way in which the several pātakas are arranged it looks as if atipātaka in Hārīta was a lesser sin than mahāpātaka. Manu (in chap. XI) refers to all the kinds of pātakas found in the Viṣṇu-dharmaśāstra except atipātakas. Usually five mahāpātakas have been enumerated from the days of the Chāndogya Up. (quoted on p. 12) viz. brähmaṇa murder, drinking spirituous liquor, theft (generally understood as theft of brähmaṇa's gold), sexual intercourse with the wife of a guru and association with the perpetrators of any of these four (for a year\textsuperscript{34}). Vide Vas. I. 19–20, Manu XI. 55, 180, Yāj. III. 227, 261, Viṣṇudharmāsūtra 35.1–5, Vṛddha–Hārīta IX. 174. Manu mentions certain sins as equal to Mahāpātakas which are styled anupātakas by the Viṣṇudharmāsūtra chap. 36. The most elaborate treatment of all kinds of sins in the smṛtis is found in Manu, Yāj and Viṣṇu. There is difference of opinion even among these three on certain points. For example, Manu\textsuperscript{35} XI. 56 says that forgetting the Veda, reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, slaying a friend, eating forbidden food and food that is unfit for eating or should not be eaten, are lapses similar to drinking surā; while Yāj. III. 228 states that three out of these (viz. reviling the Vedas, slaying a friend and forgetting the Veda studied by a person) along with the reviling of a guru by attributing false faults are similar to the murder of a brähmaṇa. The result is that there is an option as to the expiation to be prescribed for these sins.

\textsuperscript{33} यस्य हारितसूत्राया श्रवणपर्यंत पदार्थपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनतत्साधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि
\textsuperscript{34} वै यस्य आज्ञान्याय श्रवणपर्यंत पदार्थपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि
\textsuperscript{35} वै यस्य आज्ञान्याय श्रवणपर्यंत पदार्थपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि तत्साधनसाधनपरि
It would be desirable to give some details as regards each of the mahápatákas and then to describe the other varieties of sins and then to set out the expiations prescribed for all of them. It should be noted that both the secular law of penalties and the ecclesiastical rules about expiations made a difference between a sinful act intentionally committed (kámaññä) and one committed through ignorance or heedlessness and between an act done only once (sukrt) or done repeatedly (asukrt).

Brahmahatyā. Hatyā or vadha (killing) is applied to an act which immediately or after some time results in causing loss of life directly without the intervention of any other cause.36. The Agnipurāṇa (173. 1), the Mit., the Prāyaścitāviveka (p. 47) and other works define what is meant by vadha. A man may be the cause of the death of a brāhmaṇa in five ways, viz. he may himself kill (i. e. he becomes the kartā), he may incite another to kill (prayojaka) by ordering that other to do so (as a king or noble by ordering his servant) or by imploiring another to kill and giving advice about the killing, he may encourage another to kill by his own approval (anumantā), or by helping the killer when he wavers or by offering protection to the killer against others (anugrāhaka) and by becoming a nimitta.37

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 237 and 243 (quoting verses from Paitñnasi) explains all these at length. For the definition of anugrāhaka it relies on a verse of Manu 'Where many persons are armed and have a common purpose in view, if even one of them kills a person, all of them are guilty of murder', which is very much like sec. 34 of the Indian Penal Code. This distinction into several degrees of killers is an ancient one and is based on Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29, 1–2. ‘He who38 instigates, he who approves, and he who commits an act—these share its results in heaven and hell; but he amongst these who contributes most to

36. हत्याये मानविशिष्टकर्म क्या करते संतारेत वा कारणक्षेष: मानविशिष्टकर्म न मयि स शायायो इवततिनिति ज्ञात्र। लिताः. on yā. III. 227; स्यात्यात्याक्योपवर्गो व्याप्तारे हन्तं स्वतः। अलिमु. 173.1, quoted by शवधात्रं p. 519.

37. भविष्य वर्तिष्ठ कार्य प्रेमकारो अनुग्रहको निमित्ति भे:। यात्र: प. 47; अविवाक्ष्य प. 8; परारममिथायुष्य: परेशंक्ष हन्तार: परिश्चर्य हुन्दुमिठामित्य: परेशंक: पक्षी तत्त्वाते। अमेत्य सत्त्वना ग्राहकर्म हिंसाफलस्तिः साधित:। बन्धुनाकारापात: सर्वात शायारापात:। यथीको पात्षयो शरीर: ते वास्तवः। स्वतः। इति। लिताः. on yā. III. 227. The verse बुधनाम्मेक विष्मित साधित, 173.3.

38. प्रयोगप्रतियोग नागत कतैंति स्वर्गवस्तुपत्तते कर्त्तात् भागिन:। गो दृश्य आरम्भे तस्माद फलनयेत।। आप. थ. भ. II. 11.29, 1–2.

D. H. 3
the accomplishment of the act obtains a greater share of the results*. A *nimittin*39 is defined by Mit. as one that angers another (who is a brāhmaṇa) by rebuking or beating or depriving him of wealth and the like and in whose presence and on account of whom the brāhmaṇa that is angered kills himself. The Mit. quotes a verse of Viṣṇu and also another verse (without name) on this point. If a person kills a brāhmaṇa boy whose upanayana had not been performed he was yet regarded as guilty of brāhmaṇa murder.40 The Sāmaṇḍhāna Br. I, 7, 5, Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9, 24, 6–9), Vas. 20, 34, Manu XI. 87, Yāj. III. 251 held that killing even a kṣatriya or vaśiya who had studied the Veda or had been initiated for a soma sacrifice rendered the killer guilty of brāhmaṇaḥatpāṇa, as also the killing of the foetus (of brāhmaṇa parents) whose sex was unknown and of a woman who was an ātreya.41 Killing a brāhmaṇa woman other than an ātreya or other than the wife of a sacrificer engaged in a soma sacrifice was only an upapātaka, as Manu (XI. 66) and Yāj. (III. 236) lay down. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 264 says that no prāyaścitta can expiate the sin of killing a woman intentionally. In the case of the three varnas other than that of brāhmaṇa some smṛtis like that of Cyavana42 laid down other mahāpātakas in addition to the five, viz. punishing one who should not be punished and fleeing from the battle-field are additional mahāpātakas for kṣatriyas, employing false balances and weights for vaśiyas, the selling of flesh, injuring a brāhmaṇa, sexual intercourse with a brāhmaṇa woman, the drinking of the

39. तथा पित्रि वर्णसिद्धां वासुधारासिद्धां पराक्षेपति सोर्वीय यमप्रश्वद्वयुनोसपुर्वस्त्राणिः प्रस्वद्वयुनोधरिण्यं अव यववयानेति। अक्षेत्रस्वितो वापि च वै विष्णुवृद्धाम्भिः। विष्णुवृद्धाम्भिः काश्मिकस्ततमुकारां यमप्राप्तवच्छ। तथा ज्ञातिषेकाचनां च यमप्राप्तवच्छ। विष्णुवृद्धाम्भिः काश्मिकस्ततमुकारां यमप्राप्तवच्छ। इति। तथा विष्णुवृद्धाम्भिः काश्मिकस्ततमुकारां यमप्राप्तवच्छ। इति। तथा विष्णुवृद्धाम्भिः काश्मिकस्ततमुकारां यमप्राप्तवच्छ। इति। तथा विष्णुवृद्धाम्भिः काश्मिकस्ततमुकारां यमप्राप्तवच्छ। इति।

40. अत्र माध्यमप्परं संस्कारपाठिन्याय वेदआयुर्वेदविवेचनसंस्कारं सर्वप्राप्तिमाध्यमप्परं वेदप्राप्तिमाध्यमप्परं ज्ञानविवेचनसंस्कारं अमान्यमाध्यमप्परं वेदप्राप्तिमाध्यमप्परं ज्ञानविवेचनसंस्कारं कांश्च। अयाप्ताहारं अयाप्ताहारं ज्ञानविवेचनसंस्कारं।

41. पूर्वायस्मिन्योपवाचश्च वेदप्राप्तार्णां वेदप्राप्तार्णां वेदप्राप्तार्णां ज्ञानविवेचनसंस्कारं। अयाप्ताहारं अयाप्ताहारं ज्ञानविवेचनसंस्कारं। अयाप्ताहारं अयाप्ताहारं ज्ञानविवेचनसंस्कारं।

42. काश्मिकस्ततमुकारां यमप्राप्तार्णां वेदप्राप्तार्णां ज्ञानविवेचनसंस्कारं। अयाप्ताहारं अयाप्ताहारं ज्ञानविवेचनसंस्कारं।
Killing a brähmana

milk of a kapila (dark-brown) cow in the case of śudras. If a brähmana or any other human being or a cow died while a competent doctor was administering treatment to them by means of drugs, oils or food, or cauterization by cutting or by opening a vein the medical man incurred no sin. But if a quack pretending to know medicine administered such treatment and death followed, Yaj. II. 242 prescribed various punishments. If a brähmana administers moderate corporal punishment to his son, pupil or wife for some fault and the son or pupil or wife suddenly dies he incurs no sin, according to the Bhavisyapurāṇa and the Agnipurāṇa. Gautama (II. 48–50), Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 29–30, Manu VIII. 299–300 (=Matsyapurāṇa 227. 152–154), VisṆu Dh. S. 71. 81–82, Nārada (abhypetāmsūraṇa 13–14) lay down that the punishment should be administered with a rope or bamboo slip on the back (but never on the head or chest) and Manu (VIII. 300) provides that if these restrictions were violated the punisher would incur the same guilt or punishment as a thief. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 362–363 for this topic.

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and medieval Dharmāsāstra writers is whether a man can kill a brähmana atatāyin in self-defence without incurring any sin or punishment by the king. There is great divergence of views on this point, which has been dealt with at some length in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 148–151 and vol. III pp. 517–518. The conclusion of the Mitākṣara appears to voice the views of most writers that, if a brähmana comes as an atatāyin (as an incendiary, as a poisoner, as a kidnapper of women or with the intention of killing or wrestling a field), then in self-defence one may oppose him without incurring any sin, but that if the brähmana offender meets death though the defender did not desire to kill him (but only to stop him by causing injury short of death),

43. किंवदन्ति-पंक्तिः पुरे तु निति न पातकाः। यत्र III. 284; औषधे रन्धमागारं वर्णवीर- माशुमालािवर्ष। दोषमन्त्रं विचारिन्: रघु दस पार्श्व लिंकितं प्रजापतिः संस्कृतम् 138 (The Anuṣṭu. ed. reads last pāda as गुप्तवेश न पातकाः) q. by विवधेकम् on यत्र III. 262, by the सिन्ध on यत्र III. 227 (with two more verses), by यत्र, वि, p 56 (reads second half as माणिन्यां अस्वपरि अतिक्रमिन्ते न निधित्वे). The same verse occurs in यत्र 50, तद्वर्त्तः 61, तद्-
हरिदत्त 28. The सिन्ध, and यत्र, वि, quote another verse as संस्कृतम् which is ‘हातमें विज्ञानसिद्धार्थोऽपि नीतिः कारणम्’। यत्र गुप्तवेश निवर्त्ते न निधित्वे। The असीत्युपरि
173 5 has ‘अष्ट्रायुपकारे दुः न पार्श्व रघु तु निति’। पुढ़े सिन्ध, तथा भार्य श्रास्ते न भूते।

44. यत्र: शिवपत्राघाना भार्य भास्तितमें-विवर्तते। न शास्ता तत्थ रोषेण लिंगास्वर्तेष्वर-समम्॥ भास्तिपुः q. by यत्र, वि, p 58; अष्ट्रायु 173.5 is similar.
defender is not liable to be punished by the king and he has to undergo a light expiation (i. e. he is not guilty of brähmana's murder).  

_Surāpāna_ (drinking of _surā_) has been held to be a mahā-pātaka. The word _surā _occurs several times in the Rgveda (e. g. Rg. I. 116.7, I. 191.10, VII. 86.6, VIII. 2.12, X. 107.9). Rg. VII. 86.6 quoted above (in note 17) clearly indicates that _surā_ was looked upon by the Rigvedic singers as a cause of sin just as much as gambling. Rg. I. 116.7 (ṣatam kumbhān asiṅcatam surāyāḥ) read with Rg. I. 117.6 (ṣatam...madhunām) implies that madhu (honey or some sweet substance) might have been used in preparing _surā_. Soma was a beverage to be offered to the gods and to be drunk by the brähmana priests and was sharply distinguished from _surā_ (e. g. in Tai. S. II.5. 1.1, Vāj. S. 19.7, Śat. Br. V. 1. 5.28). The last furnishes the striking antithesis ' _soma_ is truth, prosperity, light; and _surā_ is untruth, misery, darkness'. It appears that long before the Kāṭhaka Samhitā brähmanas had come to regard the drinking of _surā_ as very sinful [XII. 12 'therefore the brähmana does not drink _surā_ (with the idea) that (by drinking it) he may become affected by sin'].  

The Chāndogya Up. (V. 10.9) speaks of the drinker of _surā_ as a _patita_, while in V. 11.5 king  

Aśvapati Kāikeya makes the boast before the five learned brähmanas that had come to him for the knowledge of _Ātman Vaśvānara_ that in his kingdom there was no thief and no drinker of _madya_. Though Manu XI. 54 enumerates the drinking of _surā_ among the five mahā-pātakas, Yāj. III. 227 speaks of the _madyupa_ (drinker of _madya_) as one of the five great sinners. Therefore we must explain what is meant by _surā_ and when surāpāna becomes a mahā-pātaka. By Manu XI. 93 _surā_ is said to be the refuse of food and Manu XI. 94 states that _surā_ is of three kinds, viz. that prepared from molasses, that from flour and that from madhūka flowers (or from honey). There is a great deal of discussion about _surā_ in many of the digests and the propositions

---

45. अतः ब्राह्मणाद्व अनुतिपिन्दाय अस्तिद्विज्ञायेः हिंसानिभिष्मित्वा निर्याप्यता: 

46. तस्मात् ब्राह्मण: तुर्यं न विष्ठति वाचानां नेत्योथुप्या इति। काढक XII. 12 q. by the Tānśaḥāsana on II. 1. 3.7 p. 210 and by अत्यन्तत्वम on तेजस तेजस III. 4.31.

47. स ह विद्यानुवाच उपवन म ए स्वेरी जनजात्र काहं न मयं न नानाहिन्द्राद्विनी-नाभिन्द्रान्त सर्वं लोकस्य प्रकृतिः ...। चर. र. V. 11.5.
Drinking of sura

established by most of them are⁴⁸: (1) that all the three higher varnas are forbidden to drink the sura prepared from flour and drinking it is a grave sin (mahapataka) in the case of anyone belonging to the three first varnas; (2) all intoxicants (madya) are forbidden to brahmaṇas at all stages of life (Gaut. II, 25 'madyam nityam brahmaṇaḥ' and Āp. Dh. S. I, 5, 17–21); but a brahmaṇa drinking sura of the gaudī or mādhvī kind would not be guilty of mahapataka but of anupataka (acc. to Viṣṇu); (3) that intoxicants other than sura prepared from flour are not condemned for ksatriyas and vaiśyas; (4) the śūdra was not forbidden to drink any kind of intoxicant (including sura made from flour); (5) brahmaṇacārins of all varnas studying the Veda had to abstain from intoxicants of all kinds. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (22, 83–84) specifies ten kinds of madya (intoxicants) prepared from dates, jack fruit, coconuts, sugarcane &c. and Pulastya quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III, 253, by the Prāyaścittapakarana of Bhāvadeva (p. 40), the Prāyaścittaviveka of Śūlapāṇi (p. 90), Pr. Prakāśa (folio 69 b) refers to eleven kinds of madyas apart from sura (dvādaśaṁ to surāmadyam sarvesām adhāham āṃśtam). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 964–966 for further discussion on intoxicating drinks.

The Mit. points out (on Yaj. III, 253) that the prohibition against drinking sura applies to boys who have not yet been invested with the sacred thread and also to unmarried girls, since Manu XI, 93 makes no distinction of sex but only forbids to the three first castes the drinking of sura and since the Bhavisyapurāṇa⁴⁹ expressly forbids to a brahmaṇa female the drinking of sura. The Kalpataru appears to have held otherwise. But a woman and a minor had to undergo lesser prāyaścitta as will be shown below. Vas. 21, 11 and Yaj. III,256 state that the wife of a brahmaṇa, ksatriya or vaiśya who drinks sura (made from flour) would not reach the worlds of her husband and she

---

⁴⁸. अयोध्याः। वैष्णविकालायपिपिऄति पैण्डितियोऽविद्ध। श्रवण्यां तत्स्वरूपः। राजवज्ञायविलोकनं न हन्दानित्वं न वीजातिविचाराधिकृतं। युर्जय न महामायित्वं। नारी महाश्रव्याधिकृतं। सविन्यासः। जातिश्रवाधिकृतं। तत्स्वरूपः। बैसेहिकमायां। भूतानि। कालस्य। न व公众 हरि। याय। इति। पौड़. प. 42

⁴⁹. तथा महाविद्या। तत्स्वरूप समायेव हरानम महायेव। अस्तनोपेतिविद्या रुपाधिकृतं। पञ्चायतं॥ वा। पौड़ फलोत 70 b. The word द्वित्रौ occurs in मनु XI,90, बाहुल्यांचन न नायिका व दूरा पायवलहो॥ याय। वै. प. 92.
would become in this world a bitch or a sow. The Mit. remarks on this verse that though a śūdra is not forbidden to drink surā, even the śūdra wife of a brāhmaṇa should not drink surā.

Drinking surā means taking it down the throat. Therefore if a man’s lips only touch surā or if surā enters his mouth but he spits it out, then there is no drinking of surā (i.e., no mahāpātaka) and he would have had to undergo in such a case a light expiation for the touch of surā.

Steeya (theft). In order to constitute theft as a grave sin according to the commentators the theft must be of a brāhmaṇa’s gold of a certain quantity. Steeya is defined by Ap. Dh. S. I. 10. 28. 1 as a man becomes a thief by coveting another’s property (and taking it) in whatever situation he may be (without the owner’s consent). Kātyāyana (810) defines it as ‘depriving a man of his property, whether clandestinely or openly and, whether by night or by day, is known to be theft’. Vyāsa defines it similarly. Vācaspati in his bhaṣya on Yogasūtra II, 30 defines steeya as taking property from another in a manner that is not allowed by the sūtras (steyam-aśāstra-pūrvakam dravyānām parataḥ śvikaraṇam). Though Manu (XI. 54) and Yaj. (III. 227) simply employ the word ‘steeya (theft)’ or ‘stena (thief)’ yet in speaking of the prāyaścitta

50. या ब्राह्मणी च सुवर्णी न तत्स इत्यादि पतिलोकः पति तलावत साताग्रही चतुर्विद्यायस्य व्याधिकारं यात्रा। वसितव 21.11. इत्यादि पति वि भूतनां परिवर्तनस्य व्याधिकारं यात्रा। अति यथा। वसितव 21.11. इत्यादि पति वि भूतनां परिवर्तनस्य व्याधिकारं यात्रा। अति यथा।

51. ब्राह्मणायास्य चतुर्विद्यायस्य व्याधिकारं यात्रा। अति यथा। वसितव 21.15 एवं वसितव 21.27. इत्यादि पति वि भूतनां परिवर्तनस्य व्याधिकारं यात्रा। अति यथा।

52. पांच च देविपुराणोऽविशेषः स च काठवेदयायस्य पति वि भूतनां परिवर्तनस्य व्याधिकारं यात्रा। अति यथा।

53. यदा कथा च परिशिष्टभोगस्थितथा तदात्माः व व्याधिकारः यात्रा। अति यथा।

54. श्रवणं च तत्स्वयमः पति वि भूतनां परिवर्तनस्य व्याधिकारः यात्रा। अति यथा।
for steya Manu (XI. 99 ‘suvarṇasteyakṛt’) and Yāj. III. 257 (brāhmaṇaśvarnapahāra) add the qualification that he should be a thief guilty of stealing gold (from a brāhmaṇa, acc. to Yāj.). Vas. 20. 41 and Cyavana (q. by Pr. V. p. 117) mention ‘brāhmaṇa-suvarṇa-haraṇa’ as a mahāpātaka and the Samavidhāna Br. (I. 6. 1) also employs the words ‘brāhmaṇasvair hṛtvā’. Vide Samvarta 122 and Viśvāmitra (q. by Pr. V. p. 108). A further qualification was added by Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 252 ‘anākhya &c.’, the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 257), the Madana-pārijata (pp. 827–28), Prāyaścittaparakaraṇa (p. 72), the Prāyaścittaviveka (p. 111) and other commentators that the gold stolen must be at least sixteen mānas in weight, otherwise there is no mahāpātaka49. So, if a man steals gold belonging to a brāhmaṇa which is less than 16 mānas or steals gold of any weight (even more than 16 mānas) from a non-brāhmaṇa (i.e. from a ksatriya or the like) he would be guilty only of a minor sin (upapātaka). The Mit. relies on the verses of Yāj. I. 362–363 for the technical meaning of suvarṇa (as 16 mānas). There was no guilt of theft acc. to Vārsyāyani if (Ap. Dh. S. I. 10, 28.2) a person took only a small quantity of cereals ripening in pods (such as mudga, māsa and gram) or took grass for his oxen while he was going (in a cart).50 According to Gautama 12.25 a man may take (without permission and without incurring the guilt of theft) for the sake of cows and for the sake of trstu or smātṛ fires grass, fuel and flowers of trees and plants as if they were his own property and the fruits (of trees and plants) that are not fenced around. Manu VIII. 339 (= Matsya 227. 112–113) is almost like Gaut., 12.25 and Manu VIII. 341 adds that a traveller of the three higher castes may, if his provisions have run short, take (without fear of punishment) from another’s field two sugarcane stalks and two mālakas (esculent roots).

Gurvaṅganāganah (sexual intercourse with the wife of the guru). Manu (XI.54) employs this word, while Yāj. III. 227 and Vas. 20.13 speak of the offender as gurutalpaga (who violates the bed of the guru) and Vas. I. 20 mentions the sin as ‘gurutalpam’

55. अत्र च द्वारा: परिवर्तितेष्यसंववलिनी न ज्ञातिवानचन: "जनसूखः…
कृपयां पाने पशुपते द्वारस्य बोधस्य” (पव. I. 362–363) हेतु ‘शूरकामनापरिवर्तितों श्रीमान्
चुरंकम्पाय परिणामितवहन।...अयं शूरकामनापत्तकचुरंकम्पायस्यसिद्धां यथा शूरकामनापत्तिः
परिवर्तितेष्यसंववलिनी न ज्ञातिवानचन: “हितार्थद्वारस्य, द्वारस्य शूरकामनापत्तिः
पुत्रविकल्पं तुम्भवेत पुत्र।” मिता, on III, 257.

56. समयस्यात्: परिवर्तितेष्यसंववलिनी न ज्ञातिवानचन: "हावोष्ट्र द्वारस्य: शूरकामनापत्तिः
अतिशेषस्य: शंकरो भवति। आयू. च, I. 10, 28 2-4
History of Dharmāstra

Vol.

(he bed i.e., wife of the guru). Guru primarily means acc. to Manu II.142 and Yāj. I 34 (= Śāṅkha III.2) the father. Acc. to Gautama II.56 'the teacher (of the Veda) is the foremost amongst gurus while some say that the mother is so'. Sainvarta 160 and Parāśara X. 13 (employing the words 'pitṛdārān samāruhya') convey that the primary meaning of guru here is 'father' as stated by the Mit. on Yāj. III, 259. Acc. to many digests such as the Mit. and the Madanapārījata p. 835 gurvaṅganā means one's own mother. Bhavadeva in his Pr. Prakarana (p. 80) takes gurvaṅganaś as a karmadhārāya compound, following what is called the nīcāsthapati-nīyāya (Jai. VI. 1. 51). After quoting Devala’s dictum 59 that there are eleven persons among males who are to be looked upon as gurus, and advertizing to the way in which the word ‘gurvaṅganaś’ is explained by the Pr. Prakarana, the Prāyaścitta-viveka expresses its dissent from the views of the Pr. Prakarana and holds that ‘gurvaṅganaś’ or ‘gurupatī’ means not only one’s mother but also one’s step-mother of the same varṇa as the father. The Madanapārījata (p. 835) holds the same view as the Pr. V. The Pr. M. p. 73 finds fault with Bhavadeva (author of Prāyaścitta-prakarana) and also with the Pr. V. that held the view that sexual intercourse with one’s Vedic teacher’s wife was also a

57. पितुभानी समाख्या मातृवेदि नातामध्ये। भविषयान् मातृवेदि च सस्तरं यायमात्रायाम॥
एवतासिं। विचार गता तत्स्थः समाहरेण। संस्कर 159-160। ‘यद्यपि वाच्यवत् हृदययः हृदयः
पिता स्तैते च तथा। पितुवाच्यवत्स्मादेष्य नायायायक। मातृवेदि च सस्तरं यायमात्रायाम्
अतसातः। अन्यां निहतां न महासातिकलां। मिता। ओ गा। III. 259।

58. तेन दृश्ये (हुँका) व्यासार्य अद्रपान्न चेति कर्माधारसमासात समानकन्व एव एव
धुर्वनामानः। न तु धुर्वनामानः धुर्वनामानः द्रष्टि द्रष्टान्तेश्वरसमासात सत्तलोनायामानः।
तेन तेन नित्यान्तानां स्थितिः द्रष्टान्तेश्वरसमासात समानकन्व एव एव
धुर्वनामानः। याय। परिष्ठ 80। इव दृश्ये। जै। VI. 1. 51। तस्मानं द्रष्टिः एव
स्थितम्। स्यात्। (and not नित्यान्तान्तिः स्थितिः)। Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 46 for
नित्यान्तान्तिः।

59. तथा वेदन्त। अद्वैतान्तिः प्रस्तुता एवेष्टो वायु श्री स्वप्नात। मातृवेदि। अद्वैतान्तिः
मातामहिमातायाम्। वायुनेतः पितुभाने हुँथेते हुँठेते हुँठेते वायु।
चुर्यावती॥। भविषयान्। मातृवेदि। वायु। भविषयान्।
सात्तीहानि मातृवेदि। याय। बिः p. 129। चतुर्वेदनेवै एकादश हुँठेते स्वर्यान्ति
सतादुपातानि पितृभाने हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते।
.. मातुभाने निरान्तानान्तिः सतादुपातानान्तिः
सतादुपातानान्तिः मातृवेदि। अद्वैतान्तिः। विचनदेवनानां विचनदेवनानां विचनदेवनानां
पितुभाने हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते।
मातृवेदि। बिः p. 129-135।... तस्मात् मातुभाने निरान्तानानां मातृवेदि।
सतादुपातानानां विचनदेवनानां विचनदेवनानां
पितुभाने हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते।
अति यथाश्च अवस्था विचनदेवनां कर्माधारसमासात।
हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते।
... तद्वर्तमात्र मातुभाने हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते
हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते हुँठेते।
मातृवेदि। बिः p. 129-134,
mahāpātaka. The Pr. M. relies on Yāj. (III, 233) where there is an express extension of the sin of *gurutalpaganama* to intercourse with one’s teacher’s wife, or one’s daughter and other nearly related women. This would have been unnecessary if *gurutala* was primarily meant to include the teacher’s wife; while the Pr. V. relies upon Gaut. II. 56 (‘the acarya is the most eminent among gurus, some say that the mother is so’), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 31.1–2 ‘three persons are atigurus (exceed even guru in their greatness) viz. the mother, the father and the acarya and Devala who mentions eleven persons as gurus. The Pr. M. does not seem to be quite correct since the Pr. V. ultimately (pp. 134–135) states its final view that guru here means only the father and not the acarya and others and that Viṣṇu Dh. S. 36.4–8 holds that sexual intercourse with the wife of the teacher and several other women relatives is an anupātaka.

Mahāpātakākisamsarga—Association with those who are guilty of the four mahāpātakas has already been described in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 614, 944. Gaut. 21.3, Vas. I. 21–22, Manu XI. 180 (=Śāntiparva 165. 37), Yāj. III. 261, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 35.3, Agnipuṇa 170. 1–2 prescribe briefly that one who closely associates or dwells with any one of the four grave sinners for one year himself incurs mahāpātaka and they add that this applies when a man occupies the same conveyance or same seat (as the sinner) or dines in the same row (with the sinner), but that if a person enters into spiritual relationship (such as that of teaching the Veda to the sinner or learning it from him or of officiating as a priest for him or allowing him to officiate as a priest for himself) or into a sexual or matrimonial alliance with him (i.e., a man who cohabits with a woman that is a grave sinner or if a woman cohabits with a male that is a great sinner or if a man marries the daughter of a *patita* or if a woman marries a bridegroom that is *patita*) that person becomes guilty of mahāpātaka at once. Brhaspati speaks:

---

60. तैवाः समाचारः नै. 21.3; संवेदनशील पति पतितां सहचरयः। ग्रामप्राप्तांननन्नवज वहानसनाननन् न पुरुष XI, 180, असिद्र I, 22, शी. घ्र. ऐ. II, 1.88, विष्णु 35.3 (only the first half of Manu), अग्री. 170. 1–2.

61. एकाकार्याने पतिः पायमपकासामान्यत्री ग्रामप्राप्ताने पत्नीस्वयं च सही भोजनम्। नानां सुखं रहो मकिन न कर्मयोगम्। सही बुढ़हस्ति q. by Attach. p. 1086, दुह. C. 587, पाप. वर्णन p 101, अग्र. शी. p 143; the सिद्धां on III 261 ascribes it to थुढ़हस्ति. The नाना. म. p. 91 explains the divergence of views as to योगिं: यहांने कामयोगम् तत्कार्यरिपुष्यं नेति विष्णु: थुढ़हस्तिकार्यादयः। जः नानायोगमानसामान्यत्री इति।' The म. पक्षां folio 74a also says the same.

D. N. 1
of nine kinds of \textit{sāṁsarga} (contact or association) out of which the first five were treated as light sins, but the other four were serious viz. occupying the same bed or seat, taking food in the same row with the sinner, cooking food in the sinner’s cooking pots or partaking of food prepared by him, being his sacrificial priest or employing him as one’s sacrificial priest, being the sinner’s teacher of the Veda or employing him as one’s teacher of the Veda, sexual intercourse, taking food with him in the same pot. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 74a) holds that \textit{sāṁsarga} is of three kinds, the highest, middling and lowest. The first includes four viz. yonisambandha (marriage), \textit{srauva} (i.e. that due to sacrificing for a sinner or making him a priest), \textit{maukha} (about learning or teaching Veda) and eating of food from the same vessel (ekāmatrabhojana); the middling is of five kinds viz. using the same vehicle, seat, bed or coverlet; eating in the same row and learning the Veda together (\textit{sahādhyayana}). The lowest is of various other kinds such as intimate talks, touching, cooking food in the same vessel, eating food at his house, receiving a gift from him &c. Adhyāpana in order to be a great sin must relate to the Veda, and so also yājana must relate to such Vedic sacrifices as Darśapūrṇamāsa, Cāturmāsa, Agniṣṭoma. Helping a mahāpātakin to perform the five daily yajñas or teaching him the \textit{aṅgas} (metrics, grammar etc.) and the śāstras is only a minor sin. Parāśara\textsuperscript{62} (XII. 79) states that sins are transferred (or spread) from man to man like a drop of oil on water by sitting or sleeping together or by using the same conveyance or by speaking with or dining in the same row. Devala and Chāgaleya q. by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 261, the Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 101), the Pr. V. (p. 143), the Par. M. (II. part 1. p. 28) and others contain similar verses. Acc. to Pr. Prakāśa (folio 75a), in order to become \textit{patita} one must simultaneously practise these four together; if practised separately, there is no \textit{pātiya} but only \textit{dosa}. Parāśara (I. 25–26) states that in the Kṛta age a man became \textit{patita} by speaking with a \textit{patita}, in Tretā by touching him, in Dvāpara by partaking of food prepared in his house and in Kali by actually committing a sinful act and that in the Kṛta age a district was abandoned (if any one therein became \textit{patita}), in Tretā the village, in Dvāpara the family (of the \textit{patita} was abandoned) and in Kali only the actual perpetrator himself (is

\textsuperscript{62} आसनाच्वर्णायानासम्भावाय सहोत्स्वातः। संक्रामका ति पपाते तेषांकु-रिवभावित! पदस्तर XII. 79, which is the same as a verse of कुष्ठ q. by पल्ल. म. II. 1. p 28.
abandoned as priti). It is clear from this that such contacts with a patita as speaking with him, touching him or eating food (in the house of a patita) were not regarded as involving a man in the same sin as that of the actual perpetrator. Speaking, touching and eating are also actions (karman) and Parāsara did not include them in the word ‘karmaṇa’ which refers only to the actual perpetration of a murder, surāpāṇa etc. Therefore when some writers include such contacts as eating or touching under ‘karmaṇa’ they put two meanings on the word karman in Parāsara viz. perpetration of a murder or the like and also doing some of the acts (touching, eating) which are forbidden to be done in reference to a perpetrator by some smṛtis. This is a procedure which is against the maxim of the Mīmāṁsā that the same word conveys only one sense in the same context. The reasonable inference from the words of Parāsara is that merely touching a mahāpātakī or eating food in his house did not involve the toucher and eater in pātitya. In spite of this medieval writers gradually extended the scope of samsarga in spirit of exclusiveness and of over-emphasis on ideas of ceremonial purity. For example, the Śrītyarthaśāstra (p. 112) remarks that he who associates with the person that associates with a mahāpātakī has to undergo half the expiation that the first associator has to undergo. But that work does not go beyond this. The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 261) appears to hold that the associator even though he does not become patita is liable to undergo expiation and that even the 4th and 5th associators in a series are liable to undergo expiation

63. संस्कारण पति वति पतितेन सहायकेः। एकाधानोज्जानासन्नभर्ति॥ वैप्रायोगिकोऽस्य सम्बन्धाय सुय हैं॥ चित्तित्यं 35. 3-5. सौभ (derived from योश) refers to marital connection, सौभ (derived from योश a sacrificial ladle) means ‘employing as a sacrificial priest or becoming such a priest for another’, मीत्त (from युवत) means ‘teaching the Veda or learning it by word of mouth’. So Visnu prescribes that pātitya results at once from the first kind of samsarga referred to above. तद एकाधानोज्जानासन्नभर्ति॥ मा योधन तदुः। अंकुशाधारणां लदुः। अङ्गाणां अस्तित्वयां लदुः। परिवर्तन्यायानां अङ्गाविकाराणां लदुः॥ या. नकास फळो 75a.

64. साहसकोि श्रीक्षणाधिकारोविषये नानसरिति, which maxim is relied upon in 6 Cal. 119, 126, (FB), that is quoted with approval in L.R. 41 I. A 290, pp 303-4, 54 All 698, 722 (FB). अङ्गाविकाराणां लदुः॥ शास्त्र on ज्ञे. VI. 1.22, सदृश. या. p. 369.

65. महापशतिकांसम्पर्कांश्रव्या न तदन्तसम्बन्धत्वश्च युज्यं॥ स्वर्णय सर प. 112.
though it is lesser and lesser. The Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 109), Pr. V. (pp. 169-170) and the Pr. T. (p. 547) quote certain verses of Āpastamba and Vyāsa which very much widen the circle of *sāṁśāra*. Āpastamba-smṛti (III, 1-3) states: "if a cāṇḍāla stays in the house of any one of the four castes without being known, the latter on coming to know of the fact should undergo expiation, which is Cāndrāyana or Parāka for a member of the first three varṇas and Prājāpatya for a śūdra. Those who partook of cooked food in that man’s house should undergo Kṛchchra; one should prescribe one half of Kṛchchra for those who took cooked food in the house of the 2nd associator and for those who partook of cooked food in the house of these last one-fourth of Kṛchchra is prescribed’. So besides the original associator three more in succession were held to be liable for prāyaścitta. Mercifully they stopped at the 4th from the original associator. A few writers took a more reasonable view. The Par. M. (II. part 2, p. 90) remarks that Parāśara did not prescribe any expiation for *sāṁśāra* (with those guilty of grave sins) with the idea that in the Kali age

66. *Note: Sanskrit sources* हिन्दुत्तरपथ में ‘अस्मिनं भवति मायाध्येत’ है।

67. *Note: Sanskrit sources* शेषारणम प्रकाशीत संस्कृतम्

68. *Note: Sanskrit sources* संस्कृतम् प्रकाशीत संस्कृतम्

69. *Note: Sanskrit sources* प्रकाशीत संस्कृतम्
there is no blemish of sāṁsarga and that it is on account of this that in the enumeration of things to be avoided or not allowed in the Kāli age (Kāli-varṣīya) another sūkta includes 'pollution through contact with a sinner' (as a Kalivarṣīya). The Śṛtimuktāpāhala (Prāyaścittā pp. 897–98) echoes the very words of Mādhava and quotes further authorities on the point\(^\text{69}\). The Nīrpyāsindhu\(^\text{70}\) holds that though there is blame in association with a patita the associator does not himself become patita. As Yāj. III, 261 employs the word 'vatsaram' and as the accusative of time is, acc. to Pāṇini, to be used only when there is 'adhyatmāsanāyoga' of time and space (distance) it follows that the associator who is to undergo penance for contact must have been day and night in contact for a year. Devala employs the word 'sārvakālikam' in this connection.

Though many crimes do not in so many words come within the words of the definitions of the mahāpātakas the sūtras extend by analogy the same condemnation as the mahāpātakas in three ways. For example, Yāj. III. 251 expressly states that one who kills a keatriya or vālāya engaged in (soma) sacrifice or a foetus or an ātreyī woman has to undergo the same expiation for brāhmaṇa murder (therefore this is vācanikālīdeśa). Yāj. III. 232–233 extends the sin of the gurutalpa-gamana to intercourse with several near female relatives (such as mother’s or father’s sister). This is extension by tāḍrūpya. The sūtras declare many actions as equal to (sama) mahāpātakas in general or as equal to one of the mahāpātakas. This is atideśa by sūmya. A few words must be said on this topic. The general rule is that the expiation for those lapses that are declared to be equal to a mahāpātaka is less than (i.e. half of) what would be prescribed.

---

\(^\text{69}\) अत एव कठिनाकर्मसामिविभेदे स्थलः परासः ब्रह्महर्षा ब्रह्मापातकाचाचाचार वायुविद्यात्मकार च विधिने संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविशिष्टां नायपाठाः। कर्मवर्गोऽव पालितयेन तथा कर्मणा पालितयेन कार्यकार्येण पुराष्टरः (1.25) क्रूरं संहारविणां च तत्त् विशिष्टां कर्मवर्गोऽव पालितयेन तथा कर्मणा पालितयेन कार्यकार्येण पुराष्टरः।

\(^\text{70}\) विभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति तथा स्वरुपन्ने। सांस्कृतिकार्यविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति संस्कृतिविभावनेति।
for the mahāpātaka itself. And the penance for those that come under atidesa of the vācanika or tādrūpya kind is three fourths of that for the mahāpātaka itself. But it has to be noted that there is divergence of views about these in the sūtras and the smṛtis. Acc. to Gaut. 21. 10 giving false evidence, backbiting about another’s guilt that will reach the king, falsely accusing one’s guru with a grave sin or crime are equal to mahāpātaka. In Manu XI. 55 (= Agnipūraṇa 168. 25) the last two of these three and false statement about one’s caste or learning or family (i.e. saying that one is a brāhmaṇa when one is not) for securing prosperity or eminence are stated to be equal to brāhmaṇa’s murder. Acc. to Yāj. III. 228 falsely charging one’s guru is equal to brahmahatya and false statement about one’s caste or learning is equal to drinking surā (Yāj. III. 229), while acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 1–3 the three sins mentioned in Manu XI. 55 are to be included among minor sins (upapātakas), while giving false evidence is declared by Viṣṇu to be equal to drinking surā (36. 2).

No useful purpose would be served by dilating at great length on the diversions of smṛtis on what lapses are equal to one of the Mahāpātakas. The digests explain that where the same lapse is described as equal to surāpāṇa by one smṛti and as equal to brāhmaṇa-murder by another the idea is that there is an option as to the penance prescribed for that lapse. Therefore only the remarks of Manu and Yāj. will be set out here. Manu XI. 56 (= Agnipūraṇa 168. 26) prescribes that forgetting the Veda (already studied), reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, killing a friend, eating forbidden food or food that should not be eaten, these six are equal to surāpāṇa. Vide Yāj. III. 228 already referred to above. Manu XI. 57 holds that stealing a deposit or a man or horse or silver or land or diamonds and other gems is equal to the theft of brāhmaṇa’s gold. Yāj. III. 230, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 5. 383, Agnipūraṇa 168. 27 are to the same effect. Acc. to Manu XI. 58 (= Agnipūraṇa 168. 28) carnal intercourse with a sister by the same mother, with maidens, with females of the lowest castes (like Cāndālas), with the wife of a friend or son is declared to

71. अत्र सत्यातितिलेखार्थं तत्रुपवचमित्वानि पनितां त्रोवि यम् म प्रकरणम पृ 85–87; एतिनात्तिलेखार्थं तत्रुपवचमित्वानि सत्यातितिलेखार्थम् यम् म प्रकरणम पृ 9; अत्र सत्यातिप्रमाणानि निवावनकेष्ठनि पनितां कल्याणं क्रियार्थ सामान्यसे सत्यातिप्रमाणानि प्रमाणसंहितासनाति यम् म प 808; vide śīla. on यम् म पृ 85–87; एतिनात्तिलेखार्थं तत्रुपवचमित्वानि सत्यातितिलेखार्थम् यम् म प्रकरणम पृ 9; अत्र सत्यातिप्रमाणानि निवावनकेष्ठनि पनितां कल्याणं क्रियार्थ सामान्यसे सत्यातिप्रमाणानि प्रमाणसंहितासनाति यम् म प 808; vide śīla. on यम् म पृ 85–87; एतिनात्तिलेखार्थं तत्रुपवचमित्वानि सत्यातितिलेखार्थम् यम् म प्रकरणम पृ 9; अत्र सत्यातिप्रमाणानि निवावनकेष्ठनि पनितां कल्याणं क्रियार्थ सामान्यसे सत्यातिप्रमाणानि प्रमाणसंहितासनाति यम् म प 808; vide śīla. on यम् म पृ 85–87; एतिनात्तिलेखार्थं तत्रुपवचमित्वानि सत्यातितिलेखार्थम् यम् म प्रकरणम पृ 9; अत्र सत्यातिप्रमाणानि निवावनकेष्ठनि पनितां कल्याणं क्रियार्थ सामान्यसे सत्यातिप्रमाणानि प्रमाणसंहितासनाति यम् म प 808; vide śīla. on यम् म पृ 85–87; एतिनात्तिलेखार्थं तत्रुपवचमित्वानि सत्यातितिलेखार्थम् यम् म प्रकरणम पृ 9; अत्र सत्यातिप्रमाणानि निवावनकेष्ठनि पनितां कल्याणं क्रियार्थ सामान्यसे सत्यातिप्रमाणानि प्रमाणसंहितासनाति यम् म प 808; vide śīla. on यम् म पृ 85–87; एतिनात्तिलेखार्थं तत्रुपवचमित्वानि सत्यातितिलेखार्थम् यम् म प्रकरणम पृ 9; अत्र सत्यातिप्रमाणानि निवावनकेष्ठनि पनितां कल्याणं क्रियार्थ सामान्यसे सत्यातिप्रमाणानि प्रमाणसंहितासनाति यम् म प 808; vide śīla. on यम् म पृ 85–87; एतिनात्तिलेखार्थं तत्रुपवचमित्वानि सत्यातितिलेखार्थम् यम् म प्रकरणम पृ 9; अत्र सत्यातिप्रमाणानि निवावनकेष्ठनि पनितां कल्याणं क्रियार्थ सामान्यसे सत्यातिप्रमाणानि प्रमाणसंहितासनाति यम् म प 808; vide śīla. on यम् म पृ 85–87; एतिनात्तिलेखार्थं तत्रुपवचमित्वानि सत्यातितिलेखार्थम् यम् म प्रकरणम पृ 9; अत्र सत्यातिप्रमाणानि निवावनकेष्ठनि पनितां कल्याणं क्रियार्थ सामान्यसे सत्यातिप्रमाणानि प्रमाणसंहितासनाति यम् म प 808; vide śīla. on यम् म पृ 85–87; एतिनात्तिलेखार्थं तत्रुपव�
be equal to the violation of a guru’s bed. Yāj. III, 231 is practically the same (but he adds intercourse with a *sogātra* woman to the list). Gaut. 23, 12 and Manu XI, 170 are very similar. Yāj. III, 232–233 declare that a man who has sexual intercourse with a sister of his father or mother, with his maternal uncle’s wife, with his daughter-in-law, with a co-wife of his mother, with his sister, with the daughter or wife of his Vedic teacher or his own daughter, is guilty of being a violator of the guru’s bed and should have his penis cut off and be killed (by the king) and the woman concerned, if she was a willing party, should also be killed. Nārada (śripurānsayoga, verses 73–75)\(^73\) states: “If a man has sexual intercourse with any of these women viz. mother, mother’s sister, mother-in-law, maternal uncle’s wife, father’s sister, a wife of the paternal uncle or of a friend or of a pupil, a sister, sister’s friend, daughter-in-law, daughter, the wife of one’s Vedic teacher, a woman of the same gotra, one who has come for protection, a queen, an ascetic woman, one’s wet-nurse, a woman performing a *vrata* and a brāhmaṇa woman, he becomes guilty of the sin of the violator of the guru’s bed (i.e. incest). For that crime no other punishment is laid down except that of the cutting of the penis.” These two, Yāj. and Nārada, show that excision of the organ and death are both the expiration and the punishment for this crime. The Mit. (on Yāj. III, 233) adds that this punishment applies only to the offenders other than a brāhmaṇa, since Manu (VIII, 380) prescribes that a brāhmaṇa offender should not be punished with death whatever sin or crime he may have committed and that he is to be banished from the country unhurt and is to retain all his wealth. The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (36.4–7) adds a few more women to the list of Yāj. and Nārada (such as a woman in her monthly illness, the wife of a learned brāhmaṇa or of one’s sacrificial priest or of one’s *Upādhyāya*).

These lapses described above from false accusation against the *guru*\(^74\) (Yāj. III, 228 or Manu XI, 55 to Yāj. III, 233 or Manu

---

\(^73\) सब्रीवयोनिसनमोक्षितप्याधिभार्याणि स्त्रियाणि सभि च शुद्धात्मकः गौ 23.12; मला महोत्सवम् अद्भुतार्थीनिधिन्वस्त्रि। वितुनिविजियनिधिनिमन्धिनि। भोगलक्षणियानि। अनावरणानि। अनुदानानि। स्त्रियाः समाजात्वा विभाषा नाम यो असामाजयम्। गौ 23.12; सिद्धविशेषतावर्ते तत्र नाम्यो द्रव्यो विभीषोऽवर्ते। वर्षूः (शृङ्खलापूर्व 73–75); compare आप. घ. शृङ्खलापूर्व 9.25 (शुद्धात्मकः सत्याणि शिष्याः परिवाराधाताय दिव्यम् दिव्यमार्गित्य ब्रजेत्रोऽर्जन) and gāt 23.10.

\(^74\) शुचिविश्वासविश्वामयामत्वेतेति महापापाविद्याविषयानि सवःप्रति- शुचिविश्वामयामत्वेतेति महापापाविद्याविषयानि सवःप्रति-
XI. 58) and said to be equal to some mahāpātaka or other are designated as pātakas by Vṛddha-Hārīta (IX. 216–17) and by the Mit. (on Yāj, III 233) and as anupātakas by the Viṣṇudharmasūtra (36.8). Gautama\(^{75}\) (21,1–2) adds a few more to the list of pātakas or pātakas viz. he who has connection with the female relatives of his mother or father or with sisters and their offspring, a thief of gold, an atheist, one who constantly repeats censured acts, one who does not cast away a pātā or who abandons blameless relatives or those who instigate others to commit pātakas. These pātakas are less than mahāpātakas in their culpability and greater than upapātakas.

Upapātakas (minor sins). The number of these has greatly varied from time to time and from smṛti to smṛti. Vas. I. 23 speaks\(^{76}\) of only five upapātakas viz. forsaking the sacred fires (after beginning Agnihotra), offending the guru, being an atheist, taking one’s livelihood from an atheist, selling the soma plant. Śatātapa as quoted by Viṣvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229–236 mentions only eight. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 1.60–61) mentions a small number as upapātakas. Gaut. 21.11 states\(^{77}\) that the guilt of upapātaka attaches to those who have been declared to defile the company at a Śrāddha dinner and have been named above before the bald man (in Gaut. XV. 18), killers of kine, those who forget the Veda, those who pronounce Vedic texts for these last, Vedic students who break the vow of chastity and those who allow the time for upanayana to pass without performing it. Śāṅkha quoted by Viṣvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229–236 mentions only 18 upapātakas and styles them upapātaniyās. The longest lists are contained in Manu XI. 59–66, Yāj. III. 234–242, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 208–210, Viṣṇudharmasūtra 37 and Agnipurāṇa (168, 29–37). According to the Pr. V. (p. 195)\(^{78}\) the upapātakas mentioned by Manu

---

\(^{75}\) Mention the persons whom one should abandon ‘व्यवसितर राजपातकं। नृपवायकं। वेञ्जिणां क्रूरांकु मध्यवसासीयमिव्। सद संयोजयमक्षासायिभ्या।’ गीत 1. 21–22.

\(^{76}\) भाष्यकारभक्ष्ये यथे च शास्त्रप्रकाश नातिलक्षित:। सोमे च भिक्षु-भिक्षुपातिकानि। गीत 1. 23.

\(^{77}\) अपेक्षार्थम भाष्ययाज्ञातस्तुमहाभिः। व्यवसितर राजपातकस्तु। क्रूरांकु मध्यवसासीय:। गीत 1. 21–11. The word ‘कुमुद’ occurs in गीत. 15 18.

\(^{78}\) यथे च नीतिपातिनातिलक्ष्यान्यानि। उपस अरुपात्यस्यभिः। गीत. 1. 195.
come to 49. Those enumerated by Yaj. are set out below29 (they are 51 according to Visvāruṇa on Yaj. III. 229–236, who omits one verse commented on by the Mit. viz. śudrapreṣyam &c. which contains five): slaying kine, being a vṛāya (i.e. one whose upanayana was not performed at the prescribed age), theft (other than that of brahmaṇa's gold or other than what is described as equal to theft of the mahapātaka type), non-payment of debts borrowed (and not satisfying the three debts due to gods, sages and priests), not establishing the śrauta fires (even though one has the capacity to do so); selling what ought not to be sold (such as salt); parivedana (a younger brother's marrying before an elder brother or establishing sacred fires before him); learning (the Veda) from a paid teacher; teaching the Veda for payment; adultery (with women other than those referred to in guru-talpavargama or those lapses equal to it); an elder brother's remaining unmarried when a younger brother has married; usury (i.e. taking more interest than is allowed by the smrtis); manufacture of salt; killing a woman (of any caste, except an āstreya); killing a śudra; killing a kṣatriya or vaisya (who is not initiated for a śrāvaka sacrifice); maintaining oneself on wealth which is condemned; atheism (denial of the soul and a world after death); giving up the observances peculiar to one's status (e.g. a vedic student having sexual intercourse or one guilty of brahmaṇa murder or the like giving up the performance of the expiation already begun); sale of one's children; theft of corn, inferior metals (like lead and copper) or cattle; officiating as a priest at a sacrifice for those who are not entitled to sacrifice (such as śudras or vṛāyas &c); driving out of the house one's father, mother or son (without a proper cause such as that

79. गोष्ठी जात्वत तेष्वुत्तानाः चानास्थित्राः। अनाहिताभिभाषणेण विनिविक्रमः। पाश्चिमद्वादनः भक्ताभ्यापनं तथा। पाराशिवाय विन्यायं ताग्नविवेकम्। क्ष्रीवास्तिदत्तवेच निगज्ञायामृणेज्ञायम्। नातिज्ञायं अततेतपमुखतानां पूजा विचारः। भद्रयुगपुरुषसंयायाः च जयनाम्। विवन्दुत्तमात्मस्वर्गावरोषिकविचारः। कर्मान्यदृशुृणः सैव विश्वस्वरूपाज्ञानम्। कर्मावदायतां तत्केष नैदीर्ध्यं ज्ञातन्त्रयम्। आत्मनोदित्रं किष्किष्ठान्यं गृहस्वरूपीक विचारः। सत्यायामिषुतपायायं भाष्यवधायम् घ। ग। इत्यचाग्यं बुद्ध्येश्वरं निरितीयी। विमिन्तिजीविनः। विनिविन्त्याध्वरं च विगताभिचिन्तम्विचारः। सूक्ष्ममन्त्र वृत्तलक्षणेऽविचारः॥ तत्पत्तिवादायं विश्वस्वरूपाज्ञानिविचारः॥ भाष्येऽविचारः ।

80. 'Steya' has already been mentioned as the third upapātaka. The mention of the theft of corn &c. here either serves the purpose of showing that the theft of corn &c. will always be expiated as an upapātaka while other kinds of thefts may be dealt with more leniently. The same remark applies to विन्दुवत्तान्यायं व भव्यवधायम् separately mentioned below.
mentioned by Gautama 20.1); the sale of a tank or of a park intended for a charitable object (though not actually dedicated to the public); ascribing demerits to an unmarried girl (or interfering with her private parts by means of a finger or the like); officiating as a priest (at the marriage) of one who though a younger brother marries before an elder brother; giving one's daughter in marriage to one who marries before his elder brother; cheating or following crooked ways (except against one's guru, which is equal to surāpāna); giving up an observance voluntarily undertaken; cooking for the sake of oneself only (and not for deities, guests &c., which attitude is condemned by Rg. X. 117. 6 and Manu III. 118); sexual intercourse with a woman (even one's own wife) who is given to drinking wine; giving up the Veda already learnt so as to forget it by the study of other subjects; not tending one's śrauta or śmārta fire; abandoning one's son; not maintaining one's relatives (such as the maternal or paternal uncle, when one has the means); cutting down a big tree for fuel (to be used only in cooking one's food); maintaining one's self on one's wife (i.e. on her immoral earnings or by means of her strīdhana) or by killing animals or by herbs (used as charms); setting up of machines that cause death or injury to beings (such as for pressing oil from sesame or for crushing sugarcane stalks); addiction to the vices (declared to be eighteen by Manu VII. 45-48); selling one's self (as a slave for money); being the servant of a śūdra; friendship with low persons; intercourse with a woman of a lower caste (either as a wife or as a concubine); living outside of the four āśramas; fattening oneself on food charitably supplied by others; studying the works of false sāstras (such as those of atheists like Cārvaka); holding the office of the superintendent of mines (of gold and the like); sale of one's wife.

81. Vratalopā has already been mentioned above in verse 236 as an upapātaka. Therefore the repetition of 'vratalopana' (in verse 238) must be differently explained as done by the गिलासहर.

82. In या. III. 237 we have वित्तमुद्धत्यत्यम्: and then in 239 again सत्यपारयतिथित्यम्: Therefore अपराकष्ये p. 1051 explains: 'सत्यपारयतिथित्यम् सत्यपारयतिथित्यमात्रस्वास्त्यम् वित्तमुद्धत्यत्यम् हत्वा ज्ञातकमिद्विस्तारार्थवर्णं सत्यम् लया:':

83. पकाविद्योजनानिविद्यार्थभास्करस्मां वुष्टिकेक:। अपराकष्ये p. 1051.

84. आयामनी न तिद्वव्य क्षेन्द्रमकार्यक्षेन। आयाममेव विद्य तिद्वव्य आश्रयदेवैं। विद्य हि: इति I. 10; one must belong to one of the four āśramas, ज्ञात्व, गार्हिण्य, वानपर्य and संस्थास and act as would befit that āśrama.
The above list, though long, is not thoroughly exhaustive. Vas. I. 18 quoted above mentions several persons as *enaszvinih* (who acc. to Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229-236 are *upapātikah*), some of whom (such as one who is asleep when the sun rises or sets) are not included by Yāj. in his list of upapātakas. Though almost all of the upapātakas listed by Yāj. occur in Manu (XI. 59-66), yet some of them such as ‘abhicāra’ (performing a sacrifice like Śyenayāga for the destruction of an enemy), ‘mūlakarma’ (employment of herbs for bringing under one’s control a person) are not noted by Yāj. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 242 observes that some upapātakas if repeatedly indulged in make a man *patika* (as provided by Gaut. 21. 1). Viśvarūpa, therefore, derives upapātaka as one ‘that may become a pātaka by constant addition (*upacaya*) or by constant practice’ (*upetya*).

Manu XI. 67 (= Agnipurāṇa 168. 37-38) and Viśṇu Dh. S. 38, 1-6 mention certain lapses as *jātibhrainśakara* (that cause the loss of caste) viz. giving pain to a brāhmaṇa (by means of a stick or by the hand), smelling things which ought not to be smelt at (such as garlic, ordure &c.) and smelling spirituous liquor, cheating (saying one thing and doing another), an unnatural offence with a man (or beast also, acc. to Viṣṇu). According to Manu XI. 68 (= Agnipurāṇa 168. 38-39), killing a donkey, a horse, a camel, a deer, an elephant, a goat, sheep, fish, a snake or a buffalo must be known to be *saṅkarikaraṇa* (reducing one to a mixed caste). Viṣṇu 29. 1 says that saṅkarikaraṇa is the killing of village or forest animals. Manu XI. 69 holds that accepting presents from condemned men (such as those mentioned in Manu IV. 84), trading, serving śūdras and speaking a falsehood make a man unworthy to receive gifts (*apatrikaṇa*). The Viṣṇu. Dh. S. 40. 1, adds ‘maintaining one’s self by usury’ to these. Manu XI. 70 prescribes that killing insects, small or large, or birds, eating anything kept close to spirituous liquors, stealing fruits, fuel and flowers and unsteadiness of mind are *malāvaha* (which make a man impure). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 41. 1-4 are similar. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 42. 1 says all other lapses not specifically mentioned in

---

85. उपपातकेष्वज्ञानविभावत । उपपातके उपेत्य व च सेवयात्मानं पातकमेव स्पाहितव । अर्थं
एवेन मीतमेव पातकमेव शिरिशिुपातं विभाहिः । शिरिभववेष या या III. 229-236. The
reference is to मीतम 21.1, quoted above in note 75.

86. The printed अनिश्चित reads शेषस्थितिः for शेषेः in मनु XI. 67 and अनिश्चित
168.39 reads नकुल for मानिषः.
the several kinds are styled miscellaneous (prakrêna). Vṛddha-
Hārīta (IX. 210-215) specifies several lapses as prakrêna viz- cutting big trees for fuel (used for cooking one's food); killing insects, big and small; eating of food that has become uneatable owing to bhûra 87 (i.e. its resemblance in colour or flavour to some forbidden food or because it is offered with disrespect) or kāla (food on ekādaśi or in an eclipse, or in a mourner's house &c. or that is stale) or kriyā (action, such as food served with the bare hand or seen by a patita, cāndāla or a dog &c.); theft of clay, skin, grass, wood; over-eating; falsehood; restlessness about pleasures; sleep by day; spreading false rumours; making others hear false rumours; eating at another's house; sexual intercourse by day; seeing women in their monthly illness or just after delivery; looking at others' wives; sexual intercourse on a fast, on a śrāddha day, on a pūrah day; service of a śūdra; friendship with the low; touching the leavings of food; broad laughs with women; talking at random (or love prattle); looking at women that have untied their hair. It will be noticed that some of these like the cutting of big trees for fuel, service of a śūdra, friendship with low persons have been already included by Yāj. under upapātakas.

Having dealt at length with several classes or grades of sins, we have now to address ourselves to the question of the consequences of sins and the means recommended or adopted for removing sin and its consequences.

It has already been shown above how the sages of the Rgveda prayed to the gods, particularly to Aditi, Mitra, Varuṇa, the Adityas and Agni to free them from āgas or enas etc. They often say that they violated the dharmas or the vrata (ordinances) of the gods and implore forgiveness. They were afraid of the consequences of their guilt, viz. the god's anger. They thought that when God was angered by their transgressions he smote them with adversity, destruction, disease and death. For example, they pray: 'whatever ordinance (vrata) of yours we may violate every day like subjects (in the case of a king's ordinances) do not subject us to your death-dealing blow' (Rg. I. 25.2); 'O Varuna! whatever transgression we man have committed towards the divine host and whatever rules of yours we may have confounded through heedlessness, do not, on

87. For भृगुन, कार्तिक and क्षितप्रतिष्ठित food mentioned in उद्भवित IX. 211 vide H. of Dh, vol. II, pp. 771-772,
account of that sin (enas), strike us down' (Rg. VII. 89.5). In Rg. X. 89.8-9 it is said that Indra hurls his sharp and deadly weapon at those who break the settled order (dharma) of Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman. The gods are implored to save the worshipper from the deadly attacks of the wolf and from sinking into a pit (in adversity) in Rg. II, 29.6. In Rg. IX. 73.8 it is said that the wise God has his eye on all worlds and he pierces in pits those who do not observe his ordinances and who are therefore not liked by him. On the other hand, when God is pleased with the worshipper, he is implored to lead the latter by the path of virtue (Rg. I. 189.1), to confer happiness on the worshipper's offspring (Rg. I. 189.2, IV. 12.5) and to bestow wealth on him (Rg. VIII. 45.40).

In the Rigveda the first means of removing the consequences of sin appear to be prayers for mercy and for the remission of sin as in Rg. VII. 86. 4-5, VII. 88. 6-7, VII. 89. 1-4 (where 'mṛṣa sukṣatra mṛlaya' is the refrain of all four verses). Even in the Rigveda water was supposed to remove sin, e. g. I. 23. 22 says 'O water! carry away whatever sin (durita) may exist in me'. This shows that sin was supposed to have physical effects like a disease, which were removed by water. Sacrifices were offered to the gods in order to win their favour and in order that the sacrificer may be freed from the consequences of even grave sins. The Tai. S. V. 3.12 1-2 and the Sat. Br. XII, 3. 1, 1 (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 328) state that the gods redeemed themselves from all sin by means of this (Aṣvamedha sacrifice), they even redeemed themselves from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder. That a confession of sin was deemed to remove sin is illustrated in a striking way by what happened in the Varunaprāghāsa (one of the cāturmāyā sacrifices). In that sacrifice the wife of the sacrificer had to confess whether she had any lovers and if she felt ashamed to

---

88. याकर्षेण देवे यज्ञाभिवाहं मद्यभाष्चरानसि॥ अवचिन्य यत्र वर्मी युग्मप्यिः । । संस्कतस्योत्सवका देव संरक्षितः॥ अः. VII. 89.5

89. विश्वदेश्व निख्या दुधार्माभिवाहयुज्यति विधिण्यम वि स्वाधिकाः अब्राह्मण्। अः. IX. 73.8.

90. सब्बं वा एतए यवमानमप्रत्यक्षं वा एतए भ्रात्रमयं तत्वो तस्य द्वेत्तारं धर्मस्य धृत्यां धर्मर्यादिन् यज्ञे। ते. सं. V. 3.12.1-2.

91. यज्ञार्थं सन्धं म दुधार्मायति श्राति दुधार्यात्। अस्ते ने जार इति निर्विवेकः। निर्विवेकः एवमेवं जात्वतुन्त्वे। ते. महा. I.6.5. Vide Kātyāyana ś. V.5. 6-10 'समाज्ञानं गुरुवासामवेदं शरीरं विशिष्टं यवविधि त्यस्से। संस्कृतं नामविश्वेषं वणसंस्तनं। अनात्मवानश्च श्रायति । आहार्याः पश्चिमन इत्येवं यवविधि सन्त्वं।' वासिष्ठिने इत्यादि॥ अनंतः संस्कारं इति ॥ ॥
reply in so many words she had only to raise up in her hand small pieces of grass blades to indicate the number of lovers, if any. If she confessed she had to recite the verse, Vāj. S. III. 44 and was allowed to take further part in the sacrifice. If she concealed the truth, it was stated in the Tai. Br. that evil would befall her near and dear relatives (her son or husband). It is said by many European scholars who have written on the religion of the Veda that sacrifice became a sort of magic rite to wrest from gods or independently of them what the worshipper desired (e.g. see Keith’s Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads pp. 260–268). But this is an over-statement. When initiated for a sacrifice the sacrificer and his wife had to observe a fast or live on a low diet, both were called upon to observe many strict rules such as telling the truth, they had to make large preparations and spend wealth on the materials and the fees to the priests. These things were deemed to cleanse the mind and soul of the taint of sin. There is no reason to suppose that it was only the ritual that was thought to bring about the desired result (and not all the other matters referred to above).

We shall now discuss the prescriptions of the sūtras and smṛtis about the consequences of sins.

In this connection the doctrines of Karma and Punarjanma must be well remembered. The details of the origin and development of those doctrines will be discussed in a later section. Here it is enough to state the few main propositions of the doctrine of Karma. The fundamental proposition is that cause and effect are inseparably linked in the moral sphere as assumed in the physical sphere by science. A good action has its reward and a bad act leads to retribution. If the bad actions do not yield their consequences at once or in this life, the soul begins another existence and in the new environment undergoes suffering for its past bad deeds. The theory of karma and

---

92. Christ gave a model prayer to his disciples in Luke 11. 2-4 and Matthew 6. 9-13, where after invoking the heavenly Father the first thing asked for is the daily bread, then the forgiveness of sin and deliverance from evil. Pious Christians have an easy and complacent self-assurance of getting the things prayed for, since Christ himself has said that they have only to ask and it shall be given to them (Luke 11.9). This also is a sort of magic but it is simple as compared with elaborate Indian sacrifices. It seems rather perverse for a Christian who believes in Luke 11.9 to say that if an Indian believes that a sacrifice will yield some reward it is all magic and nothing more.
the theory of transmigration of souls (of pre-existence and post-existence) are inextricably mixed up in Indian thought from at least the ancient times of the Upaniṣads. The general rule is that *karma*, whether good or evil, cannot be got rid of, except by enjoying or undergoing its consequences. This is said by Gauta, 19. 5, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and many other works. ‘Because the deed does not perish’ Gauta. 93; ‘whatever human action it may be, whether good or evil, it cannot be got rid of except by enjoying its consequences; know from me that a man gets rid of good and evil deeds by enjoying (their consequences)’. This doctrine is based on the Sat. Br. V. 2.3.27, Br. Up. IV. 4 and VI. 2, Chān. Up. III. 14, and V. 3-10, Kaṭha 5, 6-7 and other Upaniṣad texts.

Therefore they say, ‘a man is born again in that world for which he has worked.’ ‘According as a man acts and according as he believes so will he be; a man of meritorious acts will be meritorious, a man of evil deeds sinful. He becomes pure by pure deeds and evil by evil deeds. And here they say that a person consists of desires. And as is his desire, so is his will; and as is his will, so is his deed; and whatever deeds he does that he will reap’ (Br. Up. IV. 4.5); ‘a man is made up of will; whatever he wills in this world the same he becomes after departing from this world’ (Chān. Up. III. 14.1); ‘some human beings enter the womb in order to have an embodied existence; others go into inorganic matter (the stump of a tree and the like) according to their deeds and according to their knowledge’ (Kaṭha Up. 5.7). 94

‘Actions done by a man do not perish unless they (i.e. their consequences) are enjoyed even after scores of years; (the fruits of) actions whether good or evil must of necessity be enjoyed95.’

---

93. न ति कर्म क्रीयापि। मृतं प्रच्छ। स्यं। ब्रह्मचर्यम् in his Bhāṣya on वेदान्त-सूत्र IV. 1.13; न हु भोगायले पुरय पार्थ भाय नामवशं। पारिपालणं भोगायले पुरय पार्थ नियोजितम् मे॥ मारकण्डे पुराण 14.17; लक्ष्मणद्वार प्राप्तसन्धि सम्भवितं॥ नायुधकृत्या-न्यथा नात्रः कल्याणिदिशेतिदः॥ ब्रह्मचर्या I. 19.27.

94. यथाकारी यथाकारी तथा भवति सातुकारी सातुकारी तथा सत्तुकारी पापकारी पापे भवति पुरये। यथात्त्व प्रवर्तति: कामयान्य प्राप्। दुष्टं इत्यत। च। यथाकारी भवति तत्कन्त्तंवति तद्कन्त्तंवति तत्कन्त्तं कुदुर्भयं पति तद्विस्वपनते॥ ब्रह्म. उ. IV. 4.5; अथ खलु कृत्यम्: पुरयो यथाकारिः पापीयनि:। पुरयो भवति तत्संयं: केवल भवति॥ छ। III. 14 1; योगिनोऽयं प्रवर्त्ये शरीरन्यायं प्रियः॥ सायणनायेव विवर्तति। यथाकारी यथाकारी पापकारी॥ ब्रह्मचर्या I. 19.27.

95. नायुधकृत्या कर्म कल्याणिदिशेतिदः॥ अवयपेते। सातुकारे भवते कर्म शुभासुयभू॥ स्वति दुःकः गारित्वनादित्रे। त्रिस्तो मृत्युः त्रिस्तो मृत्युः शुभासुयभू॥ स्वति quoted by गारित्वनादित्रे on भाष्य. वि. p. 17 and by सायण in his मृत्यु on भाष्य 8.2. In प्रति मार्ग II part I p. 11 the verse is read as अवयपेते।
Vide also Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 2–7 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. XX. 47 'just as a calf finds out its own mother from among thousands of cows, so actions done in a former life unerringly reach the perpetrator thereof.'

But this general principle was modified in various ways by the smṛtis and later writings. Gautama 19.11\(^{96}\) (= Vasīṣṭha 22.8) states: 'Reciting the Veda inaudibly (japa), austerities, a sacrifice, fasting and giving gifts are the means of expiating that (i. e. a blamable act).’ Vas. 20. 47 and 25. 3 lay down 'A sinner is freed from sin by tormenting his body, by austerities, by reciting the Veda and also by making gifts' and 'those who are constantly engaged in prāṇāyāmas (suppression and regulation of breath), reciting purificatory texts, giving gifts, offering sacrifices, muttering sacred texts will undoubtedly be freed from sins'.

Manu III. 227 observes: 'by confession, by repentance, by austerity, by reciting Vedic texts (sacred Gayatrī or other texts), a sinner is freed from guilt and in case of difficulty (i. e. if he is unable to perform austerities or to recite Vedic texts) by liberality'. Similar provisions occur in Parāśara X. 40, Śatātāpa ?. 4, Sānyārtha 203, Hārīta (q. in Pr. T. p. 467), Yama, (q. in Pr. V. pp. 30, 31), Bhavisyapurāṇa (q. by Pr. V. p. 31.)

Before proceeding with the subject of prāyaścittras we shall speak briefly about the other means of reducing the consequences of sin. And first comes confession. With reference to the confession of paramours by the wife in the Varunapraghasa, the Tai. Br. (I. 6. 5. 2)\(^{97}\) says 'He makes the wife confess, thereby he renders her pure and then he leads her to penance'. The Śat. Br. (II. 5. 2. 20) puts it in this form 'for when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth'. This was a confession before God (Fire) and men (the priests) to restore one to divine forgiveness and favour. As regards several lapses, confession was part of the procedure prescribed for atoning for the sin.

\(^{96}\) tathā nīcakṣayāni | jāpatiḥ hīma japāsā sthāṇya. | Gā. 19.11 = Vasiṣṭha 22.8 = Jfr. p. 3. III. 10.9. The word nīcakṣayā occurs in Jai. VI. 4.33 (nīkṣraya-vidācca) which refers to a vedic passage about nīkṣayā 'सर्वस्य एवं वेदार्थयो \\ अस्मात् निर्देशिते' quoted by Śābara on Jfr. VI. 4.32.

\(^{97}\) तद्नात्तद्य ज्ञानपदेयमनानं करोति। अयह तदैव विद्यापुरनयति। वज्राय...ग्रहयति। \\ प्रथायथैव हवामहे इति पल्लीसुदरायति। तत्र. Jfr. I. 6.5; vide note 91 above for the passage वज्राय...ग्रहयति.
CHAPTER II
MEANS OF REDUCING CONSEQUENCES OF SINS

Confession—In Ṣū. S. I. 9. 24. 15, I. 10. 28. 19, I. 10. 29. 1 it is prescribed that the person undergoing a penance for being an ābhikāsta or for unjustly forsaking his wife or for the murder of a learned brāhmaṇa has to declare his misdeed while begging for alms to support himself. The Vedic student who was guilty of sexual intercourse had also to proclaim his lapses while begging at seven houses (Gaut., 23.18, Manu XI. 122 ).

Repentance (anutāpa)—Manu99 XI. 229–230 (= Viśudharma-ottara II. 73.231–32 ) provide: "The more a man's mind loathes his own evil deed the more does his body become freed from the unrighteousness (committed by him). If after committing a sin a man feels repentance for having done it he becomes free from that sin. He becomes purified only by the resolution of ceasing to sin and thinking 'I shall not do so again'."100 The Viśnupurāṇa II. 6.40 lays emphasis on repentance and humble devotion to Kṛṣṇa. Pr. V. (p. 30) quotes a verse of Anūras 'A man after committing sins, if he is consumed by repentance and is sorry day and night (for his misdeed), is purified by prāṇāyāma'. The view of digestes like the Pr. Prakāśa is that

---

98. Confession of sins has played a prominent part in early and medieval Christianity. For example, (First epistle of John I. 9 says 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness'.

99. Manu XI. 229 also occurs in Mahābhārata 218. 5.

100. Compare Christ’s call to repentance in Matthew 4. 17 and Mark I. 15 and his last words (in Luke 24. 47) that 'repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations'.
repentance by itself is not enough to destroy sins, but that repentance renders the sinners fit to receive penance, just as paring the nails and the like make the person intending to perform a Vedic sacrifice fit to be a dikṣita. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p. 1231) states that repentance and stopping from repeating the sin are merely the anugās (subsidiary elements) of prāyaścittas and cannot independently take the place of penances.

Prāṇāyāma (restraint of the breath). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 317 for a description of this. Manu XI. 248 (which is the same as Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1.31, Vas. 26.4, Atri II. 5, Śāṅkhāsṛṃṭī XII.18–19) lays down: ‘sixteen prāṇāyāmas attended by the Vyāhṛtis and the Praṇava (omkāra), if performed every day, would purify after a month even the murderer of a bhrūṇa (a learned brāhmaṇa). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55.2 (in prose) is to the same effect. Vas. 26.1–3 provide that on the proper performance of three prāṇāyāmas all the sins committed by day or in the night are at once destroyed. Yāj. III. 305 states that for the removal of all sins, of upapātakas and of sins for which no special expiation is provided by the texts one hundred prāṇāyāmas should be performed. This refers to sins not known to others for which expiation is to be performed secretly. Baud. Dh. S. (IV.1.5–11) provides for varying numbers (3, 7, 12) of prāṇāyāmas to be spread over one day to a year for different kinds of sins ranging from the eating of the food of a śūdra to brāhmaṇa murder. This whole passage is quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III.305 which points out the kinds of sins it deals with. The Agnipurāṇa 173.21 has the same half verse as Yāj. III.305 (first half).

Tapas (austerity). Even Rg. X. 154. 2 speaks of tapas as leading to heaven and as unassailable. The Chāṇ. Up. V. 10, 1–2, Mundaka Up. I. 2. 10–11 place tapas over yajña. Gaut. 19.15 says that celibacy,\(^{101}\) truthfulness, bathing thrice daily (in the morning, at noon and in the evening), wearing wet clothes (till they are dried on the body), sleeping on the ground (on a raised part or altar) and fasting constitute austerities. Baud. Dh. S. III. 10. 13 adds to these ‘ahīṃśā’ (non-injury to any being), aṣṭainya (not depriving any one of his property) and guru-śrutṛṣā (attendance upon a teacher). Gaut. 19. 17 states that

\(^{101}\) ब्रह्मचर्य सत्यचर्य सवनेपूर्वकोपसर्गपरालयभिमाण: साधितानामक हृति सप्तसिं। गै. 19.15.
the periods for which tapas is to be observed are a year, six months, four months, three months, two months, one (month), 24 days, 12 days, 6 days, 3 days, a day and a night (according to the nature of the sin). Manu XI. 239–241 declare that those guilty of mahāpātakas and others guilty of evil deeds are freed from sins by well-practised tapas and that whatever sins are committed by people in thought, word and bodily actions are all quickly burnt by tapas. This doctrine is shared by the Jainas as stated in the Uttarādhyayana XXIX. 27 'by austerities he cuts off karman' (S B. E. vol. 45 p. 166).

Homa (sacrifice into fire). The Tai. Ā. (II. 7–8) describes the kūsmānda homa and dīkṣā and II. 8 prescribes that the man who regards himself as impure should offer a sacrifice with the kūsmānda mantras (mentioned in Tai. Ā. II. 3–6, viz. 'yaddeva deva-heđanam') (Vāj. S. 20.14–16 = Tai. Ā. II. 3.1). The Mahānnavakarmavipāka (folio 8 a) prescribes the procedure of Kūsmānda homa taken from Jamadagni which is brief. It is as follows:—After shaving the hair on the head and the moustache and taking a bath in holy water one should offer the ājyabhāgas and then offer oblations of clarified butter with the three Anuvākas beginning with 'yad deva devaheđanaṁ,' and then he worships fire with the verses beginning with 'Vaisvānaraśya pratipādayāmi.' He then offers samidh with the mantra 'yadadvayām' and then he repeats the Jayā mantras. He has to observe the rules for a dīkṣā viz. not eating flesh, avoiding sexual intercourse, not telling a falsehood and not sleeping on a cot. He has to subsist on milk (if he is a brāhmaṇa), on barley gruel if a ksatriya and on amikṣa if he is a vaiśya. The Kūsmānda-homa as prescribed by Baudhāyana is a longer one. The Baud. Dh. S. III. 7.1 prescribes that he who considers himself impure should offer burnt oblations reciting the kūsmānda mantras, that he who has had forbidden intercourse becomes even like a thief or even like a slayer of a learned brāhmaṇa.

102. अथ दुमायैः दुःहदातो दुःहदात्रितिः इव सन्तेत यथा संन्यासयं वर्तति यथायोजः

प्रेषीति। प्रस्तवातो तथा ब्रह्मविप्रयासम् । अतः यथा यथात् ।

तु तत्स्वरूपो यथाकथा तृतीया समापनं स दुर्गमसेवने ।

प्रभृतिः अथव नेत्र द्रुःतेऽथ तथा अथव नेत्र द्रुहस्तस्य हस्ताय।

अश्रु तत्प्राप्यायः अश्च सक्षमेऽऽसा कपिलः ।

अस्मात्तेतिवस्यसाय बोधिः कारणकर्माणि फलज्ञायः ।

For the above see I. 189.1, Tai. S. I. 14.3, Tai. Ā. I. 8.8.
and that (by performing homa with kūśmāṇḍas) he becomes free from any sin that is less than the murder of a learned brāhmaṇa. Yāj. III. 309 provides that whenever a twice-born man feels himself mixed up in heavy sins he should perform a homa with sesame with the sacred Gāyatrī mantra. The Mit. following a verse of Yama says that one lakh of offerings of sesame must be made. Both Manu XI. 34 and Vas. 26. 16 say that a brāhmaṇa becomes free from all distresses by Vedic recitations (japa) and sacrifices (homa). When the wife confessed to the existence of a paramour, the Śat. Br. II. 5. 20 states that she made an offering into the Dakṣiṇāgni with the mantra (Vaj. S. III. 45) 'whatever sin we have committed, whether in the village, in the forest, in society or by the organs of sense, we cast that away by this sacrifice, svāhā.' Both Manu (VIII. 105) and Yāj. (II. 83) prescribe that when a witness tells a falsehood in order to prevent an accused person from being sentenced to death, he should offer for expiating his perjury an oblation of boiled rice to Sarasvatī. There are other homas also prescribed such as the Gaṇahoma, in which such verses as 'agni naya supathā' from the Taittirīya śākhā are recited (Mahāṛṇava).

The old idea of sacrifice seems to have been that it was propitiatory in character. Sacrifice was not demanded or required by God. Sacrifice was probably regarded as a gift which pleased God, induced Him to forgive a man for his transgressions and enabled erring man to regain God's favour which had been lost by some shortcoming or some sinful act. Sacrifices therefore had an expiatory or cleansing function or character. Sacrifices may be performed by offerings either an animal (meant as substitute for the sinner himself who had forfeited his life for his sins and transgressions) or a burnt offering or any other thing offered to God and then distributed to others.

Japa (muttering of Vedic passages as prayers). Japa is of three kinds, vācika (audibly uttered), upāṁśu (inaudibly uttered) and mūnasā (mentally revolved), each succeeding one being ten times superior, acc. to Laghu Hārīta IV. p. 186.

103. यदृ प्रमे चाहनेचन्द्र चतंगायाय यजिंहिंद्रयेि पवेशष्कङ्गम वयसिः तज्जप्जम्बे
रशाह II वाज. से III. 45; vide also से. I. 8.3 for a similar passage.
(Jivananda I).

Śabarā (on Jai. XII. 4. 1) distinguishes japa from stuti, the former being simply an utterance or recitation of a mantra or mantras. Inaudible japa is praised in Śāṅkhāyana Br. 14. 1. The Āṣv. Śr I. 1. 20 provides that japa, anumantrana, āpyāyana and upasthāna are uttered upāṁśu. The Āp. Śr. (24. 1. 8–10) provides that mantras from the Rgveda and the Śāmaveda are uttered in sacrifices loudly and that passages of the Yajurveda are muttered upāṁśu and the Tai. Prātiśākhya 23. 6 states that upāṁśu recitation is made by means of the effort of speech organs but without sound (i.e. in a very low voice) and without the mind being directed (to utterance with udāta and other accents) i.e. ‘Karaṇavadasabdam-amanaḥ-prayogam-upāṁśu’. Gaut. 19. 12 (= Baudh. Dh. S. III. 10. 10 = Vas. 22. 9) prescribes the following Vedic texts as purifiers: Upaniṣads, Vedānta texts, the Sanhitā texts of all the Vedas (and not the padapātha or kramapātha), the Yajus texts in which the word ‘madhu’ occurs, the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg. X. 190. 1–3), the Atharvāsiras, (the anuvākas called) Rudras, the Purusa hymn (Rg. X. 90), the two sāmans called Rajata and Rauhipāya, the Bṛhat-sāma and the, Rathantara, the Purusagati sāman, the Mahānāmī verses, the Mahāvairāja (sāman), the Mahādivākirtya (sāman), any of the Jyeṣṭha sāmans, the Bahispavamāna (sāman), the Kūṣmāṇḍas, the Pāvamānis (Rg. IX) and the Śāvitrī (Rg. III. 62. 10).

104. अतः जयया भ्रमणम् तदमिनि पुराणम्। विविधो अवयवः स्त्रस्तम् भोजनं निषेधत।

वाच्यांकः उपविचार्यानि मानविनिश्चितः। स्तुतः। वपणां जयया भ्रमणम् भ्रमणसंग्रहोऽरोपत।

िैत। अतः हारितः। उपविचारणम्। वपणां ध्यात्मस्य। सङ्क्तः। उपविचारणम्। सङ्क्तः।

मानविनिश्चितः। स्तुतः। सुतविचारः। I. p. 149. The verses विविधो...उपविचारणयाँ occur in युविहत्युतमां 58. 78-79 and also in तुहलितमां IV. p. 186 (Jiv. I). Both these also define वाच्यांकम् and उपविचारणम् as follows: ‘स्त्रस्तम् भ्रमणम् वपणां भ्रमणसंग्रहोऽरोपत।

विविधो अवयवः स्त्रस्तम् भोजनं निषेधत।’

105. बच्चनं जययामिति समानाणां। ध्यानं जय यथवात्य श्रविति समानेत।

तेन यथा बच्चनात्मकं मग्नस्य क्रियश्च न स्तुतं नागात्मवतं स जयम्। शत्रुḥ on जै. XII. 4. 1.

106. अचार्यां अवस्मातिकैः वेन इत्यादम्। वव्यक्तमानानाज्ञसत्संस्कृतवतः...तह इत्यदृशः

विचारणयां तुझी ज्ञातानी त्र्यायं। युविहत्युतमां नासेत। वर्गमातुर्वकायम्। अथ बच्चनाति

तुझी ज्ञातान्त्र लग्ने वेने वर्गमातुर्वकायम्। जयम् ज्ञातवति स्त्रस्तम्मयेते तत्रतस्य

लोकस्य समानेत। साक्षात्मानम्। I. 14. 1.

107. ‘Madhūni’ are explained by Haradatta as ‘महद्वकुचानि वजं वजं

महद्वकुत्स्वास्सिनिः।’ These occur in जै. X. 38. It is better to hold as done

by the मद्व. या. p. 761, by Maskarin in his bhāsya on Gaut. and by Pr. Prakāśa (folio 86a) that the word मधुः refers to the three verses beginning with the

words ‘Madhu vāzī’ that are Rg. I. 90. 6-8 and occur in Tai. S. IV. 2. 9 and

(Continued on the next page)
original idea of japa was highly spiritual. Deep knowledge of
the Upaniṣads and other texts would have made the soul pure
and enabled it to realize the supreme reality and induced in the
mind love of all human beings as sparks of the one Divine
Essence. Japa at the highest level was contemplation of God
and endeavour to attain unity with God. The habit of repeat-
ing the sacred texts should lead to maintaining the soul in the
presence and thought of God. Japa demands three things,
purity of heart, detachment and placing oneself in the hands of
God.

Manu XI. 46 provides that a sin unintentionally committed
is expiated by the recitation of Vedic texts as prayers, but that
which men in their folly commit intentionally is expiated by
prāyaścitta.

(Continued from the last page)

Vāj. s. XIII. 27–29 also, since they are styled मुल्लक्षी
by आन्व्य. व., पार. व., I. 3,
मानवकृ. I. 9.14. Atharvākāra is an उपालिक्कु which begins with देह वहै
रथने लोक-
सम्लेने महाभुत्त को जानते. Vide the Nir. edition of 108 Upaniṣads (printed
in 1925) for the अल्पतीहर. The अल्पवन्ध is highly eulogized as a destroyer of
sins like Āvānaka in Manu XI. 259–60, Visnu Dh. S. 55.7, Vas. 26.8,
Baudh. Dh. S. IV. 2.20. Rudras are the eleven anuvākas of Tai. S. IV. 5. 1–11
beginning with चालसे दुर्ग मन्दे. Acc. to Haradatta the two Sāmans Rājata
and Rauhina are sung on the Rk verse ‘इंद्रम नरोऽनदोध्य हवावन्ते’ (Rg.
VII. 27.1, Sāmaveda, Pūrvācika 318). The दुर्गसाम is sung on the verse
सारिदिक हतान्त्रे (Rg. VI. 46.1, Sāmaveda Pūrvācika No. 234), the Rāhantara
on the verse गंग्यं वर्गे (Rg. VII. 32.22, Sāmaveda Pūrvācika 233). In
the अष्टक्रितa X. 35 SriKṛṣṇa puts the Brhatāṁśa as the foremost among
Sāmans (दुर्गसाम यथा सा विप) (Sāmaveda, Aranyakāṇḍa VI. 1.594). Sāmans
verses are those beginning with विवाक्य विवाक्य विवाय which occur in the ऐ. आ.
IV. in the जैनपीपारिक of the Sāmaveda (ed. by Dr. Raghuvir) and in other
संहितात. The महाभासक (सामन) is sung on the verse विका लोकमिद्र सहवत् स्लो (सा.
VII. 22.1, Sāmaveda, Pūrvācika 398, उत्तराकृ. 927); the महातिटिक सम is sung on
विवेकाहासिनि सारित्र (सा. X. 170.1, Sāmaveda अर्थाकार 628, उत्तराकृ. 1453); about
the उपालिक्कु homes mentions two interpretations (of the तत्त्वज्ञ सामस
and द्वितीय), one holding that they are sung on विवाय (Rg. I. 50.1, Sāmaveda
Pūrvācika 31) and विवाय द्वेष (Rg. I. 115.1), the other that they are three Sāmans
sung on द्वेषां तद्वाय (Rg VI. 7.1, Sāmaved पुरा 67, उत्तराकृ. 1140). Maskarin holds that जैनपीपारिक are those sung on the verses से नै देवी (Rg. X.
9.4) आ. विवाय (Rg. I. 115.1). The विवायक साम is sung on the द्वेषां तद्वाय
(Rg. IX. 11.1, Sāmaveda उत्तराकृ. 651, 763). Vide H, of Dh. vol II pp.1169–1170
for further details of the विवायक साम. For the द्वेषान्तमण, vide है. आ.
II. 3–5. विवेकाय: the verses about soma in the 9th मान्दल of the Rgveda.
Sāvitrī is the famous Gāyatrī mantra (Rg. III. 62.10.)
Manu II. 85-87 (which are the same as Vas. 26: 9-11 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 10-21) lay down: 'the performance of japa is ten times more efficacious than the sacrifices (like Darśapūrṇamāsa) prescribed by the rules (of the Veda), japa when carried on inaudibly is a hundred times superior (to sacrifices) and mental revolution of mantras is a thousand times superior. The four pākayajñas (Vaiśvadeva, bali, daily īrādīha, and honouring guests) together with the Vedic sacrifices do not come up to even the 16th part of japa. A brahmāṇa attains perfection (the highest goal) by japa; he may or may not engage in other duties (such as Vedic sacrifices); a brahmāṇa befriends all creatures'. Great eulogy is bestowed on the inaudible japa of the Gāyatrī mantra (Rg. III. 62.10) for which pp. 303-305 of H. of Dh. vol. II may be consulted. Where no particular number is specially mentioned the recitation of a mantra is to be performed a hundred times.¹¹⁰

Manu¹¹⁰a XI. 261-262, Vas. 27. 1-3, Aṅgiras 101 and other works go so far as to assert that the fire of Veda study consumes guilt caused by evil deeds just as a fire burning strongly consumes even green trees or that a brahmāṇa who remembers Rgveda (studied by him) is not tainted by any guilt, though he may have destroyed the three worlds and have eaten the food of any person whatever. But these are simply laudatory (arthavādas) and are not to be taken literally, as Vas. 27. 4¹¹¹ (= Aṅgiras 102) gives the warning 'one should not become addicted to (or take pleasure in committing) evil deeds relying on the power of the Veda (stated in some smṛti passages). (The effects of) actions done through ignorance and negligence are alone consumed (by Veda study) and not those of other actions (intentionally done).'

Many smṛtis such as Manu XI. 249-257 (which are almost the same as Viṣṇudharmottara II. 74. 4-13), Vas. 26. 5-7 and 28. 10-15 (the former of which are the same as Manu XI. 249-251), Viṣṇu

¹⁰⁸. Manu II. 87 occurs in Śaṅkhasmrṭi also (XII. 28).

¹⁰⁹. The five pākayajñas are enumerated in Manu III 70 and the four meant are all of them except brahmayajña (teaching and studying Veda).

¹¹⁰. 'यागस्य तत्संस्कारं, अनायस्य तत्समिति दुष्पार्थिनि दुष्प्रयाणि;ि मा मकासा, folio 143a.

¹¹⁰a. Manu XI. 262 and Vas. 27. 3 are identical.

¹¹¹. न वैश्वदताय पापममात्मिनिः अनायस्य प्रमाप्तिः दुष्प्रयाणि कर्म नेतरः ष पालिः 27.4, अधिनिषदा 102.
Dh. S. 56. 3–27, Atri VI. 1–5 (which are almost the same as Vas. 112 28. 10–15), Śaṅkha, chap. 11 (= Vas. 28. 10–15), Saṁvarta 227–
228, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 2. 4–5, IV. 3. 8, IV. 4. 2–5, Yāj. III. 302–305,
prescribe several Vedic hymns or single Vedic verses or prose
passages as specially efficacious for removing all sins. It is not
possible nor necessary to set down all of them, but by way of
sample the verses of Manu (XI. 249–257) are translated here.

Even a drinker of surā becomes pure if he utters the hymn
(seen) by Kutsa 113, the three verses beginning with ‘prati’ (Rg.
VII. 80. 1–3) seen by Vasiṣṭha, the Māhitra hymn (Rg. X. 185),
the verses called Śuddhavatīs (Rg. VIII. 95. 7–9 where the word
‘suddha’ occurs 13 times in different connections). Even he
who has stolen gold (of a brāhmaṇa) instantly becomes free
from guilt if he once utters (the hymn) beginning with ‘asya
vāmaśya’ (i.e. Rg. I. 164. 1–32), and the Śivasaṅkalpa (Vāj. S.
XXXIV. 1–6). The violater of a guru’s bed is freed from sin
if he repeatedly recites the hymn beginning with ‘havispāntam’
(Rg. X. 88. 1–19) and the hymn beginning with ‘na tam-anho’
(i.e. Rg. X. 136. 1–8), the hymn beginning with ‘iti’ (i.e. Rg. X.
119) and the hymn addressed to Puruṣa (Rg. X. 90). He who
desires to do away with sins, great and small, should mutter
during a year the verse beginning with ‘ava’ (i.e. ‘ava te helo
varuṇa namobhiḥ’ Rg. I. 24. 14, Tai. S. I. 5. 11. 3), or the
verse ‘yat kim ca’ (Rg. VII. 89. 5) or the verse ‘iti vā’ (Rg. X
119. 1). That man who, having accepted a gift that ought not to,
be accepted, or having eaten forbidden food, mutters the hymn
beginning with ‘tarat sa mandi’ (Rg. IX. 58. 1–4)114 becomes pure
after three days. He who has committed many sins becomes
pure if he recites for a month the hymn beginning with ‘Soma
rudrā’ (Rg. VI. 74. 1–4) and the three verses beginning with
‘Aryamaṇam’ (Rg. IV. 2. 4–6) while he bathes in a river (and not
in a pond or other reservoir of water). One guilty of a grievous
offence should mutter the seven verses beginning with ‘Indram’
(Rg. I. 106. 1–7). A twice-born man removes even very great
guilt by offering clarified butter for a year (in fire) with the
mantras for the Sākalahomas (Vāj. S. VIII. 13) or by muttering the

112. Vas. 28. 10–15 are quoted in स्मृतिकृति. I. p. 187. Atri VI. 1–5 are
quoted as Atri’s in Gr. R. p. 245.

113. The Kautsa hymn is Rg. I. 97. 1–8, all of which have as their
refrain सम: सम: योश्च बचत : ‘may he burn away our sin.’

114. साधक संवध, धाबति is the refrain of all four verses of Rg. IX. 58. It
means ‘He who presses (soma) gets over (all sins), he runs (to higher worlds),’
Vide Nir. XIII. 6.
mantra 'nama id-ugram' (Rg. VI 51. 8). One who is stained by mortal sin becomes pure if with a concentrated mind he attends cows for a year, reciting the Pavamāṇi hymns (the whole of Rg. IX) and subsisting on alms.\footnote{114a}

So much importance and such occult powers came to be attached to the words of the Rgveda that the Rgvidhāna of Śaunaka (which is later than Manu) concerns itself with prescribing numerous hymns of the Rgveda for the removal of various diseases, of sins, for the conquest of enemies.

The Sāma, Br. I. 5. 2 says \footnote{115} generally that when no particular hymns are prescribed for the removal of sins Vedic mantras are powerful and become purifiers if accompanied by tapas and the Sāmans may be repeated for the same purpose from ten times as the minimum to 100 times as prāyaścitā. Gautama 19. 13 prescribes the kind of food on which one should subsist when one is engaged in japa viz. one was to live on milk alone, to eat vegetables only, to eat fruits only, to live on barley gruel prepared from a handful of grain, to eat gold\footnote{116}, to eat clarified butter, and to drink soma and so forth. Gautama 19. 14 further lays down that all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (gīs), cowpens and temples of the gods are places (which help to destroy sin).

As the Veda could be studied in and after the sūtra period only by the male members of the first three classes, the japa of Vedic texts for the removal of sins was not possible for śudras; therefore, the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 262) says that although the śūdra (and women and those born of pratiloma marriages also) has no adhikāra (power or capacity or authority) for the recitation of Gāyatrī and other Vedic mantras, still the śūdra and women after revolving in the mind the name of the deity put in the dative case can engage in japa with the word namah (i. e. he can only utter the words 'namo namah' and not om &c).

\footnote{114a. In Rg. I. 106. 1-7 the first six verses have the refrain विष्णुमातृः अहसेः निमित्तनम् ('May you take us beyond all sin').}

\footnote{115. अनाब्रव्यं स्मत्र वज्रतनाशपद्यितति: पापन्त भयस्य। अपां: यापिहितं बरेण। अन्यायं: सामस्यं शत वालपर। संसज्ज्वदानम्: I. 5. 2-4.}

\footnote{116. 'To eat gold' is explained by हरिव्व as 'सर्वराज्विष्णुः निश्चुष्ण वाज्यमेष्व हिष्णुमात्राः'.}
as stated by Gaut. Dh. S. X. 66-67 and Yāj. I. 121.\(^\text{117}\). When \text{Māmn} IV. 80 says ‘let him not explain to a śūdra the sacred law (dharma) nor impose upon him a \text{vrat}a’ all that is meant is, according to the \text{Mit.} on Yāj. III. 262, that it applies only to a śūdra who does not wait upon or serve higher varṇas. Similarly, when Gaut. IV. 20 says that those born in the inverse order are outside the pale of the sacred law, the meaning is that \text{samskāras} like upanayana are not to be performed on them. The mystic syllable ‘om’ is said by \text{Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 13. 6)} to be the door to heaven and was to be employed before the recitation of any Vedic passage. The \text{Yogasūtra (I. 27)} avers that \text{om} (called \text{prāṇava}) is expressive of the idea of God and that the repetition of \text{om} and revolving the meaning of it in the mind lead to concentration.\(^\text{118}\)

Not only were certain Vedic hymns and passages recommended for recitation with the object of removing sins some works, particularly the \text{Purāṇa}s, proposed an easy way for all viz. that the remembrance of God \text{Nārāyaṇa} (or \text{Hari} or \text{Krṣna}) removed all sins. The \text{Brahmapurāṇa} (chap. 176) contains a \text{stotra} (hymn of praise) of \text{Vishnu}, which when recited is said to free a man from all sins (mental, vocal or bodily). The Pr. V. p. 31 quotes a verse from the \text{Bhavisyapurāṇa}\(^\text{118a}\) and three verses from the \text{Vishnuapurāṇa} as follows:—‘even a great sin is removed by (the resolve of) not doing it again, by gifts, by confessing it to others, and by meditation (on \text{Vishnu}) and not only by \text{prāyaścittas}’ (\text{Bhavisya}); ‘of all the expiations (for sins declared by the sages) such as \text{tapas} (\text{Cāndrāyana} and others) and other actions (\text{japa}, \text{homa}, \text{gifts}) the meditation on

\(^{117}\) अद्वैतात्मस्य नस्तकारे सम्भवः। पाकवर्गः स्वयं यज्ञनेति। श्री. X. 66-67, on which हक्तम comments ‘अस्य शुद्धर्म ब्रह्मचारिणिः तत्र वेषलापदध्वनिः मनसा व्यास्य समझो नम इत्यं वेषलापदध्वनि मनोजुस्ताती यथं। नस्तकारेण मन्ने प्रद्यायज्ञ वर्षये’। य. I. 121, Vide H. of Dh, vol. II. p. 158 note 371 for further details. 

\(^{118}\) ओऽक्षरः स्वयं ज्ञानस्य ब्रह्मचर्यायां नात्वदेव गतिष्ठेत। अप. ध. सू. I. 4.13.6; ‘तस्म शर्करा: मन्नः। तजाज्ञता-दत्तानवया।’ येञ्जेभु I. 27-28; वाचस्पति comments: \text{अनन्य} ज्ञान: \text{अनन्यनिधिष्ठत्वस्य ब्रह्मचर्यस्य भवन्तु}। \text{तदन्तु} वैशिष्ट्य: \text{ग्याय} ज्ञात: \text{ग्यायचार्य} च भाववत्तत्त्वस्य \text{सम्बन्धते}।

\(^{118a}\) \text{भविष्यपुराणयम}। \text{अगुन: करणोद्मात्याचल्यवनादिविविधिनात)।} \text{विभैः स्वयं शङ्करो ज्ञानशिल्पकृतिः। ज्ञानशीलवतायाः कर्ममिच्छिन्नाम न कर्मभावायाः। वासु कलान्त्रात् धूम्फुम पद्मश्च वासुविदित संसारेऽ स्वयं कर्मनिर्वक्ष्यमपि पपात सङ्कृत। नारायणमातीमथः प्रपातो नरः। मात्र. सिद्ध प 31. \text{The verse यानसिद्धि is q. by आचार्य p. 1232 and by यान. तत्त्व also (p. 524) The two verses are also respectively भविष्यपुराण II. 22.37 and 39.}
Kṛṣṇa is the highest. If a man remembers Nārāyaṇa in the morning, at night, at twilight, at midday and the like, he at once secures the removal of sin' (Viṣṇupurāṇa). The Brahma-
purāṇa⁴¹ (216. 87–88) gives expression to a popular belief as follows:—"Men, even after committing sins many times through folly, do not go to Hell if they prostrate themselves before Hari who destroys all sins. Those men also who always remember Janārdana even by roguery go to the world of Viṣṇu after death." The Viṣṇupurāṇa affirms that those who contemplate upon the mantra of twelve letters (viz. 'om namo bhagavate Viṣṇudevāyā') do not return to the cycle of births and deaths. The great power of mantras is mentioned in the Aḍīparva (161. 14) by Kunti. The Nṛsimha-purāṇa in chap.18 eulogises the mantra of eight letters (om namo Nārāyaṇāya) and chap. 63.6, states "what is the use of many mantras and the performance of many vrata, when the mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' is capable of securing all desired objects". The mantra of five letters 'namah Śivāya' is dealt with in Liṅgapurāṇa (pūrvādha, chap. 85) and Saura-
purāṇa 65. Brahma-purāṇa speaks of vaidika mantras and āgamokta mantras (41. 63). The Nityācāra-paddhati (p. 67) says that it is necessary to understand the meaning of vedic mantras in śrauta rites but in śāmata rites it is not so.

Dāna (gifts). Gaut. XIX. 16 provides¹²⁰ that gold, a cow, a dress, a horse, land, sesamum, clarified butter and food are the gifts (that destroy sin) and may be optionally undergone as penance if no express mention is made thereof. Vas. quotes several verses on gifts one of which (29. 16) states: "whatever sin a man distressed for livelihood commits he is purified from that by giving land even if it be as small in extent as 'gocarma'"¹²¹. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 92.4 is to the same effect. Sanvarta²² (204) prescribes that the gifts of gold, cow and land

---

¹¹⁹. शुलापि वहुः पाप नतरोहसमनिता। न यापि न रक्षा गायत्रीसर्वार्जगी। शाहेनापि नस निर्यो येक्षस्ति जानावतः। तैपि यापि न दीवस्य विष्णुकालमनायक। वेदां बद्धु । 216.87–88: अवापि न निततेषे ह्राससाधारितान्तः। विष्णुपुराण I. 6.39.

¹²⁰. विश्वय नैरसस्योऽथृयुहाः हस्तातत्तलिते हस्तान्त मनुष्यसभाधो द्विवेशन्ति।। गृहः 19.16 and 18.

¹²¹. अर्थाद्विवेशस्य। कालिकितवकुश एवं यत्र द्विवेशकलित।। अथि दक्षस्मात्मकं धूमितान्त द्विवेशस्य।। पायद गृह 29.16. For the meaning of gocarma, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 432, n. 718.

¹²². तत्रेतथा नैरससा कृष्णत्वा नैरससा त्वक्तवृं च। नाशपत्याधु पापामि अग्रजस्ततात्तविः।। कविता 204 q. by गृहा. तत्र मम 483 (which reads नाशपत्तात्तविः at the end). विसामकानाठृक्षसाधनं नैरससा कृष्णत्वाः।। रसायनमकानां सर्वस्य कृष्णत्वां मनोविन्यस्त।। गृहा।। विश्वसाधनाद। द्वारां नाशपत्तात्तविः।। गृहा।। शास्त्रकविताः द्वारां सर्वस्य सहीतिः।। गृहा।। गृहा।। (folio 86a).
quickly destroy sins even if committed in former lives. Medhā-tithi (on Manu XI. 139) remarks that the verse implies that as to sins arising from injury to living beings gifts are the principal expiations. The subject of dāna has been dealt with at length in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 837–888. A few further remarks may be made here. In many inscriptions and copperplate grants of lands or villages the donor usually states that the grant is made for the increase of the merit of himself and of his parents (e. g. E. I. vol. XI, p. 219 at p. 221). Brhaspati²²³ as quoted in the Madanaratna (vyavahāra p. 66) expressly provides that in land-grants the king should state that he made the gift for securing merit to his parents and to himself²²⁴. The Rājatarangini (I. 143)²²⁵ refers to the founding of vihāras (monasteries).

_Upavāsa_ (fasting). Fasting strictly means total abstinence from food and drink, but generally it means light diet restricted in quantity and also as regards the nature of the articles taken. Even the Tai. S. (I. 6. 7. 3–4) refers²²⁶ to three ways of observing vrata on the days of the Dāsakūpūrṇamāsa-īṣṭi either by subsisting only on food available in the village or on forest food or partaking of no food at all. Gaut. 19. 11 includes upavāsa among the several means of removing sins. Tapas is also one of such means acc. to him. But in Gaut. 19. 15 as stated above, Gaut. includes fasting (anāśaka) among ‘tapāṁśi’.

---

²²³. तस्मान भूपणिकर्म राजा ताम्बपति पदेशाना। शासने कारणेब्रह्मं व्याकरणवाहिः-हस्ततम। मात्राप्रतिच्छल्लक बुधपापाकशस्य किलेत सवास्कारयो कृतं समझावारिष्ठे॥
Hūr. in समझावारिष्ठे p. 66 on व्यवहार.

²²⁴. In Europe the same practice prevailed in the middle ages. ‘The founder (of monasteries) constantly tells us that this sacrifice is made for the atonement of his own sins and those of his progenitors and kinsfolk‘ G. G. Coulton, in ‘Five centuries of Religion‘ (1936) vol. III. p. 27. Redemption of sin by monetary payments or by leaving property to the churches and monasteries was a very firm belief in the Middle Ages in Christian countries, so much so that men who had earned properties made large gifts to the church when the prospect of death was near and vast estates accumulated in the hands of churchmen, which led to the passing of the Statue of Mortmain in England.

²²⁵. तस्मान झुते न जारेरत विहारणकौशलसम। तर्थ तदनेकाणां र नापरिवबं झुत
अफितं नावाजक्रित। राष्ट्राधिकारी। I. 143.

²²⁶. यद्यांगान्यस्यसति तेन ग्रामप्राणिर्लाव मनासप्रायस्यात्त तेनायस्य शुन्याक्रमेऽ-।
प्रभुवेस्तः निन्द्वेक्षः श्रापत। तैं। सं। 1. 6. 7. 3.
Haradatta explains *upavāsa* as giving up the eating of boiled rice (bhaktatyāga) and adds that upavāsa is again included under *tapāni* to show the great importance attached to it. Haradatta notes that a predecessor of his relying on a Purāṇa passage explained *upavāsa* in Gaut. 19.11 as ‘restraint of senses’. In many of the Grhya sūtras upavāsa means only eating light food prepared from corn usable in sacrifices (such as rice) once in the day excluding vegetables, māsa (pulse), salt and flesh (compare Gobhila gr. I 5.26, Khādira gr. II. 1.4 and 6, Kauśīkāsūtra I. 31–32, Kāthaka-grhya 46.2128). The Br. Up. IV. 4. 22 closely associates ‘anāsaka’ (fasting) with *tapas* as a means to the mystic realisation of the Supreme Soul. Jaimini (III. 8, 9–11) appears to regard fasting as *tapas*. Manu XI. 203 (= Visnu Dh. S. 54,29) provides that fasting (for a day) is the penance for omitting the rites ordained by the Veda (such as the Dāsaptūrṇamāśa sacrifice and the performance of sandhyā adoration) and for neglecting the special duties of a snātaka (laid down in Manu IV. 34 ff). When a person was observing a fast he had to avoid doing certain other actions. Acc. to Devala a fast becomes bereft of its good results by drinking water often, by chewing tāmbulā by sleep in the day-time and by sexual intercourse; but the Garudapurāṇa I. 128. 6 and Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (I. 184,27) allow even when one is fasting the use of flowers, ornaments, rich clothes, garlands, ungueents, applying collyrium to the eye and the cleansing of teeth. Dakṣa quoted by the Par. M. states that if a man observes a fast for the day and night on which the sun first turns towards the

127. उपवासी भक्तयायः। स एव सप्तसप्तम पुष: पश्चाते आश्रयमयानवर्धिः॥ आदि भक्तम् हि बद्धविभूतिः परिति उपवास इत्यत्वमिनाः॥ यथादिति शेषोऽधिको दस्तु वसोऽसुः सत ।

128. खण्डनुसा 46.2 यथा औपवर्ष सुक्ला: तथा एव दीपक व्रताः श्लोकसूत्राः।

129. स वा वत्र सहस्राय आदि...समेते वेदान्तमन्त्र भाषाणाम विविधवन्दितं विकृतं वामेन तपस्यान्वितं । उप. । र. । IV. 4. 22. Vide सातसभाष्य on वेदाध्ययनम् III. 4. 26 and 33 for the explanation of this Up. passage.

130. तथात्मकविन्द्रातोकतुः। ज्ञ. III. 8, 9; सतः तपः सुखोरो विद्वान नासकारी इति। सत सतेः: क्षतिमार्गोऽस्मात्। विपाकतमसः तत् इति 1

131. अद्भुतप्रत्यायः तस्मृतवर्ष: च भक्तान । उपासम्: मुचुपेशु बिधा लघुपाला नैपुरूषः॥ वेदन q. by अपसर्गद् p. 199, सुधितः। II. p. 355. The सतसभाष्य (I. 128, 7–8) has almost the same verse.
north or south, or on the Vișuva day (day of equinox), and on an eclipse of the sun or the moon and bathes he is freed from all sins.\textsuperscript{132} Manu XI. 166 (=Agni purāṇa 169.31) prescribes a fast for three days as a penance for theft of grass, firewood, tree, dry food (i.e. grains of rice), jaggery, clothes, hide and flesh. The Anuṣāsanaparva (106.1) remarks\textsuperscript{133} that men of all varnas and even Mlechhas thought highly of fasts and that chapter contains an exaggerated eulogy of fasting. Almost all religions (except Zoroastrianism) such as the Hebrew, Christian (in Lent) and Moslem (in Ramjan) emphasize the necessity of fasting as a discipline or as a preparation for penitence. The Bhavisyapurāṇa (I, chap. 16. 12–14) states that those who have not kindled sacred fires can please the gods by \textit{vratas}, restraints, gifts and particularly by \textit{upavāsas} and points out (verses 18–22) what substances (eatables) should be given up from the first to the 15th \textit{tithi} in each fortnight. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Śrauta and gṛhya sūtras the word upavasatha is used in the sense of ‘upavāsa’ and is derived from ‘vas’ (to dwell) with ‘upa’. Vide. H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1010 and n. 2276 for the Śat. Br. The Khādira gr II. 1.4, Gobhila, gr. I. 6.2, Kauśika-sūtra I. 31 employ the word upavasatha. Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 1.4–5. prescribe an upavāsa for husband and wife on \textit{pavan} days and if they cannot totally abstain from food they should eat only once by day food proper for upavāsa. Aparārka p. 199, Smr. C. (śrāddha p. 355) and Kṛtyaratnakāra quote a verse from Vyāsa deriving the word upavāsa.\textsuperscript{133a} The Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 9–13, Baud. Dh. II. 7.32, Vās. 6.21 and Śān. gr. II. 16.5 have the same verse viz. ‘an āhitāgni, a draught ox and brahmacārīn, these three fulfill (their work) by eating; they cannot fulfill their duties by non-eating’. This is explained as not applying to prāyaścittas (Baud. Dh. Ś II. 7.34) and to fasts on Ekādaśī. The Śāntiparva 323.17 states ‘Just as a dirty garment is afterwards cleansed by water, so to those who are heated in (the fire of) fasting inexhaustible happiness for a long time comes.’ Śānti 79.18, however, says ‘merely emaciating the body by fasting is not \textit{tapas}, but ahimsā, truthfulness, freedom from cruelty, restraint and compassion are \textit{tapas}’.

\textsuperscript{132} अपने विकृते चेत चर्चूर्ययोगे तथा। अहोराजातिः स्तावा सर्वयं ये। पुद्दर्भलेह। इति q. by वर्ण. म. I. 1 p. 438.

\textsuperscript{133} सत्त्रावेशेन कण्यां स्त्रेष्ठानां च वितामह। उपवसे मतिदिः कारणं च न विभ्रें। अझाजसन 166.1.

\textsuperscript{133a} ‘उपवसात स्वपणो यथव वासो सुगी: तव हृदय: स विशयुः स्वर्गीयोगिनिः। अपरारकः p. 199. सुगी: means ‘स्मायाचन्द्रिः’ and बाण: means ‘नियमवत्साचातः’.
Tirthayātṛa:—Pilgrimage will be dealt with exhaustively in a later section. It was believed that going on a pilgrimage and bathing in such holy rivers as the Ganges freed a man from sins. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (35.6) lays down that those guilty of mahāpātakas may become pure by Aśvamedha sacrifice or by visiting all the sacred places on the earth. Devala says that a man removes the consequences of such grave sins as the murder of a brāhmaṇa that he may have committed unintentionally by the performance of great sacrifices or by going on a pilgrimage. Parāśara (XII. 58 ff) prescribes pilgrimage to see Rāma’s bridge to Laṅkā for a murderer of a brāhmaṇa who has studied the four Vedas. Devala states: ‘a man becomes freed from sin by approaching holy places and shrines, brāhmaṇas that practise austerities, that all rivers that fall into the ocean, all great mountains, all shrines and all forests are holy.’ The Matsyapurāṇa (184.18) says that a heap of sins as big as the mountain Meru or Mandara becomes destroyed when man reaches Avimukta (Benares). The Kūrmapurāṇa (pūrvarṣa 29.3) says: ‘I do not see any other expiation for destroying all sins in the Kaliyuga for all beings except Benares’. Even in the times of the Peshwas of Poona pilgrimage was prescribed for brāhmaṇa murder (vide ‘Selections from Peshwa Records,’ vol. 43 p. 107) and the brāhmaṇas were ordered that after the sinner performed the penance they were to dine with him and recognize that he had been purified. In an order dated 1659 (1737 AD) the Peshwa Bajirao the first informs the Deshmukhas, Deshpandes and Mukadams that four brothers named Zende approached him with the story that their father was born when their paternal grandmother lived with one Pilaji Zende after she became a widow and that she intended to remarry that man but that had to be postponed owing to famine, that the caste meeting were prepared to take them into the

134. बाजुर्गीयोपपचे त तिथिने वाष्पधारकेः। सत्वसेवतमन्मायवियसिताविकिदीर्देष्‌
परासर XII. 58 q. by अवनाके p. 1061, माय. वि. p. 45. The मा. मकास (folio 66 a and b) remarks: ब्रह्मणपात्रांतुषाकर्म भविष्यतुरुतरेण। विद्यापुष्पालों यथा निः
परमार्गसिद्धान्तै। परसारसी तथा संयुक्तविचार सर्वानंदम्। हृतुः।...अत्र व विशेषार्थशिरैति:
)['ब्रह्मणपात्रांतुषाकर्म भविष्यतुरुतरेण। विद्यापुष्पालों यथा निः
pरमार्गसिद्धान्तै। परसारसी तथा संयुक्तविचार सर्वानंदम्। हृतुः।...अत्र व विशेषार्थशिरैति:
']'

135. नारायणवाणि जनस्य दुःखला वासणर्णी पुरीम्। सर्वश्रेयस्यामायविक्षिप्ततिः
कली युगे # कुमुर्मुगे (पूर्व 29.3) q. by परस. मा. II. 2 p. 162; अस्वासागर सीधाने
पुष्पावर्धनानां। न:। पापागुह्यस्य ब्रह्मणान्म तपस्या।। सर्व: सद्गुप्त: पूणम:।
सर्व: पूणया नमोनाम्ः। सर्वश्रेयस्यात्तथ यथं दुष्प्रयो नन्नम:। # वेदम् q. by परस. मा.
II. 2.p. 201, मा. मकास folio 66 b.
caste and hold them pure if a Government order was issued. Then the Peshwa issued an order that they should go to Tulapur on the banks of the Bhrmā river and that they and their male progeny together with their wives should be restored back to the caste and complete association with them as to taking food and marriage be carried on with them from generation to generation.\textsuperscript{136} The Pr. Prakāśa quotes a verse from the Bhavisya- 
purāṇa about the penance for brāhmaṇa murder to the effect that for him who dwells to the north of the Vindhya mountain Parāśara prescribes the sight of Sutubandha as a penance and then remarks that a man from the north of Vindhya has to travel 360 yojanas to reach Sutubandha and that since 360 Prājāpatya penances are declared to be enough to remove the sin of brahmahatyā, it impliedly follows that each yojana towards a tīrtha is equal to one Prājāpatya. The Smrtyar-
thasāra (pp. 149-150) quotes several verses from the Purāṇas 
stating that gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, great sages like Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, great kings like Hariścandra, Nala, Sagara obtained greatness by means of tīrthas and that Pāṇḍavas, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Nārada, Vyāsa and other sages engaged in pilgrimages for securing kingdoms and for removal of evil 
fortune. This subject of tīrthas will be dealt with at length in a separate section.

\textsuperscript{136} Vide राजनाथे लघु 5 letter 113 p. 223.
CHAPTER III

PRAYAŚCITTA; ITS ORIGIN, DERIVATION AND MEANING

It is now necessary to turn to praścittas as removers of sin. A number of subjects will fall to be treated here.

First, an attempt must be made to understand the etymology and meaning of the word ‘praścitta’ in ancient times. There are two forms of the word, praścitti and praścitta, which occur in Vedic works without distinction of meaning and both forms are fairly old, though praścitti appears to be the older of the two. The form praścitti frequently occurs in the Tai, S. (as in II. 1.2.4, II. 1.4.1, III. 1.3.2-3, V. 1.9.3, V. 3.12.1)\textsuperscript{136a}. In some of these passages no question of sin arises. The word means ‘doing some thing which would get rid of some accidental happening or mishap such as the breaking of an ukhā (a pot or saucepan for boiling or cooking) or the sun’s losing its brilliance.’ In Tai, S. V. 3.12.1 the word is used in the sense of an expiation for a sin. So even in very old books the word had two shades of meaning. The Kausitaki\textsuperscript{127} Br. (vi. 12) states: “they say ‘whatever mistake or excess occurs in the sacrifice that affects the priest brahma, that he treats with the three-fold learning (i. e. the three Vedas)”’. The word also occurs in the Atharvaveda XIV. 1.30, Vāj. S. 39.12 (in close proximity to niskṛti), in the Ait. Br. V. 27, in the Sat. Br. IV. 5.7.1, VII. 1.4.9, XI. 5.3.8, XII. 4.1.6 and in other works also. The form praścittta occurs in Kausitaki Br. V. 9, VI. 12 and elsewhere. The Aśv. Śr. III. 10.38 and Śāṅkhāyana Śr. III. 19.1 respectively employ the words praścitti and praścitta\textsuperscript{138}. In Pār. gr. I.

\textsuperscript{136a} अर्थात् ग्राह्यते न भ्रोदब्यो भस्मे बेन्नामा: प्रापि बनसिन्धुस्तरः। ते सं. II. 1.2.4.
\textsuperscript{127} II. 1.4.1; यदि नित्यंः तेषां कधाहृति: संसुज्जनेऽवतः ततः प्रापि बनसिन्धुस्तरः। ते सं. V. 1.9.3; एव प्रापि बनसिन्धुस्तरः कयोः प्रसिद्धे यज्ञे सर्वादृश्यानि क्षणादृश्यानि कयोः कविः प्रापि बनसिन्धुस्तरः। ते सं. V. 3.12.1.

\textsuperscript{137} यद्यद्य क्षणं सर्वविद्याय व भवसिन्धुस्तरं एव तत्काव्यस्ततं यज्ञा ययास्य विन्यासस्य भवसिन्धुस्तरं। कोवितेति क्षण: VI. 12.

\textsuperscript{138} संस्कृतिसरूपम् प्रापि बनसिन्धुस्तरः। अभ्यव. म्हृ. III. 10; विबुधराज्यो ग्राह्यातम् भवसिन्धुस्तरः। अभ्यव. म्हृ. III. 19.1; संस्कृतिसरूपम् प्रापि बनसिन्धुस्तरः। विबुधराज्यो ग्राह्यातम् भवसिन्धुस्तरः। संस्कृतिसरूपम् 20. 1 (ed. by H. D. S. (Continued on the next page))
10 the form ‘prāyaścitti’ is employed. Jai, in several places employs the word prāyaścitta (as in VI. 3.7, VI. 4.10, VI 5.45 and 49, XII. 3.16). Sabara\textsuperscript{139} on the last sūtra (XII. 3.16) explains that the prāyaścittas (in the Śruti texts) are of two kinds, viz. some are meant to make good the defect in the procedure and materials of sacrifice which arises or befalls through some neglect or heedlessness, while others are subsidiary parts of a rite when an occasion arises i.e. they are undertaken to atone for not doing what is ordained or doing something which is forbidden (e.g. non-performance of daily Agnihotra even though the sun rises). The Sat. Br.\textsuperscript{140} XII. 4 and Ait. Br. 32.2–11 provide some interesting and amusing examples of the mishaps for which prāyaścittas are provided e.g. when a vicious boar, ram or dog runs between the sacrificial fires, or if Agnihotra milk gets spilled while the cow is being milked or if the milk pot is turned upside down or if it were to break or if the cow were to lie down while being milked, or if the fire were to go out after the first libation is offered etc. Vide also Māṇava-grhya I. 3, Hir. gr. I.5.1–16, Bhāradvāja gr. II. 32, Kauśikasūtra 46. 14–55, Āśv. Sr. III. 10 and Āśv. gr. III. 6–7 for similar occurrences and prāyaścittas. The Mahābhasya on Pāṇi VI. 1.157 explains\textsuperscript{141} both prāyaścitti and prāyaścitta on the analogy of the word Pāraskara. Prāyaścittas may be said to be, in the language of the Mīmāṃsā, either kratvartha or puruṣārtha. The former are prescribed in the Śrautasūtras. It is the latter kind of prāyaścittas that are generally dealt with in Śruti works on prāyaścitta. In this work the prāyaścittas mentioned in Śrauta

\textit{(Continued from the last page)}

Caland). The com. Nārāyaṇa explains आय. श्रौ. III. 10 as follows: विनात्यथ-करोड़धयाकरणे च पायाबिधिः कारणः। माये निताया स्वरूपः समाधानः। नितायस्वरूपम् गर्भनिरिष्टून भवति।

139. ‘पायाबिधिः नीत्मकारणः। कालिनिधिर्यथम् मायाकालिकतिः स सामायन्याति कालिनिधिरिष्टून कालमूः। तत्र समायन्याति पद्ध च च च च आधित्यवत् च। लोकिते मादयप्ये ज्ञातपत्।श्लोक on जै. XII. 3.16: ‘चायने न दृष्टिपूर्वाभासः तेतु समुच्छयः। कालिनिधिः नीत्मकारणः तत्र कवित्तकालिकतिः भविष्यस्वरूपाति तान्यस्वरूपः। श्लोक on जै. XII. 3.17. Compare आय. श्रौ. IX. 1. 1 श्रुतिर्यथम् पायाबिधि संध्यपूर्वहै संध्यपूर्वति। जयो होम इत्या च।

140. यथित्यथिर्वृत्तम् दोहामहं कहितुस् किं तत्र कर्म का पायाबिधिशस्त्तरिः। शतवर्ष XII. 4.1.6.

141. मायेव विनात्यथयूः। महाभाष्य on ‘परार्थक्षयभौतिः च नाशायापिः।’ पा. VI. 1.157 (ed. by Kielhorn, vol III. p. 96)
works are passed over, as they have either been mentioned in vol. II. or were of rare occurrence even in olden days.

Most digests and commentaries derive the word prāyaścitta relying on a verse (attributed to Angiras\textsuperscript{142} by some) from prāya (meaning ‘tapas’) and citta (meaning resolve or firm belief), the idea being that prāyaścittas are so called because of their association with or emergence from a resolve to undergo tapas or because of the firm belief that it will be a means of the removal of sin. Various other derivations are suggested by some writers. The Bālambhaṭṭi\textsuperscript{143} on Yāj. III. 206 quotes a half verse to the effect that ‘prāya’ means ‘sin’ and ‘citta’ means ‘purification’, which had been quoted by Paksadharāmīśra\textsuperscript{44}, Bhaktūpādhyāya and the Tōdarānanda, but the Pr. M. (p. 2) says that the source or authenticity of that verse is doubtful. Hemādrī refers to an unnamed bhāṣyakāra’s explanation viz. ‘prāya’ means ‘destruction’ and ‘citta’ means ‘joining together’ and prāyaścitta means the making good what is lost and that the word denotes a naimittika action on sin.

The Par. M. quotes a smṛti text\textsuperscript{145} and says that that is prāyaścitta whereby the ‘citta’ (the mind) of a repentant sinner is made generally (prāyaśaḥ) free (from emotion i.e. brought to a normal state) by the parśad (assembly of learned brāhmaṇas). Here ‘prāyaḥ’ seems to be taken as equal to ‘prāyaśaḥ’ and ‘citta’ has its usual sense. In Śāyana’s\textsuperscript{146} comment on the

\textsuperscript{142} Prāyaḥ vā vā api bhutam atmaḥ pūrṇam satyaḥ. Tapaścittam eva vā prāyaḥ caitraṃ yuktam.

\textsuperscript{143} Bālambhaṭṭi on Yāj. III. 206 quotes a verse to the effect that ‘prāya’ means ‘sin’ and ‘citta’ means ‘purification’, which had been quoted by Paksadharāmīśra, Bhaktūpādhyāya and the Tōdarānanda, but the Pr. M. (p. 2) says that the source or authenticity of that verse is doubtful. Hemādrī refers to an unnamed bhāṣyakāra’s explanation viz. ‘prāya’ means ‘destruction’ and ‘citta’ means ‘joining together’ and prāyaścitta means the making good what is lost and that the word denotes a naimittika action on sin.

\textsuperscript{144} Yathu prāyaścaś ca bhūtyājatām. Tapaścittatām eva prāyaḥ vā api bhutam atmaḥ pūrṇam satyaḥ. Tapaścittam eva prāyaḥ caitraṃ yuktam.

\textsuperscript{145} Māravālaḥ ca satyājatām. Tapaścittatām eva prāyaḥ caitraṃ yuktam.

\textsuperscript{146} Māravālaḥ ca satyājatām. Tapaścittatām eva prāyaḥ caitraṃ yuktam.
Sāmavidhāna Br. I. 5.1 another derivation is suggested viz. that ‘prāyah’ is composed of two parts ‘pra’ and ‘ayah’ and means ‘happening or finding’ (of the non-performance of what is ordained) and ‘citta’ means ‘knowledge’; and so religious observances after knowing a certain happening are called prāyaścittas. The Pr. Vi. p. 3 and Pr. Tattva p. 467 quote Hārīta and give yet another derivation (from ‘prayata’ pure and ‘cita’ collected), in accordance with which ‘prāyaścitta’ means such actions as tapas, gifts and sacrifices whereby a man becomes purified (prayata) and destroys his accumulated sins (‘cita’ being equal to ‘upacita’), just as clothes are made clean by the employment of salts, moist heat, putting in boiling water on a fire, and washing in water. Hence, as the Mit. says, the word prāyaścitta conventionally denotes a certain act or rite of the naimittika type (since it takes place only when an occasion arises) intended for the destruction of sin (and therefore being desired for removal of sin it may also be called kāmya). The Par. M. quotes verses from Brhaspati’s work of which the section on prāyaścitta holds at the beginning and at the conclusion thereof that prāyaścitta is naimittika (to be performed when a cause

---

147. तत्र अर्थात्: प्रयत्नलाइकविभास्यम् कर्म नाध्यस्वतीत मायिकविभास्यम्। प्रयत्नलाइकम् कर्म उपि भागदिकविभास्यम् गर्व प्रायोगिकविभास्यम्। इतद्यां विशेष तत्त्वविभास्यम्। तथा च दुराविभास्यम्। यथा शास्त्रार्थविभास्यम् नियोजितसंस्कृतविभास्यम् धिन्यमयसितविभास्यम्। शरीरविभास्यम्। प्रायोगिकविभास्यम्। धिन्यमयसितविभास्यम्। धिन्यमयविभास्यम्। धिन्यमयसितविभास्यम्। धिन्यमयविभास्यम्। धिन्यमयसितविभास्यम्। धिन्यमयविभास्यम्।। भाषा: अभी निर्देशित तत्त्वार्थविभास्यम् कृप्यासमिति।

148. नामितकशाब्दविभास्यम् वाक्यविभास्यम् नैमितिकविभास्यम् कर्मसङ्गविभास्यम्। सिद्धिः। ऊपर मा। III. 220, which is q by स्वस्तिक (भाषा) p. 859, ऊपर मा। II. पृष्ठ 1 p. 3.

149. तथा च दुरालसेवा: नैमितिकविभास्यम् नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्। नैमितिकविभास्यम्।

150. Actions are divided into three kinds, nitya, naimittika and kāmya. Nitya acts are those like sandhyā-vandana (which are obligatory and performed daily as a duty and which if not performed lead to sinfulness); naimittika are those acts which have to be done only on some occasion (as a bath on an eclipse) and kāmya rites are those which are performed out of a desire to secure some object (as the sacrifice called putresṭi for a son). Manu in XI. 53 says: 'therefore (because of the remnants of the guilt of

(Continued on the next page)

formed (for the removal of the effects of sin). The latter relies upon certain indications in Vedic passages. Gaut. relies upon four such passages. The first says "152 'after performing the punahstoma' one can come back to (become fit for) soma sacrifice (i.e. for Vedic rites in general). Another indication is: 'after performing Vṛtāystoma (one becomes fit for Vedic sacrifices). A third is: 'He, who offers the Aśvamedha sacrifice, crosses beyond all sin, beyond brāhmaṇa murder.' The fourth is: one should make a person charged with grave sins perform the Agniṣṭut. Vasiṣṭha also (20. 1–2) gives expression to the two views about the efficacy of penances.154 Manu XI. 45 (latter half) states, that according to some, praśaṣṭas may be prescribed for the removal of intentionally committed sins from indications contained in the Vedas. It cannot be said that these Śruti passages are mere arthavādas (i.e. laudatory texts). They must really be taken, though expressed in the form of ordinary arthavādas, as laying down (a vidhi) that one desirous of destroying his sins should perform Aśvamedha and the other sacrifices mentioned. In this case the maxim of rātrisattra155 applies (vide Jai. IV. 3. 17–19). There are certain sattras (sacrifices extending over more than twelve days) called Trayo-

152. वुष्टः सत्मोऽध्यात्मकः वुष्टः सत्मानापापतिविवृत्ताः वा भापोपत्तयमेवचः। तत्रतिसर्व पापांति तत्रतिभ्रमयां गोस्त्यात्मेऽवहते। अभिज्ञानसभ्यस्याभिप्रेरितां वातायतित्वं च। नी. 19.7–10. बस्वित (22.6) is the same as न. 199, while it (22.7) reads व्यास सामविरामाण्यान्वयित्वं तत्रसर्वं नही. S. V. 3.12.2 quoted above and तत्तथाम. XIII. 3.1.1. गोस्त्य और अभिज्ञानसभ्य are different sacrifices. The मोक्षस is a strange rite, for which vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1213 n. 2644. It is described in नी. मा. II. 7.6.

153. The Punahstoma is a śruta sacrifice, of the class called ekāha (i.e., performed in one day) acc. to Haradatta. Vide Lāṭyāyana-śruta IX. 4 and 5 for its efficacy. The Vṛtāystoma is also an ekāha, which was prescribed for those whose upanayana was not performed at the proper time (and who had therefore become patita-sāvitrīka). Yāj. I. 38 provides vrātyastoma for patitasāvitrīka. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 377 and p. 385 (for its description from the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa). The Agniṣṭut is an ekāha (vide Tai. Br. I. 7. 12 and Āś. Sr. IX. 7 22–25). Manu XI. 74 prescribes Aśvamedha, Gosava or Agniṣṭut and several other sacrifices for the removal of the grave sin of brāhmaṇa murder.

154. अभिज्ञानसभ्योऽत्मसामविरामान्वयित्वं अभिज्ञानसभ्यस्याभिप्रेरितां वातायतित्वं। नी. 20. 1–2.

155. राज्यम्: महायुप चर्चयते अधिनियमित्वं य व तदनुमाकरणम्। ज्ञानविचिन्तिनिमोऽध्यक्षा समवियं य एतद्युपयोगः। इति। तत्र सहस्वेः। किं ते नामनावरिन्त उत्त फलिष्ठयं हि इति। शब्द on अधिनियमित्वं IV. 3. 17. The second alternative is the sūtrānta view. Vide सामवियं 23.2.4 for the passage अधिनियमित्वं...उपयोगम्।
daśarātra, Caturdaśarātra and so on. All these are called rātrisātrātras. With reference to these a Vedic passage says ‘those who approach (i.e. perform) these rātrisātrātras attain stability (long life or super-eminence)’. In the text prescribing the rātrisātrātras there is no mention of any special reward for performance. Therefore ‘stability’ (pratiṣṭhā) contained in the passage must be held to be the reward of the performance of rātrisātrātras and not mere heaven (which is the reward of all sacrifices for which no special reward is mentioned, according to Jai, IV, 3, 15–16). The same maxim applies to passages like Yāj. III, 226 which say that sin is removed by penances. Medhātithi draws attention to the story in the Tai. S. VI, 2.7.5, Kāthaka S. VIII, 5, Ait. Br. 35.2 that Indra consigned yatis to śālācīkas (dogs or wolves) and had to perform the rites called Upahavya to get rid of the sin. Manu states his own opinion in the next verse (XI, 46) that sins committed unintentionally are destroyed by the recitation of Vedic texts and sins committed intentionally through folly are destroyed by various prāyaścittas. Yāj. III, 226 (latter half) appears to hold that prāyaścittas do not destroy sins intentionally committed, but the sinner undergoing the prescribed penance becomes fit to be associated with other people on account of the texts (laying down the prāyaścittas); but Yāj. implies, it seems, that the results of sin intentionally committed (such as Hell and the like) are not got rid of. Manu XI, 189 prohibiting social intercourse with sinners who have not performed penance practically conveys the same idea as that of Yāj. in III, 226 (latter half). Yāj. III, 220 observes that a man guilty of pātakas should perform prāyaścitta for his own purification (here and in the next world); in this way (i.e. if he performs penance) his inner soul recovers its composure and the people also become satisfied. This verse puts in a nutshell the purposes of prāyaścittas as conceived by the smṛtis, viz. purging of sin (or purification), the satisfaction of the sinner’s mind, admission to intercourse with

156. ‘पद्मोमेंद्रोऽहाँ वज्रव नीलि । न च ब्रह्मस्य किं प्राप्यते । अविकारतिकिलें कालोऽहाँ तत्क्रिय कर्मयोगमयाः सत्ति कत्व सायतो । अतो इत्य त्यतिकालेऽपि एकत्र स्थिते या या पावसिकः कालेऽपि यैव इति विद्यते ।’ या, III, 226; vide याप. वि. p. 9 and p. 18 for similar views.

‘अतो राजार्ज्ञोपन्यासानिविकारायाः सात्त्विकः कालेऽपि यैव इति विद्यते ।’ याप. वि. p. 18. The upacāra sacrifice is prescribed for one desirous of prosperity, ownership of a village or offspring. Vide कायक. भू. ख. 22.8.7 ‘पूजकालाय वा मानकालिन वा मानकालाय वा गोपकिलेय यथेत्.’
all people. Chāgaleya\textsuperscript{157} holds that prāyaścittas free the sinner from the consequences of sins committed unintentionally, but no penance exists which frees a man from the consequences of sins knowingly committed except in the case of upapātakas and in suicides or attempts at suicide. The Par. M. (II. 1. pp. 200–201) cites a verse of Jābali and verses of Devala setting forth the two views about the efficacy of prāyaścittas, while it also cites the view of BaudhāyangSNṛti that there is no prāyaścitta for sins committed knowingly and the view of Aṅgiras that the penance is double in the latter case\textsuperscript{158}. Aṅgiras further says that prāyaścittas do destroy the sin arising from committing acts that are forbidden and the like, just as the rising sun removes darkness. Manu XI. 47 provides: ‘A twice-born man having become liable to perform a penance (for a sin), whether he committed it through fate or by some act committed in a former existence, must not have intercourse with virtuous men until he performs the proper penance.’ Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24. 24–25) provides ‘If a man slays a guru (father, Vedic teacher &c.) or a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda and finished the ceremonies of a soma sacrifice he shall live according to these very rules (contained in Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 10–32) until his last breath. He cannot be purified (of the sin of the murder of a guru or learned brāhmaṇa) in this life. But his sin is removed (at his death)’.\textsuperscript{159} It appears to follow from Āpastamba’s words that penance ending in death destroys the sin. The same was the view of Aṅgiras, Yama and others.

\textsuperscript{157} दासमित्रसहवारणाः प्राय सत्यभासकावः कामवासाः न विद्तने। उपवातका कर्म सत्यभासकावः कामवासाः न विद्तने। उपवातका कर्म सत्यभासकावः कामवासाः न विद्तने।

\textsuperscript{158} अकालस्य कुले पापेऽत्तत्त्तवेत्य न कामतः। सत्यभासकावः कुले पापेऽत्यैव न कामतः।

\textsuperscript{159} तुवस्य हि तत्त्त्वाय तोऽट्ठसम्बन्धप्रमाणश्चाद्वब्धेऽवरते। नारायणमयोऽपराधपरिवर्धने त्वमल्लते। आप. भ. घ. व. 1. 9. 24 24–25. Vide also आप. भ. घ. घ. व. 1. 10. 28. 18 for the same words. हर्षवर्धन् gives his own and another’s interpretation of आप. भ. घ. व. 1. 9. 24 24–25 ‘असर्वायोक्तिजयोति तच्छवेऽवरते। कल्याणे तु विद्यवेते। तत्र प्रज्ञविनिः संस्काराद्वः कल्याणे तु विद्यवेते। अन्ये तु पूर्वे तत्त्वसम्पर्कं मन्यन्ते। प्रायपरिः प्रज्ञविनिः पुज्ञप्रसादाय समस्तं विद्यवेते।’
In this conflict among the authors of smritis the solution proposed by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 226 has been accepted by most medieval writers and is as follows:\textsuperscript{160} The potentialities and consequences of sins are twofold, viz those leading to Hell and the others preventing intercourse with members of the society to which the sinner belongs. Therefore, even though a prāyaścitta may not be efficacious to prevent the first mentioned consequence (viz fall into Hell), there is nothing improper in prāyaścitta being effective in removing the obstacle to association with other people. As to sinful acts that are not pataniya (do not cause loss of caste) prāyaścitta does destroy such sinfulness as expressly stated by Manu. XI. 46. Even as to sins that are pataniya and are committed intentionally, if a penance ending in death is undergone as laid down by Manu XI. 73, Yāj. III. 247–248 and Gaut. 22. 2–3 for brāhmaṇa murder; Manu XI. 90–91, Yāj. III. 253, Gaut. 23.1 for drinking surū; Gaut. 23.8–11, Manu XI. 103–104 and Yāj. III. 259 for sexual intercourse with the guru’s wife; Manu XI. 99–100 and Yāj. III. 257 for theft of brāhmaṇa’s gold; then the sin is destroyed as stated by Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.24, 25 and I. 10. 28.18 quoted above. When Manu says (in XI. 89 latter half) that there is no penance for the sin of slaying a brāhmaṇa intentionally, the proper interpretation of this read along with Manu XI. 46 quoted above is not that there is total absence of prāyaścitta in such a case, but that ordinary prāyaścittas (such as those in Manu XI. 72) would not do in such a case, but only very heavy ones that would end in death. Medieval digests like the Prāyaścittas-muktāvali (folio 32a) hold that according to the \textit{Kalīvarṣṭya} section penance ending in death is forbidden in the case of brāhmaṇa sinners and therefore a

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{160} 173 and Yama hold the view that intentional sins are destroyed by penances that end in death in previous lives; \textit{yuddhārtham} 19. 173 and Yama hold the view that intentional sins are destroyed by penances that end in death. 
\end{footnotesize}
brāhmaṇa murderer can only be made to undergo the twelve years' penance.

The Par. M. (II part 1 pp. 201-203) sets out this view of the Mit. and appears to hold it itself. It sets out another view also. Those who hold this latter view read Yaj. III. 226 as 'kāmatoṣvyavahāryastu' with an avagraha. The meaning then is that one who has performed the penance prescribed for a sin does not fall into Hell, but he cannot be allowed to associate with good men (śistas) if he is guilty of a wilful sin. There is a verse of Manu (XI. 190 = Visnu Dh. S. 54.32) that one should not associate with those who slay children, who return evil for the good done to them, who slay those that come for protection and who kill women, even though they might have become purified by undergoing the appropriate penance. There is a similar verse of Yāj. III. 298 on which the comment of Vijñānēśvara is most interesting as indicative of the spirit of our medieval writers who were always oppressed by the might of words (Vedic or smṛti) deemed as authoritative. The Mit. remarks: 161 'the prohibition (contained in Yaj. III. 298) is based on the text alone (and not on logic or reasoning). What cannot a text do? There is nothing too heavy for a text. Therefore, even though a light penance is prescribed for slaying an adulterous woman, still there is a prohibition against associating with such slayers based on the words of the text'.

---

161. गयाधिकेन श्रीध्रे मिनि न संवस्वरोधिति ब्राह्मिकाकेः प्रतिष्ठा:। कामिति वर्णं न कुर्जयः हि वचनस्पर्शस्मरातःस्य । अत्यत् यथापि व्यवस्थिताऽपि ब्राह्मस्य एव व्यवस्थिति न श्रीध्रे विविषारिष्ठायं संवस्वरोधितायेन। सिलसर. on या. III. 298. The words विविषि हि वचनं...महां occur frequently in श्रीध्रे, e.g. on या. II. 2.27, III. 2.3, III. 7.11, IV. 3.38, V. 4.17 etc. on या. VI. 1.44 (about the privilege of the rathākāra to consecrate Vedic fires) Sabara employs slightly different words 'तं हि वचनम् कश्चिदितनं नासः' Even Saṅkarācārya relies on these words of Sabara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra III. 4.32. When Yāj. I. 58 says that a son born of a brāhma form of marriage renders 21 generations holy (10 paternal ancestors, ten descendants and himself) Visvarūpa says that this is all laudatory of the brāhma form and not to be taken seriously as it would be contrary to the doctrine of Karma; but then he turns round and says that it may be taken literally as stated by those who know Mimāṃsā 'सत्तितारूपमेत् भविष्यं पथानाद्यपिैः। उपपत्ति च तन्नाशाहस्त्वर्त्मममस्मस्यकृत्॥' पहलुक्तलो। विविषारिष्ठायं व्यवस्थितायेन। न व्यवस्थितायेन व्यवस्थितायात्मि नास्य वस्तुं तथा तस्मात्प्रथमः...तं हि वचनस्पर्शस्मरातःस्य। 11 विविषि on या. I. 58. Vide Aparārka on Yāj. II. 73-75 (p. 673) who says that one man’s merit (punya) cannot be transferred to another and that Yāj. II. 73-75 are simply intended to frighten away witnesses from perjury as Nārada (नादाना 200) clearly states.
This maxim is taken from the bhāṣya of Śābara and is a favourite device with all Dharmaśāstra writers from Viśvarūpa downwards to justify any statement of the smṛtis however illogical or exaggerated it might appear to be. The Pr. T. (pp. 544–545) quotes 162 the Mit. about the two śākṣis of sin and its remarks on Yāj. III. 298 and does not approve of them, relying on the words of Bhṛṣpati that no decision should be arrived at on the bare words of the sāstra, but it should also be supported by reasoning and that the words ‘slayers of women’ do not refer to adulterous women but to innocent women (such as the wives of one’s enemies). Nārada (sāhasa, verse 11) holds that those who are punished by the king with a fine of the first or second (madhyama) kind can be allowed to associate with other members of society but those who are awarded the highest fine should not be spoken to by others 162a. Those who take the view of the sinner’s inability to associate with other men even after undergoing penance rely also upon Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 43 (bahis-tābhayathāpi smṛterācārācca). The Par. M. very rightly points 163 out that the sūtra refers to those who after going in for life-long celibacy abandon the duties of that stage of life (āśrama) and that it does not refer to householders and quotes a verse of Kauśika in support. The Smṛti-muktāphala (Pr., pp. 867–868) refers to this discussion contained in the Par. M. The Pr. M. (p. 7) appears 164 to hold that the great Śaṅkarācārya explained

162. एवेन विधि वैभववार्तिकि—विनिधि हति संतात्रोष न उत्कस्थम्। केवलं शास्त्रांश्य न कर्मीको विनिधियम्। युक्तिहीनविचारे तु धर्मविहीनः मनोरते। पापं कर्मिणि धन्यनि स्वाप्यायने च तद्व:। यापिभवचारी नेत्रेय जयः। साप्तकर्माद्यः। हति युक्तिविवेचनात् भवताः। च. त. p. 545.

162a. रसातं संपर्र्वनां तु धृततथैव तु पूर्वोऽः। धृततथेऽपूर्वाम्बोध्यवोऽक्षं उत्तमं सहसे। नास्ति (साहस, 11).

163. अर्थ विधि विद्वानवर्तिकि: न तु युक्तिविवेचनात्। उत्कस्थतिविवेचनात्समावेशः सत्यमुत्तमः। हति तोषेकवीणे स्वाप्यायनेण विद्वते। यापिभवचारी नेत्रेय जयः। साप्तकर्माद्यः। यात्रा (folio 17 b) नैर्लोकिकविवेर्षेन ग्व। म. म. p. 205.

164. श्रीमद्भारावासद्भुतं ‘कथमोऽपेक्षान्तः’ हति अकारोऽपेक्षेण वाक्यस्मृतिः। ‘वाक्यन्तथपािटि स्वते कर्माधिनानि युक्तिविवेचनात्’ हति तुष्मो वृद्धाश्चिद्विशेषंप्रसंजयेऽविवेचनात्। अकारोऽपेक्षेण ज्ञात्वं विद्वते युक्तिविवेचनात्। यापिभवचारी नेत्रेय जयः। साप्तकर्माद्यः। या त्रा (folio 17 a) नैर्लोकिकविवेर्षेन ग्व। m. म. p. 16 is quoted by शुभर without citing the name. The श्रीमद्भारावास (folio 17 a) also refers to Śaṅkara’s comment on Vedānta-sūtra III. 4.43 and the two verses quoted by him. It observes: एवं तांत्रिकन्तविवेचनं द्विगत्वेत्र प्रथमस्मिन युक्तिविवेचनं वाक्यस्मृतिः। श्रीमद्भारावासद्भुतं हूँ।
Vedantasūtra III. 4. 43 after reading Yāj. III. 225 as ‘kāmato vyavahāryastu’ and that those who fell from the vow of life-long celibacy (either as naiṣṭhika brahmācārins or as sannyāsins) were to be excommunicated (and not to be associated with). The printed editions of the bhāṣya contain no express quotation of Yājñavalkya’s verse, but from the fact of his quoting Atri’s verse it is possible to hold that Śaṅkarācārya understood Yājñavalkya as the Pr. M. says he did.

A question may naturally be asked: why should it be accepted that penances destroy sin (as stated in Yāj. III. 226). The answer is: what 165 actions are grave sins or minor sins or not sins at all is laid down by the śāstra (śruti and smṛtis). For example, it is not clear to ordinary people why being an officer over mines or making friends of low people or being a servant of a śūdra should be a sin at all. But the smṛtis say so. If the smṛtis are to be relied upon for determining what acts are sinful, then it follows as a matter of course that the same smṛtis which speak of penances as removers of sins must also be accepted and that no other means for determining the efficacy of penances can be appealed to. So also the Bhagavad-gītā (IV. 37) states that the fire of spiritual knowledge consumes all (accumulated, saṅcīta) actions (and their consequences).

Many of the sins (though not all) for which penances are provided in the smṛtis are also offences punishable by the king or State. For example, murder, theft, incest, perjury are acts punishable by the State in almost all countries even now and were so in ancient and medieval India. Persons guilty of these were also liable to undergo prāyaścittas. It is probably due to this double liability that punishments for crimes in ancient and medieval India were light as compared with the heavy punishments for even trifling crimes inflicted in western countries only a century or two ago. But there are other acts which are not punishable by the State now and were not probably punished even in ancient or medieval India by the king. For example, forgetting Veda studied by a person, not tending Vedic fires consecrated by a person himself, sleeping till after sun-rise and sleeping at sunset are pātakas, acc. to Vas. I. 19 and some of those are upapātakas acc. to Yāj. III. 239. It does not seem

---

165. नहूँ लोपितःसत्येवेन द्विती न दुःस्मृतिः। फलविपयुलक्षणः। तैस्येषु। पदः परिवर्धितः साधनयतः तथा तत्वकियोपति। नात्र भवणार्तः ज्ञातः। अते एव सौविभाषे द्वितीयकष्टाद्र्यमच्यों वृक्षितः। लिताः। या। या। III. 226.
likely that an Indian king ever punished any person for these. On the other hand, obstructing the road, praying when the king is taking his meals, sitting before the king on one’s haunches, speaking loudly before the king are among the fifty chalas of which the king could take cognisance suo motu and award suitable punishment (vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 266). But there is nothing to show that such actions ever fell within the purview of the rules about prāyaścittas. The important questions are: What was the relation of the rules about prāyaścittas which were to be prescribed by a parisad (a meeting of learned brahmans) to punishments by the king as regards actions which were both pātakas inviting penances and crimes entailing punishments by the King? Which of these two sets of rules was earlier? Were penance and punishment cumulative or alternative? It is difficult to give definite opinions on these questions. We know that prāyaścittas like Aśvamedha are spoken of even in the Tai. S. We also know that the prātvivāka (which is quite close to prādvivāka in derivation and meaning) occurs in the Vaj. S. XXX. 10 and Tai. Br. III. 5. 6. Therefore it follows that judicial functions were very early separated from the executive functions of the king. The reference to the ordeal of fire in the Tāṇḍya Br. 14. 6. 6 (vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 361) and the grasping of a red-hot hatchet in the hand by a person accused of theft and his being killed show that ordeals were administered and the punishment for theft was death. Brhaspati, quoted in the Vivādaratnakara, says ‘When a man of good character and a diligent reader of the Veda has committed theft he shall be kept in prison for a long time and shall be caused to perform penance after having been compelled to restore the goods’ (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 362166).

The parisad made its own rules about prāyaścittas and the king awarded punishments. Which set of rules was earlier it is difficult to say. The king did not very probably interfere with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the parisad and the brahmans helped the king in the administration of justice by being judges and by advising him as to the punishments to be imposed (vide

166. यज्ञाध्यापकानां सैनिक वधानात्तः खंडक्षे नियमः। स्वामिन तथान्यम्। कार्यः। मायाध्यात $ कार्यः। कुमाश्वैः q. by विजयवर्त्तकर p. 331. It is possible that this verse means that a learned brahmana who has been well conducted but fell a victim to the temptation of theft should not be jailed for a long time because jail life torments his mind and therefore he should be made to restore stolen property and given penance.
Vigű Dh. S. V. 194). Gautama VIII.1, echoing the words of the Sat. Br. V. 4. 4. 5, observes: 167 ‘the king and the brāhmaṇa with profound learning uphold the moral order in the world (or are upholders of the sacred law). The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 5.10.12-16) contains very important information: ‘The ācārya shall order those who, while participating according to the śāstras (in the privileges and responsibilities of their castes), have gone astray through the weakness of their senses to perform penances according to the dictates (of the smṛtis) commensurate with their (sinful) acts. If they transgress their ācārya’s order he shall take them to the king. The king shall send them to his purohitā proficient in dharmaśāstra and the science of government. He (purohitā) shall order them to perform (proper penances) if they are brāhmaṇas. He shall reduce them by forcible means except corporal punishment and slavery.’ So this passage shows that the king helped in carrying out prāyaścittas. Nārada includes ‘neglect of penances’ among matters solely dependent on the king (prakṛpitā, verse 3) and not on complaints by private individuals. Devala 168 probably conveys the real position when he says: ‘The king is the giver of krochras (i.e. his consent is required for actually undergoing the prescribed penances), the learned man who has studied Dharmaśāstras prescribes the prāyaścitta, the sinner carries out the penance and the king’s officer sees to the safe performance of the prescribed penance.’ Parāśara VIII. 28 says ‘an assembly should point out the proper penance after getting the permission of the king, it should not be done without reference to him, but slight penance may be done without informing him’. The Par. M. II, part 1. p. 232 explains that this applies to prāyaścittas for sins like govadha or those that are greater than it. Devala 169 also has similar verses.

167. दी होके पूर्वतिष राजा भाश्वर सङ्ग्रहः कृहुः। श्री. विप. I. तत्त्वप. V. 4. 4. 5 has ‘तिद्बद्ध भूततत्त्व हस्तित भूततत्व हे राजा...एष च ओत्त्रििष्टत्ति हे वे हो महाप्येवहुः घूततत्त्वे।’

168. कुस्त्राणां वाप्य (वाप्ये v. I.) राजा निबिदा भूततानांः। अपारारथिषकऽ रक्षिता कुस्त्राणाः कृत्त्राणां: वेश वा. प. 777; माय. मा. p. 8. राजा/कुस्त्रादेव सिद्धवा मार्गविसंग सिद्धिविसंगः। स्वयमेव न कल्यं कल्यं स्वयमेव स्वयमीकृष्टिः। पराशाः VIII. 28, on which परा. मा. II. 1. p. 232 says: अश्च गोवणान्य महाबलतामार्गविसंग राजादेवेव महोत्सबिः।

169. शास्त्रावलयमेव ने चारसि भाश्वर: भाप्पविसः। निविदिता व्यवहारारथिषकऽ कुस्त्रादेव सङ्ग्रहः कृत्राणां वा कृत्राणां वा। राजा च भाश्वरत्व लघाः कुर्षेयं च। वेश वा. प. 777; माय. मा. II. part I. p. 232-233 and by माय. मा. p. 21. मा. भक्तस (folio 25 a) reads वेश्वरा वे भाश्वरण: भाप्पविसंग निविदिताः। राजा...
Parāśara VIII. 29 states that the king also should not ignore the pariṣad and should not by himself prescribe penance. Paitñinasi quoted by the Daṇḍaviveka (p. 76) provides for both prāyaścitta and punishment and from the tenor of the verse it appears that both were to be enforced by the king. The position is tolerably clear as to medieval times. One feels great hesitation in stating definitely the relation of punishment to penances and the king's position as to both in ancient times. Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 1–4 provide that one who kills a ksatriya or a vaiśya or a śūdra shall respectively give one thousand cows, a hundred cows and ten cows for the purpose of removing the enmity and that in each of these cases one bull was to be given in addition for the purpose of expiation. Āpastamba does not expressly state to whom the cows were to be given. The commentator Haradatta explains that they were to be given to brāhmaṇas. Manu XI. 127, 129, 130, and Yāj. III. 266–267 have similar provisions but in the chapter on penances. On the other hand, Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 23. expressly states that the cows are to be given to the king. As both the words 'vairā-niryātanārtham' and 'prāyaścittārthah' are employed by Āp. it may be said that the cows were to be made over to the king even according to Āpastamba. The cows were to be made over to the king for bestowal on the family of the murdered person to mollify them and if they refused to receive them the king was to retain them for himself but was to distribute them among brāhmaṇas. We know that Manu (IX. 243–245) provides that the fine recovered from a man guilty of mortal sins was not to be taken for himself by the king but was to be offered to Varuṇa and thrown into water or was to be distributed among learned brāhmaṇas. Manu IX. 236 provides that for those who were guilty of the four grave sins (brāhmaṇa murder &c.) and did not undergo penance for the same the king should inflict corporal punishment (branding on the forehead) together with fine in accordance with the śāstra. Manu IX. 237

170. अकार्याकारिणोऽकारः मायायिष्टं हुँ कल्यंतेन । यथाकार्यकारिणस्य च तथ्यान्य वैश्याह । ।
प्रकाशयेत् ॥ पौरोहिते q. by वृद्धिकम् p 76.

171. श्रवणं तत्त्वं नरं सहस्रं वैश्यकारिणाय वधादिः। सति वैश्ये ॥ दूस दूसे । वर्षाघाताशिकः सत्त्वं याग्याविशायः। आप. च. च. । 9. 24. 1–4: कृत्यावशेषे नोनसवां
वृद्धिकम्यात ताः उत्तमरूपाविशायानां । सति वैश्ये दूस दूसे वर्षाघाताशिकः। वै. च. च. । 1. 10. 23–24.
( = Matsya 227. 164) and Viṣṇu V. 4-7 say that on the forehead a mark of female private parts with red-hot iron should be branded in the case of incest, the mark of a tavern flag in the case of drinking surā, the mark of dog’s foot in the case of theft (of brāhmaṇa’s gold) and the mark of a headless trunk in the case of a brāhmaṇa-murder. Manu IX. 240 further prescribes that men of all castes guilty of the four mahāpātakas committed unintentionally that perform the proper penance should not be branded on the forehead by the king but should be awarded the highest fine. Manu IX. 241 and 242 provide that a brāhmaṇa guilty of these grave sins unintentionally may be punished with the middle amercement (if he himself be possessed of good qualities) but if he was guilty of the grave sins committed intentionally he should be banished from the kingdom being allowed to take with him his wealth and paraphernalia; while persons other than brāhmaṇas when guilty of grave sins unintentionally committed were to be deprived of all their wealth and if guilty intentionally they were to be sentenced to death. These verses show that though prāyaścitta be performed persons guilty of grave sins were liable to undergo punishment and if no penance was performed then they were liable to branding and also fines etc. Manu XI. 56 provides that bearing false witness is similar to the drinking of surā and Manu XI. 57 and Yāj. III. 230 hold that misappropriation of a deposit is like the theft of gold. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (V. 169) provides that the misappropriator of a deposit was to be made to return the deposit or its price with interest and was to be punished like a thief by the king and V. 179 that a false witness had all his property confiscated. These instances establish that both fines by the king (i.e. rāja-danda) and penances prescribed by the assembly of learned men (i.e. parisaddanda or daiva daṇḍa) had to be undergone by those guilty of some grave sins that were also looked upon as crimes. In some cases the penance and the punishment were the same. For example, Gaut. 23. 10-11, Vas. 20. 13, Manu XI. 104, Yāj. III. 259 and several other smṛtikāras prescribe for incest the penance of the excision of the testicles and penis and proceeding toward the south or south-west till the body falls. Nārada as quoted above prescribes for incest the punishment (danda) of the excision of the testicles. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 233 quotes Nārada and remarks that the punishment of excision and death prescribed by Yāj. III. 233 applies only to non-brāhmaṇas and that in such cases the punishment of death itself is the
prāyaścitta. There were works like the Madanapārijātā (p. 827) and the Mitākṣara that held that the prohibition against corporal harm to brāhmaṇas (Manu VIII. 380) applies only to matters other than prāyaścittas and that since the Manusmṛti itself (XI. 100) states that a brāhmaṇa guilty of theft of brāhmaṇa's gold may go to the king with an iron club and have his head smashed by the king, the death of a brāhmaṇa as a penance for theft by being struck with a club presented by himself was not ruled out. In some cases punishment by the king was deemed to have purged a man of sin and no penance seems to have been thought necessary, as Manu VIII. 318 (=Vas. 19.45) says 'men that commit sins and are punished by the king become purified and reach heaven like good men who perform meritorious deeds.' The Mit. on Yāj. III. 259 explains that this holds good only where the punishment is death, as in the case of incest noted above. Āp. Dh. S. II. 10.27. 15–16 provide that a person guilty of slaying a man, of theft and of forcible seizure of land was to be deprived of his wealth by the king and was to be sentenced to death and that if the offender was a brāhmaṇa he was to have a piece of cloth tied over his eyes for the whole of his life (i. e. he was not to be sentenced to death). It appears that in very ancient times as provided by Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25.4 the thief approached the king with a club (of iron or khadira wood) on his shoulder and announced his guilt, when the king struck him with the club; on his being killed he became free from guilt. This was a penance as well as a legal punishment. Manu has a similar rule in his chapter on punishments (VIII. 314–316) providing that the thief should carry a weapon (called musala) or a club of khadira wood or a double-edged śakti or an iron staff and that if the king strikes him once with the club and he is killed

172. अर्थ च तिल्मादिव्यायामाको दुष्क्रो बाध्येण पायाः पायाः—इति तथा वधविषयात (महृ. ८२७)। वधवंशरं मार्गितं कस्यवचाय। सिद्ध. on पा. III. 233; but on पा. III. 257 the सिद्ध. says मार्गु च तिल्मादिव्यायामानः ह्रायायाः पृष्ठीतवं सत्तुरा राणा सक्षुर्गाणात् तं स्थरविनिति सत्तुं ना मुदतापण्डितमेत्सोऽभेदेन हननविनियोगात्। न जातु बाध्यां ह्रायाविश्रयं मार्गितपायाः पायाः पायाः—इति। वैदिक महृ. पा. p. 827 for the same view.

173. तुष्णथश्च सन्ते च बुद्धादिवान इति वधविषयात् वधवञ्च। तुष्णथश्च सन्ते च। बुद्धादिवान इति। आप. च. शृ. II. 10. 27. 15–16.

174. तुष्णथ्येच सन्ते च बुद्धादिवान इति वधविषयात् वधवञ्च। तुष्णथ्येच सन्ते च। बुद्धादिवान इति। आप. च. शृ. I. 9.25. 4: बाध्याविश्रयं शस्यं केवलं राजामनिमित्तं नास्ति भास्तुत्ता मा भवानविदीयते तस्मिन राज्यादित्वं शस्यं बाध्याविश्रयं समायोगमित्वं भवानविदीयते विश्रामस्ते। विलोकन 20.41. अष्टुङ्कर means 'made in udumbara wood' or may also mean 'red in colour' (i. e. made of copper).
or if he is not killed but is allowed to go half dead and lives, the thief is freed from the guilt. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 257 quotes a prose passage from Saṅkhya and a verse from Saṁvarta (122) to the same effect. Manu in the chapter on penances (XI. 100–101 = Agnipurāṇa 169. 20–21) provides the same procedure for theft as a penance. Vas. 20. 41, Yāj. III. 259, Viṣṇu 52. 1–2 and Parāśara XII. 69–70 provide a somewhat similar penance for the theft of brāhmaṇa’s gold. Vasīśṭha introduces an important change viz., that the king hands over to the thief a weapon made of udumbara wood (or probably of copper) with which the thief is to kill himself. It appears that gradually the king gave up this unpleasant method of awarding punishment personally. Nārada (pariśiṣṭa, verses 46–47) provides that after the thief comes running to the king and announces his guilt, the king was to touch him (with the club, as a symbolic gesture) and then let him off and the thief became freed from sin by his confession of guilt. It has to be remembered, however, that the thief had to restore, even when he underwent penance, stolen property, as stated by Manu VIII. 40, Yāj. II. 36 and 270, Brhaspati and by digestes like the Pr. Prakarana. If it were impossible to make the thief restore the stolen property the king had to make it good from his own treasury (Gaut. X. 47, Sāntiparva 75. 10, Kaţiliya III. 16) or he had to make his officers entrusted with the duty of preventing thefts pay the price of the stolen property (Āp. Dh. S. II. 10. 26. 8). Vide for further details H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 166–168. It appears that the actual carrying out of the sentence of death was later on assigned to Cāndālas as stated by Manu X. 56 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 11 (vadhya-ghāṭītvam cāṇḍālānām).

175. राजा सोनेन सन्तरपो मुखकेरोन धावता। आच्छाणेन तस्सेंसाक्षमाकारीश्च शायि मास। अनेन तस्सेच स्नेत स्नांकृतविपावनात्। राजा ततः सूक्ष्णेनुर्जेतु ब्राह्मिक्षिस्मृ॥ नाराय, परिनिहार 46–47.

176. दुस्मेतापसु मूर्ति। परिणामायुपाचरः । वायुवर्म्पुरुसु 52. 14: सर्वेन्द्रेषु वस्माधिषु । विष्णुवर्म्पुरुसु 52. 14: सर्वेन्द्रेषु वस्माधिषु । सर्वेन्द्रेषु वस्माधिषु । सर्वेन्द्रेषु वस्माधिषु । इत्यर्थम् स्वयंप्राणिस्वाधिषु क्रियाकाराभाष्यव्यवस्थितेति। नाराय, परिनिहार 77.

177. प्रीतित्तमविदयं सत्तामणाम समयेत। केमाङ्गा द्याह। भृ. X. 46–47: प्राप्ताकर्मकार्य स्रजते शुभंते तत्वेत। ततu रक्षाकार्यं स्मारत्वेवा कार्याविशेषं । गार्रित 75. 10 q. by the सिद्धा, on पा. II. 36; प्रीतित्तमविदयं स्मणप्रेणस्मृतेऽर्थोविशेषः। नाराय, परिनिहार III. 16 p. 190.

178. तत्र यथौदयमे सैन्यमतिरविधष। आप. प. च. II. 10. 26. 8.
Another point to be noted is that as regards the awarding of punishments and prescribing of penances, the matters to be considered were the same viz. whether the lapse was intentional (kāmataḥ) or unintentional (akāmataḥ) or whether it was the first offence or whether it was repeated and what the circumstances as to the time, the place, the caste, the age, the capacity, learning, wealth were. Compare Kautilya IV. 10, Gaut. XII. 48, Manu VII. 16 and VIII. 126, Yāj. I. 368, Visnu V. 194, Vas. 19. 9 about punishments with Baudh. 18 Dh. S. I. 1. 16, Yāj. III. 293 (= Atri verse 248 and Agni purāṇa 173. 6), Āṅgiras 143, Viśvāmitra, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 297, and Vyāghra as regards penances. It is on account of this close connection between punishments and penances that the Prāyaścittatattva, after quoting Dēvala to the effect that if a man makes no move for taking prāyaścitta for one year, he has to undergo double penance thereafter and to pay a double fine to the king, remarks that the maxim is that prāyaścittas are to be moulded on the lines of punishments. 181. The Pr. M. (pp. 124-125) quotes Kāśyapa who provides a penance for one that causes mischief to a well, public park, bridge, rampart wall or a temple or idol, then quotes Visṇu V. 169 which prescribes the highest fine for a breaker of idols, Manu IX. 285 which provides a fine of 500 रुपये से प्रति दिन.

179. सारापरां देवा च काटे च चरणधारि च। यदि कर्म न रिवर्ग च ब्रह्म लघुकृष्ण पातरते ॥ या. I. 368। अनुपर्य परिध्राय देवाकाः च तस्मात् ॥ सारापराणि चारीयम् इत्यदृश्यते॥ मृत्य. VIII. 126, on which नि० विनिषय remarks that this is the fundamental or basic verse on the question of punishment ‘उज्जस्ताच्यवेचारोपर्ये मुनयाच्योपि वर्ण्युपासारसर्वपरशुद्धिः कर्तारः’.

180. सर्वरत्नसत्तुपुस्त यदि काटे च कर्म च। समिििरण परमिन्नुष्रा मध्यविस्तारित निष्कूलसिद्धि हृती ॥ या. I. 1.16। देवानि काटे च कर्म च कर्म च धर्म धर्म भाषायितो निष्कूलसिद्धि ॥ या. III. 293। तत्त्व चैव मध्यविस्तारित अतिक्रमण विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्त विनिवृत्तिः। जीवनम् on या. III. 262। The verse is quoted as विनिहारिता in या. शासन, p. 8, याज. वि. p. 29, एवर. मा II part 1 p. 235 and as देशस्य by the देश on या. III. 243। Vide also वायु. Q. by एवर. मा II. part 1, p. 24.

181. पथ रुपिलिकां देशस्य। कारारिताः विनिहारिता मध्यविस्तारित। विनिहारिता राजसुरूपं च इत्यदृश्यते ॥ या. VIII. 373। सारापराणि विनिहारिता मध्यविस्तारित। याज. तप 474। vide p. 530 of the same work for the same देश, ‘अर्जुनं गोपः देशस्य—देशस्य—कारारिताः। मनोहरो विनिहारिता मध्यविस्तारित। देशस्य अर्जुनं गोपः देशस्य’। मध्यविस्तारिताः। मर्यम्यूकाः। मर्यम्यूकाः। कारारिताः। तत्त्वाच इत्यदृश्यते। एक श्यामाबोधित। इत्यादि।
pāṇas for a breaker of idols and re-instatement of the idol by him and then remarks ‘daṇḍavat prāyaścittāni bhavanti’. Nārada divided sāhasa into three kinds viz. prathama, madhyama and uttama, the last of which consisted in killing a person with poison or weapon, adultery and rape and injury to life. He then provides that when offenders guilty of the first two kinds were punished by the king, they became fit for association with the people, but that one guilty of the uttama-sāhasa, though punished by the king, was not fit even to be talked to (Nārada, sāhasa, verse 11).

The king had jurisdiction to punish sinners if they did not agree to undergo the prāyaścitta prescribed by the parisad but it is extremely doubtful whether he exercised that jurisdiction in all cases. Society or the caste also had a weapon in its hand viz. that of excommunication by ghaṭasphota if one guilty of a grave sin refused to perform the prāyaścitta prescribed (i.e. it was jātidāṇḍa). Vide Gaut. 20.2–9, Manu XI. 182–185 and Yāj. III. 294 and H., of Dh. vol. II. p. 388 and vol. III. p. 1009–1010 for the rite of ghaṭasphota and re-admission to caste after ghaṭasphota. Many of the prāyaścittas prescribed for the grave sins were terrible (such as throwing oneself into fire, drinking boiling surā or water or cow’s urine or milk or ghee for drinking surā, Manu XI. 73, 90–91, 103 &c.) and were to be self-inflicted and were not to be prescribed by the parisad as the words of Manu in XI. 73 ‘icchayātmamaḥ’ and ‘prāsyed-ātmānam-agnau va’ clearly convey and as some of the digests expressly provide.183 In order to enable a man to become fit for intercourse with his caste men he had to give a dinner to them or distribute sweetmeats even after undergoing prāyaścitta. So it follows that a man guilty of a crime was liable to three burdens, punishment by the king, penance prescribed by learned brahmanas and giving dinner or sweetmeats to castemen. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 971.

182. दृढ़े कुर्णर्द्युपो नृणां प्रायधिकारमुक्तवात्। कामलोकाकामो वापी प्रायधिकरं कृत्
चरितम्। आदिपुराण 168। पारंति: ताम् यात्र तपस्या कुस्तमांसाचाय। शालवध्यायमां यात्रि
प्रायधिकारमुक्तवात्। प्रायधिकारतिहाय स् राजास्तिशापदृष्टवतः। नरकं मृत्युपलस्किन्ति तिरंगोगसे
सत्वेऽत्॥ विषयपूर्ववाद 11. 73.3–4 q. by नरस. म. II. part 2 p. 210, म. राजा
folio 102 a.

183. पारंतिकमान्यति जनं पद्म्या न देन्तो। तत्रवसेन जात्वा कुर्वात्। म. भ. 31.
p. 41; तत्र वैमानिका मानाययो मथि पवित्रपारं तु यध्यस्वक्ष्मवचनेन जात्वा कुर्वात्।
अनुपादाच्यतमृ प्रायधिकारस्त्र मिलेको जात्वा तद्वेपामनस्तेः स्वयंम कुर्वत्। वर. भ.
p. 817.
The literature on prāyaścittas is vast in extent, since in ancient times they loomed very large in the popular mind. Out of the 28 chapters of the Gautamadharma-sūtra, ten (i.e. more than one-third of the whole) are devoted to penances. Out of the 30 chapters of the printed Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra, prāyaścittas cover nine (20–28). Manu devotes verses 44 to 265 (in all 222) of chapter eleven to penances and the Yājñavalkyasūtra containing 1009 verses deals with prāyaścittas in 122 verses (III. 205–327). Several printed smṛtis such as those of Aṅgiras (168 verses), Atri (chapters 1–8), Devala (90 verses), Bṛhad-Yama (182 verses), Śātātapasmṛti (in 274 verses) from the Anandāśrama collection of smṛtis alone deal only with prāyaścittas. Many other smṛtis and several purāṇas, such as the Agni (chap. 168–174), Garuda 52, Kūrma (Uttarādhaha 30–34), Varāha 131–136, Brabmāṇḍa (Upasanāhārapāda chap. 9), Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 73, III. 234–237) contain hundreds of verses on prāyaścittas. Besides commentaries like the Mitākṣara, Aparārka, Par. M. and others and digests like Madanapārijata (pp. 691–994), there are special digests dealing with prāyaścittas alone such as Hemādri on Prāyaścitta (which is of doubtful authenticity), the Prāyaścittaparakaraṇa of Bhavadeva, Prāyaścittaviveka, Prāyaścittatattvā, Smṛtimuktapāhalā (prāyaścitta section), Prāyaścittasāra (part of Nṛsimhaprasāda), Prāyaścittamayūkha, Prāyaścittapraṇāsa (ms. in the Anūp Sanskrit library, Bikaner, No. 2610), Prāyaścittenduṇēkhara of Nāgojībhṛtta, which have been utilised in this work. The most elaborate treatment is found in Prāyaścittaviveka, Par. M. II parts 1 and 2, and Prāyaścittapraṇāsa.

The commentators discuss the question about the persons who have adhikāra (capacity) for having penances prescribed for them. Since Manu XI. 44 (prāyaścittiyate naraḥ) and Yāj. III. 219 (naraḥ patanam-rcchati) both employ the word 'man' without 184 any qualification, the commentators and digests say that penances are meant for men of all varṇas, for all persons born of unions in the reverse order (pratiloma) and for even caṇḍālas. Yāj. III. 262 states that a śūdra sinner

184. नस्माह्यं सार्वलेश्यक्षरवत्यसृयः विभवस पर या र. III. 210; नस्माह्यं प्रतिलोक- मञ्जातानामि अपरिवर्तितायाकारपायतेय वेश्वरचक्रसाहित्याचारयमेवप्रभुत्रमृत्वामाहः सिन्द्राय। या र. III. 219; नर इव इत्येक अनुयायािसयधालालातः सर्ववं याधासिति। अर्थं ब च चायानांनामि सिद्धिविद्यमेषः यथा इत्येकः समज्ञातोऽर्थोऽर्थमेवप्रभुत्रमृत्वामाहः साखः। नयूऽ पात्रे...साखायं द्वितीयमेष || (10.62) अति वेश्वरचक्रसाहित्यायात्म अधिवर्तितानि या चायानांनामि सत्यस्य । या। प. 12.
though he has no adhikāra (for recitation of Vedic mantras and homa), yet becomes purified by undergoing the observances (except japa and homa) for the periods prescribed. Āṅgiras 185 provides that penance may be administered to a śūdra devoid of japa and homa. Even as to japa and homa there were works like the Madanapārijāta p. 749 and Vy. M (p. 112) that relying on a verse of Parāśara VI, 63–64 held that a homa could be performed for women and śūdras in the ordinary fire through a brāhmaṇa 186. The Pr. V. relies on Manu X. 62 and a prose passage of Devala for the proposition that even Cāḍālas have to perform penances, if they act contrary to the rules and prohibitions laid down for them. Since the non-performance of what is prescribed and doing what is forbidden lead to sin, the person guilty of these or the person who has a desire to destroy his sins is a person entitled to perform prāyaścitta, as also one who repents of his guilt.

Before going into the subject of the several prāyaścittas prescribed for each grave or minor sin, some questions of a general character have to be disposed of.

Some smṛtis like Brhad-yāma III. 1–2 and Śaṅkha state that a boy over five years of age and less than eleven years old, if guilty of some pātakas such as drinking surū, has not to undergo penance personally, but his brother, father or other

185. तत्राश्चूर्द्धम् समस्तसंध मूढानघ्यो यथाविचार जैत्यम् q. by the विना. on य. III. 262, प्रति. म. p. 12, मा. सत p. 173.

186. श्रीमहोदयोऽपि समस्तसंध मूढानघ्यो यथाविचार जैत्यम् निष्पालीत. अति एव धम्मोऽपि उपासात् ब्राह्मणोणां समस्तसंध मूढानघ्यो यथाविचार जैत्यम्. निष्पालीत. यथाविचार जैत्यम् निष्पालीत. मा. प. 749. This is Parāśara VI. 63–64 (the printed edition in B. S. Series reads ब्राह्मणोणां समस्तसंध मूढानघ्यो यथाविचार जैत्यम्. It is rather inexplicable how while Nilakantha in his Vyavahāramayūkha holds, relying on Parāśara, that the daitthāhoma may be performed by a śūdra or a woman through a brāhmaṇa, the Prāyaścittamayūkha of the same author propounds a different view in the words ‘एतेऽत्र वस्मययतलमयलोऽपि श्रीमहोदयोऽपि समस्तसंध मूढानघ्यो यथाविचार जैत्यम्’ (p. 13.). Did the author change his views or is the text of one of the two Mayūkhas tampered with by his successors? The मा. प्रकाश (folio 30 b) explains Parāśara VI. 63–64 in a different way. It says that the verse does not lay down generally that a woman or any one else can in every case have a homa performed for her through a brāhmaṇa, but that where in a rite japa and homa are obligatory and the person concerned is unable to perform japa and homa in person there alone he can appoint a brāhmaṇa as श्रतिनिधि. अर्थात् जपोहोस्यं आहिको विकासविनिधित्रित्वमययतलमयलोऽपि ग्रायणसाधा-प्रहस्यं समस्तसंध मूढानघ्यो यथाविचार जैत्यम्. एतेऽत्र वस्मययतलमयलोऽपि श्रीमहोदयोऽपि समस्तसंध मूढानघ्यो यथाविचार जैत्यम्’ (p. 13.).
relative or friend has to undergo it for him and that if a child is less than five then whatever act it may do it is not deemed a crime, nor is it a sin and it is not liable to any legal penalty nor to any prāyaścitta. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) comments that these verses are not meant to prescribe a total absence of prāyaścitta in the case of children of five or less but are meant to convey that they are not liable for the full prāyaścitta prescribed for a sin. Its argument is that the texts lay down generally without any reference to the stage of life that a brāhmaṇa should not be killed or that a person belonging to the three higher castes should not drink surī. Hence any one of whatever age who is guilty of having done such prohibited acts is liable and the words of Gaut. II.1 and of Kumāra are to be interpreted as not excusing altogether the drinking of surī by a child but as referring to minor lapses. Bṛhaspati expressly states that the dictum about a child being allowed to eat what it likes is confined to such matters as will not fall under grave sins.

It has already been stated above (n. 180) that the prāyaścitta to be undergone depended upon many circumstances such as the time, the place, the age &c. And first as to age, several smṛtis provide that a man 80 years old or a boy less than

---

187. ऊँचैः काशिन्यथेष्ठेष्ठे पशुवत्त्यांपरः च। महायभिषृंग चतुण्ड ाता गिता गायण: संहृत:। अन्य शास्त्राचिन्देष्टे नारायणो न पातकुर। शास्त्राचिन्देष्टे गिता गायण:। विद्यु न संहृत। यथा: quoted by the Mit. on Ya. III. 243, बुद्धाणि III. 1-2 (reads बृहत्यसः गायणः). These are quoted by श्रवण on Ya. II. 6 (without name) and the first occurs in अस्त्रायक्तीम् III. 7 as चतुर्विष: बुद्धाणि महायभिषृंगम्। The first verse is चतुर्विषः. Both are ascribed to भ्रातिर्ष्य by मार. विष. p. 29.

188. श्रायुपाशयः वामकोः। श्रायुपाशयः। श्रायुपाशयः। श्रायुपाशयः। श्रायुपाशयः। श्रायुपाशयः। श्रायुपाशयः। कुमार q. by मित्र. on Ya. III. 253, by मार. मक. p. 50; श्रायुपाशयार्यवृत्तिकृति: पातकाव्ये। चतुर्विषः q. by मार. तत. p. 551.

189. अतिशविषयायश्वरोऽयस्ते वामकोः। महायभिषृंगमहान्निति: विद्यु रोहिनः। च। बुद्धधाराष्ट्रूः 54. 33, तत्त्वावलित 33, केदार 30, अस्त्रायक्तीम् III. 3, बुद्धाणि III. 3 (reads अश्रुयब्धेन्द्रेष्टमाणाम्)। This verse is ascribed to बुद्धाणि by the मित्र. on Ya. III. 243 and to श्रायुपाशयः by श्रायुपाशयः on अप्य. भ. 1. 9. 26.5. The मार. पा. p. 796 ascribes it to विश्वं, पातकुर, बुद्धाणि and अश्रुयब्धेन्द्रेष्टमाणाम्। तथा। बुद्धाणिः सत्याः। तथा। अस्त्रायक्ती अश्रूद्वाक्षरसंधिनाशेषेष्ठेष्ठे। अस्त्रायक्ती: अश्रुयब्धेन्द्रेष्टमाणाम्। तथा। अस्त्रायक्ती: अश्रुयब्धेन्द्रेष्टमाणाम्। तथा। अस्त्रायक्ती: अश्रुयब्धेन्द्रेष्टमाणाम्। तथा। अस्त्रायक्ती: अश्रुयब्धेन्द्रेष्टमाणाम्। तथा। अस्त्रायक्ती: अश्रुयब्धेन्द्रेष्टमाणाम्। तथा। अस्त्रायक्ती: अश्रुयब्धेन्द्रेष्टमाणाम्। तथा। अस्त्रायक्ती: अश्रुयब्धेन्द्रेष्टमाणाम्। तथा। अस्त्रायक्ती: अश्रु�वृत्तिकृति: पातकाव्ये। चतुर्विषः q. by मार. तत. p. 17.
16 years of age, women and diseased persons should be liable only to half the prāyaṣcitta (prescribed for able-bodied men). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 243 quotes a verse of Sūmantu that for a male below twelve and above eighty years of age the penance is half (of that for ordinary men) and one fourth for women within the same limits and a verse of Vīṣṇu that for women, old men and diseased persons half the penance should be prescribed and for boys (before upanayana) only one-fourth. Some say that for boys less than five the penance is one-fourth. Cāvāna (prose) prescribes half prāyaṣcitta for boys, old men and women and declares that a person is a bāla up to 16 years and a man is to be regarded as similar to a bāla after 70. Katyāyana provided generally that the fines to be levied from females were to be half of those leviable from male offenders as regards all offences and when the punishment for a male would be death, a woman criminal was to be punished with the cutting of a limb (nose, ears &c.)

The difference between a sin committed unintentionally (akāmataḥ) and the same sin committed with full knowledge (kāmataḥ) is this that for the latter the prāyaṣcitta is double of what is prescribed for the former as provided by Aṅgiras, Vyāsa and the Agnipurāṇa. As Yāj. III. 226 employs the word ‘ajñāna’ in the first half and the word ‘kāmataḥ’ as its opposite in the second half instead of the word ‘jñānataḥ’ it follows that Yāj. makes no difference between the consequences of jñāna (knowledge) and kāmanā (desire).

The caste of the offender as well as of the victim made a difference in the prāyaṣcitta as well as in the legal punishment. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 395-399 as to punishments for crimes dependent on caste. Vīṣṇu provides that the prāyaṣcitta for

---

190. शास्त्र-दृष्टिगत: प्राय: अनन्तायेत:। आ बोधक्षुधान्त:। सत्त्वाद्विधितव: हुन्दा:। चतवत q. by पराश. II. part 1 p. 122 and माय. वि. p. 28. सर्वो चापारापूर्त व वंशो याध्वम्: स्वतः॥ तदर्थे योगिने देशैः पुलोकलानद्॥ कार्य: 487.

191. स्थानाचार्यास्ते यन्त्र दिशिष्यं वधपुरुषं। अद्वितस्त q. by माय. वि. pp. 22 and 24; विदिते यद्यात्मानां कामात्मू विशिष्यं स्वततः। अधिकपुराण 173. 9, q. by the मस्ता, on या. III. 226 (without name); and as that of अन्धस्त q. by माय. मकरण p. 12 and as of अस्तस्त q. by माय. मकरण (folio 16b). गर्भदेव कुर्यं सप्तरतन्तस्यामान: कामात्मे दिशिष्यं मोक्षे एकू व पुनर्नसे॥ चतवत q. by माय. वि. p. 24.

192. विधे तु सभी देवं विद्भवं गायत्रियं मकरण। वैवर्तेऽपि पादमेववेतु दृष्टान्तिं श्रवणे॥ विशिष्य q. by माय. वि. p. 102 where it is stated that विज्ञा noted that this verse was not found in the विशिष्यतिहास. It is ascribed to दृष्टान्तिं by माय. मकरण p. 16 and to दृष्टान्तिं by मस्ता, on या. III. 267.
a ksatriya, vaisya and śudra sinner should be respectively 1/2, 1/3 and 1/4 of what is prescribed for a brāhmaṇa sinner. The Agni-
purāṇa says 193 the same thing. The Par. M. II. 1, p. 231 quotes the Caturvīmaśatimata 194 to the same effect. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 250 explains that the verse of Caturvīmaśatimata applies to all cases except where any one of the four sāhasas is committed by a man of a lower caste as against one of a higher caste. Brhad-Yama (IV. 13–14) in prescribing penance for the killing of a cow provides the same scale of 4, 3, 2, 1 for the four varṇas. Aṅgirasa (verse 3) prescribes the penances of Kṛchchra and Čandrāyaṇa for a brāhmaṇa partaking of the food of an antyājī, half of these for a ksatriya or vaisya guilty of the same. Yaj. II. 206–207 provide that the punishments for defamation depend upon the higher or lower varṇa or caste of the offender as well as of the person defamed and that if a ksatriya or vaisya defames a brāhmaṇa the fines are respectively twice or thrice as high as the fine for a brāhmaṇa defaming a brāhmaṇa and conversely if a brāhmaṇa defames a ksatriya or a vaisya the fine is reduced by half in each successive caste. The Mit. quoting Aṅgirasa says that the rules about punishments apply to prāyaścitās for slaying a person i. e. if a brāhmaṇa slays anybody and a certain penance is prescribed for him, then a ksatriya killing the person would have to perform double the penance prescribed for the brāhmaṇa and a vaisya offender three times as much.195 It may be pointed out here that though the smṛtis provided for different punishments according to the castes of the offender and of the person wronged and though some commentaries and digests went into all those details for the sake of presenting a

193. सर्वव च हृदेण पापः स्पर्श त्रित्राय सैस्यपः। अतिर्पुराण 168.13.

194. पापादिकं पयाम्नन्तं ब्राह्मणं महामिति। साधि न्यूँकरुः क्षत्रियं वेष्य। समाश्रयौ। दुः: समाचरविषयोऽवयोऽवयियो पापस्य भ्रमावंसते। भ्रमावंसते q. by the mitā. on ya. III. 250. द्वेष्ठ 32 is a verse of similar import. दुः: चतुर्वहस्तिस्तवायreckless...पापस्य इति पापोमयोधितस्तवायवधारास्तविरहितविषययौ। तत्ता सुप्रोक्तविन्दुः- नीत्वमर्यादा अत्तियां वृक्षमहामायनेतरभीमम्। सिद्धा. The four साहस are 'मदुद्धहस्तरस्त यौ। दुर्वच्छिन्निन्द्या स्माधानमिति। पापप्रत्येकं ज्ञेति साहस स्माधानविषयम्।'

195. पधार्मिकं। पपृया ब्राह्मणान्त तु सा राज्यं द्रव्यम्। द्रव्यान्त द्रव्यम् शक्ति वश्यवत् ब्रत स्तुतस्य इति...अन्येऽविश्वास्तिवेत्यवहाराः होन्येऽक्तप्ये दृष्टपीतस्तव्यम्या द्वारानिति कायमित्रम्। द्रव्यान्तं च सुधर्मसायनम्। सिद्धा. on ya. III. 250. Vide mitā. on ya. III 267 also. This verse is q. by ya. ma. II. part 2 p. 67: while the ma. p. 102 ascribes it to द्वेष्ठ; 'परिवर्धाः...सत्ता-इति द्वेष्ठ। ब्राह्मणं महामिति। साधि न्यूँकरुः क्षत्रियं वेष्य।' The ma...ma. p. 16 reads the verse of अन्त्यिकस as 'द्रव्यान्तं...शक्ति द्रव्यम् तु च ब्राह्मणं परि प्रवर्धितः कायमित्रम्।'
complete statement or digest of the śruti material, such
discriminatory punishments had mostly ceased to be enforced
by the rulers from about the 12th century A. D. at least, as
stated by the Śrutiśraddhā, the Madanaratna (vyavahāra) and
the Sarasvatīvīlaśa. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 512 note 924 for
the relevant quotations from the three works. Since, as stated
above (n. 181), prāyaścītās were to be moulded on the lines of
legal penalties, it appears that the discriminatory treatment
about prāyaścītās depending upon the varṇa of the sinner must
also have gradually fallen into disuse with the disappear-
ance of the more severe prāyaścītās and the substitution of
cows and monetary equivalents in later digests. And some
digests expressly state this to have been the case in relation to
prāyaścītās. For example, the Pr. Prakarāpa, after quoting
Gaut. 22. 14–16 about the prāyaścīta for killing a kṣatriya or
vaiśya or śūdra under certain circumstances, remarks that in
its day those prāyaścītās were no longer part of the practices
of the people. 196

Whether an act made a man liable to undergo prāyaś-
cīta depended in some cases on the country also. For
example, marrying a maternal uncle’s daughter was and is
allowed in certain countries and among certain castes in
the Deccan and Southern India on the ground of custom, but
such a practice was severely condemned by Manu XI. 171–172
and Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 17–24 and other śruti. Bṛhaspati refers
to this custom as prevalent among southerners and states that
in these countries persons following it are not liable to undergo
prāyaścīta or penalty (at the hand of the king). Vide H. of
Dh. vol. II p. 462 for Bṛhaspati’s verses.

Severity and extent of prāyaścīta depended also on the
question whether a sinner had repeated the lapse or was a first
offender. The Ap. Dh. S. (II. 10. 27. 11–13) prescribes that a
brāhmaṇa who has once committed adultery with a married
woman of equal class shall perform one-fourth of the penance
prescribed for a śūdra having intercourse with a woman of the
three upper castes, that for every repetition (of the crime) one

---
196. यद्य गौतेन्द्र राजानाथवेय गा दुधात (ॵ२८ ४५–११) वाराणसी (तार संस्कृत)

---
fourth of the penance must be added and if (he commits adultery) for the fourth time, the whole penance (of 12 years must be performed)\(^{197}\). The Mit. on Yaj. III, 293 remarks that for a sin that is committed knowingly the prāyaścitta is double of what is prescribed for the same sin if committed unintentionally and that if a sin is committed intentionally and is repeated then for the repeated lapse prāyaścitta is four times as much as that for the same deed done unintentionally. Similarly, the āśrama to which the sinner belonged made a difference in the prāyaścitta as stated by Angiras when persons in other āśramas are guilty of sins for which penance is prescribed if committed by householders, then the prāyaścitta is increased in the same proportion that is laid down for śauca (bodily purity)\(^{198}\). Manu V. 137, Vas. VI. 19, Viśṇu Dh. S. 60. 26, Saṅkha 16, 23–24 provide that Vedic students, forest hermits and samyāsins have respectively to perform twice, thrice and four times as much śauca as is prescribed for householders (e. g. by Manu V. 136 =Viśṇu 60. 25).

One convenient and merciful rule laid down by the smṛtis was that if a man died in the midst of the period for which penance had to be performed (sometimes it extended to twelve years) he became free from the sin here and in the next world as stated by Hārīta, Vyāsa and Yama\(^{199}\).

Though the smṛtis have entered into very great details about the prāyaścittas for different individual lapses, still they cannot be supposed to have dealt with every lapse. Therefore,

---

197. समर्पायमण्डूर्गमा सहलत्संपतार पापः पत्तित्वपादिश्राविति। एवमध्यपोस पापः पापः। चकृतेऽस्थम। आप. ध. यूं. II. 10.27.11–13.

198. तथाभिन्यामसिति अस्त्रिसषष्य ब्रह्माणि। यहर्ष्यकानि पापाणि कुष्ठन्ताभिन्याः। सीतस्त्रोध्यनं कुष्ठपाण्डत्याविन्दान्तरीति। श्रीचवाहिति एतचिर्चले श्रवणां श्रोत्यं मद्ध्यचारणाम। श्रवणं तु वनस्पतां यतींत्र तु चकृतेऽस्तदृश्य। इति (भव 9.138) वचनाद्य सम्बन्ध मद्ध्यचारणां सीतस्त्रोध्यैवादिश्राविन्दाभीति। देवीचारणां वत्ता सम्बन्धार्थी नादिनेवः। मद्ध्यचारणां वस्त्राविन्दादिश्राविन्दान्तः। वैद्यनाथोऽन्तः। सिद्धा. on या. 325. On मद्ध्यचारणां वस्त्राविन्दादिश्राविन्दान्तः। नादिनेवः। यहर्ष्यकाणि पापाणि कुष्ठन्ताभिन्याः। आप. ध. यूं. II. 10.27.11–13.

199. न च ब्रह्मचारिणि चकृतेऽस्त्रोध्यैव ब्रह्मचारिणि मध्ये विपरित्वशास्त्रम समातं न विपरित्वशास्त्रम। इत्यं मद्ध्यमण्डूर्गमां तत्सन्यमिति। यहर्ष्यकाणि पापाणि कुष्ठन्ताभिन्याः। वत्स. मद्ध्यमण्डूर्गमां तत्सन्यमिति। चकृतेऽस्त्रोध्यैव ब्रह्मचारिणि मध्ये विपरित्वशास्त्रम। आप. ध. यूं. II. 10.27.11–13.

---

199. n ch brahmaucha rikche chakri te asvarthya kripamate mada moye viparitavashastra samatva naipate svah v tale: prakrutavasishchara mahe yata bharatam. यत्केव प्रकृतवासिस्तरस मध्ये विपरितवास वायव्यां भवते। तत्र हारते। मायात्माते भवाविते कात्य यद्य विपरितवासिस्तरस मध्ये विपरितवासिते। इत्या तत्सन्यमिति। धार्मिक प्रत्ययस्तु न वेदवाणी भाषाः। माये भवते तत्सन्यमिति। वेदवाणी संस्कृतवाणी। इत्यं मा. on या. III. 250. ब्रह्मचारिणि पापः पापः। चकृतेऽस्त्रोध्यैव ब्रह्मचारिणि मध्ये विपरितवासिते। आप. ध. II. 7 is almost the same as brahmaucha rikche chakri te asvarthya kripamate mada moye viparitavashastra samatva naipate svah.
Gaut. (19, 18–20) provides that these acts (viz. Vedic recitation, tapas, fasting, gifts &c.) may be optionally performed, when no (particular penance) has been prescribed, that for grave sins difficult penances and for trivial faults easy ones may be prescribed and that Krčchra, Ati-Krčchra and Candrayaṇa are penances for all sins. 200 Manu XI. 209 (=Viṣṇu 54,34) provides that for the expiation of offences for which no particular atonement has been prescribed, let (the parīṣad) prescribe a penance after considering the (offender's) strength and the nature of the offence. Parāśara (XI, 55–56) provides that the recitation of the Gāyatrī ten thousand times is the best penance for all sins and that Candrayaṇa, Yaśaka, Tulāpurusa and serving cows destroy all sins. Yaj. III. 265 provides that a man is purified from all sins by undergoing the penance for cow-killing or by Candrayaṇa, observance for a month of the milk vrata or by Parāśa. Manu XI. 117 provides for all upapātakas except the sin of sexual intercourse by one who is in the stage of Vedic student the penance prescribed for govadha or candrayaṇa.

One guilty of a sin, even though he may himself be a learned man, should approach an assembly of learned brāhmaṇas and after making some present (a cow or the like) announcing the nature of his lapse seek their decision about the proper penance for his lapse (Yaj. 201 III. 300 and Parāśa VIII. 2). The Mitr, Par. M, Pr. S. and other digests quote long passages in verse from Aṅgiras 202 who provides that the sinner should

200. एतत्स्यायनोऽधिकत्वं विकल्पेन किरेण ॥ एवमुखपुष्पिकाः संयवण्नम् निहृत्ति ॥ चछुटा-निहृत्ति चारागणमिति सर्वस्यभविष्यति ॥ भो. 19. 18–20. Vide भर्त्सुपुरा का. 22, 36 and श्लोकपुराण II. 6. 38 for very similar words 'परीक्षणस्य श्लोकः परां क्ष्याति। अभिविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविवিষ्णु ॥ इतिभविष्णु ॥. Instead of श्लोकः the श्लोकपुराण has मैत्रेयः. This very verse is quoted as श्लोकः in मा. तत्र. p. 545 (with मैत्रेयः for मैत्रेयः).

201. विकल्पादिनः कृत्व खर्चन्ववृत्तम् बतस्य ॥ भ. III, 300. This is ascribed to both श्लोकः and मा. by परा. मा. II part 2 p. 153. Vide भ. 17. 62 also.

202. A few of the verses of अंत्त्रार्थ are cited here: कृत्व खर्चन्ववृत्तम् बतस्य ॥ सर्वेऽन्तर्यात: स्मालाः क्रियायाः समाहितः ॥ श्रवण्यो तथो धार्यो व वनयामात्यतः ॥ उपस्थताः तत: कीर्तिकारिन्यामात्यतः स्यैतः ॥ गृह्यवस्तु शिरवाय कर्तेः स न च कीर्तिकारिन्यास्य ॥ ततलसंशयोद्विंशो तेन सुधारितम ॥ इत्यदः कृत्व खर्चन्ववृत्तम् बतस्य ॥ कार्यार्थाय विपर्ययो तिरिक्त । कार्यः कार्यं ते पीयो कथि कथा शुभृमः हिन्न ॥ एवं तैः समाहितः ॥ खर्चन्ववृत्तम् तत्स्य स्वपनदेवेन: कार्यार्थाय विपर्ययो तिरिक्त । कार्यः कार्यं ते पीयो कथि कथा शुभृमः हिन्न ॥ एवं यैः श्रवण: ॥ खर्चन्ववृत्तम् तत्स्य स्वपनदेवेन: कार्यार्थाय विपर्ययो तिरिक्त । कार्यः कार्यं ते पीयो कथि कथा शुभृमः हिन्न ॥ एवं तैः वनयाम: ॥ खर्चन्ववृत्तम् तत्स्य स्वपनदेवेन: कार्यार्थाय विपर्ययो तिरिक्त । कार्यः कार्यं ते पीयो कथि कथा शुभृमः हिन्न ॥ एवं तैः कीर्तिकारिन्यास्य ॥ गृह्यवस्तु ॥ परा. मा. II. 1. p. 206–207 and 235–236. मा. मा. pp. 7, 17–20, मा. मा. pp. 11–12, मा. वचनां (folio 27b and 28a).
not conceal his lapse and lose time; he should bathe with his garment on, and with the garment still wet approach the assembly and should prostrate himself on the ground. Thus the elders of the assembly ask the man prostrating himself before them 'what is your business, what is the trouble and what do you seek from us'. The assembly then asks him to go aside a little and debate among themselves what the penance should be, considering all the circumstances of time, place, nature of the lapse, age &c. Then one of them at the desire of the assembly should declare the assembly’s decision as to the proper penance after citing the smṛti passages and reducing the penance in view of the weakness and other circumstances of the offender. It has already been stated that the pariṣad acted under the direction of the king in matters of prāyaścitta and that the king was not to interfere with the decision of the assembly. The principal stages in a penance were four viz. approaching the pariṣad, the declaration of the appropriate penance by the pariṣad, the actual performance of the penance declared and the announcing of the sinner’s freedom from taint (Aṅgirās q. by Pr. Prakāśa folio 27a ‘upasthānam vratādesāscaryā śuddhi-prakāśanam prāyaścittam catuspādam vihitam dharmakarta-bhiḥ”)

It is not necessary here to set out the details of the constitution of the pariṣad, of the qualifications of the śīṣṭas who were to be the members of the pariṣad and their privileges and duties. These points have already been discussed at length in H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 966–974. A few matters not stated there are mentioned here. Caste exclusiveness and pride had gone so far that Parāśara (VIII, 25) and the Caturvimśatimātra quoted by Par. M. state that a dvija though he may be of bad character is to be honoured and not a śūdra who may have controlled his senses, that the advice of a śūdra even though learned and devoted to the knowledge of the śastras should not be accepted like sacrificial food when licked by a dog. Instead of the word ‘pariṣad’ the word pariṣad (which is an irre-

203 कुञ्जिनिसिंह भिन्न पूजन न ह दृष्टि जितविद्यम्। क परिसिद्धा मा। दुष्टां दुष्टे चर्चितविनाति जरसस। परारव VIII. 25 on which वर्ष. मा II. I. p. 228 observes: जातिसिंहित्यागे जान्तृकायं एव माधवनेनोपदेशै। कृतिते व पश्चासभाव। अर्थ एव बांधुविनः मोह दृष्टिप्रदेशार्द्धार्द्धप्रयत्नयो यथावत्। भवेभिर्भवे पश्चात स्वरूपार्थ भवेभिर्भवेभिः। तदस्युद्धार्यं न उत्तरं कथानं॥ पञ्चदत्तायं दुष्टरूप साधारणतरं तत॥ वचनं तरं न प्राचे दुष्टार्थसिंहं प्रविठ्य।
gular abbreviation) is employed in several smṛti passages. Parāśara (VI. 55–57) provides that the assembly should take compassion on the weak, on boys and old men and should reduce the penance, but not otherwise and that if learned men through affection, greed, fear or ignorance reduce the penance that should be prescribed they themselves incur the sin. Devala says the same and adds that the reduction in the penance should not be directed by one man alone or by a person ignorant of Dharmaśāstra and that it is only a number of brāhmaṇas who are proficient in Dharmaśāstra that are entitled to reduce the penance through compassion for the sinner. The decision of the assembly should be unanimous as far as possible.

If the learned brāhmaṇas of the assembly knowing the proper pṛayaścitta do not declare it in the case of those who are distressed by their own sin and seek direction, they incur sin similar to that of the seeker after proper penance.

---

203a. पराप्यवस्थेः प्रेमदर्शितात्लाश्चः — मूल. सि. p. 26, on which मोतिवासन्ध्र says धर्मवर्धन्यामपि परवर्त्त. प्रेमदर्शितात्लाश्चालोपः विकालिताः. पाणिनि provides प्रेमदर्शितात्लाश्चालोपः विकालिताः — VI. 3. 109.

203 b. दुर्बलं शुक्लम: वेणस्थः म पालताहः — अतोत्त्वः अवेदोपपत्तानाद्वाद्यः: दुर्स्थः: लेखाः चावः च तीर्थाः पाणिनिः सोः। कर्वल्याव्रमि ये स तत्त्वः तेषु मद्धुः पराशार VI. 55–57.

204. धार्मिकं प्रयोदितामवर्तं प्रेमानाहिनः — इत्यथतर्यथस्येव तौपाणिनिः। धर्मस्तव बहुविषयः मिना: कर्वल्याव्रम्यथाः — भेदत q. by परास. म. II.1. pp. 130–131, मूल. सि. p 12.

205. चिन्तास्तवः कार्यं यथा सर्वं समासः। एककालयत्या इत्यथस्य अवेदोपां विचिन्त्ति q. by मूल. सि. p 18.

206. आत्मानो मार्गानां अपन्निन्यायः — धर्मस्तवः म प्रयोदितामिनः तेषस्मात् समस्तं तु तः। अवेदस्य q. by भिन्नान. on मूल. III. 300, मूल. तर. p. 512, परास. म. II. part 1 p. 234.
CHAPTER IV

PENANCES FOR PARTICULAR SINS

It is now proper to turn to the penances prescribed for individual sins of different types (grave sins, minor sins and the like). It may be noted that the smṛtis contain numerous prāyaścittas for the same sin and that it is often difficult to reconcile all the dicta. The commentaries and digests such as the Mit. and the Prāyaścitta-viveka therefore try to assign to each penance an appropriate provision, looking to all the circumstances noted above (i.e. they are bent on ‘viṣayavyavastha’).206a In this work, it is not necessary to set out in detail the numerous penances for numberless lapses that are prescribed in the several smṛtis and digests. In the Śabdakalpadruma (part III) there is an analysis from the Prāyaścitta-viveka alone of the several lapses, the penances for them, the number of cows to be donated as substitutes, the monetary equivalents when even cows cannot be donated and the daksīṇā in each case, which occupy pages 321 to 364. Setting out all these lapses together with the penances for them would only be a matter of academic interest and of no practical value, as almost all the prāyaścittas have become antiquated and are hardly ever performed now except in the form of gifts of cows or money to brāhmaṇas, pilgrimages and recitation of Vedic mantras or japa of the names of some favourite deity such as Viṣṇu or Śiva. Therefore only a few typical sins alone will be taken for treatment here and later on a list of all penances with brief descriptions will be furnished.

First come the Mahāpātakas. Śankha 207 (17.1-3) prescribes the following penance for the four mahāpātakas: the sinner should bathe thrice every day, should erect in a forest a cottage thatched with leaves, should sleep on the ground, should subsist

206 a. एवमानवन्यां च उपासकमेवांगोपकार्याय कथिते बद्रानाति जनाति—इत्यथा—
इत्यथाः—वेदवालाधिकरणाचार्याः—कामकायलब्धिति—सववयस्मया सामायं वात्सल्यानि। भाष. स्वि.
p. 220; vide also माण्डल शि. pp 338-39 for a similar passage.

207. नितं विषयवस्तुणां च एष वर्णकृतिर व एष्ठः जीवाधी वर्णमूलक्कला
शमः। ग्रामं विशेषं मिच्छामि सकेर्म परिक्रमन्य। यथाकालं समस्तनीति पुरुषो न द्वारे शरी
हेमस्तेविन्दुपण्य भव्यो दूरउपर्यः। अभ्यर्थन्तु भ्रमणं नामायत्त: कुसमस्त: 17.1-3
q. by अध्यायक pp. 1053-54, पर: मा II. part 1 p. 320-321, मा. प्रकाश folio 87b.
on leaves, roots and fruits, should enter a village for alms all the time declaring his misdeed, should eat only once a day. When the 12th year passes in this way, the thief of gold, the drinker of surā, the murderer of a brāhmaṇa and one who is guilty of incest become free from sin. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 34.1 speaks of sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter or daughter-in-law as atipātaka and (34.2) provides that there is no penance except entering fire for this grave sin. The Bhavisyapurāṇa, Harita and Saṁvarta (q. by the Pr. V. p. 43) say the same. But other smṛtis like Manu XI. 54 and Yāj. III. 227 treat mātrgamana as a mahāpātaka (gurutalpa-gamana) and intercourse with the daughter or daughter-in-law as equal to violating guru’s bed (Manu XI. 58, Yāj. III. 233-234). Therefore we begin with the mahāpātakas the first of which is the murder of a brāhmaṇa. Gaut. 22. 2-10, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 10-25 and I. 9. 25. 12-13, Vas. 20. 25-28, Viṣṇu Dharmaśāstra 35. 6 and 50. 1-6 and 15, Manu. XI. 72-82, Yāj. III. 243-250, Agnipurāṇa 169. 1-4 and 173. 7-8, Saṁvarta 110-115 and many others prescribe various penances for brāhmaṇa-murder. As the treatment of Manu is tolerably long, an analysis of it alone will be given here. Manu as stated by the Bhavisyapurāṇa (quoted by Kullūka on Manu XI. 72-82, Aparārka p. 1055 and Pr. V. p. 63) speaks of 13 separate penances for brahmakatyā.208 The general rule was that for a man of any class who is directly guilty of intentional murder of a brāhmaṇa the penance was to end in death209. The thirteen penances as set out by Govindānanda in his commentary (called Tattvārthakaumudi) on Prāyaścittaviveka (p. 63) are as follows:—

(1) The murderer of a brāhmaṇa should construct a hut in a forest and dwell therein for twelve years, should subsist on alms and should carry a piece of the head-bones of the murdered man on a staff. This is a very ancient penance and other smṛtis add some details. For example, Gaut. 22. 4 provides that the sinner should submit to observances meant for a Vedic student (such as not partaking of flesh, honey etc. stated in

208 तथापि भाषणपदे माध्यवधिकानि ददति। मुनानं कीर्तितानां प्रज्ञेयां वधाक्रमम्।

209. तद्कारणं स्वाधिस्थितं विद्विशालानां स्वामात्राम भव्यां मार्त्यानि प्राप्तवर्त्ववधि। पदाथ भावानिवधि। (३. २४७।) ‘लोकमयः स्वाहि पैरयेः। तथा व मथवधि

‘याशार्थं मात्र विद्विशालं स्वामात्रां मण्डलो भव्यां। तद्भवति कारणति विद्विशालं स्वामात्रां मण्डलो भव्यां। अभ्य नयं, pp. 8-9 । एते, मा II. part 2. p 72 and मा. प्रकाश 94 a, quote the verse of सत्यमात्र्त्वशार्थ।
Gaut. 2. 19), should announce his sin and enter a village only for begging alms. Yaj. III. 243 prescribes that the sinner should have a piece of the head-bone in the hand (left) and another placed on a staff (in the right hand) and that he should eat a moderate quantity (i.e. only once a day). The carrying of the piece of the head-bone in one hand is not meant for begging alms therein but only as a symbol. There was some divergence of views on this point. Ap. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 14 further provides that he should beg for alms at seven houses in only a broken reddish vessel (of clay or copper) and wear a piece of hempen clotl round his waist that will reach a little above his knees and that if he got no food at the seven houses he had to go without food that day and that he should protect cows and may for that purpose (for taking them out for grazing or bringing them back) enter the village again. The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 243) adds that the staff with head-bone on and the head-bone carried in the left hand are merely symbolic (in order to remind him and others of his being guilty of brähmana murder), that he should on seeing an ārya avoid his path (Gaut. 22. 5), that he should keep his body by day and only sit down at night (Gaut. 22. 6) and bathe thrice in the day (Gaut. 22. 6). It is added by the Mit. that, if the murdered brähmana's head-bone cannot be had, that of any other brähmana would do. The Mit. adds that this vrata for twelve years propounded by Gautama, Manu, Yājñavalkya and others is one and not different for each sṃrti and therefore all the details that are not opposed to each other should be included. Aparārka p. 1053 (on Yaj. III. 243) relies on the ‘sarvasākhāpratyayanyāya’ and states

209. स्त्रयादिविनिविनयनिग्नि हेतु श्रवण भवनयमां स्थापयेदे च हस्ते शुपिताविविनयनिग्नि हेतु मनसामध्ये। अयं तथे भेदसामनयमां भवनयमां स्थापयेदे च हस्ते शुपिताविविनयनिग्नि हेतु मनसामध्ये।

210. इति च मद्यायामस्मातित्यानाद्वितियत्वाविविनयां स्थापयेदे अनुभविश। परस्यस्मादित्यानाद्वितियत्वाविविनयां अयं तथापि भेदसामनयमां भवनयमां स्थापयेदे।

211. अयं तथा सर्वाधिविनयमानां कालस्थिति स्त्रयादिविविनयनिग्निः स्वयं सहस्रमयमतम् कर्तव्यम्। विविनयनिग्निः पद्मयास्मातित्यानाद्वितियत्वाविविनयः। अयं तथापि भेदसामनयमां भवनयमां स्थापयेदे। 

H. D. 12
that there would be an option where the details of several smritis are in conflict. It was Viśvarūpa 212 on Yāj. III. 237 who held that the procedure prescribed by each smṛti was separate and that all details taken from different smritis were not to be mixed up. According to the Mit. and Kullūka (on Manu XI. 72) this vrata for 12 years is appropriate in the case where a brāhmaṇa is murdered unintentionally and Kullūka quoting Āngiras provides that for intentional brāhmaṇa murder the penance will be double (i.e., 24 years). The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) states that this observance for twelve years applies only to one who was himself directly the murderer of a brāhmaṇa and that the anuprāñhaka has to undergo only 9 years' vrata, the prayojaka only six years, the anumantā only 4½ years and the nimittin only three years. It is further provided by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) following a verse ascribed to Manu (not found in the printed text) and Devala 213 that if a man commits several murders of brāhmaṇas one after another, and performs penance at one time for them, for two murders he has to undergo the penance for 24 years and for three murders 36 years and when he commits the 4th murder there is no penance (but only death is the penance). The Pr. T. (p. 468) on the other hand 214 following the Bhavisya-puṇāṣā holds that one performance of the 12 years' penance is enough penance for the murder of several brāhmaṇas, on the analogy of the Kaśīvatī ist (Jai. VI. 4. 17–20) which is performed when both the purodāsas and the house are totally burnt up by accident before the oblations are offered. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 19 a) also says the same and adds that Devala's verse is to be interpreted as laying down that repetition of the same sinful act is more blamable. If the murderer of a brāhmaṇa

212. न भैरविभेदत् सत्वसत्तिसिद्धं ब्रह्मवाचि विश्वद्विषिर्विज्ञानिनीति पपोऽपि
श्रेष्ठमन्यकारोऽर्थायामाचारायामितिः सूतके (या. १.२) अभिमिहितवादम्। विश्वपूजा on या. III. 237 (सिस्र: वापसवागाद्)

213. पत्ता मन्यसतायाप्रभोऽविहि: मात्रिविषादसेष् हिसीष्टे द्वियुं भन्द्! दुःखीये दिविक्षु स्वर्गां चतुर्युं भासि विनिदाति: # तदस्मातिनिसन्त नैस्मिनिविषादांग्नि श्रीति न्यायपूण:। विश्वारामी. on या. III. 243. प्राप्त. वि. pp. 25 and 77, पार्थ. भक्तं (19a) अस्त्रित सर्वत्र द्वियुं प्रसर्वत्र। एवसादिति, विष्णु. II part 2 p, 60 ascribes the verse to भैरव alone, while परा. मा. II part 2 p, 60 ascribes to both and सर्वत्रिति। (पार्ण.) p. 572 attributes it to मद्य ग्रहण श्रीति (if the ms. was properly read by the editor). हिदुप on मा. 22.6 ascribes it to मद्य alone.

214. तदः मन्यसतायाप्रभोऽविहि: सवर्गद्विषिर्विज्ञानिनीति पपोऽपि
श्रेष्ठमन्यकारोऽर्थायामाचारायामितिः सूतके (या. १.२) अभिमिहितवादम्। विश्वपूजा on या. III. 243. प्राप्त. वि. pp. 25 and 77, पार्थ. भक्तं (19a) अस्त्रित सर्वत्र द्वियुं प्रसर्वत्र। एवसादिति, विष्णु. II part 2 p, 60 ascribes to both and सर्वत्रिति। (पार्ण.) p. 572 attributes it to मद्य ग्रहण श्रीति (if the ms. was properly read by the editor). हिदुप on मा. 22.6 ascribes it to मद्य alone.
was a kṣatriya or a vaiśya or a śūdra he had to perform the penance above described respectively for 24, 36 or 48 years (Smarthasāra p. 105). Instead of staying in a hut for twelve years he may stay at the end of a village or a cowpen and should tonsure his head and the hair on the lips or he may stay in an hermitage or at the foot of a tree and should devote himself to doing good to brāhmaṇas and cows and should observe celibacy (Manu XI. 78 and 81). At the end of 12 years he destroys the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder.

(2) According to Ap. Dh. S. I. 9.25.12, Gaut 22. 3, Manu XI. 72, Yāj. III. 248, if a kṣatriya intentionally killed a brāhmaṇa he may at his will enter a fight and if he were killed by his opponents who knew that he was a brāhmaṇa murderer or even if he was wounded and left unconscious on the field but subsequently recovered he should be free from the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder.

(3) According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25.13, Vas. 20. 25–26, Gaut. 22.2, Manu XI. 74, Yāj. III. 247, he may cut off with an axe his hair, skin, blood, flesh, muscles, fat, bones and marrow and offer them into an ordinary fire kindled by him for the purpose and offer these eight offerings into it for Death (Mṛtyu) as the deity and then throw himself into fire (thrice with head downwards, according to Manu XI. 73). This penance is for intentional murder of a brāhmaṇa by a kṣatriya accord to the Madanapārijāta and Bhavisyapurāṇa q. by Pr. Prakāsha folio 95 a.

(4)—(3) The murderer of a brāhmaṇa may perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice or Gosava or Abhijit or Viśvajit or the threefold Agnistūt (Manu XI. 74). The Aśvamedha could be performed only by a king or an emperor (samarāj). The others could be performed by any one belonging to the three higher classes. This applies only where the murder was unintentional as stated by Kullūka following the Bhavisyapurāṇa.26 Visnu

215. अग्नि सिन्धुजालिनीसिन्धुजालिनी। यदी वा लोमाने सबं योगाणित हावप्रभावति यावेदित। आप. पा. ध. 1. 9. 25.13 : भुजाद्रिशुससमाधवय उदाहावेन। लोमाने पुरुषोधनस्वतीयोद्धा वातेय हर्षिष्ठलय इति प्राणधोल।....मण्डः पुरुषोधनस्वतीयोद्धा मण्डः पुरुषोधनस्वती वातेय यहनेन। पशिंद 20.25–26. When पा. III. 247 prescribes that he should utter the mantra: लोम, the verse is बुद्ध यो लोम, लोम and all others are the आह्विन.

216. तथुवेत सहितपूरणे-सज्जितादि यदी ब्रजेण कर्मणि पृथगाते। आन्तः विवक्षितानि वचे यज्ञनित्रिताः। कुलकृत on मनु XI. 74. For the Aśvamedha, vide H. of Dh.

(Continued on the next page)
dharmasūtra (chap. 35 last verse) states that all persons guilty of any of the mahāpātakas are purified by the performance of Aśvamedha or by going to all the tīrthas on the earth.

(9) Manu XI. 75 provides that for the removal of the sin of brahmahatyā, the sinner may walk one hundred yojanas, subsisting on limited food, controlling his senses and reciting one of the four Vedas. Kullūka says that this applies only where the killing is unintentional and the victim is a mere brāhmaṇa by caste (i.e. has not studied the Veda &c.). For yojana, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 145 note 185.217.

(10) Manu XI. 76 provides that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa may make a gift of all his wealth to a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda.

(11) Manu XI. 76 and Yāj. III. 250 provide that the murderer may donate to a worthy brāhmaṇa (who has studied the Veda and whose character is good) as much wealth as would suffice to maintain the latter throughout his life and a house with all paraphernalia. This is the view of Govindānanda. But the Mit. on Yāj. III. 250 appears to hold that Nos. 10 and 11 are not separate penances. It combines the two into one, viz. that if the murderer has no offspring then he was to donate all his wealth or if he had offspring he was to donate a house with paraphernalia. This explanation is certainly preferable. The Śṛṇyatthasāra (p. 105) states that if the murderer is devoid of qualities but is well-off he may give a house and lands sufficient for the maintenance of a worthy brāhmaṇa or he may donate a house with appurtenances or if he be childless all his wealth.

(12) Manu XI. 77 218 and Yāj. III. 249 provide that the murderer subsisting on sacrificial food (such as nīvara, milk or

(Continued from the last page)

vol. II. 1228–1237. The Viśvajit and Abhijit are ekāhas and the first and last rites of the Aṣtārātra and Abhijit follow the procedure of soma sacrifice. Vide Jai. VI 7. 14 and VIII. 1. 16 and Aśv. Sr. VIII. 5. 13. In the Viśvajit one has to make a gift of all his wealth: vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1212 n. 2644. For Gosava and Agniṣṭūt vide note 153 above.

217. तथा च भविष्यस्यात्मेरक्षेत: पश्चिम्ब्रह्मायां-जातिमां प्रति तथा इत्ययतिक्षिप्तस्य | भविष्यात्मेराहिष्ठी संकेतमुदायिः कृत्यलयम् सुप्रवृत्त मन्त्र XI.75.

218. 'हि' प्रत्यायक्ष्यात्रार्थाक्षेत्रः सस्तनीमिव. मन्त्र XI.77; भविष्याधिकार हेतु: 'इत्ययतिक्षिप्तस्य तथा इत्ययतिक्षिप्तस्य भविष्यात्मेराहिष्ठी संकेतमुदायिः।' प्रत्याधिकार हेतु: संकेतम् मन्त्र XI.77; भविष्याधिकार हेतु: 'इत्ययतिक्षिप्तस्य तथा इत्ययतिक्षिप्तस्य भविष्यात्मेराहिष्ठी संकेतमुदायिः।' प्रत्याधिकार हेतु: संकेतम् मन्त्र XI.77. (Continued on the next page)
Prāyaścittas for brāhmaṇa-murder

should follow the course of the (holy) river Sarasvatt in all its branches. This, acc. to the Bhavisyapuruṣa and Kullūka, applies where a mere brāhmaṇa by caste (without Vedic learning) is killed intentionally by a man who is himself rich but has no Vedic learning. The words 'pratisrotaḥ sarasvatīm' have been variously explained. Medhātithi explains as above. Aparārka, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa and Rāghavaṇanda explain that the murderer should follow the course of the Sarasvatt in the opposite direction from the sea to its origin. This appears to be a better explanation, since it brings out the force of 'pratisrotaḥ' more clearly.

(13) It is provided by Manu XI. 77 and Yāj. III. 249 that the murderer should recite in a forest thrice the saṃhṛtī text of the Veda, while subsisting on limited food. The express mention of saṃhṛtī text precludes the pada text or krama. The Bhavisyapuruṣa and Kullūka hold that this penance is proper where a mere brāhmaṇa by birth (without Vedic learning) is killed unintentionally.

Manu XI. 79, Yāj. III. 244 and 246, Vas. 20, 27-28 and Gaut. 22. 7-8 and 11 mention three more penances, but they are not independent ones (as is made clear by Śaṅkha). If a murderer, while undergoing the 12 years' penance, fights him who attacks a brāhmaṇa and saves him (or fights for the king, acc. to Vas.) or dies in the attempt, he becomes at once free from the sin and if he lives after the fight he had not to continue the penance for the whole period. The same applies to the saving of 12 cows by the murderer by putting his own life in danger. Similarly, if a murderer fights a marauder depriving a brāhmaṇa of all his wealth and restores the wealth to a brāhmaṇa or dies in the attempt or is severely wounded (thrice acc. to Yāj. Vas. and Gaut.) and is unable to restore the wealth to the brāhmaṇa he becomes free from the grave sin of brāhmaṇa murder.

(Continued from the last page)

For the sacredness of the Sarasvatt, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 13-15 and later on under śīrhas.

219. अन्तराद त्वा भाग्यं मोचयेत् कर्मं ब्रह्मचार्यं परिवर्तति।

By śubhakāra on p. 22.14 and śūkṣma on p. III. 244.
Manu XI. 82, Yāj. III. 244, Śākha and Gaut. 22.9 lay down that if the murderer of a brāhmaṇa announces his sin when the king and priests have met together for the ceremonial bath after the Āsvamedha sacrifice and being permitted by them bathes along with them, he becomes free from the sin. According to Haradatta this is an independent penance, while according to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 244, Aparārka p. 1057 and others it is not so but is to be performed while undergoing the 12 years' penance.

Yāj. III. 245 provides that if the murderer treats and cures a brāhmaṇa or a cow (or cows) lying helpless on the public road suffering from a long-standing and serious ailment he becomes free from the sin.

Parāśara (XII. 65–67) prescribes for brahmahatyā the penance of going to the sea and Rāma's bridge, begging and declaring on the way one's sin, walking without an umbrella or shoes and residing in cowpens, forests, tirthās and river streams; on seeing the setu he was to bathe in the ocean and on return to feed brāhmaṇas at a dinner and to donate 100 cows to learned brāhmaṇas.

There are other penances for brahmahatyā mentioned by Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa and others quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1064–1065) and others which are passed over here for want of space.

If a brāhmaṇa killed his own father, mother, full brother, his teacher of the Veda, a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda or has consecrated sacred Vedic fires, he had to undergo penance till his last breath (acc. to Pr. Prakarana p. 13 quoting Bhavisyapurāṇa, Pr. V. pp. 70–71, Smītimuktāphala Pr. p. 873 quoting Dakṣa III. 27–28 and Ap. Dh. S. I.9.24). If a man killed a priest that was engaged at a soma sacrifice the penance was double (Yāj. III. 252). The Pr. Prakarana (p. 13) says that this means that the murderer should perform 12 years' penance and then donate cows in proportion to the difference between his
age at the time of finishing twelve years and 120 years (which is regarded as the highest limit of life). If a person strikes a 
brahmaṇa intending to kill him but only injures him he should 
perform the ṛtala for brahmahatya (acc. to Yāj. III. 252, Gaut. 
22.11). The Mit. explains that this is an extension (atideśa) of 
the rules about brahmahatya and so the penance is a little less 
than the full one (i.e. 9 years). Where certain sins are said 
to be equal (sama) to brahmahatya or surāpāṇa, the penance for 
them is half of what is prescribed for the latter. If a person 
intending to commit suicide by entering water or fire or by 
hanging himself or by taking poison or by falling from a 
precipice or the dome of a temple or by cutting his belly with a 
weapon or by fasting, does not die, but luckily lives, he has to 
undergo a práyaścitta for three years (acc. to Pr. Prakaraṇa 
p. 15). Vas. 23.18–19 and Parāśara XII.5–8 prescribe other 
práyaścittas for such persons (who are styled ‘pratyavasita’); 
Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 15) and Pr. V. (p. 75) quote two verses 
of Yama,221a for nine kinds of pratyavasita and prescribe 
Cāndrayāṇa or two Taptakṛčhras for them.

If a ksatriya, vaiśya or sūdra intentionally and directly 
killed a brahmaṇa, the expiation was death, but otherwise each 
liad respectively to undergo twice, thrice or four times as much 
práyaścitta as a brahmaṇa sinner would have had to undergo 
for killing a brahmaṇa.222 Conversely, if a brahmaṇa killed a 
ksatriya or vaiśya or a sūdra the sin was only an upapātaka 
(acc. to Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66), unless the ksatriya or 
vaiśya victim was engaged in performing a soma sacrifice. 
(Śamavidhāna Br. I. 7. 5, Yāj. III 251, Vas. 20. 34) when the 
penance was heavy. Yāj. III, 266–267, Manu XI, 126–130 and 
Ap. Dh. S. I.9,24. 1–4 prescribe other penances for killing a 
ksatriya, a vaiśya or a sūdra. The penance for a ksatriya:

221 a जलार्गपुडा धनकड़या: मद्यप्रयासकदयोताम: विनायकपत्नीप्रतिभाजर्तास्य वेय जमीते धिनयोतातः सर्वोदयानिधि:। 
\[\text{Prakāraṇa, p. 15.}\]

222 माथ. मः p. 16 says: सर्वा श्राक्षिडिनी तस्माक्षिडिनी विक्रमश्राक्षिदिनी विक्रमशिल्लकनिष्ठ\। 
\[\text{Ibid. p. 74 (which quotes Śrīśāsturi): “माथ. मः p. 75 (which quotes Śrīśāsturi) that quotes the verses of अवक्षिदिनी, गृहरसर्वा p. 105, गृहस्तितः (मः) p. 873. चारा- 
मः. II part 2 p. 74 and मः मयास (folios 94:a) quote a verse of भ्रमणविवर्तक, भ्रमणविवर्तक (मः) p. 75.} \]
killing a kṣatriya is a little less (i.e. by 2) than the penance for a brāhmaṇa killing a kṣatriya. Vide the verse ‘vīpre tu sakalam deyam’ quoted above (note 192).

Women victims were placed on the same footing as kṣatriya, vaisya and śūdra males (Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66), except the cases where the woman was an Ātreyī or pregnant or in her monthly illness (Gaut. 22.17, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 5 and 9, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1.10, 12-13, Vas. 20.34, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 50. 7–9) or the wife of a twice-born performing a soma sacrifice, when the penance was heavy (like the one for brahmahatya). The period of soma-yāga was reckoned from the Dikṣāniyā Īṣṭā to the Uḍaivasūniyā (acc. to the Mit.) or up to the end of avaḥṛtha bath (acc. to Aparārka). For killing women guilty of adultery the penances were higher and varied according to the casts of the paramour and of the woman (vide Gaut. 22.26–27, Manu XI. 138, Yaj. III. 268–269).

Manu (XI. 208=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54.30) and Yāj. III. 293 prescribe that for threatening to beat or strike a brāhmaṇa the penance is kṛcchra, for striking him it is Ati-kṛcchra, for shedding his blood a Kṛcchra and Atikṛcchra. The Śāmadhāna Br. I. 7. 4 prescribes other penances (i.e. recitation of certain sūman texts) for these.

Gaut. 23.1, 223 Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 25.3, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 21., Vas. 20.22, Manu XI. 90–91, Yāj. III. 253 and Bṛhaspati prescribe that if a brāhmaṇa drinks intentionally spirituous liquor prepared from flour even once he has to undergo a penance that ends in death, viz. he has to drink that liquor boiling hot or to drink boiling hot cow’s urine, milk, ghee, water or liquid cow-dung, and when his body has been completely scalded thereby and he dies he becomes free from that sin. Some like Haradatta on Gaut. 23. 1 hold that this horrible penance is meant for one who knowingly and repeatedly drinks surā (manufactured from rice flour). Manu XI. 92 and Yāj. III. 254 prescribe another penance in place of the one ending in death viz. that the sinner should eat during one year (during three

223. तरापोतिक्षिता हरूण विपित्त। आय. ध. सं 1. 9. 25. 3; तरापर ब्राह्मणसादि-
कानासिदेषु: हरतमार शुष्क: हरतेत। नी. 23. 1; तरापर वामसंख्य नवस्त्वाति तत्तत्त्विकैपि तद्यथा।
हरते तथा विनिर्मिते शुष्कः: द्राक्षिणसादुपलः: शुष्कस्यमि पु. ब्यौहिता:। भ. III. 253; अवयापि
p. 1071; वार. पप. 43; गत्या धार्मिकास्य सर्वाविवेर्य नारायत:। विषये हर्दपरेनापि वामातिकादि.
पु. 4 कार्याऽर्थेऽवस्ति:। भ. III. 253; ब्यौहिता:। भ. III. 253;
years, acc. to Yāj.) once (a day) at night the (boiled) small grains of rice, or oilecake, should wear clothes made of cow's hair, should have matted hair on his head and carry a flagstaff (with a wine cup thereon). The same rules apply to a ksatriya or vaiśya drinking surā (manufactured from rice flour). Only they have as stated above (in note 192) to undergo three-fourths and one-half respectively of the penance for a brāhmaṇa sinner. This penance was to be undertaken after vomiting the contents of the stomach. According to the Madanaparijāta (p. 818), Pr. V. p. 104, Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 43, Mit. (on Yāj. III. 24) and other works the twelve years' penance is meant for one who drinks surā (made from flour) through ignorance or force. According to Gaut. 23. 2-3, Yāj. III. 255, Manu. XI. 146, Atri 75, for drinking intoxicants or human semen, ordure or urine through ignorance a person of the three first classes had first to undergo the penance called Taptakrēchra and then his upanayana was again performed. Vaisistha 20.19 prescribes for drinking any intoxicant unintentionally the penances of Kṛcchra and Atikrēchra, the drinking of ghee and the performing of upanayana again. There is great divergence of views about Manu XI. 146 and Yāj. III. 255 which is passed over here. Brhaspati 224 quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and others prescribes that a brāhmaṇa who drinks surā prepared from raw sugar, flour and honey (or madhūka flowers) should respectively undergo Taptakrēchra, Parāka and Cāndrāyana. This light penance is restricted acc. to the Mit. and others to cases where surā is drunk for curing a malady which no other medicine could cure. If a brāhmaṇa drank surā (not manufactured from flour) or any other intoxicant, various easy penances were prescribed for him (such as undergoing Cāndrāyana on a river falling into the sea, feeding brāhmaṇas and donating a cow and a bull to the brāhmaṇas, Parāśara XII. 75-76). Vide Yāj. III. 255 and the Mit. thereon. Ksatriyas and vaiśyas incurred no sin by drinking intoxicants other than surā (made from flour) and the śūdra incurred no sin even by drinking surā of the

224. गोवि वैद्य तथा मार्शिनी पीला सिम समान्येतु । तस्क्राणीः पराकवं च वार्ष्ण्य: ।

H. D. 13
paiśṭi variety. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) holds that since Manu XI. 93 generally forbids the drinking of surā on the part of brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas and vaiśyas the prohibition applies even to boys who have not undergone the rite of upanayana and girls who are not yet married and adds that for drinking surā the child has to undergo only one-fourth penance (for 3 years) if the offence was unintentional and double of that (6 years) if it was intentional (vide also Pr. prakaraṇa p. 48). The Kalpataru, it appears, held, relying on Gaut. II. 1 (‘before upanayana a child may do as it pleases as regards behaviour, speech and eating’), that no sin (doṣa) was incurred by a child before upanayana and by a girl before marriage for drinking surā. The Pr. V. (p. 104) and Pr. Prakāśa criticize the Kalpataru for this view.225 As Brhaspati states (vide n. 188 above) the license allowed by Gautama is limited by the Mit. and other digests to the partaking of sour or stale drinks and the like and is not extended to drinking surā which is a mahāpātaka. Jātukarpya226 (q. by the Par. M.) provides that if a boy whose upanayana has not been performed drinks an intoxicant (madhya) through foolishness, his father, mother or brother should perform three kṛcchras as an expiation for him. Āngiras (Jiv. p. 557), Āpāstambha-smṛti III. 7, Laghu-Harita 34–35, Brhad-yamaṇa III. 1–2 also provide that a pratimādhi (brother, father, friend) may undergo an expiation for a boy who is himself unable to do so or is less than eleven and above five years of age.

The Āśv. gr. (I. 22.22–26)227 prescribes what is to be done and what is to be omitted in punar-upanayana. It provides that the rites of the cutting of the hair and the production of intelligence are optional, there are no express rules about giving the person in charge (of the deities) and as to the time, and the verse to be recited as the Sāvitrī is Rgveda V. 82.1 instead of the usual Gāyatrī (tatsavitur-vareṇyam, Rg. III. 62.10).

225. अन्य उपभोज्यांकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरूपमकाण्डारस्वरू
Vasiṣṭha 20.18 quotes Manu XI. 151 on this point and Viṣṇu (Dh. S. 51.4–5) in prose is to the same effect. Viṣṇu (Dh. S. 51.2–3) provides Candrayana for drinking any of the (twelve) unclean excreta of the body (Manu V. 134) or any of the several kinds of intoxicating drinks and for eating garlic or onion or red garlic or any plant having a similar flavour or the flesh of village pigs, of tamed cocks, of apes and of cows and then adds (in śūtra 4) that they (the sinners) must undergo fresh upanayana also. The śṛṇtis provide different prāyaścitās for various lapses about drinking and eating such as drinking water from a pot which had already been used for holding sūrā, for drinking water from the water vessel of a cāndāla or of a washerman or from a śūdra's house or for drinking milk which should not be drunk (Gaut. 17.22–26, Yāj. I. 170, Manu V. 8–10), for eating forbidden food, which must be passed over here, because they are too many and too various and depend on circumstances for their application as observed by the Pr. V. and because they are now of academic interest alone. Some reference, however, may be made to show how some of these lapses were treated. Śaṅkha states that there are many articles that are allowed or forbidden to men, particularly to brāhmaṇas and in cases of transgressions the decision rests with the śiśus (the parīṣad of respectable people). Brhaspati (quoted by Aparārka) prescribes that in the case of the partaking of things that should not be licked or drunk or eaten or in case of taking in human semen, urine or ordure, the penance of a candrayana is the purification. Some of the sages such as Śaṁvarta, Śaṅkha-likhita took a lenient view, prescribed Candrayana even for eating cow's flesh and human flesh.

228. नामव चात्र भूतकालार्थिन | वापन मेलाका घडी मेलाय्यं बतानि च | एवाति | त निलचाये पुनःसंक्षिप्ताचम्यस || इति | वसिद 20. 18. The verse is in Tika XII. 151.

229. यांनि पाल्यावी शुद्धस्तीर्यवी कालि अंब्रविन्याने अपैषाने मुख्यायाविन्याने वानि कामकामलकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालकालk

339. The verse is quoted by Tika. Ma. II part 1 p. 462.

230. अर्थाँत्यामेषवास्तवप्रक्ष्यां च मद्वेदे | रत्नांमुखार्यानां शुद्धिशास्त्रायानां सत्याः ||


231. नोमानां महानां चात्र सुनिःस्तासांगायां ||

अभिंशं तन्त्रेऽवल्लेश्वर चाबायां

चरे च संस्ते 197 q. by Anurāhā p. 1165, Tika. Ma. II part 1 p. 367; नोमानांमहानां

वत्तं नानात्वत्तं नानात्वत्तं

संस्ते 197 q. by Anurāhā p. 1166, Tika. Ma. II part 1 p. 368; vide Ma. 23. 4–5, वसिद 23. 30, मद्व तिस्तके 51. 3–4 for similar provisions.
The general rule stated by the Sāma. Br. I. 5.13, Manu XI. 160 and others is that one desirous of inner purity should not eat forbidden food, that if he eats it through ignorance he should make efforts to vomit it and if that is impossible he should quickly take some ṗrayaścitta (which is slight in the case of ignorance). It may be mentioned that even from very ancient times exceptions were recognised to the prohibitions against the partaking of forbidden food. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad (I.10) narrates the story of Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa, who when the country of the Kuruś had been devastated by hailstones (or by locusts), begged (along with his very young wife) of a chief eating beans and took from the latter the beans that had been put away for the chief (and so were ucchīṣṭa), but when asked to take water for drinking meant for the chief replied that if he drank of it he would be drinking what was unclean, since he could get water whenever he liked. This Vedic passage indicates that even unclean things may be eaten when there is distress (āpad) or danger to life, but that when there is no distress or danger even one who has knowledge of brahmavidyā should not violate the injunctions of śāstra about eating. The Vedāntasūtra (III.4.28) has an aphorism on this incident. Manu X.104 provides that he who, when in danger of losing his life, accepts food from any person whatsoever is not tainted by sin as the sky is not tainted by mud. Manu then refers (X.105-108) to the stories of Ajīgarta who, when famished, approached for slaying his own son, of the sage Vāmadeva who when tormented by hunger desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life and did not sully himself, of Bharadvāja who when distressed by hunger along with his son in a lonely forest accepted many cows from the carpenter Vṛdhu (Bṛhu?) or of Viśvāmitra who, well knowing what was right or wrong, proceeded, when tormented by hunger, to eat the haunch of a dog, receiving it from the hands of a Cāndāla.  

---

232. स हेमयं कुस्ताप्यन्नादन्ते शिबिः स तथा हेमयं न्यावथाये क्षिपस्य पद्ध ते म हुभ उपासिताल होस्यां। एवं एवं क्षिपस्य पद्ध तात्सां भद्विः हताधुप्यन्तिद्विन्याजे ये म हुभ उपासिताल होस्यां।

232a For the legend of Ajīgarta, vide Aitareya Br. VII.13-16 (or 33.1 ff) and H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 563-64, 660, 663. In Rg. VI 45.31-33 Bṛhu is described as the carpenter of the Panis and his liberality is highly praised. For Viśvāmitra trying to steal from a hamlet of Cāndālas a dog's leg, when famished, vide Śāntiparva 141.26-96
For eating the flesh of various birds Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 29 and 31 and others prescribe fasting for three days or one day and also for eating several varieties of fish (Viṣṇu 51.31).

We may now revert to the penances for the other Mahāpātakas. It has already been seen how the thief that had stolen a brāhmaṇa’s gold of a certain weight was to approach the king with a club (p. 73 above). Even Ap. Dh. S. I.9.25.4 refers to this and prescribes as an option (Ap. Dh. S. I.9.25.6–7) entering into fire as an expiation for theft or starving oneself by reducing the intake of food. Therefore, the penance for the theft of brāhmaṇa’s gold of the weight of 80 raktikās or more (Manu VIII. 134 and Yāj. I.363) was death for the offenders of all varṇas, except a brāhmaṇa offender, who clad in rags (or bark garment) was to undergo a penance in a forest for twelve years of the same kind as for brāhmaṇa murder (Manu XI. 101) or for the drinking of surū prepared from flour (Yāj. III. 258). The offender may also give as much gold (if he is rich) as his own weight or as much wealth as would be required for the maintenance of a brāhmaṇa’s family for the latter’s lifetime (Yāj. III. 258 and Mit. thereon). The Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25.8 provides the observance of the penance of Kṛchra for one year (as defined in Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.27.7–8) and quotes a verse “those who have committed a theft (of gold), drunk spirituous liquor, or had connection with a guru’s wife, but not those who have slain a brāhmaṇa, shall eat every fourth meal-time a little food, bathe thrice a day, pass the day standing and the night sitting; after the lapse of three years they cast off their sins.”

The digests contain numerous and varying explications for theft depending upon the weight of gold stolen, upon the qualities of the man robbed and of the thief, upon the caste of both, upon whether it is a first offence or a repeated one, on the price and nature of the thing stolen and on the time and place and so on. Vide Pr. V. pp. 117–127, Pr. Sāra p. 49, Madanapārījata pp. 828–834, Śrītyārthasāra pp. 108–109, Śrītmuktāphala pp. 883–885. These have to be passed over here for reasons of space.

If the gold stolen (even from a brāhmaṇa) was less than 80 raktikās or if gold of any weight was stolen from a kṣatriya

---

232 b. जिनकृत्सनित्या वा परेद्। अभासुप्रदेशिनः। शैवं हुल्ला हुल्ला शैवर्ष गना मद्वियप्रजाहिता चतुर्वेदीस्तिष्कोट्योनः। सत्तोत्तमेः। समाधानत्वम्। स्वागा जीन्धर्मं विभवत्व एते ज्ञनिर्देशाय परं गुरुस्ते। आप. द. 3. 9. 25. 8-10.
or any other non-brāhmaṇa, the expiation would be as one for an upapātaka. Manu (XI. 163-168 = Matsyapurāṇa 227. 41-47) and Viṣṇu 52. 5-13 prescribe various penances such as kṛcchra for a year for the theft of corn or cooked food or wealth; cāndrāyana for abducting men and women (slaves) or for appropriating a field or house and the water of wells and cisterns; sāntapana for thefts of objects of small value; pañcagavya for stealing eatables of various kinds or a vehicle or a bed or a seat or flowers or roots and fruits; fasting for three days and nights in the case of theft of grass, wood, trees, dry food, molasses, clothes, leather (or armour) and flesh; subsisting for twelve days on small grains of rice for stealing gems, pearls, coral, copper, silver, iron, bell-metal or stones; subsisting on milk alone for the theft of cotton, silk, wool, animals with cloven hoofs (cows &c.) or uncloven hoofs (horses &c.), birds, perfumes, medicinal herbs or a rope (used for drawing water). It must be remembered as stated above (p. 74) that the thief had to restore to the owner the thing stolen and then undergo a penance (Manu XI.164 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 52.14) and Medhātithi (on Manu XI. 164) adds that if he is unable to restore the thing (or its price) the penance is to be double. Besides, in certain cases of theft if corporal punishment or death was not inflicted by the king, the thief was fined eleven times the price of the thing stolen (Manu VIII. 321, 323, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 5.82).

Steeya (theft) is of two kinds, by force (such as robbery and dacoity and called sāhasa) and by clandestine means. In the former case the penance goes on increasing (twice, thrice) according as the offender is a kṣatriya or vaiśya (parśadya brāhmaṇaṁ, quoted above, Par. M. II part I p.231.). In the case of theft by clandestine means if the owner whose gold or wealth is stolen is a brāhmaṇa and the thief a kṣatriya or vaiśya, then also the penance must be higher than for a brāhmaṇa thief (since, as, Nārada says in his chapter on sāhasa verse 16, the wealth belonging to idols, brāhmaṇas and kings is the best). But conversely, if the owner of stolen property is of lower class than the thief then the verse of Brhad-Viṣṇu (‘vipre tu sakalam deyam,’ quoted above in note 192) will apply.

233. विनाशितावतस्कड़कायम् तु क्षत्रियाविदेशसर्वदूसरायमहतः प्रशस्तः। किं च क्षत्रियभूतसंसारप्रायायमेव साहसेऽपितवामस्वन्तस्य देशाय इत्यादि। नित्यान्तिकपि मायाधितासिद्धे पुनः । तथा सर्वसां विचित्रवामस्य। स्मितः । on pa. III 257.
The penance for incest with the guru’s wife was prescribed from very ancient times as follows: Gaut. 231 23, 8–11, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9,35, 1–2, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 14–16 (almost in the same words as in Gaut), Vas. 20, 13–14, Manu XI. 103–104 prescribe that the offender shall confess his guilt and then extend himself on a red-hot iron bed or embrace the red-hot iron image of a woman or having himself cut off his organ and testicles and having taken them in his joined hands may walk straight towards the south or south-west until he falls down dead and that he becomes purified by death. According to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 259 the three are not distinct penances, but that two of them, viz. embracing the red-hot iron image of a woman and sleeping on a bed of red hot iron form one penance. The words of Yāj. no doubt convey that the two together are one penance (viz. sleeping on red hot bed and clinging to a red hot image). Others like the Madanapārājā (p. 837), Medhātithi 235 on Manu XI. 103 do not accept this interpretation. The latter moreover relies on Gautama who employs the word ‘vā’ (or) in the two latter of his three sūtras on this point. The Pr. V. (p. 138) points out this difference between Gaut. and Yāj. Manu XI. 58 and 170–71, Yāj. III. 231, Saimvarta 159 regard sexual intercourse with a friend’s wife or a maiden of a higher caste and the wives of one’s son or of sagotras and women born of the same womb (sister &c.) or with an antyaja woman as equal to gurutapagamama and the penance is only a little less than for the latter. Manu XI. 105 and Yāj. III. 260 prescribe a penance (other than one ending in death), viz. that the sinner should dwell in a tenantless forest, allow his beard to grow, should wear tattered garments and practise Prājapata Kṛechra for one year (three years &c. to Yāj.). The commentators say that this was meant where the sin was committed by mistake. Manu XI. 106 and Yāj. III. 260 provide another penance viz. Cāndrāyana for three months, Manu prescribing that the sinner should subsist on sacrificial food (fruits, roots or niśāra grain) or on barley gruel and Yāj. adding that he should recite for the three months the Vedasāṃhitā. The commentators say that this applies in cases where the guru’s wife is of a lower varṇa or of the śudra class.

234. तसे तोइसपने सत्त्वमः: भरते। शुरुः वा स्वपूजयेन्नन्नम्। निक्रोच वा सत्त्वमुत्त्वत्वशिष्यायाय दुस्मिष्ठान्तिकी वज्जेबस्निम्मव शरीरपतमस्। मित्र. 23.8–10.

235. आश्रयस्यो ततेऽऽवस्थितस्यपरं सत्त्वम्। समाजनासियो वामानि श्रीमानि पाराधितानि कर्मद्। येनाधिकाः ब्येण। मनु XI.103.
Parāśara (X. 10-11) provides three different prāyaścittas, viz. excision of the organ, three kṛcchras or three cāndrāyanas if a man commits incest with his mother, sister, or daughter and in X. 12-14 prescribes other penances for adultery with other near female relatives. The Mit. on Yāj. III 259 quotes Śaṅkha for twelve years’ penance for all four kinds of Mahāpātakas, which applies acc. to it to intercourse with guru’s wife of the same class. It is not necessary to quote further smṛti passages which vary greatly as to the extent of the penance. Manu XI. 178 (= Viśṇu Dh. S. 53, 9 = Agnipurāṇa 169, 41), Śānti 165. 29 state that the sin which a twice-born man commits by sexual intercourse for one night with a uṛgali (a cāndāla woman) is removed by him by the penance of subsisting on alms for three years and reciting mantras (like the Gāyatrī). Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 27. 11 has a somewhat similar verse about a brāhmaṇa’s intercourse with a śudra woman. Yāj. III. 233 prescribes for women death as a legal penalty and the same prāyaścitta as for a male if a man has sexual intercourse with his paternal or maternal aunt, or daughter-in-law, maternal uncle’s wife and others (enumerated above) with their consent. Manu XI. 175 (= Laghu-Śatapatā 155 = Agnipurāṇa 169. 38) holds that a brāhmaṇa, who has sexual intercourse with a cāndāla woman or mleccha woman or dines with cāndālas or mlecchas or accepts gifts from them, has to perform penance as if he were patita if he unknowingly did these things, and becomes like them by committing these sins knowingly. Compare Vasiṣṭha 23. 41, Viśṇu Dh. S. 53. 5-6.

If a woman be guilty of a Mahāpātaka the general rule stated by Manu XI. 176 (latter half), Kātyāyana and Brhaspati was that whatever penance was prescribed for a male in cases of adultery with other’s wives the same was to be administered to women in case of adultery with males. In this parti-

---

236. ब्रह्मी in सति XI.177 is explained as चण्डाली by कुमक and मित्र on या. III.260, which quotes a smṛti verse ‘चण्डाली चरवें वेदयो ब्राह्मण च त्यजयता। उद्ध यथा त संगीता।’ राजायमि understands ब्रह्मी as ब्रह्मी; vide Pr. Prakāsa folio 111 b for this difference.

237. ब्रह्माण्डल विनय सत्रीया पति चण्डाल वर्ग ब्राह्मण... राजायमि 165.29 reads ‘विनयायम्’ and ‘सत्रीयायम्’ विनयायम् विनयायम् सत्रीयायम् विनयायम्।

238. यद्यपि प्रभृतिसमे यथास्थितत्वस्य चण्डाल परम् कृत्याय चण्डालविनयायम्। यद्यपि ब्रह्मा विनय प्राणोद्विक्तम् समाकारणो यद्यपि ब्रह्मकृत्याय चण्डालविनयायम्। कारणो व. 371. यद्यपि ब्रह्मार्पणम् विनयायम् विनयायम् विनयायम्।
cular case the rule about half penance being prescribed for women did not hold good when a woman with full knowledge committed adultery and half penance was to be prescribed only where the adultery was through mistake. A similar rule was laid down by Āṅgirāsa. If a woman became patita and did not undergo pṛayaścittta she could be excommunicated by the process called ghaṭasphoṭa (described in H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 615–616 and 1009). But there was a difference between a male and a woman in this respect. A woman, however, was not to be altogether abandoned on the street and left to fare for herself, though she be patita, but she was to be lodged in a cottage thatched with grass near the house and was to be guarded against further lapses and given bare maintenance (enough to keep body and soul together) and (dirty) clothes (Yāj. III. 296, Manu XI. 176). There were certain acts, however, which were specially condemned in women (Yāj. III. 297) viz. sexual intercourse with a man of a lower class, causing abortion and killing the husband. Vas. 21. 10 provides that four classes of women may be altogether abandoned (and not given even starving maintenance &c.) viz, a woman who has sexual intercourse with (her husband’s) pupil or with his guru or one who kills her husband or one who sexually approaches a man of a lower degraded class. Women, however patita they may be, were to be dealt with as stated in Yāj. III. 296 even if they did not perform any penance. Vas. 21.12 states that women of the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya and vaisya classes, if guilty of sexual intercourse with a śūdra, can be purified by penance if they do not give birth to a child, but not those others (who give birth to a child born of the condemned connection). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 946–949 for penance and other matters in relation to adultery by men and women.

It is now necessary to turn to the penance for association with those that are guilty of grave sins (mahāpātākas). Manu XI. 181, Visnu Dh. S. 54.1, Yāj. III. 261 provide that whoever associates with (for a year, acc. to Yāj.) a person guilty of one

---

238a. तत्र पद्मोऽदिन्तु पंचमां पतितविनिवेशणात् । तत्रापि कार्यमेवूर्त्तं पतितासंवेचनात्
विषयः अधिकर्षयो भये गृहीष्टप्राक्षो ।

239. चतुर्दशोऽदिन्तु परिवर्जना: विषयमुक्ता च या । पतिती च विरूढ़कार्या ज्ञातिसौऽवसानता
च या व पसिद् 21.10 q. by the सिंहा, on या. III. 297 and अपारके p. 1208 on या.
I. 72. The सिंहा attributes the verse to श्रापस and explains अधिकृत as 'पतितोदपकड़कर्ताराः'. The सूत्रकारिका explains as 'कृतिः' 'पतितोदपकड़कर्ताः'. The श्रापस p. 374 attributes it to अधिकृत and explains 'अधिकृत: कृतिः हीणयतः'.

H. D., 14
of the four mahāpātakas has to undergo the vrata (the observances) prescribed for that grave sinner in order to free himself from the sin of association. Kullūka, the Pr. sāra (p. 61) and others state that the penance here referred to is the one for twelve years and not death since it is the word vrata that is employed by Manu and vrata does not ordinarily convey the idea of death.240 If the association was due to ignorance the penance was half. Vyāsa prescribed 211 for the knowing associator ⅛ths of the penance provided for the sinner himself. According to the Pr. V. (p. 171) there was no difference in the extent of the penance for association with a sinner in the case of a brāhmaṇa 212 and a śūdra, though in other cases penance was reduced by one quarter for each varṇa. If the association was for less than one year, then the penance was proportionately reduced. Not only was the patita condemned but even his son born after he became patita and he was excluded from inheritance. But the daughter of a patita was treated differently and she could be married without any stigma being attached to the husband. Vide Vas. 13.51–53, Yāj. III. 261, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 73–74, Hārīta q. by Pr. V. p. 174 and Pr. prakāraṇa p. 110 and H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 614–616.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. (chap. 36) speaks of certain sins as anupātakas which are declared by Manu (XI. 55–58) and Yāj. (III. 228–233) to be equal to or like one or other of the mahāpātakas and provides that those guilty of them become pure by Āśvamedha sacrifice or by resorting to pilgrimages. It has also been seen that such sins are removed by the penances that are slightly less (i. e. by ⅛th) than those for the mahāpātakas themselves.

The penances for upapātakas must now be briefly dealt with. The number of upapātakas is very large and it is of no practical importance to deal with each of them separately.

First of all, some general rules about them will be stated and

240. अनु स ब्रह्मसाधिता पुरापि कामको धमाष्टिकालकालिनानां संसारिकीननानां वैदिकम्। स तस्मात् तस्य कुप्पोत्तित्वात् तत्रवैविवेदितात्। संसारिकां तथा समस्ताविषयानां भविष्यत्। अतोत्स कामस्तेतिपिन्नं संसारं ब्राह्माण्डकामात्सां तद्धर्षस्य। सम्बन्ध खण्डम् 36. प्रधान प्रति 174; विद या. III. 261; सदाम् खण्डम् प्रथम प्रति 853।

241. यो चन्दन संपादलत तोपिरिस्तमानिग्यां। पावणीय चतुर्सौरभी तरस्त तरस्त तस्य तरस्त तस्य तस्य तरस्त ॥ यथावत् प्रति by the सम्बन्ध खण्डम् प्रधान प्रति 361; तत खण्डम् प्रधान प्रति 181।

242. अतः संसारामि भाग्यो यथा चुं च न पापित्विः विवेशः। तथा निष्कापणानां संस्कारानां शुधु मापित्विः तरस्त तरस्त तस्य तलं भाग्यालं कायं। तथा च वृद्धिः। वांहसाधक चुं संपोषे यज्ञान्यायपानादिना। एकवावस्थानाः। परिवहितार्थाय। अथार्थार्थाय। अथवा। pp. 171–172.
a few of them that are of some importance will be dealt with individually. The Sāmavidhāna²⁴³ Br. (I. 5.14) states that on committing several upapātakas a man becomes pure by reciting thrice the whole of the Veda while fasting. Manu XI. 117, Yāj. III. 265, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37.35 prescribe that purification from all classes of upapātakas (except the sin of the avakirya) is effected by the same penances that are prescribed for goavadha or by cāndrāyana or by subsisting on milk alone for a month or by Parāka or Gosava. The digests prescribe that Parāka is meant for him who is strong enough to undertake it, Cāndrāyana for him who is weak, Gosava for him who repeatedly commits the same upapātaka or is guilty of several at the same time (vide Pr. Prakāśa, folio 122 a).

Govadha stands at the head of upapātakas in Manu, Yāj., the Agnipurāṇa (168. 29-37). Several sūtras provide different penances for the sin of killing a cow. Gaut. 22. 18 prescribes²⁴⁴ the same penance for go vadha as for killing a vāisyā (Gaut. 22. 15) viz. staying for three years in a forest, subsisting on alms, observing celibacy and donating one hundred cows together with a bull. In Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 1 for killing a milch cow or a full grown ox the penance is said to be the same as for killing a śūdra. Vas. 21. 18 provides that if a man kills a cow he should cover himself with the raw hide of the cow (that is killed) and should observe Kṛcchra or Atikṛcchra for six months. Manu²⁴⁵ XI. 108-116, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 50. 16-24, Sāmvarta 130-135, Parāśara VIII. 31-41 (q. in Smṛtinuktāpaha p. 875, prāyaścitta section) prescribe elaborate observances as penances for goavadha. Yāj. (III. 263-264) provides four separate prāyaścittas, viz (1) the killer of a cow should control his senses for a month, should subsist on pañcagavya (cow's urine, cow-dung, milk, curds and ghee), should sleep in a cowpen, should follow the cows so penned (by day) and at the end of a month donate a cow; (2) or he should perform Kṛcchra penance while sleeping in a cow-pan and following cows by day; (3) or should perform an atikṛcchra in the same way; (4) or should fast for three days and donate ten cows together with

²⁴³. बहुपुप ववलीयानि कुला बिमिरन्यामयायणं, यहूद भवति । सामविधानम्.
I 5. 14.

²⁴⁴. यां व वैदेशद । मृ. 22. 18; वेदनान्हो भक्तिप्रदानं । आय. ध. श. I. 9, 26.1.

²⁴⁵. अभिप्रयास 169. 5-7 are the same as मृ. XI. 108-110; सूत्र 130-134 are quoted (with slight variations) by विनयप्रयोग व श. III. 262.
one bull. Śaṅkha provides 216 that the killer of a cow should fast for 25 days and nights subsisting on pañcagavya, should tonsure his head together with the top-knot, should wear as an upper garment cow-hide and should follow cows, lie down in a cow-pen and donate a cow. Some of the smṛitis and digests declare that the penance differed according as the cow that was killed belonged to a learned brāhmaṇa or to a mere brāhmaṇa by caste, to a ksatriya or vaiśya or śūdra. For example, Devala (q. by Pr. V. p. 202) states that if a cow belonging to a brāhmaṇa were killed, then the sinner should wear as upper garment that cow’s hide for six months, should bring fodder for cows, should imitate cows, should subsist on barley gruel, should move among cows and then he becomes free from the sin. Śatātapā (q. by Pr. V. p. 203) states that one killing the cow of a vaiśya should subsist on pañcagavya for a month, should recite the Gomati-vidyā 217 and stay in a cowpen for a month. Viśvāmitra (Pr. V. p. 203) says about the killer of a cow belonging to a śūdra that he should undergo four kṛṣṇeṣus if he kills intentionally and two if unintentionally. The Gomati-vidyā as quoted by Aparārka (p. 1102), the Madana-pārījāta (p. 862) and Pr. T. p. 522 (which takes it from the Prāyaścitta section of the Kalpataru that takes it from Yama) is a laudation of cows: ‘cows always emit fragrance, they have the smell of guggulu (bdellium), they are the support of beings, they are a great blessing; cows are (yield in their milk) the best food and the best offerings for gods; they are purifiers of all beings and offerings oose from them; they please the gods in heaven by the offerings (of milk and ghee) that are rendered pure by the mantras recited over them; in the agnihotra (keeping up the sacred fire) of sages cows help

216. शाङ्क: पशुत्वप्राप्ताः पवित्रितविद्यानुप्रवेशात् साधिकं वपर्य झूला गोचरणम् माठो माथाबुष्कर गोदामो मा च दुःखाति। व्रत p. by विश्वामित्र on या. III. 262, लिखा. on या. III 264, हर्षद्र on गीते. 22. 18, अपरार्क on p. 1094. The लिखा. and हर्षद्र ascribe the passage to both व्रत and अपरार्क.

217. गोमतिविद्याय यात्विवद्वकान्तकल्पस्तीयम्:। गोमती वानशिश्चिनि। तत् तु मे गद्यो हित्या श्रुतिः। सुगुगुल यममाहिता:॥ गाय: हुमधों निर्गर्ग गायो हुमघुल गायिका:॥ गाय: हुमधों निर्गर्ग गायो हुमघुल गायिका:॥ पावन सरसुलामाः करतिः सनसानाः॥ हुमधों गायृतन सरसुलामाः करतिः सनसानाः॥ अवशा श्रुतीमते होयमयोहकामके:॥ पालन सरसुलामो मायो अरुणामासम:॥ गाय: परित्रं एवं गायो महुद्धामसम:॥ गाय: सरसूतों गायो प्रथम सनसानाः॥ नभो गोर्य: भोगसत्र: सोधिनीस्य एव च। नभो महुद्धामसम पवित्रायो नमो नमः॥ महुद्धामसम गायर्कुलकमके हितमुकमुकुः॥ एकज महुद्धामसम हितमुकमुकुः॥ पाय: तत्। pp. 522-523, अपरार्क and या. प्रकाश प्रोलॉ 1166 with some variations such as ‘सरसुलामां करतिः सनसानाः॥ अपरार्क on p. 1102 quotes the verses from गाय: हुमधों निर्गर्ग पवित्रायो नमो नमः।
to bring about *homa*; cows are the holy and eminent protection for all beings; cows are extremely holy and most auspicious; cows are blessed; salutation to cows that abound in wealth and are called *saurabhṛṣṭi*! salutation to the cows that are holy and the daughters of Brahmā. Brāhmaṇas and cows are (really) one family divided into two parts, in one (brāhmaṇas) reside the (vedic) *mantras* and in the other reside offerings (to Gods of ghee &c.)." The Pr. prakārana 248 (p. 33) says that Kātyāyana, Gautama, Śaṁvarta, Parāśara and other sages prescribe differing penances for goavadha, which are to be explained away by reference to the killing being intentional or unintentional or to the fact of the cow being owned by a brāhmaṇa engaged in a *soma* sacrifice or by a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda with the six auxiliary śāstras, or by the fact that the cow was useful for the *homa* of a brāhmaṇa possessed of good qualities or was a pregnant cow or of the *kapilī* (brown or tawny) variety. It adds the important statement that in its days such cows being not found in ordinary life it is not necessary to expressly assign to each of those texts its appropriate subject matter.

Yāj. III. 284, 219 Śaṁvarta 137, Agnipurāṇa 169.14 provide that if a cow or bull dies while being treated with medicine or while an attempt is being made to help the cow in delivery, or being branded (as a treatment) there is no sin. This applies as an exception in all cases of injury or death of brāhmaṇas, cows or other animals. Parāśara (IX. 4 ff.) and Āṅgiras (q. by Pr. T. pp. 526–527) prescribe ¼, ½ and ⅔ of the prayāscitta for killing out-right a cow, if the death is due to putting an obstacle in the cow’s or bull’s free movement or to tying it up or to yoking it with thongs. Before undergoing a penance for goavadha, the sinner had to make good the price of the animal to the owner, according to the Brahmapurāṇa and Parāśara.850

---

248. यत्सुः: कारायनेन...परारुभादिक्रियनिमित्तं शुद्धा-विधिमानतमामि कारायनेन सर्व-शरीरं अवि-का कार्मिकामकलं...संवर्धित-श्रूदंप्...स-प्रार्थिल-विधिमानं तत्स थालस्मित। प्रक यान्त्रिकम्।

249. विराज्ञानशलक्ष्यं तु चुरे बिनेण न पातककरं। विषायं गौडः गामुर्मतं भवे ज्ञातिहीतयाध्यय! च या. III. 284; यथासंस्कृतं गामुर्मतं गण्यस्मिनं नुतं अपरिपरलिम्बेन। यदि तत्र प्रचति: वर्ण संयोगिन लिप्यन्ते संबंध 137 q. द्वा. समय. III. 284, प्रक यान्त्रिकम् 33.

250. यथार्थं तु सत्यमिनि मोदृशं दंडः वशं करर्यापि। अयो गामुर्मते इति मोदृशं साधूकालितिः। इति मोदृशदानानि न खेत्रव्रद्धं दीवः।...तथा वा परार्थः। प्रमाणे माण्यपण यवधानं प्रतिवदकरं। तत्परमुर्मतं वा द्वारामिनविकर्षं।। प्राप्त तत्र प. 513. The verse प्रमाणे is quoted as कारायनास (792) by the प्राप्त. मा. III. p. 425 and सि. v. p. 284.
The Sāmavidhāna Br. (I. 7.8.) prescribes that on killing any animal (except a cow or bull) the guilty person should fast for one night and recite the sāmaveda verse ‘Agnis-tigmena’ (I. 1. 3. 2). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9.25.14) provides for killing a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a chakravāka, hainśa, bhāṣa, a frog, ichneumon, musk-rat, a dog the same penance as for killing a sūdra. Gaut. 22. 19–22, 24–25, Manu XI. 133–137, Yāj. III. 269–274, Visnu Dh. S. 50.25–32, Parāśara VI. 1–15 prescribe several penances for killing an elephant, a horse, a tiger, a monkey, a cat, a serpent and numerous other animals, which are passed over here. Some smṛtis such as Sāṁvarta 10 and Paithinasi make a difference between grāmya and āranya (forest) animals, in each class seven being specified by Paithinasi.251 The great concern of the sages for anything possessed of the principle of life or growth went so far as to prescribe the penance of reciting one hundred ṛk verses if a man cut off big trees (like mango or jack-fruit tree) or shrubs and creepers, except for purposes of sacrifices or agriculture 252 (Manu XI. 142, Yāj. III. 276, Vas. 19. 11–12). These provisions tended against wanton destruction of trees, shrubs and forests that are so beneficent to humanity and lend a charm to the landscape.

It is remarkable that in case a man was bitten by a harlot or a monkey or an ass or by a dog or jackal or a camel or a crow he had to perform (in addition to the pain of the bite) prāṇāyāma while standing in water and to drink ghee for purification (Manu XI. 199, Yāj. III. 277, Vas. 23. 31). Parāśara V. 1–9 prescribe elaborate rules of purification for bites by wolves, dogs and jackals (such as a bath and japa of Gāyatrī &c.).

PARADARYA (adultery with another’s wife)—is a minor sin (acc. to Yāj. III. 235, Manu XI. 59). This excludes intercourse with guru’s wife and other intercourse declared to be like gurutalpagaṇama or with cāndāla women (Manu XI. 170–172, 175, 178, Yāj. III. 231–233, Vas. XX. 15–17 and XXIII. 41). Āp. Dh. S. 1. 10.28.19 is very severe on a male adulterer who transgresses his vow of loyalty to his wife; one who proves false to his wife shall put on the skin of an ass with the hair turned

251. ग्रामङ्गणवमहिके पैदीनसि। ग्रामङ्गणववचतुर्वी | गौतिनित्रोपोवतसः | न तद्यदाप्राबाधिते सन्त ग्रामङ्गणवमहिके पैदीनसि।
252. पुक्षन्त्यादेहिंसपतिः। कर्मकारावधे जोपपश्वादि। वधिक वाल 19.11-12.
outside and beg at seven houses saying 'give alms to him who played false to his wife'. This should be his livelihood for six months'. Conversely, Åp. (I, 10.38.20) provides that if a wife plays false to her husband she should perform for as many months (i.e. six months) the twelve night kṛcchra penance. In another place Åp. Dh. S. (II. 10. 27. 11) states that if a brāhmaṇa commits adultery once with a married woman of equal class he shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for an outcast. Gaut. (22. 29-30, 34) provides penances for two years generally and three years if the woman be the wife of a learned brāhmaṇa. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 265 quotes numerous texts dealing with the penance for adultery that does not amount to a mahāpātaka and tries to evolve order by assigning to each its proper province. This is passed over here. A woman guilty of adultery with a male of the same or higher caste than herself had to undergo the same penance as a male adulterer (Manu XI. 176 and Bhāspati), but if she committed adultery with a male of lower caste, then the penances differed as stated above (vide Vas. 21. 1-5 and Sarīvarta 167-172). Bhādyama IV. 48 states that adultery in the inverse order of classes is a grave sin, but adultery in the anuloma order of classes entails different penances for purification from it.253

**Vṛātyātā** (failure to have upanayana performed at the right time)—A person whose upanayana is not performed at the proper time is called vṛātya or patitasāvitrika. Vide Āsv. gr. I. 19. 5-7, Åp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 22-26, Baud. gr. III. 13. 5-6, Vas. XI. 71-75, Manu II. 38-39, Yāj. I. 37-38. The penances also such as the performance of Vṛātyastoma and Uddālakavrata (Vas. XI. 76-79, Gaut. 19.8) are prescribed by some of these works, while Manu XI. 191 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 26-27 =Agni-purāṇa 170. 8-9) prescribes a milder penance of three kṛcchras and then Upanayana is to be performed again. Vas. XI. 77 describes Uddālakavrata as follows: 'for two months he should subsist on barley gruel, for a month on milk, for half a month on amīkṣā, for eight days on ghee, for six days on food obtained without begging or asking for it, for three days on water and he should observe a complete fast for one day.' Åp. Dh. S. (I. 1.1. 24-27) prescribes another penance for vṛātya. For vṛātya or patitasāvitrika, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 96, 376-379. Haradatta as
quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 379 appears to hold that even if generations before the great-grand-father of a man had been without upanayana, still proper penance should be prescribed and the man taken in the fold of Hinduism. But there were others who stuck literally to the words of Āp. and Parāśara and hold that if all the generations from the father of the great-grand-father of a man were without upanayana then nothing could be done for that man. 253a

Vratalopa (non-observance of the vow of celibacy on the part of a brahmacārin). A Vedic student who has sexual intercourse with a woman is technically called avakīrṇa. The Tai. A. II, 18 contains the penance for avakīrṇa first promulgated by Sudeva Kāśyapa254. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 26. 8–9) provides 255 that such a student shall offer to Nirṛti (goddess of Hell or death) an ass according to the manner of Pākyajñās and that a śūdra shall eat the remainder of the offering. Jainini (VI. 8. 22) provides that the offering is to be made in the ordinary fire (laukikāgma) and not in the consecrated Vedic fire. Vas. (23. 1–3) prescribes 'if a Vedic student approaches a woman, then he should offer an ass to the goblins (rakṣas) in a forest where four roads meet, kindling an ordinary fire or he may offer an oblation of boiled rice to Nirṛti and throw into the fire four oblations of that food saying 'To lust, svāhā; to him

253a. इश्वयां हरदेशन भाषणवत्।...यत्र गष्टितमहर्ष विद्वानस्य

254. यो अवकीर्णविकिरितीपस्य धार्मिकाः पश्चैगोविद्वानाः 

255. वर्णभेदवृक्षीति निर्बलतिः पाक्यव्रजेऽवजेऽत्। तत् श्रूदः मृक्षीति। आप. ध. सु.
I. 9. 26. 8–9; ज्ञानवीरि ज्ञानस्यप्रत्यये चतुर्दशे श्रीकीर्तिः श्रवनेत गृहुमाले

The commentator explains 'कामकाजः अल्पकाजः गुस्तकाजः विश्वकाजः' and quotes Rg. VII. 104. 8 in support for the latter meaning. The शास्त्रिधार्मिक I. 1.20 defines 'कामप्रज्ञ

256. अवकीर्णविकिरिति तत् विद्वानप्रचारकायताः। जे. VI. 8. 22, on which says 'अवकीर्णविकिरिति।' ज्ञानवीरि नैश्चत गृहुमाले अंता तस्मादवृक्षीति कर्म

वीकीर्तिः। गुस्तकाजः, VIII. p. 557 speaks of five pākyajñās.
Penance for avakīrṇa

who follows his lust, svāhā; to Nirṛti svāhā; to the deities called Rakṣas, svāhā'. Gaut. 23. 17–19, Manu XI. 118–123, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 35–43; Yāj. III. 280, Agnipurāṇa 169. 15–18, Pār. gr. III. 12 contain similar provisions, Gautama adding that he shall bag for a year at seven houses with a red vessel (earthen) in his hand and proclaim his misdeed. The Baud. Dh. S. and Pār. gr. furnish elaborate details. The former states that the Paśupuroḍāśa may be offered to Rakṣas or to Yama or he may offer on the Amāvāsyā at night two offerings of clarified butter in fire after performing the preparatory rites of a dāravi-homa and that he may then invoke fire with the verse (Tai. Ā. II. 18) 'Sam mā ciṅcantu marutāḥ &c.' (may the Maruts grant me long life and strength).

If an ascetic reverted to the life of a householder, Saṁvarta (171–172) prescribes the penance of kṛochra for six months²⁵⁷. Such a man is called pratyavasita. The pratyavasitas are said to be of nine kinds²⁵⁸ by Yama (22–23), Bṛhad–Yama (3–4) and others viz. those who turn back from water, fire, halter (by means of which they wanted to kill themselves), those who revert back from the stage of sannyāsī or from a fast (unto death), or from poison, precipice or sitting dharmā and those who (desiring to commit suicide) strike themselves with a weapon (but are not killed); these nine are called pratyavasita and are beyond commerce with people, become pure by the penance of Cāndrāyaṇa or two Taptakṛcchras. Vṛddha-Parāśara quoted by Par. M. and Prāyaścitta-muktāvalī provides that sannyāsin, who revert to the life of the householder, are to be treated as cāndalas even after undergoing penance and their children born after they fall from the ascetic stage are to be made to dwell among cāndalas. This explains the harsh treatment alleged to have been meted to the great saint Jñāneśvara and his brothers at Paithan in the 13th century. A person who after becoming a sannyāsin reverts to another āśrama or acts contrary to the

²⁵⁷. सम्प्रदाय ठुल्लति: कविकाव्यर्थ हिंच छेत। कु्रोक्कुल्ल्य तमानि ताल्लुकमाले- स्तत्तन्ततरसः संवत 171–172, quoted in पर. मा. II part 2 p. 129 (reads मथ्यापलि वज्यायि। स कुरूक्कुल्ल्यमाल्लि: भवरासामाजर्यान्तरसः) and मथ्यास. सा. p. 123 (reads मथ्यापलि वज्यायि।) ‘सत्यचि भवरीचे दुस्तरार्म: परिखीक्षा मानित: इत्यणु इत्यथोऽसः। इत्यथासां चार्येकासः: परिखीक्षातासः। क्रिया जातीन्यर्पालि चायपालि: सह हस्येके।’ हि। यति। भवरीचे। पोली 73 b, पर. मा. II part 2 p. 11.

²⁵⁸. ज्ञातराच्यवक्तकांदनः: भावापलिकार्यक्कुलः। विपायवक्तावलमाक्षमाहसंहरासः ये म्हः नवी मथ्यासित्ता सर्वकालयाहसंहरासः। कान्तायनन्द फुम्बलि तस्कुक्कुल्ल्येन वा। यस 22–23 q. by मथ्यास. सा. p. 126.

H. D. 15
rules of his āśrama is called ārwadhhapatita also (vide Par. M. II, part. I. p. 373 quoting Hārīta).

Elaborate purifications are prescribed for removing the taint of touching certain men, unclean objects like bones (Manu V. 87), women in their monthly illness or within certain days after delivery and animals (like dogs, village pigs, cocks, crows). They have to be passed over here for reasons of space. But a few passages may be cited by way of sample. Gautama\(^{259}\) (14.28) provides that on touching paśī, cāṇḍāla, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse, or on touching any one who has touched any one of these or any one who is the third in contact, the purification is brought about by a bath with the clothes on. Manu V. 84 and Yāj. III. 30 contain similar provisions. The Pr. V. (pp. 495–499) discusses the question whether sparsa\(^{260}\) (touch) means direct touch or includes even indirect touch and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that indirect touch also is included and cites Āpastamba-smṛti in support that if a brāhmaṇa and a cāṇḍāla or the like are both seated on the same branch (without actually touching each other) the brāhmaṇa can become purified only by a bath. A verse quoted as Yājñavalkya’s by Pr. Frakarana\(^{261}\) p. 110 (not found in the printed text) states: ‘on touching a cāṇḍāla, pukkāsa, mlechcha, bhilla, a pārasīka (one coming from Persia) and the like and persons guilty of grave sins one should bathe with the clothes on.’ The Śat-ṭrimśan-mata\(^{262}\) provides ‘on touching

\(^{259}\) पतिवर्धनरूपविनिमौर्तिक्रियायस्मिन विविधातित्वप्रकाृतिः सचेवलक्ष्यमत्वाभ्यां हृदयत्।

\(^{260}\) उपसर्गां यथा स वर्णसंबंधवर्गः। तथापि कर्मिवकारयत्वात् परस्परोपेत्। तथा चापरस्वः। आऽकाव्यारुपराखुरितेऽवभः। शरणार्थसंशयावर्गः। ब्रह्माण्डः। जीवनमित्वमेवहेतुः।

\(^{261}\) तत्र शुक्रः। चाण्डालसमस्तमेवमहंधर्मित्रसिद्धिकारणः। महापापकिन्नकेव स्वरूप स्नानमृत्रेतः।

\(^{262}\) प्राधुनिकत्वमेव महाकालिनमासिकमोक्षितम्।
Baudhās, Pāśupatās, Lāukikātikās, atheists and those who follow forbidden actions, one should plunge in water together with the clothes on. On touching a cātiya tree (such as a fig tree round which a platform is built), a funeral pile (or brick altar prepared in the śrāuta rite called Agnicayana), a sacrificial post, a cāndāla, one who sells the soma plant, a brāhmana should enter water with the clothes on. Sahvarta 263 requires a dvija to sip water on touching a shoemaker, a washerman, a vena (Manu X. 19, 49, one who beats drum &c.), a fisherman, a dancer (nāta) and Śatātapa 264 provides that if any liub of a dvija (except the head) is touched by one who colours clothes, a shoemaker, a hunter, a fisherman, a washerman, a butcher, a thaka (Thug), an actor, one who allows sexual intercourse in the mouth, a dog, a prostitute allowing men of all varnas to visit her, an oil-grinder, the keeper of a tavern, an executioner, a village pig or cock, he should wash the limb with water and perform ącamaṇa. If the head is touched by any one of these, then he should bathe. In this connection it may be noted that Hemādri quotes (on p. 38) the Garudapurāṇa and (on p. 316) Parāśara for the 16 castes in a village that were treated as cāndālas in the matter of touch, speech or sight. Devala (q. by Hemādri on prayaścitta p. 312) says that Cāndāla and Turuṣka (Turk) are equally low. The chapter on untouchables in the 2nd vol. of the H. of Dh. pp. 165–179 may be consulted in this connection. On pp. 175–176 of the same work references are given to verses of Atri, Śatātapa, Brhaspati and others stating that no purification is required on the ground of untouchability in the case of religious festivals and marriage processes, in battle, in the case of fire or invasion and similar calamities. By no stretch of imagination can these verses be restricted to the untouchability arising from death or birth as some propose

263. भमारे रजकं देवं पीवरं नद्येव च। पतनं स्पष्टं हृदं गीतवचारमेवं भवतो मे प्रसंवर्ते त्वम् ॥

264. रजकस्यक्रमेन स्थापत्यजैतियविना निग्रेणजः सौनिकेष्ठं धकं जैस्यदक्षगता रुपेन्द्रकावस्था बा बनिता सर्थिद्वारा। बनीं धती वधवायी साम्याककुकुबसी। संगीतवेत्रित्रेः संगीतवेत्रित्रेः उक्तविद्वतः उक्तविद्वतः। मद्येष्वं शकातं कुलं आपातं हृदंसिद्वतः जातितपं क्षुद्रस्य क्रमे गतेन धकं जैस्यदक्षगता। ईश्वरेन्द्रक्रमेन साम्याककुकुबसी। ईश्वरेन्द्रक्रमेन साम्याककुकुबसी। ईश्वरेन्द्रक्रमेन साम्याककुकुबसी। ईश्वरेन्द्रक्रमेन साम्याककुकुबसी। ईश्वरेन्द्रक्रमेन साम्याककुकुबसी।
to do. The words are too sweeping for this explanation and there being no untouchability on birth for any one except the mother and persons in mourning not being likely to join religious festivals and marriage processions those verses cannot be so construed.

The smrtis were very keen on keeping a high ideal before brähmanas as regards receiving gifts. The Sāma. Br. (I.7.1–2) prescribes that if a brähmana receives a gift from a kṣatriya when not in distress (or difficulty) he should eat only one meal by day for a month and recite the Sāma verse ‘mahat tat somo mahiṣaśaśakāra’ (Sāmaveda I. 6.1.5.10, No. 542) for one month, while standing in water and if he accepts a gift from any one else from whom he should not accept it, he should undergo kṛcchra panance and recite the sāma verse ‘trikadrūkesu’ (Sāmaveda I.5.2.3.1, No. 457). Yāj. I. 140 provides that a brähmana should not accept a gift from a king who is parsimonious (or greedy) and acts against the dictates of śāstra and Manu XI. 194 (=Vishu Dh. S. 54.24) provides that a brähmana becomes free from the sin of the acceptance of a thing which should not be accepted or of the acceptance of a gift from a condemned donor by reciting the Gāyatī three thousand times (in a month) or subsisting on milk alone or staying in a cowpen for a month. It may be noted that Manu X. 102–103 and Yāj. III. 41 allow a brähmana when in distress to accept a gift from anybody or to take food from anyone whatever or to maintain himself by teaching any one whatever and state that he is not tainted by sin in so doing, since he is like fire and water (like that of the Ganges) and since it is unreasonable (or impossible) to assert that what is pure can be sullied. Manu X. 109, however, regards acceptance of a gift from an unworthy (or low) person as worse than teaching an improper person or officiating for him. A brähmana was not to sell things declared to be unfit to be sold by him such 264 as sesame, oil of sesame, curds, bees’ wax (ksaudra), salt, grapes, wine, cooked food, female or

264 a. अप्राप्तवेत्रप्राप्तिः सागरायेत्रि न संसारितसि। न विक्रयेत्रिर्क्रमं। नित्येनित्यं जलमेवः। अप्राप्तिधारणं विशेषं। अप्राप्ति अप्राप्तिः। संसारितसि। न विक्रयेत्रिर्क्रमं।

Manu. folio 127b.
male slaves, elephants, horses, bulls, fragrant substances, liquids, silken cloth (kṣauna), black antelope hide, soma plant, water, indigo; by selling these he at once incurs sin. As penance he should practise Tapta-kṛchra for a year after tonsuring his head, he should enter water thrice, wear only one wet piece of cloth, should observe silence, should practise the Vīrāsana, should sit up at night and stand by day, should recite the Gāyatri.

One important matter dealt with by a few of the smṛtis and some of the digests is the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those who were converted by force by the invading mlechas. About the meaning of the word mleccha, there is some divergence of views. From the Śat. Br. (III. 21. 23–24) it appears that the mlechas spoke a degraded and corrupt speech (such as saying 'helavaḥ' for 'heśrayaḥ'). Parāśara (IX. 36) refers to the mlechas as the eaters of cow's flesh. The Pr. T. (p. 549) quotes a smṛti text to the effect that a mleccha is an eater of cow's flesh and talks much that is contradictory, and cites a passage from the Harivamsa for the manner of the dress and of the trimming of hair in the case of Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, Pahlavas &c. Vide for mleccha and for the return to the Hindu fold of those that were forcibly carried away as slaves by mlechas and robbers or made to kill cows or to eat the flesh of asses, camels, village pigs, H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 92, 383–385, 389–392 (where verses of Devala ascribed by some like the Mit. to Apastamba-smṛti are set out), 973–974. A few matters not dealt with there may be added here. The Vīṣṇudharmottarā 266 purāṇa (II. 73. 203–206) provides that when persons are kidnapped by mlechas or raiders or persons passing through forests are so treated and return to their own country, the penances for purifying them from the sin of eating forbidden food are to be prescribed after considering their class (varṇa), viz. that a

---

265. न्यामांसलाभङ्गे यथ दिक्षित्व वदु बहावते। सर्वावस्थिनिन्ित्स्तेष्ट्वत हयाधिकर्षिते। न्यायान यथ। यथा तथा। प. 549: राधाकुलम् अस्त्य यथा। यथा। कुलस्तिति। (लोको 104 ब)। राधाकुलम् अस्त्य यथा। यथा। कुलस्तिति। राधाकुलम् अस्त्य यथा। यथा। कुलस्तिति।

266. न्यामांसलाभङ्गे यथ दिक्षित्व वदु बहावते। सर्वावस्थिनिन्ित्स्तेष्ट्वत हयाधिकर्षिते।
brāhmaṇa should undergo half kṛcchra penance and should have the Upanayana performed again, a kṣatriya should undergo three-fourths of Kṛcchra (and also upanayana), a vāśya one-fourth Kṛcchra and a śūdra becomes pure by undergoing only $\frac{1}{4}$ of a kṛcchra and by making a gift. In view of the fact that Manu VIII. 169, Viṣṇu Dh. S. VII. 6-7, Yāj. II. 89 declare that what is given by force, what is enjoyed by force and what is caused to be written by force and all transactions whatever that are brought about by force are void, and the burning desire of many people forcibly converted in times of disturbances to return to the Hindu fold and to the religion of their forefathers, the movement now called śrilāthi should be encouraged by all interested in the well-being and stability of Hindu society. It is better to call this return by the name of ‘parāvartana’. A model but brief rite for the parāvartana of those who were forcibly converted or for those who voluntarily left the Hindu fold but want to return to it is given in the Appendix. The same prayōga with suitable changes may be employed for taking into the Hindu fold any one who was not born a Hindu. In ancient times such people appear to have been taken into the Hindu fold by the performance of Vṛtyastoma. For this latter, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 385-387 and for the spread of Hinduism in Java, Bali, Sumatra, Siam and other countries of South-East Asia, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 934-935. Recently, through the kindness of Dr. J. M. Unvala, I had an opportunity of reading several inscriptions of the 18th and 19th centuries at the fire temple called Jvālājī at Suruhani near Baku, the capital of Russian Azerbaijan, situated on the northern shore of the Caspian sea, which were inscribed by Hindu pilgrims or visitors, that begin with obeisance to Ganeśa and in one of which occurs the verse quoted below. 267.

Manu XI. 124 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 38.7) prescribes the penance of Sāntapana for committing with full knowledge any of the deeds described above as jāthbhramāśakara and the penance of Prājapatyā for doing it unintentionally. For doing any of the deeds called sāṅkarikaraṇa or apātrikaraṇa described above, Manu XI. 125 prescribes the penance of cāndrāyana for a month and for doing any of the deeds called maḷāvakaḥ prescribes that the perpetrator should scald himself with barley gruel for three

267. भूमिः। देयभवः वश्य सत्यात्मकऽनेन। विश्वभवः जीवितं सन्न स्वरुपब्रजति भर्तिरित्वात्।
days. Those two verses of Manu occur in Agnipurāṇa (170, 23–25). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (39.2, 40.2, 41.5) prescribes somewhat different penances for sāṅkarīkarana, apātrīkarana or malini- karaninya deeds. Vide also the Mit. on Yāj. III. 290 for the penances prescribed for these deeds by Yama and Bṛhaspati. About miscellaneous pūtakas the rule laid down by Manu XI. 209, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 42.2, Yāj. III. 294 and others is that the penance should be prescribed by the brāhmaṇas after taking into account the nature of the deed, the ability of the perpetrator and other circumstances of time and place &c.

Some of the digests prescribe certain times for the performance of penance. The first rule is laid down by Harita that having done something sinful or improper through trustfulness, affection, greed, fear or heedlessness one should resort to purification at once. Dakṣa268 II. 73 also states that all naimittika and kāmya matters must be performed as they fall due and no delay should be caused. If more than a year is allowed to pass after the sin is incurred the penance would have to be double of what it otherwise would have been, according to Devala and Manu.268a The Pr. T. (pp. 474, 512) quotes a verse from the Vyavāhāra- cintāmaṇi 269 and an astrological work to the effect that a penance or ordeal should not be administered on the 8th or 14th tithi of a month, nor should an ordeal or marriage take place on a Saturday or Tuesday. The Prāyaścitenduśekhara (p. 15) says that according to respectable people (śīstas) the sāṅkalpa (declaration of undergoing a penance) should be made on the 14th tithi and the actual rite should be performed on the amṛtāśyā. If the guilty person is in mourning he may perform penance after the period of mourning is over.

The procedure for undergoing penances for sins and lapses prescribed by the assembly of learned men has varied in details from time to time. The Gaut. Dh. S. 26.6–17 prescribes

---

268. नैसित्तिकानि कार्यानि निपालिति यथा यथा। तथा तथा हि कार्याणि न कार्यं तु मिस्राम्बित्वम् II. 73 q. by म. प. 512.

268a. यथा सृजनिसामे देवता। कालातिरिक्ते हिस्यं यायाखितं समाप्तेऽद्व। हिस्यं राजनार्थं च वर्तच ज्ञातित्वम्याते। कालातिरिक्ते संवत्सारार्थं तु दुःखी हिस्यं दुःख। हि ति मधुरे | म. प. 574. This is मधु VIII.374.

269. 'सरसागरभाषा नीवत् लोमाक्ष्यात्मादाकालिका अयुं शुच्यस पयः: सीतासारायतः

इति हास्यर्थम् सःकारणजनुम्। अया रण्यार्यार्यावत्तमाणि विखयः।

नास्यं न नास्यं सरसागरभाषा अयुं शुच्यस: पयः सरसागरभाषा अयुं

प्रश्नात्मात्माय प्रश्ननेमित्रग्यम् प्रश्नम्। म. प. 574. The words 'ति तित्...कर्त्ताः' (for आर्येित) are quoted from हास्यम् by मधु प. 703–704.
the method of performing Kṛcchra penance. It is briefly as follows: The sinner desiring to be free of sin quickly should stand by day and sit up by night (i.e., should take sleep in a sitting position and not lie down), he should speak the truth and should not hold conversation with anāryas (śūdras &c.), should bathe thrice in the day, should perform mārjana (splashing or sprinkling water on the head and other limbs by means of kuśas dipped in water after repeating sacred mantras) with the three verses ‘āpo hi śthā’ (Rg. X.9.1-3), with the verses called Pavitravati and with the eight verses beginning with ‘hiranyavarṇāḥ sucyaḥ pāvakāḥ’ (Tai. S. V. 6.1.1-8). Then he should perform the tarpāna 270 (satiating with water) with thirteen mantras beginning with namaḥ and ending with namaḥ (each respectively containing 6, 4, 4, 13, 2, 2, 2, 6, 5, 2, 2, 6, 2 names of deities). This constitutes for him the worship of Aditya (the Sun) and he offers oblations of clarified butter with these thirteen mantras and, after he passes twelve days in this way, on the 13th he offers nine oblations of boiled rice to Agni, Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, the Viśe Devas, Brahman, Prajāpati, Agni Svistakṛt. Then he serves dinner to brāhmaṇas. The Ṛg. Dh. S. II. 6.15.9 states 271 the general rule that in all religious observances one should give dinner to brāhmaṇas that are pure (in conduct) and that have studied the Veda. The Baudh. Dh. S. (II. I. 95-99) prescribes that in a kṛcchra penance one has to bathe thrice in the day, to lie down on the ground (not on a cot &c.), to wear only one piece of cloth, to shave one’s hair on the head, the moustache and the body and to pare one’s nails, and that the same mode is prescribed also for women (sinners) except the tonsure of the head. Manu (XI, 222-225) prescribes that in all penances there is homa with the mahāvyāhṛtis every day, the sinner has to practise ahīṃsā (non-injury to all sentient beings), truthfulness, absence of anger and straight forwardness, has to bathe thrice by day and thrice by night together with the clothes on, he should not talk with women, śūdras and putītas, he should stand by day and sit down at night if not able to do so he should sleep on the ground (raised platform called sthandula), should observe celibacy and the rules of a student, such as wearing girdle of muīja grass and carrying a staff (of patāta &c.), should honour gods, brāhmaṇas and his elders, should always recite the Gāyatri and sacred texts.

270. For the usual tarpāna, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 689-693.
271. स्त्री ग्रामसभाये: संवक्ते भोजन्ये। आप. व पु. II 6. 15. 9.
Vas. 24.5 (a long prose passage) contains similar provisions. Yaj. III, 312–13 are very important. They prescribe the practice of certain virtues and rules of conduct called yamas (such as brahmacarya, kindliness, forbearance, truthfulness, ahiṁsā &c.) and niyamas (such as bath, silence, fasting, purity of body &c.) as necessary adjuncts in all penances. The Laugāksigṛhya (V. 3–11) prescribes the procedure for all penances. Yaj. III, 325 holds that one should, while performing the penance of kṛcchra or candrāyana, bathe thrice daily, recite holy mantras (as stated in Vas. 28.11–15) and should eat balls of rice over which the Gāyatrī has been recited. Śāṅkha272 (18.12–14) also summarises the different items that have to be gone through in undergoing a penance. The Madana-paṛijāta (pp. 781–784), Pr. V. (pp. 503–506), Pr. Sāra (pp 21,22 and 200–203), Pr. T. pp. 497–510, 523–524, Pr. Mayūka pp. 18–21, Pr. Prakāśa (folios 38b to 43b), Prāyaścitthenduśekhara (pp. 15 and 88) and other works provide elaborate rules about the procedure of undergoing prāyaścittha. It is not possible nor necessary to set out these in detail here. Briefly put, on the day previous to the actual day of commencing penance the sinner should pare his nails, shave his head, bathe with clay, cow-dung, holy water &c., drink clarified butter, make a declaration of performing the penance indicated by the assembly of learned men. On the next day he should bathe, perform śrāddha, drink pañcagavya, should perform homa, give daksīṇā (gold, cows &c.) to the brāhmaṇas and feed them. Parāśara (XI.3) says that at the end of the rite of penance pañcagavya should be taken and one, two, three or four cows should be donated respectively by a brāhmaṇa, a kṣatriya, a vaiśya and a śūdra. Yama (verse 63) says that brāhmaṇas should be fed on the performance of a penance and a daksīṇā of one golden māṣa should be given to each brāhmaṇa. Jābali says that at the beginning and close of all penances the sinner should offer in the smārta fire oblations of clarified butter to the accompaniment of the Vyāhṛtis, perform śrāddha and offer daksīṇā consisting of a cow or gold. Vide Aparārka (p. 1230) and Par. M. II part 2 p. 195 for Jābali’s verses. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 30a) adds that according to the Mahārṇava the number of Vyāhṛti-homas should be 28 or 108.

272. कुक्त्रिावर्त्तः प्रेम्ला भवः पद्मसंपुत्रः। व्रजेन्द्रस्स्तु ब्रह्मचारिणो जस्य परमेश्वरः। अथ निस्सि: स विजेयः संस्कृतिपुर सर्वेऽः।

H. D. 16
A few words may be said about the tonsure of the head (vapana or munḍana). The Tai. Br. (I.5.6.1-2) states: ‘The Asuras first shaved the hair on the head, then the moustache and then the armpits; therefore they went down (or with face downwards) and were defeated, while the gods first shaved the armpits, then the moustache and then the hair on the head.’ The Pr. Prakāśa quotes this passage in a mutilated form and then states that vapana is of three kinds, daiva (of the gods, āśura (of the asuras) and mānuṣa (of men), that the āśura method is condemned, that in consecrating the Vedic fires, in the itīs and somā sacrifices the daiva method is ordained, while in ṭrayāsciṭas, there being no special vidhi, there is an option. Tonsure of the head is enjoined on several occasions e.g. the Viṣṇupurāṇa provides: 271 ‘Tonsure should be carried out at Prayāga when on a pilgrimage, and on the death of one’s father or mother; one should not in vain (lightly) tonsure the head’. To these occasions may be added penances. The idea seems to have been entertained that whatever sin a man commits it becomes centered in the hair, as a verse quoted by the Madanapārījata and Pr. M. states: 275 Gaut. (27.3), Vas. 276 (24.5), Baud. Dh. S. (II.98–99) and others provide for the tonsure of the hair on the head and lips (except those on the eye-brows, the hair on the trunk and the top knot). Exceptions were introduced to the rule about tonsure. Dakṣa 277 forbade tonsure, the offering of piṇḍas and the carrying of a corpse and all funeral rites to

273. तेस्सरा उपक त्रुङ्गेयो वापस्यतः। ते केर्ति अपोष्यत क्रष्णविनिकरण ।
सततेकालवा आयन पराशन। यक्षे कर्तिते अनावर्तत् । यथा ब्रह्म उपकत्वोपवर्यु।
ते उपकत्वो अपोष्यत तथा दक्ष्युपस्यपर्यु।
274. ममसे सर्द्धकार्याऽर्थित विविकुतिसंग्रह। काभार्या वपणे कार्य न यथा विचारो भवेत।
विश्वपुराणम् ग. भ. तत्त्व प. 489।
275. यानि कान्ति य पापनि ब्रह्मणायासमानि च। केशानाभिष्मर्त निष्क्रयन्ति तस्मादेशाम।
तथापमार्यां कान्तिस्वरस्तिस्वरूपम्\nप्रकट होतमुनमेवस्वरूपस्वरूपम्।
भविष्यवाचारीः सत्सनादेव। ब्रह्मणविवाहाः सर्द्धा सत्सनादेव।
भ. 19।
276. जूठ्लांगः तस्मानाश्रयो समस्तेष्याः। एवेदेव \nएतेनिइव \nएते शक्तीप्रचतावेच्य पुष्पस्वरूपम्।
च. 4.1.95-99।
277. सूक्ष्मानि विष्णुवर्गम् जे वपणम् जे सर्वस्मा।
न जीवनिन्तु: कुष्णां हरिनित्यतेऽति
नावमानिनिन्विपिनार्थ रामायणविष्याय।
भ. 325 reads विश्वस्तं न इन्हेमिनिन्विपिनार्थ रामायणविष्याय।
भ. प्रकाशा फोलो 32a।
one whose father was alive and to a man whose wife was pregnant. But this prohibition did not apply to penances. The Baud. Dh. S. already referred to prohibits the tonsure of women in penances. Aṅgiras 163, Āpastamba-smṛti I.33–34, Brhad-Yama IV.16, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 386, Parāśara IX. 54–55, Yama 54–55 provide 278 that in the case of married women whose husbands are alive and in the case of maidens all their hair should be held together and only two finger-breadths of hair should be cut off. In the case of widows and ascetics the entire head was to be shaved. It was further provided by Parāśara (IX 52–54), Śāṅkha (q. by Par. M. II, part I, pp. 290–291) that in the case of a king or prince or a learned brāhmaṇa tonsure of the head should not be insisted upon, but that they should have to undergo double the usual penance and the dakṣiṇā would have to be double. 279 The Mit. on Yāj. III. 325 quotes a verse of Manu 280 (not found in the printed text) 'tonsure of the head is not desired in the case of learned brāhmaṇas and kings except in the case of those guilty of mahāpātakas, of cow-killing or of being an awakirin'. The Mit. (on Yāj. III.264) further quotes Śaṅkara 281 to the effect that when the penance prescribed is only a quarter then only the hair on the body below the throat is to be shaved, when half is prescribed then in addition the hair on the lips is to be cut, when three-fourths then all the hair on the body except the knot is to be cut and in the case of the full penance all hair including the sikhā (the top-knot) also are to be cut off. The Par. M. (II part I, p. 300) while describing cāndrāyaṇa penance requires the cutting of the hair on all parts

278. सर्वजनकर्म सहुद्धराज चढ़येवलुत्पिन्यः। एवं नागिकार्मिकाः सिसी सुल्ख्यं श्रवणः। न निश्रयं केड़येवनं दोषे ज्ञानांनमः॥ पराशर IX. 54–55.

279. केतानां रश्मार्णां विहऽर्त दुःखास्त्रीत। विहऽर्ते ब्रह्मां भॅवेदे विहऽर्ता दश्यां गुणेत। राज्य व राज्योवा व भावोवा व श्रवण्यत।। अकृत्या वपूः तत्र भार्यसत्तो विहऽर्तेऽस्त।॥ पराशर IX. 52–54, नारदपुराण, पूर्वार्थ 14.52–54; for the half केतानां, vide सुखारीत 387. The मिट्ट on या. III. 325, याप. श्र. p. 503, याप. सा. p. 22, मम. श्र. p. 782 quote these verses as हर्षेत्र's in a different order and याप. तत्र. p. 519 ascribes almost similar verses to सुखारीत.

280. वित्रूतितेवर्तीकाः बैलेवर्तेव केड़यापनम्। क्लेश्व भार्यात्मेन्नां गोद्रस्याकाशावांनाः॥ मुख q. by मिट्ट on या. III. 325, याप. सा pp. 22–23 (as मइप्रिक). The याप. तत्र. p. 516 expressly refers to this text as cited by the मिट्ट.

281. पारव्यस्तवपायं हिपास्ये श्रवणोधराः च। विपास्ये तस्तिस्वार्थं सतिः तस्तिनां न रोगान्ते॥ संस्कृत q. by याप. on या. III. 264, याप. म. p. 14, मम. महां folio 31a, which remarks: 'विद्वार्ज्ञानीति विद्वार्ज्ञानीति विद्वार्ज्ञानीति: समस्याः। वल्की बुद्धाच्छ शिल्प सकल्यं वपूः चरेदिति रचनाः।'
of the body (including private parts). The tonsure is to be performed by a barber and yet the saṅkalpa is 'vapanam karisyē' and not 'vapanam kārayisyē'. From Gaut, 27.3 (vapanam vratam caret) prescribing tonsure in cāndrāyāna Haradatta and others infer that vapanas are unnecessary in kṛchra penance.

Baths that are subsidiary to pṛayaścittas are performed with ashes, cowdung, clay, water, pānicagavya and water in which kūṣa grass has been dipped. Mantras that are to be recited at the time of bath are laid down in the Linga-purāṇa, the Bhavisyapūrāṇa and elsewhere.

There are certain virtues to be cultivated as being common to all pṛayaścittas whether secretly or openly undergone. They are called yamas and niyamas and have been set out above (p.121) from Yāj. III. 312–313. Atri (verses 48–49) sets them out somewhat differently. Manu IV. 204 (= Atri verse 47) refers to yamas and niyamas which Medhātithi explains as follows: viz. yamas are in the nature of prohibitions (e. g. a bāhmāpā should not be killed), while niyamas consist of what is to be done (such as one should always recite the Veda, as in Manu IV. 147).

While undergoing pṛayaścittas certain rules about food and other matters were to be observed. For example, Hārīta prescribes that the person undergoing penance should omit on all days māsā and masūra pulse, honey, taking food at the house of or belonging to others and sexual intercourse, should not speak at an improper time, should perform ācāmana if he speaks with women or śūdras or those who are ucchīṣṭa. Yama ordains that one who is undergoing a penance should omit massaging the body or head with oil, the chewing of tāmbūla, applying unguents and every thing else that causes one to feel strength or sexual passion.

According to the Pr. Prakāśa when undertaking a penance one should begin with the mantra 'Agne vratapataye'

---

282. paraśa prāyāścittas vādaṇa: ṣasmatāhāḥ. kāṇḍamāṇī logamāni kāśāyashvam bhaiṣṭhaḥ q. by pard. ma. II. part 1 p. 300.

283. gādāśāyaḥ kānātyāḥ yādā yajñivāryāḥ. kathopanisānaś caiva bhūtas vivaśāyaḥ. yādānti q. by aparastakā p. 1230; ganaśyādī śiśayaḥ sājanātūnāmāh bhūtas. pratipādī bākas śivāyaḥ saṃbhūtākārāh q. by dhar. ma. II. part 2 p. 196.

284. paraśa prāyāścittas vādaṇaḥ bhūtāpāyāḥ bhūtātme vādaṇāḥ kābhināmāh kābhur kṣetram vādāyāḥ. bhūtāntarāyaḥ bhūtāte bhūtāśvāryāḥ kṣetram vādāyāḥ bhūtātme vādānti bhūtātmanāḥ bhūtaṇām. folio 37 b; adh... rāṣṭrapāyāḥ iṣ tē sē 1 5.10.3 = bhrj. sē 1.5 and adh... rāṣṭrapāyāḥ rāṣṭrapāyāḥ iṣ tē sē 1.6 6.3 = bhur. sē 11.28.
Prāyaścitās are of two kinds, prakāśa (undergone openly) and rahasya (undergone secretly). A few words must be said about the latter. Gaut. (24.1–11), Vas. (25.1–3), Manu XI, 248–265, Yaj. III, 301–305, Viṣṇu Dh. 8, 55 and other smṛtis lay down rules about secret prāyaścitās. Where a man’s sin is not known to anyone except himself he may perform secret expiation. In the case of adultery and in the case of association with one guilty of a grave sin, one may still perform a secret penance, even though the adultery is known to the adulteress and even though the man guilty of a mahāpātaka is aware of the association. Vas. 25.2 states the general rule that secret penances are meant for those who have consecrated the Vedic fires, who are disciplined, old or learned and that the openly undergone penances are meant for others. If such a man is himself aware of the proper penance, he should perform it without going to an assembly (parṣad), but if he is not so aware he may consult some knowing person privately, asking him in a general way what the penance for a particular sin may be. Vas. 25.3 provides that those who are always intent on prāṇāyāmas, holy texts, gifts, homas and japa are released from sin. Manu XI, 226 states that those whose sins have not become public may be purified by homas and mantras. Even women and śudras can perform penance in secret, since, though they cannot perform homa and repeat Vedic mantras, they can, as the Mit. on Yaj. III, 300 says, perform expiation by means of gifts and prāṇāyāmas. Gaut. 26.2 and Manu XI, 253 prescribe that one who desires to receive a gift which he should not accept or who receives such a gift should recite in water (navel-deep according to some) the hymn of four verses beginning with ‘taraṃ'

---

225. हसितोद्वाह। अथ माहणिर्य श्वतयश्वाशर्य शस्थस्यमुक्तिपाम। रहस्ये रहस्ये मथः मकास्यमिति। अयं सा। प. 161, परं। मह। II. part 2 p 153; vide शा। सर p. 161 and अयं र। p. 500 for रहस्ये...मकास्यमिति as from यस।

226. अविलितोभिकीत्युद्रस्तिष्ठितोबृमभृणि वा। रहस्योऽर्थं ममविष्ठ्युतो द्वादशोऽस्रीमितिरो जना।” ग्रहणोऽर्थं पद्मेऽस्रीमितेऽपि। लिन्युष्टः महस्यवनेत तत्तथेऽर्थां न समावः॥ विष्णुवुद्ग 25. 2-3; the first verse is q. by अविलितो व. 1212 as from शतसहस्तिः (reads शस्त्रस्ति हु)।
sa mandi' (Rg. X.58.1–4). For one who is guilty of brāhmaṇa murder Gaut. (24.6) prescribes that for the first ten days he should subsist on milk alone, on clarified butter for a further ten days, on water for another period of ten days, that he should partake of the articles specified only once in the morning, should wear wet clothes and should offer every day eight symbolic homas with clarified butter, of his hair on the body, nails, skin, flesh, blood, muscles, bones and marrow with the words 'I offer in the mouth of Death' added at the end. 287 Yaj. III.301 prescribes that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa should fast for ten days, should recite the Aghamarṣaṇa hymn (Rg. X.190) while submerged in water, donate a cow yielding milk, while Viṣṇu prescribes that he should bathe for a month in a flowing stream or river, should perform every day 16 prāṇāyāmas, should eat only once a day sacrificial food and may then become purified. Viṣṇu provides that the drinker of surā becomes pure by observing the vrata (as stated) for brāhmaṇa murder and reciting Aghamarṣaṇa; while the thief of brāhmaṇa’s gold becomes pure by fasting for three days and reciting the sacred Gayatri ten thousand times and one guilty of incest by the repeated recital of the hymn beginning with ‘sahasraśrṣa’ (Rg. X. 90).

The sages observed that some of the penances mentioned in old smritis were terrible and involved loss of life. Therefore, gradually more humane and easier penances came to be prescribed. For example, Hārīta 288 states 'brāhmaṇas who have studied dharmaśāstra should prescribe a penance appropriate to the age, the time and the strength of the brāhmaṇa (sinner), the penance being such that he may not lose his life and yet may be purified; one should not prescribe an observance that will cause great distress (to the sinner). Āngiras also says that the parśad should indicate the penance resolved upon by all the members which would not cause loss of life. Sankha

287. हरित on मी. 24.6 explains that he will have to say होमानि आत्मनी छेते युधयोदये अहोमि स्वाहा म्हानामान्यने हस्ते स्वयंसर्वे अहोमि स्वाहेर्वेवकार होमानि.

288. यज्ञवर्गोऽयुज्जातः ग्यायानं च भास्त्रेः। ग्यायर्वर्गोऽयुज्जातः भास्त्रेऽपि। वेन हरितं सर्वनाथ सुधे युधयोदये। यात्र सहस्रं तयात्र सर्वनाथ सुधे बृहस्पतिइं हरितं Q. by परा. मा. II part 1 p. 235; पवेश्वरवतीत्तत्र सर्वोपयोग्य किंचिदि भूतं # सर्वोपयोग्य वस्तुर्यार्य गणान्यं न वातपेतुं # अद्यपि Q. by वरा. मा. II part 1 p. 236, शत- पा. p. 779.
declares: a brāhmaṇa should never practise the performance of a penance in a forest full of thieves, ferocious beasts, elephants and other animals through fear of injury to life. The body that is the all in all (i.e. the only source) of (the observance of) dharma must be protected with efforts; just as water oozes down from the mountain, so dharma springs from the body.

As times changed easier substitutes (called pratyāmnāyas) were found and prescribed. The word pratyāmnāya was used in this sense in the Āp. Śr. S. V. 20.18 (yadyanādhyo-gunādādhitā kāmam-evaikām gām dadyāt sā gavām pratyāmnāyo bhavatiti vijnāyate), 6. 30.9 and Śān. Śr. S. 14.51.6 and other sūtras. Saṁvarta 290 states that if a sinner is unable to undergo the Prājapatyā penance, he may donate instead a cow yielding milk and if he cannot donate such a cow he may donate the full price of such a cow. Paraśara 291 (XII. 63–64) provides four substitutes for a Prājapatyā penance viz. the recital of the famous Gāyatrī mantra (Rg. III. 62.10) ten thousand times or 200 praṇāyāmas, or bathing twelve times in a sacred watery place after drying the head on each bath, or taking to a journey of two yojanas towards a holy place. From the words of Gaut. 19.16 and 18 (quoted above in note 120) it follows that gold is a substitute for a cow by way of penance. The Brahmapurāṇa 292 provides that in the absence of a cow a niśka or half niśka

289. तत्स्तरसप्ताकृतिभिः स्थापितो वने । न तत्र भाष्य: कुत्तर्मवाच्याध्यापासयस्तात ।
परिं भस्मस्वर्गस्य ध्या वट्टवत: । परिं भस्मस्वर्गस्य ध्या पर्वतोलितािः पाथ: । परसु. 17. 63 and 65 q. by महा. पा. 728, अपारं रत्र p. 1231 (which inserts one more verse between the two (सत्तो जीवित स्त्रेज्ञस्यां स्त्र्योष्ठिति)। श्याने: भन्नेश्वत्वा वानिषयियान्म भवतार्यम: ॥
This is सप्त. 17.64.

290. ग्राजपत्यसत्तासङ्गे अन्तस्य व्याजःविषयीयाम । वेदान्तमयो व्याजः तुर्ये मूर्त्ये न
लेस्यात: ॥ सत्तो q. द्वा र. मा. II. part 2 p. 197, मा. साक्ष p. 203, मात. तस p. 517
and 541. The लिङ्गa, on मा. III. 326 quotes this verse as स्थर्वस्तति and adds another half as बुध्याव्यःया मिन्या का तद्येशं वार्त्यपेयथाय । The verse is q. from
मात्स्यप्रसादलयम् by अपारं रत्र p. 1248.

291. ग्राजपत्यसत्तासङ्गा अन्ताः प्रयाजःविषयाय खुर्द्देश्वरपुर्व पैदेय ग्राजःपादाभ्यस्तापस ॥
प्रयाघिन्येव नाडिप्रेस्तालं आक्षेपत्यथाय ॥ विपयोपने पीयत्याय खुर्द्देश्वरे मकावित्वाः ॥ परसार
XII. 63–64 and रा. मा. II part 2 p. 47.

292. मूर्त्ये व च चासकां तेष्व तु अत एष महारुपव्या व्याजःभावाते निक्ष्य भवास्यस्य पायने
वा । द्वा. मा. II part 2 p. 197, मा. साक्ष p. 203. The लिङ्गa, on मा. III. 326 quotes
it without name.
or a quarter niskā may be given. The Caturvimsatimāta provides several pratyāmānas for Prājapatyā vīz. recital of Gāyatrī ten thousand times, standing in water, gift of a cow to a brāhmaṇa—these four (including Prājapatyā) are equal, as also a thousand homas with sesame, recitation of the whole sanhita of the veda, feeding twelve brāhmaṇas, Pāvakeśi are equal. The Caturvimsatimāta stated that one should substitute the gift of one cow for Prājapatyā penance, of two cows for Sāntapanā, of three cows for Parāka, Taptakṛcchra and Aitikṛcchra and eight for Cāndrayaṇa. The result was that from medieval times at least even in the case of mahāpātakas there was a sliding scale of penances ultimately ending in feeding brāhmaṇas or making monetary or other presents to them. For example, the Mitra (on Yaj. III. 326) says that in the case of the twelve years' penance, optionally 360 prājapatyās could be performed, each prājapatyā extending over twelve days, that if a man was unable to undergo this he should donate as many (i.e. 360) milch cows, if that was impossible he may donate their price or 360 niskas or even half or quarter thereof &c. Yaj. III. 309 provides (a lakh of) homas with sesame to the accompaniment of the Gāyatrī or making brāhmaṇas recite the Veda by the gift of sesame. Vas. 28, 18–19 (=Atri VI, 7–8) and Viśṇu Dh. 8, 90, 10 state that by feeding seven or five brāhmaṇas on the Full moon of Vaśiśṭha with sesame and honey a man becomes free of all sins. These provi—
sions are maintained in almost all medieval works such as the Smṛtyarthaśāra pp. 149, 155, Prāyaścitṭasāra p. 203, Pr. T. pp. 517, 541, Pr. Mayūkha p. 18 &c. The same method is followed in penances for lesser periods. It is due to this provision in the smṛtis that in modern times men, when on death-bed, perform prāyaścitās for all their sins by donating a cow or more or by monetary presents to priests.  

Some interesting sidelights are thrown on the prices of milch cows, cows and bulls by the medieval writers. The Pr. V. (p. 199) states that the price of a milch cow (paśasvinī) was 3 purānas, that of an ordinary cow (go) one purāna and that of a bull was five purānas. The Pr. T. (pp. 517–18) quotes Kātyāyana to the effect that the price of a cow (go) is 32 pañas and that of a male calf one purāna, that a pana is copper weighing 80 raktikās or equal to 80 varāṭakas (couriers), that 16 panas were equal to one purāna (following Bhaviṣya and Matsya purānas), that by niśka is not meant the one indicated by Manu (VIII, 137) but a dināruṇa i.e. gold weighing 32 raktikās. The Prāyaścitenduśekhara p. 7 follows Yāj. I.365 and holds that niśka is silver equal (in weight) to four suvarṇas or a pala. A raktikā weighs on an average 1·8 grains; so a copper pana of 80 raktikās would weigh about 144 grains. Therefore a dhenu was equal to 32 panas (or two purānas) i.e. about 26 tolas of copper (one tola being taken as equal to 180 grains). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp.120–121 notes 161 and 162 for information about ancient coins and their weights. There appears to be owing to lapse of centuries some difference in the views of several writers. According to Viṣṇuśvara four suvarṇas are equal to a silver niśka. According to the Lilāvati 20 varāṭakas are equal to a kākini, 4 kākinis are equal to a pana and a niśka is equal to 256 pañas.

795a. There was a parallel to this method of pratyāmnāya in Europe as remarked by Gibbon 'A year of penance was appreciated at 26 solidi of silver, about four pounds sterling, for the rich, at 3 solidi or nine shillings for the indigent; and these aims were soon appropriated to the Church which derived from the redemption of sins an inexhaustible source of opulence and dominion.' Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. VII, p. 187 (Smith's ed. of 1862).
CHAPTER V

NAMES OF ALL PRAYAŚCITTAS

Now all the praayaścittas mentioned in the smṛtis and digests will be arranged in alphabetical order (Sanskrit, transliterated into English), excepting mere hymns, fasts, &c. and brief explanations and references will be added to each.

AGHAMĀRṢAṆĀ—(The hymn Rg. X.190.1–3).

This is prescribed as a penance for all sins by even the most ancient Dharmaśāstra works such as Gaut. 24.11, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 2.19–20, Vas. 26.8, Manu XI.259–260, Yāj. III.301, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55.7, Śaṅkha 18.1–2 and others. They prescribe that if a man recites (for three days, according to Haradatta) the Agharmāraṇa hymn thrice in the day while immersed in water for a bath, he is freed from all sins and that this penance is equal in sanctification to the bath at the end of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The Pr. Śāra p. 199 speaks of the Aghamāraṇa-vrata. He has to fast for three days and stand up by day and sit up by night and donate a milch cow at the end. Śaṅkha 18.1–2 and Viṣṇu Dh. S.46.1–9 prescribe the details.

ATIKRCCHRA—Vide under Kṛcchra. Manu XI. 213 prescribes that this penance is constituted by eating only one morsel of food for three days in the morning only, for three days in the evening only, for three days eating one morsel got without asking for it and observing a complete fast for the next three days. Yāj. III.319, on the other hand, prescribes the eating of just as much food as would fill the hand (and not merely one morsel). The Mit., Pr. Śāra (p. 176) and others state that the rule of Manu applies to those who are able to undergo it, while that of Yāj. is meant for those who are unable (aśakta). The Sāmavidhāna Br. I.2.6–7, Gaut. 26.18–19, Viṣṇu Dh. S.54.30, Laugākṣṣigṛhya V.12–13, Parāśara XI.54–55, Vas. 24.1–2, Baud. Dh. S. IV.5.8 also speak of this. Manu XI.308 (= Viṣṇu 54.30) prescribes this penance for striking a brāhmaṇa with a weapon or a cudgel. Gaut. 26.22 states that this penance purifies a man of all sins except the mahāpātikas.

ATISĀNTAPANA—See under Mahā-sāntapana. This is variously defined. According to the Agnipurāṇa 171.10 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.21 it lasts for 18 days (3 times of the Mahā-sāntapana in which for six days one has to subsist on cow’s urine and five
other things). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 315 quotes a verse of Yama according to which this penance lasts for 13 days. 296 The Pr. M. (p. 23) speaks of it as lasting for 15 days.

**ARDHAKRČCHA**—See under Krčra. According to the Āpastamba-smṛti 9.43-44, this is constituted by taking food only once in the day for one day, only once in the evening for one day, taking food for two days without asking for it and completely fasting for two days 297 (in all six days). The Mit. quotes another variety of it, viz. subsisting for three days on food obtained without asking for it and thereafter observing a complete fast for three days.

**ĀŚVAMEDHAVABHRTHASANĀNA**—the ceremonial bath in the sea or a holy river at the end of an Āśvamedha sacrifice. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 36 (last verse) prescribes for those guilty of mahāpātakas and anupātakas the Āśvamedha sacrifice. It is only an emperor or a crowned king who is entitled to perform an Āśvamedha, at the end of which comes a ceremonial bath. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1228-1236 for a description of the Āśvamedha. According to Pr. V. p. 65 only a ksatriya could perform Āśvamedha and so this bath was a penance for him alone. But according to Kuljūka (on Manu XI. 92) and Pr. T. (both quoting a verse from Bhavisya-purāṇa) even a brāhmaṇa could participate in the bath at the end of the Āśvamedha and become free from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder if committed unintentionally. 298

**ĀGNEYA KRČCHA**—According to the Agnipurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara if a man subsists for twelve days on sesame alone that is āgneya Krčcha. 299 Vide also Pr. (folio 48 b.)

296. पद्या तु च चण्डा सान्तनमुद्याणामेककर्ष द्वादशपुष्पोद्यास्वमद्रात्सात्पन्नेत।
पवातः यस्मात् एतानेन तथा पेनुप्रयोक्तां तु इतवं द्वादश।
अन्तिसात्पन्नेन नाम नन्दकामी कोण्यातेऽपि
विमता। समा. III. 315, माय. सा. p. 191, अनले. p. 1234 (reads इवत्व इपह)।

297. सांप्यात्यात्वेकैं विन्ध्योपवाचित।
विन्ध्यं च नासीपाटक्षुर्य तद्विधयते।

298. अन्या-माध्यस्तित्वं हु राज्य एव तत्तथेवार्थिताय।...अन्या-माध्य-स्तित्ताय विमानावधिकाराय।
तथा च कर्त्तावतं अविभभृतानाम। पद्या तु चण्डाय विमानं धावते तु तद्विधयते।
अनामित्तस्तु मनोगमित्याय विमानावधिकाराय।
तत्स्तित्भवानां सत्यं विद्ययतस्मिति
पापविलेखनेकारं देवम्। माय. सा. p. 544। Vide माय. स्वा. p. 65 for the opinion referred to।

299. तिक्तसाधुस्मेत्र त्वस्मादवेष्टनात्मविन्नु। अन्तिरुपाग 171. 14। विन्ध्योपदेशम्।
च. माय. पानसा folio 48b (reads *केमुहुप्चन्त्र*).
**KSICANDRAYANA**—According to Brhad-Visnu quoted by Pr. Prakarana p. 132 this penance requires that one should take only three mouthfuls of sacrificial food every day for a month. 300

**EKABHAHTAKA**—According to Pr. Pr. (folio 48a) if one takes for a month only one meal a day it is ekabhaktaka. 301

**KRCCHRA**—This is the general word for several penances. The Sama, Br. (1.2.1) starts 302 by saying `we shall now expound three krcchras` and adds that one should eat sacrificial food for three days only by day and eat nothing at night, then for three days more one should eat at night only, then for three more days one should not beg or ask for food from others and should then observe a complete fast for three days. If he is in a hurry to purify himself he should pass the day standing and the night in a sitting posture. Gaut. (26.2-16) describes the procedure of the first Krcchra (called Prajapatyas by later writers), then Atikrcchra (26.18-19), and then Krcchratikrcchra (26.20). Baud. Dh. S. (II.1.91) speaks of Paraka as Krcchra. Āp. Dh. S. (19.27.7) describes the Krcchra penance of twelve days. The Krcchra penance described by Gaut, 26.2-16 is one for twelve days and is called Prajapatyas by Manu (XI.211), Saṅkha (18.3), Yaj. III.319 and others. Laugaksi Sr. (5.3-11) describes Krcchra. According to the Par. 303 M. (II. part I p. 30) and Pr. Pr. (folio 64a) the word Krcchra without any qualifying epithet (upapada) means Prajapatyas. The Pr. T. (p. 481) states that the Krcchra described by Gaut. (26.1-5) is given the name of Prajapatyas by Manu (XI.211). Besides the rules about the intake of food, Gaut. prescribes certain other observances viz. speaking the truth, not holding conversation with

300. तथा क्र्षिद्धिष्ठे। स्त्रीकृष्ण विषदाय समीष्माघमा भिभास। ह्विवारस्य वै नागसैनियचर्मरायं चैन। पाप प्रक। p. 132। This verse is quoted as Yama's by Pr. V. p. 520, Pr. T. p. 544, पाप सिद्धि p. 196 (reads ग्रासां for विषदाय।)

301. एकमेवेन मात्रेन कर्षिते वै क्र्षिरक्र्षिन। नकङ्कयूः हन्तानि सदांनालसारत्रज्ञेन। मा। प्रकाश। (folio 48 a.)

302. मात्राशासन सुल्ला तिः राजसीणियपतात। अन्यांनां सेवनं न अंतौ सुन्दरताधारारं सोऽपि न काश्चन पावेदाधारारं सोऽपि। तिंवृत्ती राजाभासीस्य तिमायास। स्र्व। प्रक। I. 2. 1-4। ि्व। 26. 1-6) is word for word the same except that Gaut. omits the word श्रीमान् in the first sūtra. अष्टावकीय। क्र्षिद्धिष्ठे श्यायाविष्ठे। ह्विवारस्य अन्यांनां काव्यशास्त्रियोऽस्व। सम्बूङ। व्यायामगांवित्ताक्षरेऽथ नासनायत तिनयमिति क्र्षिद्धिष्ठार्थग्राह्य सिद्धी। आप। प्र। ि्व। I. 9. 27. 7.

303. मनुस्मृतिमापेक्षा विषदायमानं क्र्षिद्धिष्ठं मनुस्मृत्यं श्रेयः। श्रेयं वै ज्ञातां मनुग्राह्य क्र्षिद्धिष्ठितं ज्ञात्यावहितं क्र्षिद्धिष्ठितं। भास। प्र। II part I. p. 30.
men and women that are anāryas (not of the three higher castes), always singing the sāmans called 'Raurava' and 'Yaudhājapa', bathing thrice in the day in the morning, the noon and the night, then performing mārjana304 (sprinkling of of water) with the three verses beginning with 'Āpo hi śthā' (Rg. X.9.1-3), with the mantras called 'pavitravatī' viz. those beginning with 'pavamānāḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I 4.8.1) and the eight verses beginning with 'Hiraṇyavarṇaḥ' (in Tai. S. V. 6.1), he should perform tarpāna with water with 13 mantras (Gaut. 26.12); he performs the worship of Āditya (the sun) with the same mantra (i.e. after tarpāna with the 13 mantras, he is to perform the worship of the sun with the same thirteen mantras) and offers oblations of clarified butter with the same 13 mantras and then on the 13th day he cooks boiled rice and offers oblations into ordinary Agni ('svāhā' added at the end of each, such as 'agnaye svāhā'), Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, Viśve devaḥ, Brahman, Prājapati and Agni ŚViṣṭakrt and then feeds the brahmānas.

Kṛchra—saṁvatsara—Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.27.8 speaks of this as a penance in which Kṛchras are undergone continuously in a cycle for one year.

Krochrātkrochra—Gaut. 25.20 and Sāma. Br. I. 2. 8, Vas. 24.3 define it as a kṛchra where only water is drunk on those days on which food is allowed and Gaut. 26.23 and Sāma. Br. I. 2. 9 state that this penance frees a man from all sins.305 Yāj. III 320 (= Devala 86, first half) and Brahmapurāṇa q. by Pr. Pr. (folio 40 a) prescribe that in this one has to subsist on water alone for 21 days. This difference between the views of Yāj. on the one hand and of Gaut. on the other is reconciled by the digests by saying that the period depends on the capacity of the sinner. According to Pr. Pr. (folio 46b) and Aparārka p. 1238, Yama prescribed a krochrātkrochra for 24 days.306 Vide Par.

304. For mārjana vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp 317, 812 n and for tarpāna the same vol. pp. 668-9, 689-695. Raurava Sāman is sung on the ṛk 'puñānāḥ soma dhārayā' (Rg. IX. 107.4 = Sāmveda Nos. 511 and 675) and Yaudhājapa on 'Duḥkāna ūdhar' (Rg. IX. 107.5 = Sāmveda No. 676).

305. अभमक्षः स कृष्णालिकाक्षः || …तृतीय चरित्रा सत्वनामेऽपि दुःस्वति || नै 26, 20, 23; कृष्णालिकाक्षः स कृष्णालिकाक्षः || वलिक 24, 3.

306. कृष्णालिकाक्षः नू निवयता विज्ञत्विद्यः || कृष्णालिकाक्षः कृष्णालिकाक्षः एव || नूम q. by Aparārka p. 1238, महापा. प. 716; साराग्रह folio 182 explains: पूर्व-क्वद्वाऽवासासाधनालिकामूलसूतिये एव: कृष्णालिकाक्षः समग्रितिः ||
M. II part 1 p. 179 and Madanapārijāta p. 716. According to Manu XI. 208 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54.30) when a person strikes a brāhmaṇa with a weapon and draws blood, he has to undergo this penance. The Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 15) states that for those unable to undergo Krochra, one milch cow is a substitute, for Atikrochra two milch cows and for Krocharākrocchra four.

GOMŪTRA-KROCHRA—The Pr. Śāra p. 187 quotes a verse about this: one should make a cow eat to satiety grains of wheat mixed with barley and then may collect the yava grains that are to be found in her dung and then drink the gruel of those yavas cooked in cow’s urine. 307

GOVRATA—Pr. Prakaraṇa (p. 132) quoting the Mārkaṇḍeya describes this as follows: One should bathe with cow’s urine, should subsist on cow-dung, should always stand among cows, should sit down on cowdung, should drink water only when cows have drunk water; one should not eat when they have not eaten, should stand up when they stand, should sit down when they sit down. This should be continued for a month.

CANDRAYANA—The word is derived in this way. That rite, where there is action by means of increase and decrease (in the intake of food) in imitation of the course of the phases of the moon, is cāndrayāna. 308 The word occurs in Pān. V. 1. 72 (pāṇyaṇa-tuṇyaṇa-cāṇḍrāyanam vartayati). From very ancient times Cāndrāyana has been divided into two varieties, called Yavamadya 309 (lit. being large in the middle like a grain of yava, and therefore tapering or thin at the ends) and Pipilikāmadhyā (lit. having a middle like that of an ant, that is, slender in the middle and large at the ends). Baud. Dh. S. III. 8. 33 names these two varieties. According to Jābali 310 there are five

307. आ प्रोत्साहिते मां गौयुक्तवाचिलमात्रः। तात्पीयार्थवाच तेष्वती विषेण्मुन्यु- नायकाद्वैपि q. by भाष. सह. p.187. This is quoted as from प्रेम्रपश्यवत्त्याः by महास्मातः folio 185a (which reads प्रेम्रत्त for प्रेम्रत्त.)

308. चाँदरवायणं चारणं चन्दिकां कर्मच रासुद्रुतम तत्तत्त्त्तं याणवाचः। संप्रकश्या दीर्घे। लिता. on या III. 323. These very words are quoted in भाष. सह. (p. 192), मा. मन्त्र (folio 50b) and other works. The word should be चाँदरायण, but being a technical term the first syllable is lengthened.

309. तद्विलापणशङ्करं पिपिलिकामथं विपरीत यात्रयुक्तम्। सौ. ध. III. 8. 33. 'यद्यवर्त अवस्थानोपन्यस्ते मरणं च वर्त्तेऽहि इति भाष. सह. p. 192. पिपिलिकामथ्यें इसिदं भवनेति विपिलिकामथ्यं संकेतं लिता. on या III. 323.

310. पिपिलिकामथं व विलापणशङ्करं तथा। चाँदरवायणं तथा शेर्णं पुर्वं कर्मं संयोज- त्त्रितं च भाषणं सिद्धस्तति च तत्त्त्त्त्त्तं फलं योगं। जाबलिः q. by भाष. सह. p. 325, माघ. ति. p. 517.
varieties of Cāndrāyana viz. Yavamadhya, Pipilikāmadhya, Yaticāndrāyana, Sarvatomukha and Śīscāndrāyana. These will be described later on. Yājñavalkya says (III. 326) that where no specific penance is prescribed in the smṛti texts, cāndrāyana effects purification and cāndrāyana may be undergone not as a penance but for the purpose of accumulating merit and that in the latter case (when performed for a year) the performer enjoys the happiness of going to the world of the moon after death. 311 Manu XI. 221 and Gaut. 27.18 state the same view about cāndrāyana for accumulating merit. When the vṛata of cāndrāyana is performed for the sake of merit, there is no tonsure (vide Gaut. 27.3 ‘vapanaṃ vṛataṃ caret’ and Haradatta thereon). Gaut. 19.20 (= Vas. 22.20) prescribes that Kṛchra, Atikṛchra and Cāndrāyana are the same penance for all sins (collectively for grave sins, for lesser ones separately, according to Haradatta and others). Compare Manu V. 21 and XI. 215 (=Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5. 16). Manu XI. 27, Yāj. III. 323, Vas. 27.31, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.18 and others define Cāndrāyana (of the Yavamadhya type) as follows: On the first day of the bright half of a month only one morsel of food (grāsa or pinda) is taken, on the second tithi two and so on; on the full moon (Paurnamāsta) 15 morsels are taken; then on the first of the dark half 14 morsels, one being reduced on each succeeding day. So on the 14th of the dark half only one morsel is eaten and on the Amāśaya there is a complete fast. Here in the middle of the month of thirty days the largest number of morsels is taken (and so this is Yavamadhya) just as on the Paurnamāsta the moon becomes full and begins to wane from the next day. Here Paurnamāsta is in the middle of the period of the observance as Viṣṇu Dh. S. 47.6 says. If one begins the vṛata on the first tithi of the dark half, he reduces one morsel on the 1st i. e. takes 14 morsels on that day, 13 on the 2nd tithi of the dark half and so on. On the 14th of the dark half he eats one morsel and on the amāśaya he eats nothing. Then on the 1st of the bright half he takes one morsel and goes on increasing the intake till on the Paurnamāsta he takes 15 morsels. The month is taken in this latter case to be Pūrṇimāta. Here in the middle of the observance there is no food taken and a large number of morsels is taken at the beginning and at the end. So this is called Pipilikāmadhya. This latter is described by Vas. 23.45

311. अनाहिणे पापं वृषभं वयस्माध्यमन ्ह । वसाध्य वस्मदद्विष्टप्रयति सत्तोत्तरसं।
व. III. 326; संत्तरत नाना संन्यस्त: सत्तोत्तमानामपि । कै. 27. 18.
and Manu XI. 216. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 47.5-6 say: Yasyāmamāvāsya
madhye bhavati sa pipālikā-madhyeḥ yasya paurṇamāśi sa
yavamadhyāh. If there are 14 or 16 tithis in any particular
pākṣa (half of a month) then the number of grūsas must be
regulated accordingly. There are other descriptions of
cāndrāyaṇa. Vide Haradatta on Gaut. 27.12-15. The Kalpataru
appears to have held (explaining two verses of Jābala) that on
the first of the dark half of a month 15 morsels were taken, then
one morsel less was taken on each succeeding tithi; so that on
amavāsyā one morsel was eaten, then on the first of the bright
half two morsels were eaten and one morsel was added every
day so that on the 14th of the bright half fifteen morsels were
taken and there was a complete fast on Paurṇamāśi. But this
seems to be opposed to the very idea of increase and decrease of
the intake of food on the analogy of the waxing and waning of
the Moon and to several smṛti texts such as Vās. 23.45 and
Pāṇāśara X. 2. Therefore the Pr. Prakāṣa (folio 55b) finds
fault with it. 311a. Cāndrāyaṇa may be divided from another
point of view into two varietics: (1) MUKHYA (in the primary
sense, viz. following exactly the waxing and waning of the
moon) and GAUNA (having a secondary or metaphorical
sense). The former is either yavamadhyā or pipālikā-tanumadhyā
), while the latter is of four kinds, viz. sāmāṇya, rṣi-
cāndrāyaṇa, śiśucāndrāyaṇa and yāticāndrāyaṇa. The last
two will be described later. The Sāmāṇya (or sarvatomukha)
consists in eating only 240 morsels of sacrificial food in a month
of 30 days, distributing them according to one’s choice (not
necessarily in imitation of the phases of the moon) as stated by
Manu XI.220, Baud. IV. 5.21, Yāj. III. 324 and the Mit. (on
Yāj. III. 324,), the Madana-pārijāta and other works. Here the
penance, though it is not regulated by the phases of the moon,
is called Cāndrāyaṇa for the purpose of prescribing the same
procedure and observances in it as in the Cāndrāyaṇa which
follows the phases of the moon. Here the Mīmāṁsā rule of
Kuṇḍapāyinām-ayana applies. 312 From the words of Gautama

311a. अथ कामताधारणेयमां । एवेकं हरसत्येव वासालसेवे वर्त्त्वित्वार्थः एवाध्यायसानो

312. अथाच्छाद्यम: द्विदीर्देहान्वात्याबालकेनात्मकताविशेष: अष्ट्य न मे बहुः विद्र बहुः:

(Continued on the next page)
27.12-15 It appears that he envisaged a Cāndrāyaṇa of 32 days (pipilikāmadhya) or 31 days, when he says that the performer should fast on the 14th of the bright half, eat fifteen morsels on the Full Moon day, then reduce it by one morsel, so that there is a total fast on the amāvāsyā and then on the first of the bright half one morsel is taken until on the full moon 15 morsels are taken. Thus from the 14th of the bright half (when there is a complete fast) to the full moon of the succeeding month there are in all 32 days and the penance is of the pipilikā-madhyā type.

As regards the size of the morsels, different views are expressed. Gaut. 27.10 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 47.3 prescribe that the size of a morsel shall be such as not to cause a distortion of the mouth (while swallowing it). Yāj. III. 323 allows that the morsels may be as large as the egg of a peahen, and Parāśara X.3\(^{313}\) prescribes the size of a hen’s egg and Sankha that of an undried āmalaka fruit (myrobalan). The Mit. explains that Gautama’s words apply to boys and young people and that the other sizes confer an option according to the capacity (śakti) of the man undergoing penance. The procedure of Cāndrāyaṇa is described in Gaut. 27.2-11, Baud. III. 8, Manu XI. 221-225, Vṛddha-gautama chap. 16 and other works. The one given by Gautama, being probably the oldest among Dharmaśāstra works, is here set out.

The general rules prescribed for the Kṛchchra penance in Gaut. 26.6-11 are applicable to Cāndrāyaṇa also. If it is performed as a penance the performer must tonsure his hair and observe a fast on the day preceding the Full Moon. He offers libations of water, oblations of clarified butter, consecrates the sacrificial food and worships the moon, reciting ‘āpyāyasvā’ (Rg. I. 91. 17), ‘san te payāinsi’ (Rg. I. 91. 18). He shall offer clarified butter, reciting the four (ṛks) beginning with ‘yad devā devaheṇanam’ (Vāj. S. 20.14 or Tai. Br. II. 6. 6.1). These

(Continued from the last page)
four together with the preceding are seven oblations of clarified butter that have to be offered. At the end of the offering of clarified butter he shall offer pieces of sacred fuel while reciting the (eight) texts beginning with ‘devakṛ tyma’ (Vāj. S. VIII. 13). Each mouthful must be consecrated by (mentally) reciting one of the 314 following words ‘om bhūḥ, bhuvah, svāḥ, tapāḥ, truth, fame, prosperity, vigour, refreshment, strength, lustre, brightness, soul, dharma and śiva’ 315; or he may consecrate all of them at once saying ‘adoration! svāḥ’. The sacrificial food must be one of the following: boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley, grain separated from the husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, sour milk, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water. Among these each succeeding one is preferable to that enumerated earlier.

JALA KṚCHRA—See under Toyakṛchra.

TAPTAKṚCHRA—There is great divergence of views about this penance. Manu XI. 214, Vās. 21.21, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.11, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.10, Śaṅkha-smṛti 18.4, Agnipuruṣa 171. 6–7, Atri verses 122–123, Parāśara IV. 7 speak of it as of 12 days’ duration comprising four periods of three days each. In this one drinks hot water, hot milk, hot ghee for three days each and then for three days there is a complete fast when he inhales hot vapour or atmosphere (acc. to Manu XI. 214). Manu adds that the performer has to bathe only once (and not thrice as in some other penances) and that he should practise self-control. Yaj. III. 317 (= Devala 84) speaks of this as of four days’ duration, viz. he takes hot milk, hot ghee and hot water for one day each and observes a total fast on the 4th day. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 317 calls this mahātapatra-kṛchra and also mentions a taptakṛchra of two days, viz. on the first day the sinner takes: ‘il tē thraē, viz. hot water, hot milk and hot ghee and observes a total fast on the 2nd day. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 50a) remarks that the authority for the two days’ taptakṛchra spoken

314. Haradatta says that on the days when the performer eats less than fifteen morsels, the counting is to be from the beginning and the later mentioned texts must be left out and that, while eating, the performer must employ the Prāṇāḥuti mantras, viz. ‘prāṇāya svāḥ, apāṇāya svāḥ’ etc.

315. The words of the Mantras are ‘ōm bhūḥ: śa考えて: सर्वधे: तत्त्वश: अिन्स्थम्-लोकोऽविधय: प्रयो ध्याम: लिब इष्टेयसालसुमत्र: प्रतिमय: मनसा। नम: श्राहति वा सर्वान्। मृ. 27. 8–9; some MSS omit वंचि: ’
of by the Mit. has to be found out. The Pr. Prakāśa refers to a tapta-krcchra for 21 days. It may be said, as done by the Pr. Prakāśa, that the penance of tapta-krcchra for twelve days is meant for great sins and that the one for four days is meant for lesser sins. The quantity of water, milk and ghee, that was to be taken is laid down by Parāśara 316 IV. 8, Atri 123-124 and Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Pr. V. p. 511) viz. that hot water, hot milk and hot ghee should be six palas, three palas and one pala respectively. The Brahmapurāṇa adds that water, milk and ghee are to be taken respectively in the evening, morning and noon.

**TULAPURUṢA KRCCHIRA**—Jābali speaks 317 of the duration of this penance as eight days; Saṅka (18,9-10) and Viṣṇu D. S. 46,22 describe one of ten days where oil-cake, the foamy scum of cooked rice, butter-milk, water and barley meal are to be eaten, each respectively on one day, followed by a fast on the next day. Yaj. III. 322 (= Atri verses 129-130) describes one of 15 days where the above five ingredients are eaten for three days each. Yama on the other hand speaks of Tulāpuruṣa for 21 days, when the five things are separately eaten for three days (vide Mit. on Yaj. III. 322). Aparārka pp. 1239-1241, Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 184-189, Madanapārijāta pp. 718-727, Pr. Śaśa pp. 179-181 set out at length the mode of the performance of Tulāpuruṣa as a penance. In this penance two images of the performer made of fragrant uṣira grass were to be prepared and placed in the pan of a balance a span high made either of gold or silver or sandalwood and were to be weighed against pebbles and placed in another pan and worship was to be offered to Mahādeva and Umā and many other subordinate deities such as Agni, Vāyu, the sun.

316. शहुपाल तु चित्तुभाषितप तु पप: चितेत्। पतनमेंंं चितेसमित्तास्तनुमथि चित्तपति ॥ पराशर IV. 8 (B. S series) vol. II part 1 p. 26. It may be noted that the Mit. on Yaj. III 317, the Pr. Śaśa p 136 read parāśar’s verse as ‘स्वथ चित्त पाल तु चितेत्। पतनमेंंं चितेसमित्तास्तनुमथि चित्तपति ॥ and that the Mit. explains ‘चित्रांत्रज्यातिवर्त उपयोगः चित्रांत्रज्यांचित्रांत्रितथः’ 1. The Sar. Pr. pp. 735-736 contains both these verses and ascribes both to parāśar. According to Yaj. I. 363-64 a pala is equal to 4 or 5 suvarnas and a suvarna is equal to 80 kroṇanalas (guṇajas) in weight.

317. तत्र ज्ञातिः। चित्तुभाषितै च यथायांम तत्रैं चौव्यासरः। चित्रांत्रज्यांतः तुलापुष्य उपयोगः॥ q. by ma. sāra p. 178, sar. ma. II. part 2 p. 183.
TOYA-KRCCHA—This is also called Varuna-krccha by Yama (q. in Pr. Prakāśa, folio 48 a) and by Śaṅkha (q. in Pr. Śara p. 182). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (46. 14) states 318 that subsisting on nothing but ground barley mixed with water for one month is called Udakakṛccha. Since Varuna was regarded as the lord of waters even from the times of the Rgveda (e. g. in Rg. VII. 49, 3) and to mark the truth and falsehood among men, this Toyakṛccha was called Vārūṇa. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 47 b)319 quotes Jābala to the effect ‘If a sinner remains immersed in water for a whole day and night without taking food and recites mantras (addressed to Varuna) he removes by the jalakṛccha the sins which he may have committed for a year’. According to Yajñavalkya (q. in Pr. Śara p. 187) this penance consists in observing a fast for a day and night standing up the whole day and passing the night without sleep in water and reciting the next day the sacred Gāyatrī mantra 1008 times. According to Śaṅkha (q. by Madana-pārjāta p. 737) this penance is constituted either by subsisting on lotus stalks grown in water or on sakṣus boiled in water.

DADHIKRCCHA—This is spoken of by the Pr. Prakāśa quoting from the Visnudharmottarapurāṇa as a penance in which the sinner subsists on curds alone for a month.320

DEVAKRCCCHA—Yama quoted by Par. M. (II. part. 2 pp. 191−192) describes this as follows 321: One should partake

---

318. उदकसङ्कुच्यां मासाङ्कुच्याः प्रकृति:। विष्णुपरमेश्वर 46. 14: ‘विष्णुपरमेश्वर—

319. अनव-श्वरसंपर्वसंपर्वसंपर्व- अव-श्वरसंपर्वसंपर्वसंपर्व-

320. विष्णुपरमेश्वर: । विश्वाती तत्केण विश्वाती तत्केण । विश्वाती तत्केण तत्केण । विश्वाती तत्केण तत्केण । विश्वाती तत्केण तत्केण । विश्वाती तत्केण तत्केण ।

321. विष्णुपरमेश्वर: । विश्वाती तत्केण । विश्वाती तत्केण । विश्वाती तत्केण । विश्वाती तत्केण । विश्वाती तत्केण । विश्वाती तत्केण ।

---

of only rice gruel, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee each for a period of three days in succession and then should observe a complete fast for three days; this is called Devakṛtta (performed by the gods) penance and destroys all sins. It was practised by the Maruts, the Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas. By the power of this penance they became free from rajas (impurity). Thus this penance lasts for 21 days. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 48 b) refers to another variety of it and quotes a long prose passage on it, which is passed over here for want of space.

**Dhanadakṛcchhra**—See under Vāyavya-krchhra. According to the Viṣṇudharmottara 322 (q. by Pr. Prakāśa) this penance consists in subsisting for a month on food just sufficient to fill the extended but hollowed palm, mixed with gold (i.e. in which gold is rubbed or boiled).

**Nityopavāsa kṛcchhra**—The Pr. Prakāśa (p. 48 a) states that this is constituted by a man eating only twice in the day (in the morning and evening) for six years and not drinking even water between the two meals. 323

**Pañcagavya**—For the various details connected with pañcagavya prepared from cow’s urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 773-774. Pañcagavya is to be offered into fire with the mantras ‘Iravati’ (Rg. VII. 99,3), ‘idami Viṣṇu’ (Rg. I. 22, 17), ‘mā nastoke’ (Rg. I. 114, 8), ‘Śam no devir’ (Rg. X. 9, 4) and then the remainder is to be drunk. It is to be drunk with the middle of a sprig of three Palāsa leaves or with a lotus leaf. Manu. XI. 165 ( = Agnipurāṇa 169. 30) prescribes this drinking of pañcagavya as the penance for petty thefts. Similarly, Yaj. III. 263 prescribes that one guilty of killing a cow should drink pañcagavya for a month. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 263 quotes Viṣṇu to the effect that one who kills a cow should perform one of three penances, viz. drinking three pulas of pañcagavya every day for one month or undergoing the penance of Parāka or Candrayapa. 324 Though Viṣṇu 54. 7 and Atri (verse 300) state that a brāhmaṇa

---

322. वाज्युधर्मोत्तरकां कालशः स्मार्कितां। मुनिस्य तथा मासं खल्ल धनवेवीतां। चिन्यमूलाचरण च। ब्राह्मणम् दैली।
323. सारस्य गृहयुधी नरो शो जीवनसंप्रेषण। श्रवणेष्वनेष्वर्ग मेयोकृष्ट निमोप-पानिता। ब्राह्मणम्
324. पाराक्ष एवमेन्य नारायणकृत पञ्चग्वियः। प्रत्येक ष्ठयादिको वा ज्ञातुप्रसंसः

---

which reads मासमं केस्यमिति। माजापथ्यां परस्त्री।
drinking surā and a śūdra drinking pañcagavya both went to hell (Mahāaurava, according to Viṣṇu), yet Deva (verse 61) and Parāśara XI. 3 and 27 and medieval works like the Pr. M. (p. 13) and Śūdrakamalākara (p. 42) allowed śūdras to take pañcagavya without Vedic mantras. And women of all varṇas, being treated like śūdras for certain purposes, were also allowed optionally to do the same.

**PATARAKRCommerce**—Vide Parṇa-kūrca below.

**PARAKA**—Manu XI. 215 (= Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.16), Yāj. III. 320 (= Śankha 18.5 = Atri 128), Agnipurāṇa 171, 10, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46. 18 and Bṛ. 325 prescribe that this penance is constituted by not taking any food for twelve days, while the performer controls his senses and remains vigilant, and that this penance removes all sins.

**PARNAKūRCA**—This is a more severe type of patarakrechra. Yāj. III. 316 (= Devala 83) and Śankha-Likhita 326 define Parṇakrechra as one where the leaves of palāsā, udumbara, lotus, and bilva are boiled separately on each day in succession and the decoction of each is drunk on each day separately and then water in which kuṣas have been dipped is drunk. Thus parṇakrechra is a penance of five days. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 316 quotes a verse of Yama to the effect that when a sinner fasts for three days and nights and thereafter he drinks together the decoctions of all the four and kuṣa water on the same day then the penance is called parṇakūrca. The Par. M. (II, part 2 p. 181)327 regards Parnakūrca as a variety of Parnakrechra. Vasiṣṭha, Jābali and Atri (116–117) make Parnakrechra a penance of six days by adding the leaves of Āśvattha to the five mentioned above, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46. 23 mentions another variety of Parnakrechra for seven days. 328

---

325. जाप्यमयतः कुपात्रः ब्राह्मणभोजनः। पराक एष विश्रातः सर्वायपपालातः॥

326. चक्करीतिर्यते—पशुस्मृतदाता◌ण्◌णुतुषुकोऽर्थाक्काकाक्काकर्तमाले गण्यकुः। ग्रन्थ प. 733, स्कृतालिक्षाः। याः III. 317; विलासपथ प. 1234 reads एकोकपथाकालि परम्पराः। समलान्वतानि विश्वाशोपकालि क परम्पराः। (0 कुत्तुः।) The मह. प. 734 reads परम्पराः।

327. विषमोकालकं लिनोपितामुखानसाधकं पीला च विनाशायं च चक्करि। याः III. 128.

328. कुक्कुलायाः कुक्कुलं प्रकरणमहुः कुक्कुलोपितामुखानसाधकं पीला। किंत्याविश्रात: प्रवेकः। (परचाः।) परम्पराः। विश्वाशोपकालि। 46. 23. बाटामहों। याः III. 316 remarks on this इति विश्वास सत्यसतयः उक्तः। मह. प. 733 explains 'श्रुतां तत्ततविश्व:। श्रुतां च चक्करि जाज्ञाविश्व:।'
**PARNAKRČCHRA**—Vide Parṇakūrca above.

**PADAKRČCHRA**—According to Yāj. III. 318 (= Devala 85) this is defined as a penance where a sinner takes food one day only once by day, only once by night, then once only (by day or night) but without asking for it from any one (a stranger, a servant or even his own wife) and observes a total fast for one day. Thus this penance lasts for four days. There was difference of view as to the number of mouthfuls to be eaten, Āpastamba (q. by Mit, on Yāj. III. 318) saying that the mouthfuls are respectively 22, 26 and 24 when food is taken only once in the evening or morning or without asking for it, while Parāśara states the number of mouthfuls to be 12, 15 or 24 respectively when food is taken only at night or in the morning or without asking for it. The Caturvimśatācītata (q. by Par. M. II part 2 p. 172) puts them as 12, 15 and 10 respectively.

**PADONAKRČCHRA**—This lasts for nine days only instead of the 12 days of the Prājāpatya and in it one eats by day only for three days, eats food once only for three days without asking for it from any one and observes a complete fast for three days (i.e. three days when food is eaten by night only are omitted here).

**PUSPAKRČCHRA**—According to the Agnipurāṇa 171. 12 and the Mit, on Yāj. III. 316 (quoting Maṅkaṇḍeya-purāṇa) this penance is constituted by drinking for a month the decoction of flowers boiled in water.

**PRASRTA-YĀVAKA or PRASRTIYĀVAKA**—Vīṣṇu Dh. S. chap. 48 and Baud. Dh. S. III. 6 contain elaborate descriptions (which agree with each other in many respects almost verbatim) and so does Harita (q. by Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 192–194) who has many sūtras and verses in common with Vīṣṇu and Baud. Prāṣṭi means the hand with all fingers stretched out, the palm being hollowed. The yavas taken out were as many as could be placed on the palm of the hand thus stretched.

---

329. सर्वं माताकारणश्च समाप्तिः सन्तासिजातेऽव। आपत्तयस्वसुति म. 14, q. by सिद्धांत सारं प. 172, परं म. II. part 2 p. 173.

330. पतिह अष्टक्ष्य:। फनेमसिन काहिः: फलक्षः सन्तासिजिः। अष्टक्षः।

331. पतिह अष्टक्षः। फनेमसिन काहिः: फलक्षः सन्तासिजिः। अष्टक्षः।
out and hollowed. Some passages from Baud. who is probably the oldest of the three authors may be set out here. 331 "Now if a man feels his conscience heavy with bad actions committed by himself, let him boil for himself, when the stars have risen, a handful of barley and prepare gruel with that. Let him not perform the Vaiśāvadeva offering with (a part of) that nor a Bali 332 offering. Let him consecrate the barley before it has been placed on fire, when it is being boiled and after it has been boiled with the following mantras ‘thou art barley, the king of grains, thou art sacred to Varuṇa and mixed with honey, the sages have declared thee to be an expeller of all sins and a means of purification.’ Then there are five verses more invoking the barley grains to purify the performer from all sins whether due to deeds, words, or thoughts, to destroy distress and evil fortune, to free him from the food of gaṇas (giants or multitudes of men), harlots, śūdras, or food offered at śrāddhas by persons in impurity due to birth or death, food of a thief, food at navaśrāddha (i.e. on 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th days after death) or from dreadful mortal sins or from guilt against children and guilt due to serving in a royal court, from sin of stealing gold, sin of the violation of a vrata or sacrificing for an unworthy person and sin of speaking ill of brahmanas. Then Baud. proceeds “while the barley is being boiled he should guard it and recite ‘Adoration to Rudra, lord of created beings; pacified

331. अथ कर्मबिन्द्रात्वतःपुष्पिता मन्नेतानां मयुराचार्येण अययेतुक्षेत्रु ननवेदुत्र। न तेषामुरी ज्वालान्त! न च चाँद बलिकसे। अनुष्ठुत अघोरसंघा सुन्तिन्न साधनचर्यनेव। यस्मात् पात्रप्राप्तिः प्राप्तिः मयुराचार्येण। विश्वासः स्वेदामानोऽपरिचितनिषिद्धमस्तुन्तुमस्तु।...सर्व पुनः मे पव्वतः। स्वस्थ्य ज्ञातो क्षयं। नमो श्रद्धाः चुतुदारमनुष्ठते योः। शालतु कृत्यज्ञ वायुः। भविष्यति न पुष्पिनिराक्षेत्रु नवात्र्यात्रस्ते। ये देवता। हुर्ष्यामयनि स्वस्तिः हृदये पक्ष्मिः वर्षायः। ये देवता मनोभावानि निर्वहनानि हयानां। शत च सत्यीमयनि वर्षायानि पारम दयायानि। ये देवता मनोभावानि निर्वहनानि हयानां। शत च सत्यीमयनि वर्षायानि पारम दयायानि। ये देवता मनोभावानि निर्वहनानि हयानां। शत च सत्यीमयनि वर्षायानि पारम दयायानि। ये देवता मनोभावानि निर्वहनानि हयानां। शत च सत्यीमयनि वर्षायानि पारम दयायानि। ये देवता मनोभावानि निर्वहनानि हयानां।

332. For Vaiśāvadeva and Bali, vide H. of Dh. II pp. 741-747.
is the sky’. He should recite the text beginning with ‘Kṛṣṇa pājāḥ’ (Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 1), the five sentences beginning with ‘Ye devā’ (Tai. S. I. 8. 7. 1), the two texts ‘mā nastoke’ (Rg. I. 114. 8 and Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2) and ‘Brahmā devānām’ (Rg. IX. 96. 6, Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2). “Then having sipped water he should eat a little of the boiled food after pouring it into another vessel. Let him offer it as a sacrifice to the soul reciting ‘ye devā’ (Tai. S. I. 2. 3. 1).”

Then Baud. prescribes: ‘one desirous of wisdom must perform this rite for three days and nights. A sinner who drinks it during six days becomes pure, he who drinks this during seven days becomes purified from the mahāpātakas, he who drinks during eleven days removes even the sins committed by his ancestors. But he who during 21 days drinks gruel of barley grains which have passed through a cow (i.e. cowdung) sees the Ganaś, the lord of the Ganaś, the goddess of learning and the lord of learning.’

PRAJĀPATYA—Vide under Krocchra above where it is shown that the word Krocchra without any qualifying epithet means Prājāpatya. Manu XI. 211, Yaj. III. 319, Visnu Dh. S. 46. 10, Atri 119–120, Śaṅkha 18. 3, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5. 6 mention the word Prājāpatya and define it. This Prājāpatya has several varieties. The first is that described by Manu XI. 211 and Vas. 21. 20 viz. four periods of three days each following one another in which there is respectively eating once only by day, once only by night, eating once only without asking for it and complete fast. The second is that described by Vas. 23. 43, where on the first day food is taken only by day, on the 2nd only at night, on the 3rd day food got without asking for it is taken and on the 4th a complete fast is observed and where the same process is repeated for two periods of four days each. The first 333 is called Prājāpatya by ‘sthānavivrddhi’ and the 2nd is called ‘Daṇḍakalita’. Further, both these are said to be made ‘amulomyena’ (by the proper and straightforward order). If the sequence described above is reversed i.e. if for three days there is first a total fast, then subsisting for 3 days on food got without asking for it, then for three days eating at night only

333. अन्यमेव पादुपण्डः: वधाक्षरिरमिच्छकृतिभवायुष्णा सरस्तनिभ्युष्णा था, तयाप्यविलोक्तेषु प्राचिनोदयान्वदं स्त्रिया। तथा कथमाणज्ञायिकिवदुं तत्त्वो तत्र मित्रपुन्तः प्रजापत्यस्य श्रवणाय। निता श्रवणमिता मयाम श्रवणमिता मयाम। सुधे निता यतः। अत्यन्तिभविष्यतिः सरस्तनिभ्युष्णात: सरस्तनिभ्युष्णातिः। 17.

H. D. 19
and for three days eating by day only, it is Prājāpatya by 'prātilomya'. Further it may be performed with recitation of Vedic texts or without (for women and śūdras).

**PHALAKṛCCHRA**—Subsisting on fruits alone for a month. Vide the passage from Mārkaṇḍeya quoted above (n. 330). Śrīkṛcchra mentioned below will be also phalakṛcchra. The fruits of Bilva and of Āmalaka and lotus seeds were the only fruits to be employed and they were to be eaten only for bare subsistence.

**BALAKṛCCHRA**—See Śīśukṛcchra.

**BRHAD-YAVAKA**—The Pr. Pr. (folio 49 a) quoting Brahmapurāṇa describes it as follows:—One should feed cows on plenty of yavas anointed with clarified butter. Then he should mix water with the dung of those cows and take out the grains of barley which are voided by them after eating them. He should then dry them in the sun, should grind them on a clean stone and cook them mixed with sesame and anointed with ghee in cow’s urine on a fire brought on an altar. He should place the boiled holy grains in a vessel of gold or in a cup made of palāśa leaves and present them to the gods and manes and he may eat them. He should carry this on for twelve, twenty-four or thirty-six years for the removal of all sins. This is prescribed as a penance for killing one’s guru, brother, friend or a near relative &c.

**BRAHMAKūRCA**—The Mit. 335 on Yāñavalkaya III. 314 states that when a man fasts on one day and on the next day mixes up the ingredients of paṅcagavya with Vedic mantras and drinks it with mantras it is called Brahmakūrca. According to Śaṅkha cow’s urine is taken with the Gāyatri (Rg. III. 62. 10), cowdung with the mantra ‘Gandhadvārām’ (Tai. A. X. 1), milk with ‘apyāyasva’ (Rg. I. 91.16), curds with ‘dadhirāvna’ (Rg. IV. 39. 6), ghee with ‘Tejosi’ (Vāj. S. 22. 1) and Kuśa water with ‘devasya tvā’ (Vāj. S. 22. 1, Ait. Br. 37. 3 &c.). Jābāla 336

334. तस्मानन्तर्समासावस्सरिदिमेवनितिः।

335. यदा युनः प्रस्परोपेति सर्वस्मिनाशैलयं सत्यमविविधिः श्रुतः।

336. अद्वारास्विस्वतिरास्त्योपस्वयमस्तिष्किनः। प्राप्तव्यनिधि प्रतिनादद्यमविविधीः

---
prescribes that when a man observes a fast for the whole day and night on a day and particularly on a Full Moon day and then drinks pañcagavya the next morning this is called the rite of Brahmakūra. Parāśara (XI. 27–28) appears to hold that Pañcagavya and Brahmakūra are synonyms. The Madanapārijāta p. 729 and Pr. Sāra, p. 189 state that the Sāntapana described by Yāj. (III. 314) is styled Brahmakūra.337

BRAHMAMKRÇCHRA—Vide Hemādrī’s work on Prāyaścitta p. 964 quoting Devala and Mārkaṇḍeya. It is a penance for 12 days on each of which one has to drink in the noon Pañcagavya in a temple or cowpen after offering it with mantras in fire; one has to contemplate on Viṣṇu till the evening and should sleep near an idol and give up tāmbula and unguents.

MAHATAPTAKCRCCHRA—Vide Taptakṛchra.

MAHĀSĀNTAPANA—Sāntapana, according to Yāj. III. 314, Manu XI. 212 (= Baud. Dh. S.IV. 5.11 = Śaṅkha 18.8 = Brhad- Yama I. 13), Atri 117–118, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.20, lasts for two days; on the first the sinner drinks together cow’s urine, dung, milk, curds, ghee and kuṣa water and on the second day he fasts altogether. Mahāsāntapana penance consists, according to Lau- gākṣigṛhya VII. 3, Yāj. III. 315 (= Devala 82 = Atri. 118–119), in drinking separately for six days in succession the six ingredients mentioned above and fasting on the next day (i. e. it lasts for 7 days). According to Śaṅkha 18.9, Baud.Dh. S.IV.5.17 and Jābala338 the Mahāsāntapana lasts for 21 days, each of the six ingredients referred to above being taken for three days and a fast being observed for three days. Yama speaks 339 of a mahāsāntapana for 15 days viz. when each of cow’s urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee is taken as subsistence for three days consecutively.

337. तत्रथ योगविवेकारमिषय सान्तपनमेव माहसंतप इत्युपयो तत्वं एव माहसंतपोपास प्रति । म. सार p. 189; vide also म. पर. p. 729. The reference is to the verse ‘परंतुविपरीतं वर्ण किच लिङ्गां मात्रं। तमसंधर्षितं सुरदानं स्वरूपात च स्वरूपं।’ cited as परासर’s in म. सार p. 189, while परासर (XI. 37–38 reads) यसल् ते भविष्यान। माहसंतपाः भवेत् सर्वदानस्वभावितं।

338. दुःखादेभकलोकान्तय विकस्त्र त्रयुपयोजनेत्। दुःखेऽर्णस्तेषवर्ण महासान्तपां विषयः। आचार ग. द्वारा अयकरण; प्र. म. II. part I p. 31.

339. दुःखेऽर्णस्तेषवर्ण महासान्तपां विषयः। दुःखेऽर्णस्तेषवर्ण महासान्तपां विषयः। आचार ग. द्वारा अयकरण; प्र. म. II. part I p. 31.
MAHESVARA KRCCHRA — Vide Hemadri (on Prayaścitta) p. 961, which sets out a passage from Devala, that states that Brahmā prescribed it for Mahēśvara on the burning of Madana. In this penance in the after-noon one should carry a broken jar (kapāla) and beg at three houses of learned brāhmaṇas for vegetables, offer them to God and eat them and should sleep in the evening near an idol. After getting up the next day he should donate a cow and drink pāñcagavya.

MULAKRCCHRA—Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46, 15 340 states that it is so called when one subsists on lotus stalks alone and the Mit, on Yāj. III, 316 quotes Markandeya to the effect that one must subsist on múlas (edible roots) alone.

MAITRAKRCCHRA—The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 341 53 a) mentions it. Its peculiarity is that in the Sāntapana on the third day milk of a kapilā (tawny) cow is to be partaken of. The same work notes that the Kalpataru states that this is a sāntapana in which on the first day all the six ingredients (cow’s urine &c) are taken followed by two days of fasting.

YAJÑAKRCCHRA—This is a penance for one day laid down by Āṅgiras (q. by Pr. Śāra p. 183, Smṛti-muktāphala p. 939) as follows: The sinner should bathe thrice, should be self-controlled and silent; and after the morning bath he should recite the sacred Gāyatrī 1008 times together with om and the Vyāhṛtis at the beginning. When reciting he should be in the Virāsana 342 posture. He should drink cow’s milk only once either sitting down or standing or curds of cow’s milk (if he cannot secure cow’s milk) or butter-milk or barley gruel mixed with cow’s urine (in the absence of milk, curds or butter milk). This one-day penance called Yajñā-kṛcchra removes all sins.

---

340. विसर्गवहरण भूलक्ष्यः । विष्णुः । च 46.15.

341. विनियोऽसात्तलने तत्ततंदिने कपिलाओपानमविकः । एष मेतुक्ष्येपीता मायेश्वरित । कर्त्तवेणु में मेतुक्ष्येपीता सात्तलनमितिद्विजयसायं सात्तलनमितिद्विजयसायं । मा. प्रकाशा folio 53a; कपिलायुप्तु हुमेश यात्रणं तु प्रयोगाः विष्णुः । एष मेतुक्ष्येपीताः कुच्छाः सर्पपायणात्कतः । यस्म वायुः वि. p. 513; the words विनियोऽसात्तलनेऽद्विजयसायं (in मा. विष्णुः) are taken from मा. वि. p 513.

342. विनियोऽसात्तलापेशास्त्रः । तथा विष्णुःमात्रः । उत्तरितस्तु विष्णु निद्रेविद्विष्णुप्रक्ष्याम्ब सभ्यता निधि । वचनावर्गायनेऽसात्तलापेशास्त्रः । विष्णुवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां यज्ञवाचार्यानां । तमोगुणावर्गायनेऽसात्तलापेशास्त्रः । विष्णुः वि. pp. 197–198. The word occurs in several smṛtis such as Saṅkha 18.2, Laghu-Viṣṇu III. 9, The Agnipurāṇa (171.3–4) defines it in the same way.
YATICāNDRAYANA—Manu XI, 218 (= Baudh. Dh. S. IV, 5.20), Agnipurāṇa 171. 4, Viśnū Dh. S. 47. 7 define\textsuperscript{343} it as a penance where the sinner eats only eight mouthfuls of sacrificial food only once in the noon for a month and exercises control over himself.

YATISĀNTAPANA—When the ingredients\textsuperscript{344} of Pañca-gavya are mixed together (with kuśa water) and drunk for three consecutive days it is Yati-sāntapana according to the Mit. on Yāj. III, 314. The Pr. Prakaraṇa p. 128 adds that the three days must be followed by a fast for one day.

YĀMYA.—According to Viśnudharmottara-purāṇa quoted by Pr. Prakāṣa (folio 48 b) this consists in subsisting for a month on saktu grains found in cowdung.

YĀVAKA—Śaṅkha\textsuperscript{345} (18. 10–11) states that partaking of boiled yavas obtained from cowdung for a month is the Yāvaka penance for destroying all sins. The Par. M. and Pr. Prakāṣa quote a prose passage from Devala,\textsuperscript{346} according to which the penance may last for seven days, a fortnight or a month and which states that the procedure of Prājapatiya will apply to this penance.

VAJRA—Atri 164 defines\textsuperscript{347} it as a penance, where barley grains fried in clarified butter and mixed with cow’s urine are partaken of.

\textsuperscript{343} अति शालार्थ परिवर्णम: मासम् सन्तानपानि सा पतिचार्यनातः। किष्णमयधुर 47. 7, q. as शालीधुर by the. Marakṣa p. 131. As to शालार्थ food, vide कार्यायत शालीधुर यवा शुद्धसंवल्लम् बोधन स्वतः। अभावे बोधीवप्राप्तेःनिम्नावि पपतर्षि या। तत्समे बोधः यवावा युद्धवात्तकात्रा। q. by śrīśubhava I. p. 163. नमोऽस्तुस्मृतिः I. 131 has अस्तुस्मृतिः तत्कथा। and then adds 'मार्गमत्तपानादिर सर्वसाने बेदायतेषु' and गोमित्र त्री. 114 has the verse अभावे शाक्तिः. On अवध यु. I. 9.6 (हिर्यं व गंगवर्जयं) द्वारे quotes 'परो ज्ञाति यवातिष्ठ सप्तोषोक्तयुक्तः। सोलो मांस तथा तीर्थमार्गवेद इव शाला। विदेह अर्नानकर p. 400 and निरालालस्य (p. 320) for this last verse and further details about शालार्थमाः.

\textsuperscript{344} यवा लेख्येद्वितिः पञ्चमा विराजमयमवर्जयने तदा पतिचार्यानमपंश्चातः तयते। एवेदं यवातिष्ठानेन पतिचार्यानम: स्तुत्यात् ब्रह्मसंस्कारात्। नित्यम्, on म. शा. 314.

\textsuperscript{345} आदण्डीयाणां दुवद मांस: निर्यातानमसाहितं। ब्राह्मण नु वाचकः कृत्यात: सर्वपानामतिः। 18.10–11 q. by परम म. II. part 2 p. 192 (reads श्रीशालायासौ) and अयोध सार p. 199, मास. p. 746 (reads रीवाजपाध्याय वा). नित्यम्, नित्यम्.

\textsuperscript{346} तेषकोपिः। पञ्चामात्रम् साधितानां साधितां वस्त्राने परस्त्: मांस: वा प्राणां वाचकः। एवं वाचकपायासोकात्तिः शालायाताति। q. by परम म. III. part 2 p. 192 and म. महाभारता folio 49 a.

\textsuperscript{347} गोमित्रेण हु तं शुद्धं वाचकं शुद्धायातमिः। एवं शालायात्तिः चोक्क अवधार्तिवर्षिनिः। अन्तिम 164.
VAYAVYA-KRCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara this penance consists in subsisting for a month every day on food that will just fill the extended palm.

VRDDHAKRCCHRA—VRDDHI-KRCCHRA—This is a penance for eight days, according to Śaṅkha-Likhita and Yama, in which one takes food only by day for two days, only by night for two days, without asking for food for two days and fasts for two days.

VYASA-KRCCHRA—This is the same as Maitra-kṛcchra, for which see above p. 148.

ŚIŠUKRCCHRA—also called Bālakrcchra by Śaṅkha-Likhita and Pādakrcchra by Devala and Prāyaścittamuktāvali (folio 10 a) and is the same as Laghu-kṛcchra. It lasts for four days, eating once only in the day, eating once only by night, eating food without asking for it only once on one day and fast on one day. Vide Vas. 23.43 (q. by Haradatta on Gaut. 26.5), Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 92. Yāj. III. 318.

ŚIŠU-CANDRAYANA—Manu XI. 219, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.19, Agnipurāṇa 171.5 state that when a brāhmaṇa eats (for a month) four mouthfuls in the morning and four after sun-set, that is Śiśu-candrayana (candrayana for boys, old men &c.).

ŚITAKRCCHRA—This is the reverse of Taptakrcchra, as here all the articles are to be taken when they are cold and not hot (as in Taptakrcchra). Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.12, Agnipurāṇa 171. 7 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 317. According to Viṣṇu quoted by Pr. Sāra (p. 185) and Madana-pārijāta (p. 736) this is a penance for 10 days (and not for twelve days as the Mit. states), viz. cold water, cold milk and cold ghee are drunk three days each and there is a total fast for one day.

348. मासं वातस्यकुर्द ह्यत्वायापृणपुराणमोजनाद । अतिरिक्तः 171. 14: वायस्य वा वायस्य ह्येत वा पाणिपुराणमोजनाद । मानसीनानि परमेण सर्वकल्याणतायतम ॥ विशुद्धमॊत्सरः q. by म. महारा folio 48 a.

349. तव वायस्यस्तिमि। मायः सायमयाचित्तवप्रसंधाय प्रवमिति माजापत्य । महायात द्वादशम महायात द्वादशम ॥ यद्वादमिति वायमुक्तः ॥ कार्य-विज्ञानम् p. 511. The यद्वादमि verb of same effect.

350. The म. महारा (folio 56b) cites a verse of अङ्किडः which is कार्यस्य...एवं वायस्य वा वायस्य। महायात म. p. 21.

351. तव वायस्यस्तिमि यद्वादमिति इत्य नामान्तरस । महा. म. p. 21.

351a. वायस्यस्तिमि यथास्तिमिर्नीति तथा यथास्तिमि। तथात श्रीया सबिष्योत्यथ तथ्या होतुष्यं पयः सति। श्रीया श्रीया तद्यथ सबिष्योत्यथ तथास सबिष्योत्यथ तथायथ श्रीयाः। यथायथ सबिष्योत्यथ यथायथ सबिष्योत्यथ। सति। यथायथ सति महायातमयात्म। महा. on यथा. III. 317.
ŚRĪKṚṢCHRĀ—According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.16, Agnipurāṇa 352 171.13 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 316 (quoting Mārkaṇḍeya) this is constituted by subsisting on Bilva fruit or lotus seeds or āmalaka fruit for a month. The Madanapārijāta (p. 737) quotes a verse of Śaṅkha to the same effect.

SĀNTAPANA—Vide Mahāśāntapana and Atisāntapana above. It is of five kinds, viz. the first for two days, the 2nd for seven days, the third for twelve (Atisāntapana), the 4th for 15 days and the fifth for 21 days.

SURACĀNDRAYAṆA—The Agnipurāṇa defines it as one where somehow or other (and not in a rising or falling scale) a man partakes of 240 morsels of food in a month. Yāj. III. 324 speaks of it as a variety of Cāndrayaṇa. Viṣṇu. Dh. S. (47. 9) calls it ‘sāmānyacāndrayaṇa’ 353

SUVARṆA-KṚṢCHRĀ—Vide Hemādri on Prāyaścitā pp. 969–972 quoting Devala and Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, in which a varāha or a half of it or quarter of it had to be donated. A Varāha was equal to nine rūpakas and a rūpaka was one māṣa of five guṇjas (of silver it seems). For killing a brāhmaṇa secretly or for the guilt of incest one had to perform ten thousand or 40 thousand suvarṇa-kṛṣchras and a lesser number for various other lapses.

SOMĀYANA—According to the Madanapārijāta pp. 744–746 (quoting Hāritadharasūtra and Mārkaṇḍeya) and Pr. Prakāśa (folio 60b) the penance lasts for thirty days divided into five periods of 7, 7, 7, 6, 3 days, in which the milk of all the four udders of a cow, of three udders, of two udders and of one udder is respectively drunk and for the last three days there is a complete fast. There is another variety which lasts for 24 days from the 4th tithi of the dark half of a month to the 12th of the bright half of the next fort-night; the 24 days are divided into eight periods of three days each; in the first four


periods of three days each the milk of a cow's four udders, three udders, two udders and one udder is respectively drunk, and then in the next four periods of three days each the milk of one udder, two, three and four udders is respectively drunk. Vide also Prayâścitteṇdu-śekhara p. 12.

SAUMYAKRCCRA—According to Yâj. III. 321 this penance lasts for six days, in the first five of which one subsists in succession upon oilcake alone, foamy scum of boiled rice alone, butter-milk alone, water alone and saktus (barley) alone and on the last day a total fast is observed. The Mit., Madanapârijâta p. 717, Pr. Sâra p. 178 and other digests state that one has to partake of the five ingredients in quantities just sufficient to keep body and soul together. Jâbala (quoted by the Mit., Par. M. II part 2 p. 183 and others) makes it a penance of four days' duration, in the first three of which one partakes successively of oilcake, saktus and butter-milk and observes a fast on the 4th day. Atri (128-129) also mentions it. The Pr. Prakâsa (quoting Brahmapurâna) speaks354 of another variety of six days' duration, on the first of which there is a complete fast and on the last of which the sinner subsists on saktus alone and in the intervening four days he subsists on the thick gruel of barley cooked in cow's urine.

354. यज्ञकारणमव वहः सांयक्रस्त उच्च बम्बुपुराणे। सारसेवति नामीपतिस्य-क्रस्ते च सवेया। गोवृत्रयकारादि व शहेष्वर तस्मान्। इति। पा. पकास: folio 46b.
CHAPTER VI

CONSEQUENCES OF NOT UNDERGOING PUNENCES

If a sinner did not undergo a prāyaścitta, the Smṛtis, Purāṇas, medieval digests declared that he had to suffer dire and far-reaching consequences. Yāj. III. 221 declares that men addicted to sins, who feel no repentance and who (therefore) do not undergo the proper penances, fall into painful and horrible hells. Manu XII. 54 ff and Yāj. III. 206 ff provide that those guilty of grave (and other) sins after having passed numbers of years in hells and suffered the tortures of horrible hells are born again in this world because of (the remnants of their) evil actions in different forms such as lower animals, insects, trees and shrubs &c. Manu XI. 53 ordains that one should always perform penance in order to free oneself from sins, since those who have not destroyed their sins (by means of prāyaścittas) are born again endowed with disgraceful marks (such as having bad nails, black teeth &c.). Manu XI. 48 also emphasizes that wicked men suffer mal-formations owing to their wicked deeds committed in this very life or in a former life. The Viṣṇupūrāṇa355 echoes the words of Yāj. III. 221. The Viṣṇudarmottara declares356 that those (sinners) who do not undergo penances nor are punished by the king fall into hell and are born also as lower animals and even after attaining human bodies they become marked (with bodily defects). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (44. 1–10) prescribes357 that evil-doers, having experienced the horrors of hell pass into animal bodies and that those guilty of atipātakas, mahāpātakas, anupātakas, upapātakas, jāti-

355. पापहयानि नरकं मयभिन्तपराक्रुः। विन्युपुराण IV. 5 21. q. by परम. मा. II. part 2 p. 209.

356. पापहयानि नरकं मयभिन्तपराक्रुः। नरकं मयभिन्तपराक्रुः। विन्युपुराण IV. 5 21. q. by परम. मा. II. part 2 p. 210 and मयभिन्त विन्युपुराण IV. 5 21. q. by परम. मा. II. part 2 p. 120 (both of which read अनुविन्यर् for अनुविन्यह् of the printed ed.).

357. अथ पापावलानि नरकेषुहृत्युः खान्ति विन्येयोन्यो भवति। अतिपातकानि वर्षेण सत्वं व्युत्त्वान्तः। महापातकानि च भुमियोन्यो। अतिपातकानि पात्तायोन्यो। उपपातकानि जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाठ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्योन्यो। कृत्यसिद्धेन्द्रनास्यां जन्तुपाढ्यो

H. D. 20
bhramśa-kara actions, sāṅkarikarana, apatricarapā, malintkaraṇa and miscellaneous sins, respectively enter the bodies of all plants, of worms (or insects), of birds, of aquatic animals, of animals roving in waters, of deer, of cattle, of untouchables among men, of miscellaneous and cruel carnivorous animals (like tigers). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 45.1 provides that sinners, after having undergone the horrors of hells and after having passed through the bodies of lower animals, are born as human beings with certain marks (indicative of their sins). So the teaching of these and other authorities comes to this that sins, when not expiated by penances or by State punishment, lead to hell, that then, owing to some remnants of the evil deeds, to birth as lower animals and then as decrepit or diseased human beings.

It is now necessary at this stage to enter upon a historical though brief account of the idea of Hell and of its opposite Heaven. There are in the Rgveda hardly any clear or express references to Hell. In Rg. II. 29.6 the sage prays to the Viṣṇu-Devas ‘save me from the pit, from falling down into it’ (trādhvam kartād-avapado yajatāḥ). In Rg. IV. 5. 5 it is said that those men who are bereft of rta and satya, being sinful, create a deep place for themselves. In Rg. VII. 104.3 the poet calls upon Indra and Soma to strike down into bottomless darkness evil-doers; and in VII. 104.11 the poet prays that whatever enemy desires to harm the poet by day or night may be deprived of his body and progeny and may be hurled below the three earths. Indra is implored in Rg. X. 152.4 by the sage to send down into darkness whoever attacks him and his people. In Rg. IX. 73.8 Soma is said to throw down in a pit those who do not observe Soma’s ordinances and who are disliked by him. From these passages what emerges is that the sages of the Rgveda had some faint glimmerings of (or belief in) the idea of a dark

358. अध नरकामित्युत्कु: सचां विष्कृतविश्लेषणां सत्यसत्य स्खलने स्वभावित। विन्य-प्रभेज्जै 4.5.1.
360. पपासाः सन्नी अरुत्त अस्तय इव पदमनन्दन प्रेमसम्। क्र. IV. 5. 5.
361. इमासमेव दुःखो वि अत्यन्तार्थमेव तमस स्विन्यताः। क्र. VII. 104. 3; पर: सो अस्त तथा तथा जिमु: दुःखोजीयो अस्त विपश्य। क्र. VII. 104. 11; यो अस्वम् अभिन्नात्मकम्य तमस सम। क्र. X. 152. 4; बिन्यास विपश्य सुन्दरिभिस्तन्तवाव विपश्य तत् अवतार। क्र. IX. 73.8.
deep pit below the earth to which wicked persons were relegated by the gods. But there is no mention in the Rgveda of the tortures of Hell. It is in the Atharvaveda that we find the clearest references to Hell (Naraka). Sorcerers and demons dwell in a house below (the earth), according to A. V. II. 14. 3. Atharvaveda V. 30. 11 asks a man to come out from death, from the deep and black darkness. In Atharvaveda 362 V. 19. 3 it is asserted that those who spat in the face of a brāhmaṇa or who imposed a levy of money on him remain biting hair in the midst of a river of blood. Atharvaveda XII. 4. 36 mentions ‘Nāraka-loka’. In the Vāj. S. XXX. 5 the Viraha 363 (i.e. one who gives up or extinguishes the consecrated Vedic fires) is relegated to nāraka (nārakāya virahaṇam). A viraha may also mean ‘one who kills a valiant man’ but that does not seem to be a proper sense in this passage of the Vāj. S. In the Śat. Br. XI. 6. 1. 4 we find a reference to torments of Hell, viz. men cutting up the limbs of others one by one for crimes committed. The Tai. A. I. 19 speaks of four narakas called Visarpin, Avisarpin, Viśādin and Avisādin in the south-east, south-west, north west and north-east. From the Kāṭhopaniṣad it appears that at that time there was a belief that those foolish men who do not know the Reality and who only believe in the existence of the mundane world alone have to be born again and again and fall into the hands of Yama 364 (II. 5–6). The same Upaniṣad (V. 7) states that after the death (of the body) some enter the womb in accordance with their actions and knowledge to have an embodied existence, while others go into fixed matter (the form of trees and the like). But that Upaniṣad says nothing about the torments of Hell. They were therefore probably not believed to exist in those days, at least, to the same degree as in the days of the Epics and Purāṇas. The very words at the beginning of the Kāṭha Up. (I. 21 ‘devair-atrāpi vicikitsitam’) indicate that there were even then various views about the fate of the departed. The Kauśitaki Br. (XI. 3) propounds the remarkable proposition that

---

362. ये ब्राह्मण यम्यादिमन्ये यासिन्य शुलकमिभिरेः। अस्तले तयम यम्यायः। केसानः शासन अस्तसेः॥ अथर्यः। V. 19. 3.

363. अयासदन्ते तोके निग्रहान्तर्य यासितार॥। अथर्यः XII. 4. 36; वीर्यः ता एव देवानं योद्धस्यादपश्च।। न. सं. II. 2. 5. 5.

364. न सत्यावधात: महिमाति बालेष प्रमाणस्मित्वं विश्वेभिषण मुद्दम। अर्थो धौके मात्रिप पर
इति माणि पुन: पुराणामाप्यते मे॥ काठापुराण दृष्ट: VI. 6; vide p. 94 above for काठापुराण V. 7.
just as men in this world eat the (flesh of) beasts, so in the next world the beasts eat men.  

As regards the opposite idea of svarga (Heaven) the matter is much clearer. In certain Rk verses there are said to be three heavens (e.g. Rg. I. 35. 6, VIII. 5. 8, VIII. 41. 9, IX. 113. 9). The generous donor or worshipper is said to occupy heaven and to mix among gods; and gods like Mitra and Varuṇa are implored to give the worshipper immortality (Rg. I. 125, 5, V. 63. 2, X. 107. 2.). Life in heaven is full of joys and delights and the denizen of heaven has all his desires fulfilled (Rg. IX. 113. 10–11). In Rg. IX. 113.8 the poet prays 'make me immortal (in heaven) where dwells king Vaivasvata, where the sun is confined (i.e. where it never sets) and where the divine waters flow'. A person who neither offers sacrifices to gods, nor worships, and observes ordinances other than those of Indra is thrown down from Heaven. A sage exultingly addresses Soma 'we have drunk soma, we have become immortal, we have reached Light (Heaven) and we have known the gods; what will an enemy or harmful person do to us who have been mortals so far?' The pious dead become united in Heaven with their Iṣṭāpūrta (merit due to sacrifices and charitable acts) and with their fore-fathers and become endowed with a refulgent body (Rg. X. 14.8). Those who practise tapas or those who perform sacrifices in which the fees run to thousands (of cows) reach Heaven (Rg. X. 154. 1–3), and Soma, ghee and honey flow for them there. Heaven is said to be the abode of Yama and there resounds the sound of flutes and of songs. The Atharvaveda, being more popular in

365. तदाध्य हू वा अविनंद्वत सम्भवः पशुन्ता चिथमिष्क्षत एवेवेवाद्वायामिष्क्षते। कामास्वन। भ. XI. 3.

366. नाकरम प्रुढः अधि तिंति दिल्लो य पृष्णाति स ह वेदेः गणवति। भ. I. 125. 5; उत्तो अमालावनवने द्वाततान। भ. V. 55. 4। कुड़ि वा याव्य अषत्वमिनिन्ते। भ. V. 63. 2। उदा विविव देवलिन्तो अर्थार्थ अन्वेदः सह ते दूरपं। भ. X. 107. 2.

367. पञ्चानविरे गोदृश्यु हुः प्रवद आसते। कामस्य गचायस। कामात्मक मामसुतु दुर्धे दयायेवहृतु परिवर्धिता। भ. IX. 113. 11.

368. अपनात्मकामक्यत् मनमोहनमयेव यु। अव सि। सक्ष दुःख्यति परवतृ। दुहनाय वर्षि परेरात्तृ। भ. VIII. 70. 11.

369. अपानो समसमुद्य अत्र तत्राग्नि उपालविहिर द्वेषत। किं कृत्वमा मामस्थिणिवदलित। किन्तू भूतिः मस्चर्षेः। भ. VIII. 48. 3.

370. ये सुखहो वेदे़ सुह दुरासंये तनुभज। ये सा सस्वविर्यास्ताविक्षेपासि मनोत्तान। भ. X. 154. 3.

371. इत्य यमस्य साल्व देवस्य गुरुपते। इत्यस्य धस्य नाबीर्यं गौणं। परिशुष्ट्यत। भ. X. 135. 7.
character, contains much more information about Heaven. In Atharvaveda III, 29.3 it is said that a donor goes to Heaven where a weak man has not to render to the strong any contribution. In Atharvaveda IV, 34.2, 5-6 it is stated that in the heavenly world there are beves of women (for the denizens), that there the dwellers get many edible plants and flowers and that there are ponds of ghee, streams of milk and honey, wine flows like water and lotus lakes surround the denizens. In Heaven the meritorious enjoy delight, their bodies being free from disease. Atharvaveda VI, 120.3 and other verses express a yearning to meet one's parents, wife and sons (vide Atharva XII, 3.17). The Tai. S. is full of references to Heaven and so no quotation is cited here except one where it is said that he who offers the Adhâhya cup in Jyotistoma goes to heaven while still living in this world. The Tai. Br. appears to hold that those who offer sacrifices become shining stars in the firmament (I, 5, 2, 5-6). The Sat. Br. (XI, 1, 8, 6) states 'that sacrificer who offers a sacrifice as this redemption is born in the next world (Heaven) with his body entire'. Survival of the soul after death is emphatically asserted in the Tai. Br. III, 10, 11. These passages are enough to establish that the state of the pious after death and of heroes killed in battle was one of happiness in heaven, that there the food and material things (such as honey, ghee) that a person required in this world were also available in greater perfection and abundance. The remark of Macdonell 'Heaven is a glorified world of material joys as pictured by the imagination not of warriors but of priests' (Vedic Mythology p. 168) is not (in view of Rig X, 154.3) quite accurate or justified. There is nothing to show
that the warriors of Vedic times did not believe what the priests believed. In later times (as in the Bhagavadgītā II. 37 'hato vā prāpsyaśva svargam' or in the Rāghuvaṁśa VII. 51) warriors killed in battle were supposed to go to heaven and were privileged to have the company of beautiful damsels. Heaven as a place or state of eternal bliss to which the spirits of the religious or meritorious people or warriors go, is an idea common to most ancient peoples and was probably based on the idea that the Earth was flat and the sky was a dome carrying various celestial objects. In the Brhadāraṇyaka Up. (IV. 3. 33) and Tai. Up. (II. 8) it is stated that the joys of the world of gods are hundreds of times more delightful than those of the mortal world. In the Kāthopanisād (I. 12) it is stated by Yama himself that in Heaven there is no fear and no old age, that the denizen of Heaven is beyond hunger, thirst and sorrow and is in the midst of all delights. The Kausitaki Br. Up. as quoted by Sāṅkaračārya on Vedāntasūtra I.1.28 contains the statement that the abode of sinners is below this world or the earth. The Chāndogya Up. in one place remarks 'those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya or vaisya. But those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a cāṇḍāla'.

We have here a complicated blending of two theories. The original theory of early Vedic times was that of Heaven and Hell which is also that of most religions. Later on when the doctrines of karma and punarjanma came to be universally believed in India the theory of Heaven and Hell came to be modified by holding that the pleasures of heaven and the torments of Hell both came to an end some time or other and the author of sins was born again as an animal or a tree or a human being suffering from diseases and defects.

377. तत्सर्यें दृष्टिः सर्वं विस्तारं पूर्णं स्वाद्। स एको मात्रं अनन्तः। ते वे शत मात्रकं आनन्तः। स एकं महतं ग्याया ग्यायामानं। ते वे वे शतं देवानानन्तः। स एकं हास्यानन्तः।

378. सर्वं तापकं न भर्तं किंच नासितं न तत्र लं न जस्यं भिनेत। उनेऽवस्त्वानपीय भिनासे स्वाकाशः मोदने वर्गोलके कदरोपः I.12.

379. एतर उ एवस्तं करं कार्यान्ति तं पसोयं लोकेष्यो निगीते। की. वा. III.9.

380. तथ इति सर्विपरिपरणा अपवशोः ह यते स्मर्योः योजितवेदेऽवहणाद्यमोन्योः वा। 

The fate of the departed soul after the death of the body will be touched upon in the section on Antyaṣṭi and Śraddha, but in connection with the doctrine of Hell it is necessary to say something about Yama. In Rg. X. 58. 1 Yama is called Vaivasvata (son of Vivasvat, the Sun). Yama is at least an Indo-Iranian deity. Yama is eulogised in Rg. X. 14. He is called a king and is credited with the task of gathering together people (X. 14. 1); he is said to have been the first to make a way (to Heaven) which was followed by former ancestors of mankind (X. 14. 2 ‘Yamo no gātum pratham viveda...yatratā phurve pitarāḥ pareyuh ‘). The soul when departing from this world is told that when he follows the paths of the ancient ancestors he would see the two kings Yama and Varuṇa. In Rg. X. 14. 13–15 the priests are asked to press Soma for Yama, to offer oblations to him and it is said that yajña reaches Yama, Agni being the messenger. In Rg. X. 135. 1 Yama is stated to drink in the company of gods, he is the lord of men. Yama owns two dogs each having four eyes who guard the way, who are the spies of Yama and who move among men and mark their doings. In Rg. X. 97. 16 the sage prays ‘May the plants release me from the (effects of the) violation of oaths, from the violation of the ordinances of Varuṇa, from the fetters which Yama claps on the feet of sinners and from all sins against the gods.’

In Rg. X. 165. 4 Yama is identified with Mrtyu (death) and the owl (an evil omen) or a kapota (harbinger) of Yama. Rg. I. 38. 5 (addressed to the Maruts) appears to crave for something which is opposed to what other references to Yama state ‘May not the singer of your praises go by the path of Yama’. Thus, though in the Rgveda, Yama is a god and mostly a beneficent ruler of men, there is an element of fear associated with him as the two prying dogs that guard the way to heaven and his being called Mrtyu would suggest. The Atharvaveda refers to Yama in several places in the same strain as in the Rg. In A. V. 18. 3. 13 it is said ‘serve the king Yama with offering, who was the first to die among men, who was the first to depart from this world and who, the son of Vivasvat, is the gatherer of men’. In Tai. S. V. I 8.2 and V 2. 3. 1 it is stated that Yama is the lord of all mortals and of

381. सुवर्णम् मा भयरयामध्यो वहनायुद्ध अयो याकर पुत्रश्रावत् सर्वलोकसंविलिचि पाटत॥ भ. X. 97.16.
382. मा थे बुद्धि न यथो ज्ञाति सुहोपययः। पथा यजरपो माठुरु भ. I 38.5.
383. यो मनास प्रमथो मथांस्यं व वेश्यां प्रमथो लोकमेत्वा। वैमहं सक्महं जनामां चयं राज्यम् हृदिक्षा सृपरं॥ अथवा. 18.3.13.
the whole extent of the earth. In Tai. S. III. 3. 8. 3-4 it is
declared 384 'Yama is indeed Agni and this (earth and altar) is
Yam. When a sacrificer strews Oṣadhīs on the Vedi it is
indeed tantamount to taking up a debt from Yama. If he (the
sacrificer) were to go from this world without burning them they
(Yama's men) might take him to the next world with fetters
round his neck.' In Rg. X. 14. 10 385 the pīrs are said to
enjoy delights in the company of Yama. In the Ait. Br. 385a
(XII. 3) Mṛtyu is credited with having fetters (pākas) and wooden
maces (sthāṇu) for catching erring men. It has already been
seen how Yama is said to have within his powers again and
again foolish men who believe in the existence of this world
alone and deny the existence of the next. Thus, from being a
beneficent ruler of the departed souls in the very early Vedic
times, Yama came gradually to be looked upon as a dreadful
punisher of men. 386 The Purāṇas contain graphic descriptions
of Yama's abode and of his assistants, chief among whom is
Citrāgupta. For example, the Varāhāpurāṇa 386a. chap. 205 con-
tains a dialogue between Yama and Citrāgupta, in which the
latter recommends the fate that a dead person deserves for his
actions. The Agnipurāṇa chap. 371. 12 states that a sinner falls
into horrible hells that are declared by Citrāgupta at the order of
Yama.

384. अधिष्ठान यम्म हर्य यमी कृशीर वा एकमस्वर्य जमाम अकुले यम्मोपाननुभिभि 
सुणाति यम्मपीछे मन्यातां श्रीभूमण्यममहिमसंरज्येिके नेश्वियेिः। तैं। सं. III.8.3-4.

385. अष्ठे निरुभिद्विंचे उपेन्ध यम्मे यहम्म यम्मोपाननुभिभि। व। X. 14. 10.

385a. स सर्वस्यान्त्यांस्यां हर्यपूर्णं सन्मोहतिमयू सर्ववेषोवृक्षतः। ए। वा. XII.3.

386. Vide an article in the Journal of the Benares Hindu University,
vol. IV pp. 19-46 on 'Yama and the Pīrs' (where Vedic, Avestic and Norse
evidence is led and a naturalistic explanation is given such as Yama being the
light of dawn, pīrs as 'rays of light' and saramā 'light of twilight'). Vide
Dr. R. N. Dandekar in B. C. Law Presentation vol. I. pp. 194-209, where most
of the theories of Western scholars about Yama are presented and examined.
The naturalistic explanations have been in vogue from very ancient times, as
the Kāṭhaka Samhitā VII.10 implies 'अहंकारिनर्य राजी सा यमी भारतं सूतं नालयत 
सं नवधुक्तर यमी कान्दे इं रामकाश्यते नमसकयेितः'.

386a. अर्थ सूक्ष्मतयव निर्यात्य मोक्षे वज्ञेिः...2 अयम्माऔणे श्रद्धा हत्वा हु निधनं 
मत:। बक्रपरायथ संहणे वा राज्यानु निधनं मत:। शक्यं ष्ठमानायं मिल्यतयं न चिरं।
verses 9-10 of chap. 205 of बालायण; अष्ठे निरुभिद्विंचे उपेन्ध यम्मे यम्मोपाननुभिभि।
शुभेच्छ पापकृतं हस्रं धम्मम शक्रणं। यमम्मा: विक्ष्रितं पापयं तरकारपणेः। अष्ठे 203-
4-5; शुभेच्छ तत्परायों शरीरं चतुर्थिविभिमसं। अकालीपुरुषोंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसंसं
...यं यम्म हर्य मोक्षेि निविष्यसी चौरियासं। यमम्मा तत्परायायं धम्मम्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्म्तः।
अष्ठे 371. 9 and 12.
We must now turn to the ideas of Heaven and Hell contained in the post-Vedic Literature, sūtras, smṛtis, purāṇas and digests. The Nir. (I. 11) quotes a quarter of a Vedic verse which means 'for fear that if we (women) acted crookedly (towards our husbands) we might fall into Hell.' The word Naraka is derived by it in two ways (ni + araka), viz. as meaning 'going below' (the earth) or (na + ra + ka) 'where there is not the slightest place for joy'. In another place, while deriving the word 'putra' (son) the Nir. (II. 11) declares that the son is called putra because he saves (the father) from the hell called put. The same derivation of the word putra is offered by Manu IX. 138 (=Ādi-parva 229.14 = Visuddhārmasūtra 15.44). Gautama (13.7) promises heaven to the witnesses in a cause if they speak the truth, but Hell (naraka) if they tell the opposite (of truth). After defining pañcana as loss of the capacity to perform the privileged acts of twice-born classes (such as Veda study &c.) and stating that by being guilty of sins a man does not in the next world reap the fruits of his good actions, Gautama states the striking view of other sages that naraka is nothing more than this loss of capacity and of the fruits of good acts, his own view however being that naraka is a particular place where a man has to dwell solely in distress and sorrow. It was the emphatic view of Gautama that men of the several varṇas and āśramaṣas that are devoted to the actions prescribed as peculiar to each, enjoy after departing from this body, the fruits of their actions and then owing to some remainder of their total actions are born in bodies in appropriate circumstances as to the country, caste, family, appearance, length of life, learning, conduct, wealth, happiness and intelligence, while those who act contrariwise

387. अगाधि न हुयेन इति इवायं संपुस्वते परिप्रयो नेत्रिजातापर्यं तत्कं पताम इति। न दृढो न पर्यं नी० नी० म्हण० महात्मानर्ष्ट्रण स्थानमत्माप्यप्तिं तथा | निर्धम् I. 11. Some editions give the whole verse इवादीत्रक श्रविं। सबवन्ते हुयनिं एकं सबवनं सोमाण। अष्टमित्वद उत्त इवालिगिनेऽन। This is a स्त्रित verse after Rg X. 106.1. निर्धम on या. III. 217 quotes निर्धम and explains 'नेत्रिजातापर्यं नेत्रिजातापर्यं महात्मान | महात्मान इति यथा। अत्राकामुक्तके जैव नक्षापि।) युजु: इव अवयेन निर्धम। इव अवयेन तत्रापातः इति यथा। निर्धम II. 11.

388. स्नेष: सर्वश्रेष्ठानं विपयेण नरएः। भै. 13.7. इव्यावितां भावाये धान्ये: पतामें तथा पर्यं वासिस्यं। | नरव: 21. 4-6, on the last of which हुयनिं remarks 'स्नेषं दु: सकित: देश कुर्याकालतरं यथा नरव इति'; vide also अपराह्म p. 1045 for the view of Gautama.
pass into all sorts of births and are ruined.\textsuperscript{389} Ap. Dh. S. holds that a man becomes fit for Naraka if he follows activities solely dictated by sensual pleasures.\textsuperscript{390} In another place Ap. Dh. S. affirms that Naraka is indeed one's lot when one transgresses one's dharma. It also states that rewards without end are denominated svargya. The Vedântasûtra III. 1.13 makes it clear that after enjoying the fruits of one's actions in the abode of Yama (Saîyamana) evil-doers ascend to this mortal world. In Vedântasûtra III. 1.15 the narakas\textsuperscript{392} are said to be seven. Pânini VI. 2.38 teaches the accent of mahârâvava. In the Kâśikâ comm. on Pânini III. 2.88 a vedic verse is cited according to which one who kills his mother enters the 7th naraka. The Viśuṇpurâṇa I. 6.41 names seven hells, Tâmisra, Andhâtâmisra, Mahârâvava, Raurava, Asippatrama, Kâlasûtra and Avîci and (in II. 6. 2-5) names 26 narakas. Śânkha-Likhitā as quoted by the Madanapârijātâ pp. 694-695 mentions in detail the torments that evil-doers undergo in the hells called Kumbhipâka, Raurava, Mahârâvava &c. Manu IV. 88-90, Yaj. III. 222-224, Viśuṇ Dh. S. 43. 2-22, Agnipurâṇa 371. 20-22, Nârada (prakîrṇaka 44) enumerate 21 narakas. The names are almost the same in all these works, the variations being due mostly to the scribes having read certain letters differently. The 21 names are generally significant and may be set out from Manu as follows: Tâmisra (darkness), Andhâtâmisra (blinding darkness), Mahârâvava, Raurava (abounding in paths with heated surfaces, according to Pr. V. p. 15), Kâlasûtra (like the thread on the wheel with which the potter cuts off a raw earthen pot in two), Mahârâvava, Saîjivana (where one is made to revive and is again killed), Mahâvîci (where one is submerged in surging waves), Tapanâ (as burning hot as fire), Sampatâpâna (same as Kumbhipâka, according to Pr. V. p. 15), Saîghâtâ (making many stay in a small place like the legendary Black-

\textsuperscript{389} वर्ष्टाचारा: स्वदधर्मिणा: बेठ्य कर्मसंभवमद्यव तत: शेषेण पशूसिद्देष्टादितिः-कुलसंवादः-शुद्धविविचरतमद्यमेतो जय ग्रहिष्यमिति। विभवो: विपरीता नयति। को. XI. 29-30, q. by Śaṅkar in his Bhâṣya on Vedântadâsya III. 1.8

\textsuperscript{390} तद्वक्तानां नरकायं रचयति। आप. ध. स. I.4.12.12; हनो बुधः इति हसो धर्मात्मात्मातिः धार्मणिः शुद्ध दुन्नमकः। आप. ध. स. I.4.13.4; तत: प्रवर्तनम् फल \स्वर्गमयवः बुधः। आप. ध. स. II.9.23.12.

\textsuperscript{391} संपन्ने तद्वक्तत्वावदायमाहंसिवरी तद्विद्वेषनात्। वेदांतदास्यa III.1.13. शाक्त in his Bhâṣya relies on Kaṭhopanisad II. 6 and Ekg. X.14.1 (both quoted above) in support.

\textsuperscript{392} आणि व सत्या वेदांतदास्यa III.1.15; आणि व सत्या यद्यन्य शैवमस्वा सुकल्लक्ती। पृभोपदश्मित्वमेव सर्वं वीरियिसिः। शाक्तमात्यः.
The names of 21 naraks

hole of Calcutta), Kākola (where one is preyed on by crows), Kudmala (where one is bound with ropes into a bundle, which looks like a closed bud), Pūtimṛttika (where the clay has a putrid smell), Lohaśanku (piercing one with iron nails), Riṣa (where boiled flour is thrown about), Panthāk (where one is made to walk constantly to and fro), Śālmali (where one is struck with thorns like those of the silk-cotton tree), Nādi (i.e. where one is carried away by a river such as the Vaitaranī), Asipatravana (where one is cut up by a forest of sword blades), Lohadāraka (which cuts up limbs with iron). Manu (XII. 75-76) again mentions the Tāmīrā, Asipatravana and Kumbhpāka narakas and Manu III. 249 Kālasūtra. Kullūka (on Manu. IV. 88-90), Pr. V. (p. 16), the Dipakalīka (on Yāj. III. 222-224) and other commentaries say that the conditions in the hells may be read in the Mārkaṇḍeṣya-purāṇa and other works. Vide Agnipurāṇa 203 and 371 (where Hells are said to be 144), Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 22 (which names 25 narakas and states what sinners fall into which of them), chap. 214 (verses 14-17 of which speak of 22 narakas and verses 51-103 contain harrowing descriptions of the horrible torments of hell), chap. 215. 83. ff. (for names and descriptions of several narakas).393

Brahma-vaiśvarta (prāktikhaṇḍa chap. 29 which names 86 narakakupīdas394 and chap. 33), Nārada-purāṇa, pūrvārdha 15.1-20 (for narakas and torments), Padmapurāṇa (Uttara, chap. 227 for 140 narakas and Pātalakhaṇḍa chap. 48 for several narakas), Bhavisyapurāṇa (Brahmaparva, chap. 192.11-27 for torments of Hell and Uttaraparva Chap. 5-6 for sins and narakas). The Bhāgavatapurāṇa V.26.6 states that there are 28 narakas, though according to some there are 21. Vide also Viṣṇupurāṇa

393. Yāj. and Viṣṇu read 'avīcī' 'for mahāvīcī. Yāj. reads Sampratīpātana (throwing down in a pit) for Sampratīpana and adds Kumbhīpāka separately, which latter means 'heating after placing inside a jar'. The printed Manusmṛti reads 'Pratimṛttikam', which is a misreading of some mss. Some Mss read 'Lohacāraka' which may mean 'being made to walk over red hot iron' or 'being fettered with irons' (Pr. V. p. 16). All the names are explained by Pr. V. (pp. 15-16) and by some of the commentators of Manu. According to Jamādaṣṭaṇi quoted in Pr. V p. 16 Vaitaranī is a river in the nether regions which is full of foul smell and blood, which has hot water, is very rapid and has on the crest of its waves bones and hair. Saṁkha-Liṅkita (q. by Madanapāriṣṭā p. 695) describes Vaitaranī as 'taptodakā' (having hot water).

394. मरकाणाच च कुष्णानि साति नागाधिपानि च. नागाधिपेत्वयेन नागोदयानि तानि च ।...वासिग्नयं कुष्णानि संपरम्या वस्तितं च। भूयावर्ग, दक्षिणकाल 29. 4-6.
V. 6.2-5, Skandapurāṇa I, chap. 39 and VI. 226-227. In the Mārkandeyapurāṇa (chap. 12) we have a description of several narakas like the Raurava, Mahāraurava, Asipatrvana &c. and chap. 14 (verses 39-94) mentions the punishments meted out to perpetrators of various sins. In the Mahābhārata also narakas and the torments thereof are frequently referred to. For example, Śāntiparva 321.32 speaks of Vaitarānti and Asipatrvana, Anuśāsana (23.60-82) speaks of the actions that lead to hell (each verse having the refrain te rai niraya-gāminah) Anuśāsana 145.10-13. Svargārohapika-parva (2.16-26) describes the several horrible sights and torments of such hells as 'Asipatrvana' (named in verse 23) and Kūtasālmali (named in Svargārohapika 3.4). The Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti (IX. 167-171) mentions almost the same 21 narakas as the Manusmrī does. The craze for multiplying narakas went so far that the Brahmapurāṇa, the Visnuharmottara, the Garuda-purāṇa and others declared that there were thousands, lakhs and crores of narakas.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (46. 23-29) provides that those guilty of atipātakas, anupātakas, saṅkarikaranā, who have not undergone prāyaścittas suffer respectively for one Kalpa,395 for one Manvantara, for four Yugas, for a thousand years in the 21 narakas in rotation and the other sinners for many years. Yama quoted by the Madanapārijāta p. 696 says that those guilty of Mahāpātakas stay in Hell with face downwards for a yuga and Yama has numerous other verses stating what sinners undergo which horrors of Hell.

Buddhists appear to have borrowed the doctrine about hells from Brahanical writers. Vide Dr. B. C. Law’s monograph on ‘Heaven and Hell in Buddhist perspective’(1925), pages 111-113, which refer to eight Mahānirayas and there are other lesser Hells. The eight Mahānirayas are Saṅjiva, Kālasutta, Sanghāta, Roruva, Mahāroruva, Tapa, Mahātapa and Avici. It will be noticed how those names agree closely with Manu’s list


of hells. For the gruesome details of Hell and torments therein in ancient Jain works, vide Uttarādhyayana-sūtra (S.B.E. vol. 45 pp. 93–97) and Sūtrakṛṣṭaṇga I.5 (S. B. E. vol. 45 pp. 279-286). Similarly, for the ideas of Heaven and Hell in Zoroastrianism, vide Mr. S. N. Kang’s ‘Heaven and Hell and their location in Zoroastrianism and in the Vedas’ (1933).

The Buddhists held their penitential meetings (Pātimokkha), for which see S. B. E. vol. XIII. pp. 1–69 and for the 92 pācittiya (Prāyaścittiya) rules, vide pp. 32–55 of the same volume.

There are very glowing descriptions of Heaven (svarga) in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and other works. We have already seen how Heaven was supposed to be a place of delights in the Rgveda and even in the Upaniṣads like Kaṭha (I. 12–13 and 18 ‘śokatīga modate svargaloke’). Rg. X. 107.2 affirms that those who give (large) daksinā stand high in the Heavens (as stars), those that donate horses go in the company of the Sun and those that donate gold become immortal. An396 echo of this is found in Vanaparva 186.9. The Kauś. Up. 1.3 speaks of several worlds (lokas) of the gods such as those of Agni, Vayu, Varuṇa, Āditya, Indra, Prajāpati, Brahmā and a similar gradation of higher worlds is described in Br. Up. III.6 (such as Devaloka, Indraloka, Prajāpatiloka, Brahmāloka). The Br. Up. I.5.16 speaks of manusyaloka, pitṛloka and devaloka and holds that devaloka is the best of all worlds.397 Kauś. Up. I.4 implies that in the heavenly world divine nymphs, garlands, collyrium, fragrant powder, garments wait upon the fortunate denizens. Śaṅkara on Vedānta-sūtra (IV. 3.4) says that the word ‘loka’ means ‘a place for enjoying the fruits of one’s actions’ (bhogāyatana) and that Hiranyagarbha is the adhyakṣa of Brahmaloka (on Vedānta-sūtra IV. 3.10). In the Vanaparva (54.17-19) it is stated that svarga is the place for those who die in battle. How svarga is like and what the pleasures of heaven are is described in Vanaparva, chap. 186.6-7, viz. that there are extensive lakes full of golden lotus flowers and fish and devoid of mud, that on the banks of those lakes dwell the meritorious honoured by Apsarases who apply fragrant cosmetics to their

396. परं लोकं गोपालास्तात्सेवितुर्यस्तनहुं सुपत्तोको ब्रजलिं। वासी दृष्टा चामुण्डा
     मर्त्यं तस्मां दृष्ट्य ह्रदयमनम्तस्मिन्। वनपरव 186.9.

397. जयो श्रव्य लोकं महुपत्त्वोऽधिति सदिनोऽधिति महुपत्त्वोऽधिति धुम्भीय
     जयो जयो नामेव करणस्य करणस्य पितंत्वोऽधिति देवतास्य लोकानां भेदः। भृष्णु-वर्णम.
     I.5.16.
bodies, wear ornaments and have brilliant golden complexions. Similar pleasures enjoyed in the Nandana park are promised in Brahmapurana, 225.5-6. Vanaparva (chap. 261 verses 28-29) says that there is one great draw-back in going to heaven, viz. that there one simply enjoys the rewards of one's good actions, no new merit is accumulated there, one simply subsists on the accumulated principal or store of merit and that when that store is exhausted one has to fall down, the only good point about this being that one is born a man and that too in such a way that he enjoys\textsuperscript{398} happiness. Anuśasana (23. 84-102) sets out numerous actions whereby a man attains heaven (each verse having the refrain 'te naraḥ svarga-gāminah'). Similarly, in Brahmapurana 224. 9-14, 18-25 and 30-37 we have the same refrain. Vide also Anuśasana chapters 144 (verses 5-15, 19-26, 31-39) and 145. Śānti (99. 4-5) states that svarga is full of those fallen in battle, there are Gandharva damsels there for the brave (and there is hell for the coward) and that svarga yields all desires that one may entertain. The Śāntiparva (192. 8 and 21) states that svarga was in the North, that (Śānti 191. 13, 193. 27) there was neither hunger nor thirst nor weariness nor old age nor sin (in Heaven), that good men (Śānti 271. 24) are seen as stars (or become stars). In the Matsyapurana (276. 17) it is\textsuperscript{399} stated that he who performs Brahmāndadāna (one of the 16 mahādānas) reaches the world of Viṣṇu and delights in the company of Apsaras. The Brahmapurana (225. 6-7) assures us that a generous donor goes to heaven where he enjoys the best pleasures in the company of Apsarases and in the heavenly garden called Nandana and when he falls down from heaven he is born as a mortal in a rich and noble family. Vide also Garuḍapurana II, 3.86-89. It is not necessary to multiply passages. There are two matters to be noted in connection with Heaven and its pleasures. One is the calculating or bargaining spirit which the smṛtis and purāṇas display viz. make this or that gift and then there is so much delight to be enjoyed in heaven, a sort of profit and loss account; and the second is that the highest

\textsuperscript{398} इतिवर्ष हर्षपर्वस्तु ज्यंते शक्ति न च चापचाप किष्टे कर्मे शूलधनेवेन ज्यंते। सौभौ दोषो मम मातरसायस्ये पतनं च यथ। सुखायतनस्तकान्ते पतनं यथोऽपि अर्थसौभौ ज्यं। भेषं कण्हानां स्वर्गोऽस्म ज्यं। ध्रुमाभवशेषेन महेश्वरहृदायन्येते। ततवाशि स महाभाषः हुस्मानभिक्षुजायते। वनपर्व 261. 28-29 and 33.

\textsuperscript{399} इति च एवविष्कारितं यक्षोपदेशं महाप्रजातन्त्रविभागमयः महाभाषम। श्रियाकलाम्भिष्कुलपुर्वकरणं विपुलल्पयं न वक्तुदेवदातरोभिषेन सहायतत्तवम्। महाभाष 276. 17 q. by अत्यारक्क p. 323.
pleasures of Heaven have a time limit, i.e. they are to come to an end one day and the meritorious have to be born again in mortal bodies. The doctrine was gradually evolved that there is no final release from the cycle of births and deaths by the performance of meritorious deeds alone.

It is not necessary to set out at length the gruesome torments of Hell described in great detail in several smārtis and purāṇas. By way of a sample, the following description taken from a Dharmaśāstra work (viz. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 43,32–45) will be quite enough. "Sinners guilty of having committed (one or more of the nine kinds of) sins have to endure terrible sufferings when they have left this life and reached the path of Yama. Being dragged hither and thither by the fierce servants of Yama they are led (to hell) by them with frightening gestures. (In Hell) they are devoured by dogs, jackals, crows, herons, cranes and other birds eating raw flesh, by snakes and scorpions that have fire in their mouths (i.e. that emit stinging poison). They are scorched by fire, pierced by thorns, divided into parts by saws and oppressed by thirst. They are afflicted with hunger and by terrible hordes of tigers and they faint away at every step on account of the stinking smell of pus and blood. Desiring to secure the food and drink of others they are beaten by the servants (of Yama) whose faces are similar to those of such horrible animals as crows, herons and cranes. In some places they are boiled in oil, in others they are pounded with pestles or ground down in iron or stone vessels. In some places they (have to) eat what is vomitted or pus or blood or excrements, and hideous meat smelling like pus. In one place they have to stay in terrible darkness, and are devoured by horrible worms having flames in their mouths. In some places they are overwhelmed by cold or have to pass through the midst of unclean things and in other places the departed devour each other, thus becoming most horrible. In some places they are beaten on account of their former deeds and are suspended in other places (from trees &c.) or are struck with heaps of arrows or are cut into pieces. In other places they have to tread upon thorns and they are encircled by the hoods of serpents, they are tormented with machines and are dragged by their knees. Their backs, heads and necks are fractured, they become terrible (to look at), their throats being reduced to the size fit for a cave shelter and they become unable to bear torments. Sinners are being tormented in this way and having suffered intense
pain undergo various further sufferings in their passage through animal bodies (in which they are thereafter born).”

That naraka is a place below the earth is frequently stated in the Purāṇas. For example, in the Garuda and Brahmāṇḍa purāṇas all Hells such as Raurava are stated to be situated below the earth. Vide Viṣṇupurāṇa II. 6. 1 also. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa states that Hells are below the earth and above water to the south of the three worlds and hang without support, in which dwell the troupes of pitrs called Agniśvātta and others.\(^{400}\) The Agniapurāṇa (371. 13–14) avers that the 28 groups of narakas are below the earth and even below the 7th Pātāla.

We come across Vedic passages such as these ‘This sacrificer who is possessed of the utensils of yajña directly reaches Heaven’ (Sat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 8.)\(^{401}\), ‘one who desires Heaven should offer the Darśapūriyamāsā sacrifice’, ‘one desirous of attaining heaven should perform the Jyotistoma sacrifice’. What is meant by svarga or naraka has given rise to hot discussions from very ancient times. The popular view as reflected even in the Vedas, the smṛtis and purāṇas was that svarga was a place above the earth and naraka was a place of actual torments below the earth. Even ancient astronomical works located svarga thousands of yojanas above the earth. Parāśara,\(^{402}\) an astronomer and a predecessor of Varaha-mihira quoted by Utpāla on Br. Saṁ. I. 11, stated ‘Bhū (the earth) is 67080 crores of yojanas and it is the expanse of the earth; beyond it there is impenetrable darkness, in the midst of which there is the golden

\(^{400}\) Śuṣṭeṣṭhānaye svayam pāravāya: mahāḥtyam: maṇḍap (niyāṇa) 3. 55. maṇḍapam, upa-saṁdirahādāt chap. 2. 252; tattva narādha vīma svābhāvam: sādīrṣat a. pavanaḥ yād pāpam āgamaḥ śūnyam maṇḍapaḥ. maṇḍapam 22. 6. 1. rājaśvāca. naraḥ nāma pratyayam kā deśākṣipta aśrava dāśāśvātaka amāleśvānrapāma utaś śāśvatvāca. śāśvatvāca. aṁśaśeṣa eva vijnānapatā bhavati bhujañcānurājyopayaśaśvāt anāśvānrayaśaśvāt konaṃ śaśvatvayā śāśvatvāca.

\(^{401}\) Vide H. of Dh. Bh. II. p. 985 note of 2233 for enumeration of the ten yajñāyudhas from Tai. S. I. 6. 8. 2-3 and \(^{402}\) Sat. Br. I. 1. 1. 22.

\(^{402}\) Saptabhutaś eva rūpamābhāsya kāshāpyāṇamābhāsya eva rūpamābhāsya kāshāpyāṇaḥ kāṣṭha bhaśvāt. śāśvānrayaśaśvāt konaṃ śaśvatvayā śāśvatvāca.

\(^{402}\) Saptabhutaś eva rūpamābhāsya kāshāpyāṇamābhāsya eva rūpamābhāsya kāṣṭha bhaśvāt. śāśvānrayaśaśvāt konaṃ śaśvatvayā śāśvatvāca.
mountain Meru, 84000 yojanas high and sixteen below and thrice as much in length and width, which is called svarga. But it would be far from the truth to say that all eminent writers were agreed on the actual existence of svarga and naraka as places. It has already been shown how several centuries before Christ Gautama refers to the view of some predecessors of his that naraka is not a place, but simply means the loss of the capacity to perform the peculiar actions of one’s varṇa. There were others who argued in the same strain. Śabara (on Jai. IV. 3. 27-28) quotes a Vedic passage where the view of the sage appears to be that sacrifices yield the reward promised by śruti in the next life and where Kumārila 403 in his brief comment propounds the view that the injunctive passage (vidhi) of the Veda only promises a reward but does not state that it follows immediately in this life, that svarga which means unsurpassed joy, can happen only in another life. On Jaimini VI. 1. 1. Śabara first puts forward the prima facie view that svarga 404 imports in popular language such things (dravya) as fine silken clothes, sandalwood paste, young damsels only 16 years old and that the word svarga is also popularly applied to a particular place where there is neither heat nor cold, neither hunger nor thirst, neither distress nor fatigue and where only those who have done meritorious deeds can reach and not others. Śabara refutes this view and holds that the primary meaning of the word svarga is joy 405 or delight and not a thing (dravya) which brings joy.

There is a well-known and oft quoted verse which defines svarga as follows: 406 that happiness which is not mixed up with

---

403. फले भवनीरेभावति विभिषितैः। न लज्जेभावे। सत्यसत्यभावे। सत्यसत्य ज्ञातृत्वाद एव। स हि निर्विभिषित भवति। क्षामकाः चैतिः न भज्जेः ज्ञात्वभाविः॥ चालो- रिमित्तोऽकोलेण सुखुःस्कृतः अज्ञातविः॥... देवानां तु सृष्टिसृष्टिनि वनवनापानापानाधिक- पपुषा कलेवः। सत्यसत्याद न भवन्तः ज्ञातः सर्वः। दुपीय्का on ई. IV.3.27-28.

404. सर्वंसनेत्र श्रवणपत्रेषां लोकिकाः। मधुयमयोऽपापः। तस्मिन्द्व लोकिकाः मधृस्व द्रष्यचन्द्र। स्त्रयादेन भावाभावेऽसावतीस् लोकः। चन्द्रगतिः सत्यः। द्रष्यादेन भावः। द्रष्यादेन भावः।... द्रष्यादेन भावः। तस्मिन्द्व लोकिकाः विशिष्टते। विशिष्टते विविषिष्टं विविषिष्टं न शैवते। द्रष्यादेन भावः। तस्मिन्द्व लोकिकाः। विशिष्टते। विशिष्टते।... द्रष्यादेन भावः। तस्मिन्द्व लोकिकाः। विशिष्टते। विशिष्टते।... द्रष्यादेन भावः। तस्मिन्द्व लोकिकाः। विशिष्टते। विशिष्टते।... द्रष्यादेन भावः। तस्मिन्द्व लोकिकाः। विशिष्टते। विशिष्टते।... द्रष्यादेन भावः। तस्मिन्द्व लोकिकाः। विशिष्टते। विशिष्टते।... द्रष्यादेन भावः। तस्मिन्द्व लोकिकाः। विशिष्टते। विशिष्टते।... द्रष्यादेन भावः। तस्मिन्द्व लोकिकाः। विशिष्टते। विशिष्टते।... द्रष्यादेन भावः। तस्मिन्द्व लोकिकाः। विशिष्टते। विशिष्टते।... द्रष्यादेन भावः। तस्मिन्द्व लोकिकाः। विशिष्टते। विशिष्टते।... द्रष्यादेन भावः।

405. तत एवतादयविषिष्टाः। भौतिः। सप्त। दुष्पृक्त। एवरूपेन भावति। भौतिः। सप्त। दुष्पृक्त। एवरूपेन भावति। भौतिः। सप्त। दुष्पृक्त। एवरूपेन भावति। भौतिः। सप्त। दुष्पृक्त। एवरूपेन भावति। भौतिः। सप्त। दुष्पृक्त। एवरूपेन भावति। भौतिः। सप्त। दुष्पृक्त। एवरूपेन भावति। भौतिः। सप्त। दुष्पृक्त। एवरूपेन भावति। भौतिः। सप्त। दुष्पृक्त। एवरूपेन भावति। भौतिः। सप्त। दुष्पृक्त। एवरूपेन भावति।

406. यथा दुष्पृक्त संभवितं न च वस्मयस्मान। अभित्योपगीतं च तत्तुप्र भवन्तर्भवन्त॥

H. D. 22
pain, which is not immediately afterwards overwhelmed (by pain) and which is present whenever desired, is denoted by the word svabhā (or svarga). The Prakaraṇa-pañcikā of Śālikanātha,406 a one of the early works of the Prabhakara Mimāṃsā school, affirms that in such sentences as 'one desirous of heaven should perform the Jyotiṣṭoma' the rite is simply commended by Vedic passages, which are no more than arthavādas, as a means of securing long-enduring happiness which is free from the taint of all kinds of sorrow and which is present at the mere desire of the enjoyer. The Śāntiparva expressly states 'The wise do not regard the other world as directly seen by anyone; one has to entertain faith (in the existence of the other world) because otherwise one may run counter to the Vedas.' 407 The Brahma Purāṇa and the Viṣṇupurāṇa speak in the same strain as Śabara that svarga is what causes happiness to the mind, that narakā is the opposite of it and that meritorious deeds and wicked deeds are designated as svarga and narakā respectively and that svarga and narakā are really states of the mind characterised by happiness and pain respectively.408

One need not wonder at the crude ideas of narakā and svarga entertained by most ancient Indian writers and works. The same ideas were prevalent among peoples of all religions all the world over. For example, The Egyptians whose dynastic history covers a period of about 5000 years had very remarkable beliefs about Heaven and Hell which were illustrated with pictorial representations copiously (as no other nation had ever done), although the oldest Books of the Dead are without illustrations of any sort (vide E. A. W. Budge's 'Egyptian Heaven and Hell', 1905 p. XI and 2). Sheol was the name the Hebrews gave to the gloomy abode of the dead in the lowest parts of the earth and it was a land of darkness, which was appointed as the house for all living (Job 10. 21-22 and 30. 23). The Greek Hades closely resembles the Hebrew Sheol in its chief characteristics. In the New Testament also Hell is a land of everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels and it is a place where the wicked go into everlasting torment

406 a ज्योतिषोपन तत्त्वात् स्वयंभवविशेषणानि सचि:प्रभातसाधितात्मा धर्मकार्येषां अष्टकोमित शरीरायैवः कर्मोदयते। पक्षपातिका (p. 102).

407. न हर्षायुं मर्यादापरलोकं विदुहिष्ठा। आपातसाधनकर्मं अक्षयमिव दुःखता॥ सारि: 28.42.

408. तद्वेतानिः कस्मा निर्यगः साध्वेः। निर्यगाध्वेः पापप्रेयं प्रियोजना:॥ श्रीमाधुः 22.44, विष्णुः 11.6.46; नन्दा: परिश्रेर्यं हुर्थुः। शान्तिः ॥ श्रीमाधुः 22.47,
and punishment, while the righteous attain life eternal (Matthew 25. 41 and 46, Luke 16.23). The words of the New Testament are plain enough that Heaven was supposed to be a place above the earth and the clouds and that Hell was a place below the earth full of darkness and torments. Vide Luke 23. 43, Ephesians I. 3 and 20, II. Cor. 12. 4, Rev. 2. 7; and Luke 12.5 and 16.23; II. Peter 2.4 and Rev. 6.8, 20. 13–14. Bloomfield in his 'Religion of the Veda' p. 252 remarks 'In later Hindu times Hell is filled out with the usual gruesome stage-setting in the style of Dante's Inferno or the wall painting in the campo santo at Pisa'. Even men of genius like Shakespeare and most Christian theologians down even to modern times believed in a literal interpretation of passages from the Bible which speak of Heaven and Hell as places. It is only recently that many Christians have begun to hold that the language of the Bible about Heaven and Hell is purely symbolical in character.

409. Vide William James in 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 264, where he says that the fear of the old-fashioned Hell fire was employed by Christianity to extract from it fruits for repentance and conversion value and Pringle–Pattison in 'Ideas of Immortality' pp. 15–19. Vide for the Quranic ideas of Hell, SBE. vol IX p. 317 'Hell is a reward for the outrageous to tarry therein for ages. They shall not taste therein cool nor drink but only boiling water and pus'. Vide also SBE. vol. VI p. 247 (Hell contains seven divisions), vol. VI p. 165 (for the unbeliever is the torment of hell fire), vol. XIV p. 317 and p. 340 (for boiling water, pus and fire). In the Quran Heaven was supposed to consist of seven divisions viz Garden of Eternity, Abode of peace, Abode of rest, Garden of Eden, Garden of Resort, Garden of pleasure, the Garden of the most High, the Garden of Paradise.

410. The Report on the 'Doctrines of the Church of England' published in 1938 by a Commission consisting of some of the highest dignitaries of the English Church makes interesting reading, though to a non-Christian the language appears rather full of circumlocution and far from clear and definite. On p. 206 the Report states 'The drama of the Last Things as set forth in the medieval 'Doom' pictures rests on a tradition which makes use of a more or less literal conception of heaven and hell as specific 'places', of which a picture was formed by drawing upon traditional material, more especially the imagery of the Book of Revelation, which is itself largely drawn from Jewish and other pre-Christian sources. A quasi-literal interpretation of the imagery has in fact generally prevailed among Christians and has been widespread even in educated circles almost down to the present day.' On p. 219 the above Report remarks 'As the essence of Hell is exclusion from the fellowship of God, so the essence of Heaven is that fellowship. It is not a selfish happiness offered in reward for

(Continued on the next page)
The Sūtras had evolved the doctrine, as stated above, that if a sinner did not undergo pāraścittā, he had to suffer torments in hell, thereafter he became born as some insect or lower animal or a tree on account of some remnants of his sins and that he was born as a human being afflicted with certain diseases or with defects.\(^{411}\) These last two consequences are described under the title karmanipāta (the fruition of evil deeds). Śatātapa (I, 1–5) asserts that men guilty of grave self-suppression at an earlier time; it is fellowship with God who is love...... This is infinite bliss to the soul which is purged of self-interest. Heaven is also a fellowship of finite spirits." It will be patent how modern European minds have begun to think of Heaven and Hell in terms analogous to those in which some of the best minds of India thought of them centuries before and after the Christian era. In spite of the glowing pictures of the pleasures of Heaven and terrifying descriptions of the torments of Hell detailed in many of the sacred and popular works in Sanskrit and other Indian languages people have gone on committing all sorts of sins. The ancient machinery of Heavens and Hells must be deemed to have largely failed of its purpose in these days. Large masses of men appear to be slipping into an abyss of despair, misery, hardness of heart, wanton brutality and lawlessness, The lurid accounts of bombings and night raids on big cities, the reports of the bloody battles for six years in the World War No. 2, the harrowing tales of tortures in such prisoners' camps as at Belsen, the phenomenal rise in the prices of all necessities of life (food, clothing and shelter), frequent strikes and struggles between the employed and the industrialists, growing indifference, arson, plunder and bestial treatment of human beings on the ground of race or religion have produced hardness of heart and debased large masses of Indian people. It is a very difficult question for our leaders how to revive among the common people of India, (whom Westerners dubbed mild Hindus) the old characteristics of tolerance, peacefulness, goodwill and respect for human life and property, how to build up a new fabric of society, a new civilization and culture on the ancient Upanisadic foundations of the pursuit of Reality, brotherhood of man, the unity of all life, and love of mankind even without pressing into service the ancient and medieval literal conceptions of Heaven and Hell.

\(^{411}\) मायाधिमान्तीनां महापातांकिता हृदयम्। नरकासे स्वेतसम्बिधां श्रीरिविद्याः। पतितियम् अत्तेसिन्धुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुष्ट्रिधुṣ
sins that have not undergone prāyaścitta are, after undergoing the torments of Hell, born with bodies marked with certain condemned signs. One guilty of grave sins bears such signs for seven births, one guilty of upapātaka for five births and one guilty of pāpa for three births. These marks indicative of their having committed a particular sin are observed in each life and only disappear after they repent and perform prāyaścitta. Similarly, the diseases arising from sinful deeds subside by adopting the remedies of the recitation of Vedic texts, worship of gods, homas and gifts.' Verses 6-10 specify the diseases that arise in consequence of sins such as leprosy, tuberculosis, gonorrhoea, dysentery, kidney trouble, stone in the bladder, cough, fistula &c. A man may commit sins of three kinds viz., by the body, in words and mentally (Manu XII. 3). Really speaking, it is the mind that is the spring of all actions (Manu XII. 4), but for the sake of convenience, this threefold division is made. Coveting another's wealth by unfair means, desiring that evil should befall another and persistence in false ideas (such as the one that there is no soul, but that the body is the soul)—these three are mental sins (Manu XII. 5). Harshness of speech, falsehood, backbiting and irrelevant Prattling—these four are vocal sins (ibid XII. 6). Appropriating to oneself another's wealth without his consent, injury to sentient beings against the injunctions of śāstra, sexual intercourse with another's wife—these three are bodily sins (ibid XII. 7). Manu provides that bodily sins reduce a man to the state of a fixed object (tree &c.), vocal sins reduce him to the state of birds and beasts and mental sins to the lowest castes (Cāḍāla and the like). Hārīta (q. by Par. M.)\(^{412}\) speaks of 18 evil actions that lead to hell, of which six are mental, four vocal and the rest are bodily sins. Manu XII. 54-59 and 62-68, Yāj. III. 131, 135-136, 207–208 and 213–215, Viṣṇu Dh. S. Chap. 44, Atri. Chap. 4.5–14, 17–44 (in prose) state into what animals, trees and creepers sinners are born after undergoing hell torments. The statements of Yāj. being concise are set out here. This soul enters into hundreds of bodies in this saṁsāra, viz. as one of the lowest castes, bird or fixed object (tree &c.) on account of his lapses springing from the mind, speech and body (Yāj. III. 131); a man who

\(^{412}\) सर्वभूतविभाषणमर्यादाज्ञानपन्यमपत्यासनं विद्याज्ञानशिरास्तिं प्रयोगः पराभवविभाषणं इत्यावस्थां याबिभिसा तेतर कारार्थां! पापव्यतिचिन्ति शूर्यिक्षणेति मित्रविविधः। परिपूर्वतत्वं पराभिविभगः कौमोऽहो मीहोऽहक्रियं नामास्ति। शब्दात्मकादिकं जरायति कमलाः॥

हरितः q. by par. ma. II part 2 pp. 212–213.
tells lies, who is a back-biter, whose speech is harsh and who babbles what is irrelevant is reduced to being a bird or a beast (ibid III. 135); one who is addicted to misappropriating another’s wealth and to sexual intercourse with another’s wife, who injures another against śātric rules is born as a fixed object; the murderer of a brāhmaṇa becomes born in the body of a beast (deer &c.), a dog, a pig or a camel; the drinker of surā is born as an ass, a pulkasa (one born from śūdra woman of a niṣūda), or a vega (one born of an Amāśtha woman from a valdehaka); the thief of gold reaches the state of a worm, an insect (an ant &c.) or a moth and one guilty of incest becomes grass, a bush or a creeper (Yāj. III. 207–208). On stealing leafy vegetables one is born as a peacock, on stealing perfumes one is born a chuchundari (musk-rat); the thief of corn, of a vehicle, fruits, water, milk, domestic utensils (like pestle), honey, flesh, a cow, fire, cloth, juice (of sugarcane or the like) and salt is born respectively as a mouse, a camel, a monkey, a plava (duck), a crow, a sparrow, bee, vulture, godhā (iguana), crane, a man suffering from white leprosy, a dog, ciri (cricket bird). The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 217 verses 37–110) contains a long disquisition on the different kinds of animal births that sinners of various kinds have to undergo. Vide also Garudapurāṇa (Praśakhandas) 2.60–88, Agni 371.30–32 (which latter states that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa is born as a beast or deer or a dog, hog, or camel, the drinker of wine as an ass or pulkasa or mleccha, the thief of gold as a worm or pest or moth, one guilty of incest as grass or a bush).

It was believed in very ancient times that diseases were the consequences of sins. In the Atharvaveda VIII. 7.3 plants are said to have destroyed from each limb the disease due to sin. Manu XI. 49–52, Vas. 20.44, Yaj. III. 209–211, Visnu Dh. S. Chap. 45, Śatapatha I. 3–11 and II. 1, 30, 32, 47, Gautama-śānti in verse chap. 20 and Gautama (in prose q. by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 216) or Vṛddha-Gautama (according to Smṛtimuktāphala

413. This belief is not confined to India. In the Gospel of St. John (9.1–3) when a man blind from birth came before Jesus the disciples asked him 'who did sin, this man or his parents that he was born blind'. Jesus is said to have rejected that idea and performed a miracle by restoring to him his sight after applying to the man's eyes clay mixed with the spittle of Jesus and washing his eyes in a pool.

414. आयो अद्वित्त विषयः अभियांतरः, तत्स्ते पद्मास्तेन्नयापरेक्ष्योक्षेपः, अध्यः । VIII.7.3.
p. 861), Yama (q. by Pr. M. p.9), Śaṅkha (q. by the Mitāksāra on Yāj. III. 216), Smṛtyarthāṣṭāra pp. 99-100 state the diseases and bodily defects from which sinners suffer after they are born as men. As a sample Yāj. III. 209-211 may be cited here; the murderer of a brāhmaṇa suffers from Tuberculosis, a drinker of surā has black teeth, the thief of brāhmaṇa's gold has diseased nails, one guilty of incest suffers from leprosy; the thief of food suffers from dyspepsia, one who stealthily learns without permission (or one guilty of plagiarism) is born dumb, one who mixes up inferior corn with superior corn is born with excessive limbs (with six fingers &c.), a backbiter is born with pus in the nose; a thief of oil is born as tilapāyu and one who falsely reports faults in others has a foetid breath. Yāj. III. 217 states that after reaping the consequences of their (evil) deeds (by falling into Hell and) by reaching the state of lower animals, sinners are born as human beings of a low order, poor and with condemned marks on the body; even medical works like the Carakasaṁhitā held the belief that diseases were the consequences of actions done in past lives (vide Sūtrasthāna, Chap. I. 116).

The smṛtis are not in complete agreement about the diseases or bodily defects that sinners of various grades suffer. For example, though Vas. 20.44 and Śaṅkha (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 216) state that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa suffers from leprosy, Manu XI. 49, Yāj. III. 209, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 45. 3, Agni. 371. 32 aver that he suffers from phthisis. For want of space the long lists of the births as lower animals and the diseases and deformities from which sinners suffer contained in Śaṅkha, Hārīta, Gautama, Yama and the Purāṇas quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 216, the Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 230-240, 242-272, Madanapārijāta pp. 701-702, the Mahārṣava-karmavipāka are passed over here.

Āp. Dh. S. (II. 1. 2. 6-7) states that a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaisya sinner guilty of brāhmaṇa murder, after undergoing the torments of Hell is born again respectively as a Cāndāla, Paulkasa and Vaiṣṇa and that other sinners who have become outcasts by their sins are born on account of these as certain animals (like pigs). Similarly, Manu XII. 61 provides that one who from greed steals precious stones, pearls, corals and jewels of various kinds is born as a goldsmith.
Although the word *Karmaṇa* is ordinarily employed to denote good as well as evil actions still in the section on penances the word ‘Karman’ prominently presents to the mind the idea of evil deeds. Hence *Karmaṇapāka* means the ripening (or fruition) of evil actions or sins. This fruition takes three forms, as stated in the *Yogāsūtra*415 II. 13, viz. *jāti* (birth as a worm or animal &c.), *āyuḥ* (life i.e. living for a short period such as five or ten years) and *bhoga* (experiencing the torments of Hell &c.). The word *Karmaṇapāka* appears to have been known to Yāj. III. 131 (vipākaḥ karmanāṁ pretya kesām cid-īha jāyate) and it occurs frequently in the *Purāṇas* (e.g. in Brahma-purāṇa 224. 41, 225. 43 and 59, Matsya 115. 14 &c.). The Pr. Sāra pp. 219–231 contain the longest treatment of *Karmaṇapāka*. The doctrine of *Karmaṇapāka* was well known to the Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna, who in his *Ratnakāvali* refers to it416. The Buddhist *Avadānaśatakās* also refer to the doctrine of *Karmaṇapāka*. Vide also *Suttanipāta* (S. B. E. vol 10 part 2) p. 38 and S. B. E. vol. 21 p. 130 (Saddharma-puṇḍarīka). In some medical works also such as the *Hāritasamhitā* it is said that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa suffers from white leprosy and the killer of a cow from black leprosy; a regicide suffers from phthisis, and the destroyer of a park from dysentery &c.417. In the *Vivāgasuṣyam* (Vipākārūtan), which is the 11th *ānga* of the Jaina-āgama and an edition of which was brought out by Dr. P. L. Vaidya (in 1933) we have stories of persons who suffered from evil diseases owing to their committing evil deeds in former lives and other stories of the fruits of good deeds.

The doctrine based upon the implications of *Manu* XII418, 3, 9 and 54 and Yāj. III. 206 was that it is human beings alone (and not lower animals like tigers &c.) that have to experi-

---

415. सति मुदे वशिष्को जातादुभूमा: । योगमूद्र II.13. The *Bṛhadāraṇyapūraṇa* 217.40 illustrates both *jāti* and *āyuḥ* viz. ‘पतितं वर्जनिवा तु हृदियोगो सजापेते. तत्र जीवाली भवाणी दृश्य एक च भी हिंजा:’

416. Vide *JRAS* for 1934 p. 307 at p. 311 for the views of *Nāgarūjou* on *Karmaṇipāka*. Verse 14 is: हिंसा जापेवत्सा-पुष्पागाओ किरिणी । वृंदंत्य भागमस्तकी खंडङ्गे: पर्याप्तिकोः।

417. Vide *Journal Asiatique* (Paris) for 1934, pp. 125–139 for the text of the *Hāritasamhitā*. ‘भृजनो जापेव पाण्डुः कुठी गीतज्ञकाः:। राजस्या राजस्य स्वादुमानोदित्वाता । सान्यक्रियाभिमोचने नेशोगो भविष्येति । पुरुषामनस्कृतं सुवर्णेमाणस्वादनात:। सकुटानामास्त्रेन जापेते च भगवः। हृदी परोपकारी च भृजणायात्मकाचार:।’ verses 12–14 at p. 134.

418. कर्माचं ततो तुष्टाः पुराणामास्मदभम्: । मद्दु XII. 3; सतीर्षी: कर्मदवैपरिति स्थानरताः च: । मद्दु XII. 9.
ence in Heaven and Hell the consequences of their deeds. The Viśṇudharmottara explicitly states so.419.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 216), the Smṛtyārthaśāra, Parāśāra, and other works state that the disquisition on Karmavipāka420 is merely an arthavāda, that it is not to be taken literally, but is meant to induce sinners to undergo such práyaścitattas as Prājāpatya which entail great worry and trouble and which no one might willingly undertake. The Mit. points out that the description of the diseases (like pthisis) is not intended for requiring those who suffer from them to undergo the penances for twelve years or the like nor for inducing people to avoid contact with such persons, that śiṣṭas do not avoid contact with those who have bad nails, that in the case of such persons the disease or defect is the last result of what little sin remained attached to them and that by the very fact of their having the disease or defect mentioned in the texts they become free from the last remnants of their sins and therefore they do not stand in need of any further penance and as their sin is finally removed by suffering the disease or defect their fitness for being allowed to mix among people is established.

The teaching of the works on Karmavipāka, though dismal and terrifying, comes to this that no soul need be without hope provided it is prepared to wait and undergo torments for its misdeeds, that it need not be appalled by the numerous existences foreshadowed in those works and that the soul may in its long passage and evolution be ultimately able to discover its true greatness and realize eternal peace and perfection.

Manu XII. 69 (almost the same as Viśṇu Dh. S. 44.45 and Garudapurāṇa II. 2. 89) states that women guilty of the sin of theft become the wives of men who are guilty of the same offences.

VAMANAPURĀṆA, chap. 12 is called Karmavipāka and Mārkandeyapurāṇa chap. 15 treats of the same subject.

419. Madhava: अतिपति|स्वप्ने नरकेव दा। नैदिर्घे पुरुषम्: एकिनीतवे ते फलोदिनम्। द्वाधरस्तोधनां च कर्मां पुनः जन्मन। सत्यार्थ: किस्येत लोको अनुप्रेयत्व केलस्य। तस्मात् मनोवर्तं पूर्वे यस्तो यथात्तय: प्रपन्तात्। नायपी महायाने, फलोपनी स्थवरिष्ट:। विद्यतमार्गस- पुराण नै. 102. 4-6 q. by प्र. मा. II. part 2 pp. 208-209, मा. सार p. 215 (after affirming मद्देन्द्रणे, द्वाधरस्तोधनांम्:।).

420. इत्यादि|तवारिनीतवारिणी। प्रयासरत्रविद्वाये। पूर्वजकमलिपिका। ब्रह्मवीर्य:। सप्तर. मा. II. p. 100: न तवस्य तिष्ठु | स्वप्ने विविधां विधातां मतिसः वा ज्ञातेनस्योपयोगस्यतन्त्रवेष:। अतिविद्वाग्निथिमयारथस्ये:। नायपी मा. II. part 2 pp. 206-207.
Varāhapuruṣa (chap. 203. 21 ff.) expatiates at length upon the topic how sinners endure torments in Hell for innumerable years, how after their evil deeds have been almost wiped out they become human beings suffering from various diseases or deformities.

In the Mahārṇava-karmavipāka of Māndhātṛ it is stated that there are two means of destroying the consequences of (evil) actions, viz. kr̥chra (penances) and the reversal (or remedies) against diseases. The latter consists in making golden images of the sun (as the superintending deity of good health) and of the deity of a disease and offering worship to both these in a mandapa on a raised vedikā (platform). The work expatiates at length on the Vedic verses employed according to Āśvalāyana and the Taittirīya Śākhā for ghoṣa-tānti (propitiatory ceremonies with loud recitation of Vedic mantras); the worship of the sun with Vedic mantras and of the planets, the offerings of āhutis, the Rudraikādaśānti, Mahārūdra (11 times as many as the preceding) and Ati-rudra, repeating the thousand names of Viṣṇu, Viṁśatikā-śaṅti (as laid down by Yāj. I. 271-294), Navagraha-yajña in which it assigns each planet to some country and some gotra. It also prescribes how for the removal of particular diseases particular dānas may be given (such as Kadaśādāna i.e. manufacturing a kadali plant from one pul of gold and donating it). It deals with the gifts of the images of all diseases supposed to be incurable and quotes Śatātapa II. 47-48 in connection with the removal of rājayakṣmā (phthisis). It deals at length with fevers and other diseases and bodily defects such as greenish or cat-like eyes, deafness &c. But the detailed treatment of all these matters is passed over here from considerations of space, and also for the reason that these prescriptions are now either hardly believed in by people or hardly ever performed.

421. अर्थकर्माविपाके इत्यादि। तत्र व्यासिणि एवम् इत्स्मन्ते व्याधि
भक्तिविद्वान द्वया हि...। तत्तत् इत्यादि। तत्र भविषयविद्वेष शर्य...साङ्के शास्त्राः
तत्र देवस्यार्द्धिगतम् स्वयं सर्वो एव...। तत्र भविष्यविद्वेषितम् भक्तिविद्वत...। इति
इत्यदि। तत्र भविष्यविद्वेषितम् शर्य...। तत्र भविष्यविद्वेषितम् शर्य...। इति।
इति। तत्र भविष्यविद्वेषितम् शर्य...। तत्र भविष्यविद्वेषितम् शर्य...। इति।
इति। तत्र भविष्यविद्वेषितम् शर्य...।

422. ‘अः पूर्वः सः दयाप्रवर्तिति...ः दयाप्रवर्तिति...ः दयाप्रवर्तिति...ः। अः पूर्वः सः। अः दयाप्रवर्तिति...ः दयाप्रवर्तिति...ः दयाप्रवर्तिति...ः। अः...सः दयाप्रवर्तिति...

Vol. 178

History of Dharmaśāstra
SECTION II

ANTYESTI (rites after death), ŚUDDHI (purification from impurity due to death, birth and other causes)

CHAPTER VII

ESCHATOLOGY

What happens after death to a human being (which is the subject matter of Eschatology) has been a great mystery that has intrigued and baffled mankind in all ages and was a question of vital importance among almost all ancient peoples such as the Indians, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks and Persians. The word Eschatology is derived from a Greek term meaning ‘last things’ and is applied to the study of opinions that men have held from time to time concerning the future, including such matters as the state of man after life on this earth and the end of the world. It exercises a great fascination over most people and speculation on it can be carried on endlessly. Every religion has its own eschatology. There are two aspects of Eschatology; one is concerned with the destiny of the individual after death, immortality of the soul, sin and punishment, the meaning and content of ‘Heaven’ and ‘Hell’; the other aspect of eschatology has relation to the whole universe, its creation, destination and renovation, and the ultimate end of all things. The first aspect and matters relevant to it from the ancient Indian point of view will be dealt with in this section and the second aspect of Eschatology is reserved for treatment in a later section. In ancient works far more emphasis was laid on the first than on the second, while modern men with a more or less scientific outlook and attitude are inclined to think more of the second aspect.

Death has been generally looked upon with feelings of awe and terror, though there were men (often philosophically minded) who looked upon it as a blessing and as a release of the spirit from the shackles imposed upon the latter by the body. The terror of death was in many cases due not so much to the pain
caused at the time of death but rather to the mystery that surrounds what happens after death and to the thoughts about what the survivors would have to undergo. It is said by C. E. Vulliamy in his work 'Immortal man' (p. 2): 'although the idea of that life (ghostly life) ranges from the most dismal and horrible fantasies to the most sublime imaginations, the fundamental thought is always the same, the body dies but not the spirit'. There were several attitudes adopted by primitive as well as civilized people towards death. In the Kaṭhopaniṣad we read (I 1.20) 'When a man dies there is a doubt, some saying that there is survival after the death of the body and some denying any survival' and Nāciketas requests the dreaded God Yama to solve this doubt. There are several beliefs even among those who hold that there is survival after death. Some say that there is a world of the dead to which whatever survives goes after death. Others believe that the surviving part goes to Heaven or Hell according as the man has been virtuous or sinful in his life on earth. Others believe in transmigration and re-incarnation. Several of the great writers in ancient Greece believed in this last doctrine, as Pindar (in second Olympian Ode), Plato (in Phaedrus and Timaeus) and Herodotus (II, 123) indicate.

The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 214 verses 34–39) sets out the persons to whom death is happy and easy and not a source of misery and sorrow. A few may be mentioned here. —'He who did not tell lies, he who did not prove false to affection or friendship, who is an āstika (a believer in God and the life to come), who is devoted to the worship of gods and the honouring of brahmāpas, he who does not bear malice to anyone—these have a happy death.' Similarly, the Anuśāsanaparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 104. 11–12, chap. 144. 49–60) states at length the causes of premature death and of long life. Some of them may be translated here. 'Those who are atheists, do not perform the acts (or sacrifices) proper for them, violate the (dictates of) elders and of śāstras, who do not know what dharma is and are evil-doers are short-lived. Those who have no character, who always break all rules of conduct, who have promiscuous sexual intercourse become short-lived and go to Hell. One who is not irritable by temper, speaks the truth, does not cause injury to beings, who bears no malice to any one and who is not crooked—these live for a hundred years' (104. 11–12 and 14).

**A22a.** Compare C. E. Vulliamy's 'Immortal man' (p. 11),
Several works specify the signs indicative of the approach of death. The Sántiparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 318, 9–17), Devala quoted in the Mokṣakānda of the Kalpataru (pp. 248–250, about 20 verses), the Vāyupurāṇa (chap. 19 verses 1–32), the Mārkandeyapurāṇa 43. 1–33 (chap. 40 verses 1–33, Venkatesvara Press ed.), Lingapurāṇa (pūrvārdha chap. 91) and other Purāṇas contain long lists of the signs of approaching death. It is impossible for want of space to set out in detail these signs. But the gist of a few verses is mentioned by way of sample. The Sántiparva (chap. 318) states that a man who is not able to see the star of Arundhati which he could formerly see, nor the pole-star nor the full moon, nor his own reflection in another man’s eye has only one year to live; he has only a span of six months of life left to him who sees the orb of the moon with a hole in it; a man has only seven days left of life who sees a hole pierced in the orb of the Sun, who smells the odour of a corpse when fragrant substances are near; when the nose and ears bend down, when his teeth and eyes become discoloured, when there is loss of consciousness, and loss of bodily heat, when smoke emerges from the crown of the head, when the left eye begins to ooze moisture all of a sudden—these are indications of the immediate approach of death. Devala states indications that prognosticate life for only one year, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 months, one month, half a month, 12 days, 4 days, 3 days, 2 days and winds up by saying that one who cannot hear the humming sound in his ear (when closed with fingers) or cannot see the light in the eye is going to die immediately. The Vāyupurāṇa (19.28) and Lingapurāṇa 91.30 regard the last two as the worst indications of approaching death. The Lingapurāṇa (pūrvabhāga chap. 91.24) states that he who cannot see his own reflection in another’s eye will not live. There is an interesting paper by Dr. R.G. Harsh in the Munshi Diamond Jubilee volume (pp. 246–268) where the learned writer gives the text of two mss. on the prognostications derived from dreams e.g. if a man sees an ass in a dream he is sure to die, or if he sees an old maid then it is an indication of dangerous disease and death (p. 251) or if he sees a trident death is indicated (p. 254).

423. क्षेत्र वर्तमानिणी एतद्वृं परं भवेत्। पोषय न श्रीयुक्तात्मगी न्योतिन्त्रये न पश्चाति।
\[\text{वायुपुराण 19.27;}\] नाथेन भवेत् विधानमुदयूभिपरिक्रिया। \[\text{विश्वमृत्युर् (पुराणमा 91.19).}\]
When a man is sinking and is almost on the point of death it was and even now is the practice in many parts of India to take the dying man down from the bedstead and place him on a bed spread on the earth. For example, the Kautilya-sástra (80.3) prescribes: When the man is losing all strength, he (the son or other attending relative) spreads kūtas on the grass growing in the shed and takes him down (from the bed-stead) with the mantra ‘syonaśma bhava’ (mayst thou be good to this man, Oh Earth). The Baud. P. S. III. 1.18 says that sand should be spread on the ground in the sacrificial shed when it is feared that the sacrificer is dying and darbha grass should be strewn on the sand with the sharp ends turned to the south and the dying man should be placed thereon and one (son or the like) should repeat in his right ear the anuvāka beginning with ‘ayusah prānam santau’. The Gobhila-sūtra III. 22 and later works like the Pitṛdayyins provide the same procedure.

Medieval digests like the Śuddhiprakāśa (pp. 151–152) state that when a person is moribund, has half closed his eyes and is taken down on the ground (from a bed-stead), his son or other relative should make him give one or more of ten gifts viz. of cows, land, sesame, gold, clarified butter, clothes, grain, jaggery, silver, salt. These gifts are superior even to a śrāddha performed at Gayā or to even hundreds of Āsāvamedhas.

424. In Europe a very widespread custom is to take a dying man out of bed and to lay him on the earth or on straw. Vide Prof. Edgerton’s very exhaustive article on ‘the Hour of Death’ in Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R. Institute, vol. VIII pp. 219–249.

425. कुशलिनवयस्कविद पुराणस्थानोऽधिकारेष स्त्रीपदाः वर्षहर्षाद्वादस्य मनोकामनायस्य कान्त्योऽसी। कौशिक 80.3–5. अवधारणा 18.2–19. is ‘स्त्रोनास्य यन्त्रित्वन्तु भवन्तुण्ड अनुस्वरूपा निभिन्ते।’ बुध्यासी ‘स्त्रोनास्य यन्त्रिति’ समयः। क. 1.32.15 and वाक्य स. 36.13 are almost the same, reading ‘स्त्रोनास्य यन्त्रित्वन्तु भवन्तुण्ड’ and ‘स्त्रोनास्य यन्त्रिति’ मी ‘स्त्रोनास्य’ respectively; vide viṣṇuēk 9.32 for explanation of this verse. The विशेषंकाला (p. 74) states that ‘स्त्रोनास्य यन्त्रित्वन्तु भवन्तुण्ड’ is to be read ‘स्त्रोनास्य यन्त्रित्वन्तु भवन्तुण्ड’ as śrāddhā is an essential part of the rvāna. विशेषंकाला III. 22 ‘पुरेते स्त्रोनास्य ह ज्ञातास्मातत्सहृदय।’ विशेषंकाला II. 4.10 ‘वृद्धाश्च त्योज्येत्तन्मे गदायते।’

426. नारायणिः प्राणायामेन आहै। उक्ताकलितवर्गाः य द्वारेष वधाति यद्य तेऽत्य वधाति। नारायणिः तेऽत्य वधाति। यो विशेषंकालावर्गस्यकुलाम् विशेषंकाला। सत्यं श्रावणांतिकुस्ववं श्रावणांतिकुस्ववं। विशेषंकाला p. 152; for a similar verse about ten dānas vide महाभारतं (वेदशास्त्रं) 4.4. An Inscription of Vikramaśīla, a chieftain under the Kalachuri king Saṅkara (published in E. I. vol. XIX pp. 230) records the gifts of land, coins, house and gold on the occasion of the prāyaścitta in honour of his deceased father.
sankalpa (verbal declaration of the gift) is made in the words 'I shall make ten gifts for the attainment of heaven (abhyudaya), or for the removal of all sins'. After the ten dānas, a cow with a calf should be donated if possible 427 (this cow being called utkṛṇti-dhenu 'a cow donated in view of death') and then another cow called Vātarapī with gold (or two pieces of cloth &c) should be donated. The Antyaśṭi paddhati and the Śuddhi- prakāśa (pp. 152–153) set out all the mantras (not vedic) that are to be recited at the time of making the several gifts, which (mantras) are passed over here for want of space. The Antyaśṭi- paddhati, the Antyakarmadipaka and other works prescribe that when a person is near death, his son or other relative should make him perform Vratodyāpana, sarvaprayaścitā and the gift of ten dānas or if the dying man is unable to do these himself, the son or the other relative should perform these and give the merit thereof to the dying man. A person often resolves upon observing certain vratas, but fails to carry out all the details of those vratas to the end. The Vratodyāpana for the dying man is meant to cure all such unfinished vratas. The A. K. D. (pp. 3–4) has a long note about the performance of vratodyāpana. Briefly it comes to this. The son or other relative having brought about the purity of the dying man's body by a bath or by sprinkling it with holy water (mārjana) or by making him drink Ganges water, having himself taken a bath and performed his daily duties (of sandhyā), having lighted a lamp; having bowed to Ganeśa and prayed to god Viṣṇu, having placed before him the materials of worship and having repeated the usual sankalpa (see note 428), he should honour a brāhmaṇa

427. अन्त्यायद्वित्यम् देविः सन्निध छलकं द्वित्यम्।
तद्वर्त्यमेव नाशकलः पाषाणाः हुए।
एकाकारकृत्भवेत् तदा भवेत् एकाकारस्त्रीति सुलभः प्राप्तः
प्राप्त, q. by लघुजीतम् p. 300, लघुजीतम् p. 153, श. अ. भृ. p. 7, हृदेंत स्थीतिः
भेजनम् भेजनम् भेजनम्।
The संस्कāra (संस्कार) 46.6 says 'नाशकलाः पाषाणाः हुए एकाकारस्त्रीति तथा।
एकाकारस्त्रीति स्थीतिः तथा वेदायते।' The idea was that at the door of the house there was a river called तालिका, full of blood and sharp weapons and that there those who donated a cow at the time of death crossed that terrible river by holding the cow's tail; vide संस्कृतम् VI. 226.32–33 for तालिका and verse 34 for

428. अन्त्यायद्वित्यम् देविः सन्निध छलकं द्वित्यम्।
तद्वर्त्यमेव नाशकलः पाषाणाः हुए।
एकाकारकृत्भवेत् तदा भवेत् एकाकारस्त्रीति सुलभः
प्राप्तः प्राप्त, q. by लघुजीतम् p. 300, लघुजीतम् p. 153, श. अ. भृ. p. 7, हृदेंत स्थीतिः
भेजनम् भेजनम् भेजनम्।
The संस्कāra (संस्कार) 46.6 says 'नाशकलाः पाषाणाः हुए एकाकारस्त्रीति तथा।
एकाकारस्त्रीति स्थीतिः तथा वेदायते।' The idea was that at the door of the house there was a river called तालिका, full of blood and sharp weapons and that there those who donated a cow at the time of death crossed that terrible river by holding the cow's tail; vide संस्कृतम् VI. 226.32–33 for तालिका and verse 34 for

(Continued on the next page)
already invited and should give to him the gold (or silver) set apart for the purpose and the brāhmaṇa should pronounce the words “May all vrata be fulfilled! May there be the attainment of the fruits of udhyāpana (accomplishment of vrata).” In the sarvaprayāsācīta the son approaches 4 or 3 learned men or one man knowing adhyātma (metaphysics) and offers the substitutes (of gold &c.) for sins that involve penances for 6, 3 or 1 ½ years or makes a declaration and performs the prayāsācīta, after the days of impurity.

The sarvaprayāsācīta was to be performed by the dying man or by his son or other relative who was to shave himself, take a bath, drink pāncaśāṇya, honour a brāhmaṇa with sandal paste and other things; after having honoured the cow or the money to be paid in lieu of it, and after referring to the several kinds of sins that one may be guilty of (vide note 429) he is to make a gift of a cow (with a calf) to the brāhmaṇa or in lieu of it, of some money. After sarvaprayāsācīta come the ten dānas stated above. In the dānas the Kāmastuti 430 as studied by the followers of each vedā was to be recited. The Garudapurāṇa (II. 4. 7–9) further prescribes other dānas called maha-dānas viz., of sesamo, iron, gold, cotton, salt, seven kinds of corn, land and cows when a man is dying and also other gifts called padadānas such as of umbrella, sandals, ring, water-jar, seat, food. The Garudapurāṇa (II. 4. 37) further provides that if a man about to die takes sannyāsa according to the rules laid

(Continued from the last page)
down for what is called āturasannīyaśa he never returns to the cycle of births and deaths.

From ancient times it was a firmly held belief that the thoughts that a dying man entertains at the time of death determine what will happen to his spirit after physical death (this is expressed in the well-known words ‘ante matiḥ sā gatiḥ’), that therefore a man should, when death approaches, give up all thoughts of mundane affairs and all earthly attachments, should think of his favourite deity (Hari or Śiva), should inaudibly recite such mantras as ‘om namo Vāsudevāya’. Several texts insist on making the dying man listen to holy Vedic texts. The Gautamapitṛ-medhasutra (I 1–8) prescribes that one should at the time when one’s father, mother, brother, teacher or a brāhmaṇa friend is on his death-bed make the dying man hear the first and last verses of the Veda and certain sāmans and should mutter in the dying man’s right ear (one sāman). The Rgvidhāna provides that one should repeat at the time of death the sūkta beginning with ‘trātāram’ 431 (?)

The Hir. P. S. I. 1 provides that when it is thought that the āhitāgni is going to die, he (the son or the like) should mutter in the dying man’s ear (if he is a knower of Brahma) the two anuvākas of the Tai. Up. II. 1 (beginning with ‘brahmavidāpnoti param’) and III. 1 (beginning with ‘Bṛgurvai vāruṇīḥ’). The A. K. D. (p 18) says 432 that if the dying man is unable to engage in japa he should revolve in his mind the benign form of Viṣṇu and Śiva and should listen to the thousand names (of Viṣṇu or Śiva), the Bhagavadgītā, the Bhāgavata, Bhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, the Upaniṣads like Śāvāsya and hymns to Soma.

431. बातारामिति चर्चा हु अन्तकाले सदा पातेत्। जप्ता चैव परं स्थानमयुतत्वाप कल्पते। क्रिष्णसन्न सर्वा पीठम्। तथा कथ। The second verse of Rg. IX.112 (Nir. edition, pothi size p. 163 b) reads बातारामिति... स्थानमयुतत्वाप कल्पते। The Rgvidhāna edited by Jagadish Shastri reads (III.19–20) नासनामिति बुधकालो अत्यको जपेसकृत। नामान्या is the first verse of Rg. IX.112. It is likely that the editor of the Śūddhaśāstra misreads नासनामिति as बातारामिति, since बातारामिति is not a sūkta (hymn) but only one stanza in a hymn.

432. जपसहस्रमथोरं हुद्ये चद्दर्पं सहस्रमथवर्षां पीतासरकल्यांदेकेरकालकालवर्षां रंगमयमपं सिद्धं निलोकसर्वाधिकारः चद्दर्पं चतुर्विंशतिमयार्थ गद्यार्थ सिद्धम्। अ. क. क. p. 18. For सहस्रमथवर्षां vide अनुसारार्थ 149.14–120 and अनुसार अनुसारार्थ 17.31–153 for 1008 names of सिद्ध; vide also नामितिः 285.74 वी.
The germs of this idea are found even in the Upaniṣads. The Chāndogya Up. (in the famous Śaṃdīlya-vidyā, III. 14. 1) remarks: 'All this is Brahman. A man should meditate on that (all this) as beginning, ending and subsisting in it (Brahman). Now man is a creature of his will. According to whatever is his will (or thought) in this world, so will he become after departing from this world.'

The Pārśāna Up. III. 10 contains a similar idea. It is here asserted that it is thought power or the will that raises the soul higher and higher, and that the human mind should try to realize the idea that behind all physical transformations the Universe is one and is informed by one all-pervading Essence. Similarly, the Bhagavadgītā puts this idea in a much more clear way. ‘The man, who remembering me alone in his last moments, departs from this life, comes to me; there is no doubt about this’ (8.5). But in order to guard against the possible inference that it is only the thoughts at the approach of death that matter whatever the past life led by a dying man may have been, the next verse emphasizes that a man’s spirit is engrossed by the thoughts that he has entertained throughout life and that a man can think of spiritual matters or about God at the time of death only if he has been thinking about such matters or about God throughout his life. That verse (8.6) is 'whichever form (or thing) a man remembers when he leaves the body at death, to that alone he goes, having been always (throughout his life) engrossed in meditating over it.'

Some of the digests, on the authority of several Purāṇas, prescribe that the dying man should be taken, if possible, near a holy place (tīrtha) such as the Ganges. For example, the Śuddhitattva54 (p. 299) quotes a passage from the Kurmapurāṇa to this effect: ‘a man attains mokṣa (final release from saṃsāra) by dying in the waters of the Ganges, on land or in water at

433. सब सत्त्वं भूत तज्जनातिति शान्त उपासतां श्राद्ध कर्तुमय: पुरुषोऽथ वधाक्तुपर्वतनीत्वेकु पुरुषों भवति तथे: नैव भवति स कर्तुं सुखिति। छ। उप। III. 14.1.
434. कुर्मपुराणं गद्यं च जाले मोक्षं वारणश्रमं जाले स्वाजे। अते स्वाजे साबुखिभिस गृहस्मार्गाति गद्यः। स्त्रावणालि युवा संपतिः क्षेत्रवन्यां। अन्ध क्वान्तं जयं हृंि हृंि महो गद्यांग नाव संपत्यं। अन्धावांस्तः चालिते ये सुभा न पुनर्भेत। भूलितवः pp 299, 300, शूलिकास p. 155, सम्पूर्णीति is equal to two कोषा
Vārānasī (Benares) and at the confluence of the Ganges with the sea either on land, in water or in the air.' Another passage to the same effect is quoted from the Skanda-purāṇa and it is further said in the same Purāṇa that for one who gives to the banks of the Ganges is a kṣetra (holy place): 'gifts, japa (muttering of sacred texts), home performed within this extent is equal to doing the same on the Ganges itself; those who die within this kṣetra go to heaven and are not born again.' In the Pujārātākara it is said: 'Hari is present wherever there is the Śālagrāma stone; one dying near a Śālagrāma stone reaches the highest abode of Viṣṇu.' It was said that a person (even a non-Aryan) dying within one krośa of a Śālagrāma reaches Valkunthha (world of Viṣṇu). Similarly, one dying in a garden of tulasi (Basil) plants or with Tulasi leaf placed in his mouth at the time of death attains mokṣa even if guilty of crores of sins. These are popular notions held even up to this day among common people, not thoroughly affected by modern ideas.

There are also dicta about the time when it is best to die. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata states: 'he who dies after the sun has gone to the northern direction (i.e. when the apparent motion of the sun towards the north begins) and on any auspicious nakṣatra and mūhūrta is really one who has a store of merit (with him). This is based on the ideas of death in Uttarāyana and Dakṣināyana found in the Upaniṣads. For example, the Chāndogya Up. (IV. 15. 5–6) states 'Now (if one who knows this dies) whether people perform obsequies for him or not he goes to light (arcis), from light to day, from day to the bright half of the moon, from thence to the six months during which the sun goes to the north, from the months to the year, from the year to the sun to the moon, from the moon to

435. 436.
lightning. There is a person who is not human that leads them to Brahman. This is the path of the Devas, the path that leads to Brahman. Those who proceed on that path do not return to the life of man, yes, they do not return’. There is a similar passage in Chāndogya Up. V. 10.1–2 where it is said that even householders who know the doctrine of the five fires (Pañcāgni-vidyā) and those who in the forest follow the path of faith and austerities (i.e. vānapraṣṭhas and parivrājakas who do not yet know Highest Brahman) go by the path called Devayāna, while (V. 10. 3–7) those, who, living in a village, practise sacrifices, works of public utility and alms, go to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the dark half of the moon, from thence to the six months when the sun goes to the south, from thence to the worlds of the fathers, from thence to ether (ākāśa) and to the moon, where they consume their works and return again the way they came. The Chān. Up. (V. 10. 8) refers to a third place where small creatures (like flies, worms &c.) are continually going and returning. The Br. Up. (VI. 2. 15–16) contains similar passages about Devaloka, Pitṛloka and the third world of worms, birds and creeping beings. The Bhagavadgītā, basing itself on these Upanisad passages, puts the matter succinctly (in 8. 23–25) as follows:—‘I shall state the times at which devotees departing from this world go, never to return or to return. The fire, the flame, the day, the bright fortnight, the six months of the northern (apparent) motion of the sun; departing from the world in these those who know the Brahman go to Brahman. Smoke, night, the dark fortnight, the six months of the southern (apparent) motion of the sun; dying in these the devotee goes to the lunar light and returns. These two paths, bright and dark, are deemed to be eternal in this world. By the one a man goes never to return, by the other he comes back’. The Vedāntasūtra (IV. 3. 4–6) explains that the words ‘light’ ‘day’ and others are not to be taken in their literal sense (i.e. as signposts or stages on the paths) but they are to be understood as referring to superintending deities that help the spirits and lead them on the path to the worlds of the Devas or of Pitr (i.e. they are ātīrītikas and abhimāṇidvataḥ). Śaṅkara on Vedāntasūtra IV. 2. 20 (ataścāyanepi daksinē) explains that the waiting for the day of Uttarāyāṇa on the part of Bhīṣma (narrated in the Mahābhārata) is only meant as a eulogy of the path called ‘arciṛādi’, that one who has realized Brahma, even if he dies in daksināyana, does secure the fruits of his knowledge (viz.
reaching Brahma), that Bhisma waited for the beginning of *uttarāyana* to abide by popular ideas and practices and to show that he possessed the power to depart from the world at his will owing to the boon conferred on him by his father. The *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* refers to the path (devayāna)\(^ {437} \) that leads to Devaloka (in III. 193–194, where it reads ‘mānasah’ for ‘amānavah’ of the Ch. Up.) and the Pitṛyāna (in III. 195–196). In spite of the interpretations of the Vedāntasūtra (and of Śankara) the popular belief that death in Uttarāyana is best persisted and still persists. For example, the Baud. P.S.(II.7. 21) remarks ‘(the sages) provide that death during the northern path of the sun, in the bright half of a month, during the day and at the end of a Śrauta sacrifice is best\(^ {438} \)’. The G. P. S. (II. 7.1–2) remarks: ‘It is desirable to avoid dying in the dark half of a month or at night and the following sūtras provide for the offering of certain oblations if the death occurs in the dark half or at night.

**FUNERAL RITES** (antyeṣṭi) are a *saṁskāra*. Antyeṣṭi is one of the 16 (or more) *saṁskāras* of a twice-born person.

\(^ {437} \) The words ‘devayāna’ and ‘pitrīyāna’ are a legacy from the hoary past. Even in the Rg, there are frequent references to them. In Rg III. 38.5 the Aūvinas are addressed a prayer ‘may you come here (to this sacrifice) by the paths leading to the abode of the gods’ (eha yātam pathibhir-devayānaṁ). Rg. VII. 38.8 also has a similar idea ‘may you, being gratified, go by the devayāna paths’ (tṛptā yātam pathibhir-devayānaṁ). In Rg. VII. 76.2 (addressed to Usās) the sage Vasīśtha exclaims that he has seen the Devayāna paths when the dawn shone in the East (pra me panthā devayānaṁ adṛśan). Agni is asked to make the devayāna paths easily accessible and to carry the offerings in a pleased mood (Rg. X.51.5, sugāna pathah kṛṇubhi devayānaṁ vaha havyāni sumanasyamānah). Rg. X.98.11 describes Agni as knowing the devayāna paths according to the seasons and a prayer is offered to him to place Aulāna (son of Santanu) in heaven among the gods (vidvān pathaḥ rtuo devayānaṁ-apyaaulānam divi deveṣu dhebi). In Rg. X.18,1 it is stated that the path of Death is different from devayāna (param mṛtyo anu parehi panthāṁ yaste sva itaro devayānāt). In Rg. X.2.7 Agni is said to know the pitṛyāna path (panthāmanu pra vidvān pitṛyānam). In the Tai. Br. II.6.3.5 it is said ‘I have heard of two paths of the Fathers; I have heard about the paths of the gods and mortals’ (dve sruti aṣṭavam pitṛnām abam devanāma-uta mātryānām). The Sat. Br. I.9.3.2 remarks ‘this is the path called Devayāna or Pitṛyāna.’ In the Br. Up. I.5.16 it is said ‘there are indeed three worlds, viz. the world of men, the world of *pitṛs* and the world of gods’.

\(^ {438} \) *Uttarāsana* (ed. by Dr. Shamastra, Mysore).
performed with Vedic mantras according to Manu II. 16, Yāj. I. 10, Jātikārṇya. These samśkarās were formerly performed for women also (Āṣv. gr. I. 15.12, I. 16.6, I. 17–11, Manu II. 66) but without Vedic mantras (except in marriage) and for śūdras also (Manu X. 127, Yāj. I. 10) but without Vedic mantras. The Baudh. P.S. III. 1.4 states that there are two samśkarās of every human being and they are like a debt i.e., they must be performed, just as a debt must be discharged viz., the sanśkāra on birth and the one on death (mṛtasaṃskāra). Funerary rites and rites after death varied according as the deceased was an āhitāgni (one who had consecrated the śrāuta fires) or one who had only kindled the śṛauta fire, or one who had neither the śrāuta fires nor the śmṛta fire, or a woman, a child, an ascetic (puruvrājaka), or one dying in a distant land or one dying by accident or committing suicide &c. The śrāuta and gṛhya-sūtras differ among themselves in many details even on the same topic and the procedure becomes more elaborate in medieval and later times. It would be impossible to state all the differences on each topic in this section. A separate volume would have to be written for the purpose of setting out all the variations and additions from ancient times to modern times, to discuss why and how they arose or were made, to compare the various sūtras and to compare these again with the purāṇas and medieval digests, and to appraise their worth or usefulness. All that can be attempted here is to give the bare outlines of the procedure in different sūtras, smṛtis and digests by way of sample in a chronological order. The Nirñayasindhu (p. 569) expressly says that the last rites differ in each Śākha, though certain things are common to all. Chronological conclusions have been drawn about the relative ages of the sūtras (as Dr. Caland does), of the smṛtis, purāṇas and nibandhas from the presence or absence of this or that detail or the elaboration of this or that ritual. But with all respect to the industrious scholars of the West such conclusions are often tentative or misleading and are purely subjective in many cases and are often due to ignorance or loss of ancient works.


439 a. प्रतिष्ठाने विशेषाद्वृत्तयथापरम्परां साहित्यं किंचिष्टुपस्ते। निर्मयम् प: 569.
Before setting out the rites of cremation contained in the Śrauta sūtras, Grhya sūtras and later works, it would be best to give here a translation of the five hymns from the Rg. (X. 14-18) 440. The verses in these hymns are employed by most of the sūtras and are used even now in the cremation rites and most of them occur in the other Vedic Samhitās. Varying interpretations have been given of some of these stanzas by Indian and Western commentators and critics. Only a few of these have been mentioned in the notes. Besides some stanzas are employed for different details of the cremation rites by the different sūtras. All such differences cannot be set out for want of space. The five hymns are so placed that they follow the order of the stages in which the funeral ritual proceeded in fact and is performed even now to a great extent. Vide Appendix for the text of the Rgveda hymn without accents.441

X. 14.1 (O! sacrificer!) worship with an offering Yama, king (of pātra), son of Vivasvat, the gatherer of men (that are dead), who sought out the way for many (men who do meritorious acts) and who passed along great (non-terrestrial) heights.442. 2. Yama was the first to know (find out) the path for us men; that is a pasture (abode) that cannot be taken away (by anybody), that is (an abode) where our ancient

440. The work of Bertram S. Puckle on 'Funeral customs' (London, 1926) is a very interesting and instructive one. It describes at great length funeral customs in various parts of England, France and other countries in Europe and among Jews and also in other parts of the world. Many of the customs and beliefs that he records bear a close resemblance to customs and beliefs in ancient and modern India, such as, for example, the alighting of a raven or other black feathered bird on a cottage where a man is very ill as a death warning (p. 17), washing and anointing of dead bodies before burial (pp. 34, 36), the hiring of professional women for wailing and shrieking for the dead (p. 67), condemning burial at night (p. 77), the cutting of the hair as a sign of mourning (p. 91), placing meat and drink on the grave for the spirit of the departed (pp. 99-100), refusal of burial in the churchyard by the Church for unbaptised children, suicides, lunatics, and those excommunicated (p. 143).

441. Vide Appendix.

442. X.14.1. This verse is explained in Nir. X 20. 'Pareyuvāṃsam' may also be taken with 'panthām'. The meaning of 'pravataḥ' is rather uncertain. The Tal. A. VI.1.1, Sat. Sr. 28.1.20, Baud. P. S. (i.2), Vaik. Sr. S. 20.22 (p. 311) read 'pareyuvāṃsam'.
ancestors went, each knowing his own way thereto. 3. Mātali (Indra’s charioteer or Indra himself) with the (pitrā) called kavya, Yama with the Aṅgirases and Bhṛṣpati with the Rkvans become prosperous (or increase in strength); whom (the pitṛ) the gods support and who support the gods; some of them (the gods, Indra and others) are delighted by svāhā (by offerings given after uttering that word) and others (pitrā) are delighted by svadhā. 4. O! Yama! Being of one mind with the pitṛs called Aṅgirases come to this (sacrifice) and sit down on the seat (of kūsas). May the mantras recited by the wise (priests) bring you (here). May you (O king) delight yourself with this offering! 5. O Yama! (come with the adorable) Aṅgirases and Vairūpas and delight (or exhilarate) yourself. I invoke Vivasvat, your father; (May he delight himself) after sitting on the kuṣa grass (spread) in this sacrifice.

6. The Aṅgirases, the Navagvas, the Atharvans, the Bhṛgus are our pitṛs and love soma (drink). May we secure the good will of those adorable ones! May we be in their gracious favour also! 7. Hasten, hasten by the ancient paths (to that place) where

443. It is quite possible to understand 'eva jajñānāh' as meaning 'being thus born' (like ourselves), 'eva' being taken adverbially and 'jajñānāh' from 'jan' (to be born). Compare A. V. 18.3.13 तो ममार जयमय, महान यान: येन देव दत्त नोक्तितम्. The Parāi scriptures also speak of Yama (Yima) as the first mortal and as the son of Vivanghat. Vide Vendidad, Par. ard II. 1. p. 11. (SBE. vol. IV).

444. Kavyas, Aṅgirases and Rkvans are different classes of Pitṛ. In Rg. VII.10.4 the Rkvans (singers) are associated with Bhṛṣpati. In other places they are associated with Viṣṇu, Aja-Ekapāt and Soma also. The exclamation svāhā is uttered when making an offering to Gods and svadhā when making an offering to pitṛs.

445. 'Niṣadya' is really a gerund and not a finite verb. We have to supply some verb like 'mādyatām' understood from the preceding half. Vairūpas are a subdivision of the Aṅgiras group.

446. Navagvas seem to be a subdivision of Aṅgirases, just as 'daśgvas' are, as in Rg. XIII.79.3; IV.51.4; V.29.12; X.62.6. The late Mr. Tilak in his 'Arctic home in the Vedas' (pp. 162–169) gave a somewhat far-fetched interpretation of these two words which can hardly be accepted as satisfactory in the presence of words like 'atiḥgva' (Rg. I.53.8, I.30.7, II.14.7, IV.26.3, VIII.68.17), 'abhiyugvā' (Rg VI.45.15), 'etagva' (Rg. VIII.70.7). This verse is explained in Nir. XI.19.

447. This and the following three stanzas are addressed to the departed man. For the meaning and history of the word Īṣāpārt, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 843–845. It means 'the cumulative spiritual result or merit due to the performance of sacrifices and charitable acts'.

192 History of Dharmaśāstra [Vol.
our forefathers that went before us passed. May you (the departed) see the two kings Yama and god Varuna rejoicing as they will. 8. (O departed one!) be united in the highest heaven with the pîtras, with Yama and with your īṣṭāpūrta; leaving here blamable acts (sins), come back to your home! Being endowed with bright lustre, be united with a (new) 448 body! 9. (Ye evil spirits!) Go away, depart, move aside from this place (the cemetery); the pîtras made (or assigned) for him (the departed person) this abode. Yama gives to him (this) resting place characterized by waters, days and nights. 10. (O departed!) proceeding by a good path, hurry on past the two dappled dogs (of Yama), offspring of Sāramā, each having four eyes. Thus approach the pîtras who will recognize 449 you and who enjoy delight in the company of Yama. 11. O king Yama! Give him (the departed one) in charge of those two dogs of yours, who are guards, having four eyes each, who guard the path (to pîṭā-loka) and who watch men. May you bestow on him happiness and health! 12. The two messengers of Yama, that have wide nostrils, that are very strong, that are satisfied with difficulty, move among the people. May those two (messengers) restore to us to-day auspicious life in order that we may see the Sun! 450 13. Extract Soma juice for Yama (O priests!), offer oblation to Yama, 451 Sacrifice, in which Agni is messenger (carrier) to the gods and which is well prepared reaches Yama. 14. (O priests) offer oblation sprinkled with ghee to Yama and then start. May he keep us (tied) to the worship of gods, 452 so that we may live a long life! 15. Offer to king Yama an oblation which is extremely sweet. Here is salutation to the sages who were born before us and who made the path for us.

448. This appears to postulate the acquisition of a new ethereal body for the departed enabling him to enjoy the pleasures of pîṭā-loka.

449. ‘Suvidatran’—who will know or recognize you. The Nir. VI.14 explains ‘suvidatran kalyāṇavidyāḥ’.

450. The life implored for here is that of the persons related to the deceased who are left behind on the earth. ‘Asurtpa’ according to Sāyana and Oldenberg means ‘who steal away the lives of men’. This is a good meaning in view of what is stated in the last pāda of the verse. In translating as done above the word is taken as ‘a + su + trpa’, while Sāyana takes it as ‘asu + trpa’.

451. This and the following two verses are addressed to the priests.

452. ‘Sa no devesvāyamad’—For the translation of these words given above, compare Rg. IX. 44.5.
16. The one great (Bṛhat-sāman) passes in three sacrifices (called Jyotir-gaur-āyuḥ) to the six wide expanses. The Śrīstūbh, Gāyatrī and the metres are all centered in Yama.

X. 15. 1. May the Soma—loving pitṛs, whether of the lower, middling or higher grade, come forward, those pitṛs that attained life (an eternal life or a life of spirit) being kind-hearted and knowing ṛta (the rule of right)! May those pitṛs protect us when invoked! 2. Today may this be our salutation to the pitṛs who went (died) before (the birth of this departed one) or who went after (the birth of the departed), also (those pitṛs) that are seated in this world or those who have places among the powerful people. 3. I have known the pitṛs as those who will recognize (me, their descendant) and I have known the side of Viṣṇu and the child (viz. Agni), the pitṛs who sit on kuśa grass and partake of food and Soma offering at their will, repeatedly come here. 4. O pitṛs, that occupy kuśa grass! (come) down towards us with your protection; we have prepared for you these offerings; accept them. May you come with very blissful protection and then may grant us happiness that is free from trouble (or evil)! 5. May the Soma-loving pitṛs invited by us to the dear treasures (offerings) placed on the kuśa grass come! May they hear (our prayers) here! May they speak

453. This is rather a very obscure stanza. The A. V. reads 'pavate' for 'patati'. 'Trikādruka' occurs frequently in connection with Soma (as in Rg. II.22.1; VIII.92.21). Sāyana explains that for the performance of Trikādruka sacrifices Yama gives protection and that he comes to the six wide ones for supervising over what was done or not done. The six are mentioned in Sat. Br. I.5.1.22 as fire, earth, water, wind, day and night. The six wide ones are referred to in Rg. VI.47.3. The conception is rather vague. The meaning probably is that in the Trikādruka sacrifices the Bṛhatśāma is sung and it reverberates throughout the universe (symbolized as the six wide ones) and that all the verses recited in the several metres do the same.

454. X. 15. 1. This and the following seven stanzas were employed as mantras in offering oblations to pitṛs in the rite performed on the day preceding to the day (8th tithi) of Aṣṭakā-kṛśddha; vide Aśv. gr.II.4.6.

455. X. 15. 2. 'Purvaśā' and 'uparaśā' may simply mean 'ancient and modern'. 'Pārthive rajasī'—here probably means 'the regions contiguous to or just above the earth.'

456. X. 15. 3. 'Nāpātām' is difficult to construe: probably it refers to Agni who is often addressed as 'ūrja napātī' (Rg. I.58.8, II.6.2, VI.48.2).

457. X. 15. 4. 'Sam yoḥ' is explained by the Nir. IV.21 as सम्योऽ ्योऽ योऽ, च वर्गः च भयनायः and रूप: as meaning पयः.
in favour of us and may they protect us! 6. O Fathers! May you all, bending your knee and sitting to the right side (of the offering) command our sacrifice; whatever fault we may commit in reference to you through our being (erring) men, do not injure us for the sake of that. 7. O Fathers! sitting in front of (in the lap of) brilliant (flames) may you bestow wealth on (me) the mortal sacrificer! May you give wealth to the sons (of the deceased mortal) and may you impart vigour (to them)! 8. May Yama desiring offerings and enjoying the company of our ancient and rich pitṛs, who came to (or valued) Soma drinks one after another, who were glorious and in whose company Yama (the king of pitṛs) found great delight, partake of (eat) the offerings (given by us) according to his liking. 9. O Agni! come down towards us with the pitṛs that were thirsting and gaping (to reach the world of the gods), that knew about sacrifice and that were authors of stomas by means of prayers (that they offered), that know us well, that are unfailing (in responding to our call), that partake of the kavya offering and that sit round the heated milk. 10. O Agni! come with the pitṛs earlier and later (in time) that are unfailing, that partake of the offerings (presented to them), that drink the offerings, that are seated in the same chariot with Indra and the gods, that make obeisances to the gods in their thousands, that sit round the hot milk. 11. O pitṛs called Agniśvātta, that are good guides! Come (to this rite) and sit down each on his proper seat. Eat (partake of) the pure offerings (offered) on the sacred kuśa grass and then bestow wealth (or prosperity) together with all heroic sons. 12. O Agni Jātavedas! when praised (by us) you, having made the oblations savoury, have carried them and presented (them to the pitṛs). May they eat them as is their wont (or as they are offered with the word svadhā)! O God! May you eat (partake of) the pure offerings! 13. O Jātavedas! you know how many (pitṛs) are there, viz. those who are here (near us), those who are not here, those whom we know and those whom we do not know (because they are remote ancestors). Be gracious to accept as is your habit this

---

458. X, 15. 8.—अदृश्यि is perfect of either वृद्ध with संध or of शुद्ध with संध. बलीष्य: may be taken as meaning 'Vasistha, his descendants and others' and as the worshippers of Pitṛs or simply means 'rich or dressed in rich clothes.'

459. X, 15. 11. अग्रिष्टाः = अग्रि + श्वस (from श्वस) means 'tasted or licked by Agni'.
sacrifice which is well prepared. 14. (O Agni) Resplendent (or self-ruling) along with those (pitrs) who (whose bodies) were burnt by fire and also whose bodies were not burnt and who enjoy delight (on account of offerings made) with svadha (or as is their wont) in the midst of the heavens. May you arrange a body as (the deceased) desires that will inspire him to a (new) life (in heaven)!

X. 16. 1. O Agni! Do not burn out this (departed person?), do not singe him all round, do not throw here and there (parts of) of his skin or his body; O Jatavedas (fire)! when you burn him completely, may you send him (the deceased) on to the pitrs! 2. O Jatavedas! When you thoroughly burn this (departed person), then may you hand him over to the pitrs! When he (the dead person) follows this (path) that leads on to a (new) life, may he become one that carries out the wishes of the gods! 3. May your eye (of the deceased) go to the Sun, your breath to the wind, may you go to Heaven and earth by your merit or you may go to the waters if you find pleasure there (or if that be your lot)! May you rest (stand) with all your limbs in the herbs! 4. O Jatavedas! May you burn by your heat the goat that is your share! May your flame, may your bright light burn that goat; carry this (departed) to the world of those who do good deeds by means of your beneficent bodies (flames). 5. O Agni! discharge again towards the pitrs (this deceased) who being offered on to you moves about (or wanders) as is his habit. O Jatavedas! may he take on (a new) life and increase his offerings and be united with a new (ethereal) body. 6. (O dead man!) May Agni who consumes all make free from blemish that limb of yours which the dark bird (crow) has pierced or an ant or a snake or a wild beast struck at and may Soma that entered into the brahmans do the same.

460. X. 16. 2. The words अनुगौतितमस्ति have in view the words अनुगौतितमस्ति च तथा कल्याणस्ति in X 15.14 above.

461. X. 16. 4. अन्वी भाषा.—This refers to the goat that was optionally carried with the dead body. Vide note 486 below and Rg. X. 16.7 where the cow is mentioned as being burnt with the dead body.

462. X. 16. 5. For the meaning of शेषक, compare Rg. VII. 4.7 (णेद्यो अधो अन्य_LONG).

463. X. 16. 6—for सोम...आत्मिक, compare 'सोमस्यायं आत्मायां सूज्यं प्रसभ्यं।' V. 4.2.3 and 'स च यद्र्य सौम्यायां सूज्यं।' दै. 35.3. In X.16.7 the idea seems to be that when the corpse is covered with the parts of a slaughtered animal the corpse may not be burnt too quickly.
7. (O deceased) put on (yourself) with cows an armour (i.e. against fire flames) of Agni (i.e. with the skin of the cow) and surround yourself with the thick fat (of the cow), so that (Agni) that overwhelms with his lustre, that takes delight (in destroying things), that is bold and seeks to burn completely may not scatter (all your parts). 8. O Agni! do not destroy this cup that is dear to the gods and the Soma-loving (pitṛs). In this cup from which the gods drink, the immortal gods take delight. 9. I send far away the fire that eats raw flesh: may Agni that carries evil (or sins) go (to regions) where Yama reigns! The other Agni (Jātavedas), knowing everything, may take even here the offering to the gods. 10. I, observing the other Agni (Jātavedas) for the purpose of offering a sacrifice to the pitṛs, leave aside the fire that devours raw flesh and that entered your house; may he (the other fire) urge on to the highest world the gharma (heated milk or sacrifice). 11. May that fire which carries the kṛavyā offering offer them to the pitṛs that prosper according to rta! May he offer the oblations to the gods and pitṛs! 12. (O Agni!) we who love you have established you and have kindled you. May you loving (the pitṛs) bring here the pitṛs that love us in order that they may partake of the offering! 13. O Agni! May you extinguish (with water) that spot which you burnt (at the) time of cremation! May Kiyāmbu (plant) arise here and may dūrvā creeper spreading its tendrils grow here! 14. O Śītika (cool plant), O herb full of cooling effect, O Hādikā (freshening herb) causing delight, may you be well associated with a she frog! May you gladden this fire!

464. X. 16. 8. This mantra is repeated as invocation when the kṛṣṇāta water is carried forward in the cup. As stated below all sacrificial implements are placed on the body of the deceased āhitāgni and burnt. But the sage prays that the cup may not be completely destroyed, since it may have to be used in the other world by the departed spirit.

465. X. 16. 10. This verse is rather involved. If the words of this verse and the next are literally construed it would seem that the kṛavyād fire was employed for pitṛyajña. It is possible to hold that kṛavyād fire was considered as something evil and to be kept distinct from the ordinary or sacrificial fire.

466. X. 16. 11 Sāyaṇa explains on the assumption that the word is kavyāvahāna in this, while the Saṁhitā and the padapāṭha have kavyāvahana. The Vāj. S. 19.65 and Tai. S. II. 6.12.5 read 'kavyāvahanā'. Here apparently at least the flesh-eating fire is admitted not only in the rites for the pitṛs but also in the rites for gods.
X. 17. The verses of this hymn, except 3–6, have hardly any bearing on funeral rites. Therefore only those four verses are translated here. The first two verses refer to the marriage of Vivasvat with the daughter of Tvaṣṭr and to the legend of the birth of Yama and Yami from Vivasvat. Both are explained at length in Nir. XII. 10–11. Verses 7–9 which contain prayers to Sarasvatī are almost the same as A. V. 18. 1, 41–43 and are employed by the Kauśika-sūtra (81.39) in the cremation rite along with A. V. 7.68. 1–2 and 18.3.25.

3. May the all-knowing Pūṣan, who does not allow cattle to perish and who protects the world, discharge (despatch) you from this (world to the next)! May he (Pūṣan) hand you over to these pitṛs and may Agni hand you over to the gods that know you well! 4. May Pūṣan, who is the life of the Universe and who is himself life, protect you! May he who is ahead of you guard you on the way (to heaven)! May god Savitṛ place you in that place where the doers of good deeds went and dwell. 5. Pūṣan knows all these quarters in order; may he take us by (a path) most free from danger! He is the bestower of happiness, full of refulgence, he has all heroes with him; may he (Pūṣan) the wise one go in front of us without committing a mistake! 6. Pūṣan exists (stands) in the forefront of the paths (leading to the world of pitṛs), of the paths leading to heaven and of the paths on the earth. He stands facing both the worlds that are very dear (to all) and he, the knowing one, travels towards and away from both.

X. 18. 1. O Death! Move aside along another path that is your own and different from the Devayāna path. I address you who have eyes and ears. Do not injure our children, do not harm our heroic sons. 2. (O relatives) that are sacrificers! Since you have come obliterating the foot-prints of Death and firmly establishing long life for yourselves, prospering with progeny and wealth, may you be pure and holy! 3. These living (relatives) have turned back separated from the dead; this day our invocation (sacrifice to) of the gods became auspicious. We then went forward for dancing, for

467. Sarasvatī is a sacred river and also imagined as a deity. Rg. VI. 61 and VII. 95 are two hymns addressed to Sarasvatī. Probably waters of rivers were used at the time of cremation and they are all identified with and held as sacred as Sarasvatī.

468. X. 18.2. This verse is addressed to the relatives when they turn homeward after cremation.
laughter (with our children) firmly establishing our long life.
4. I place (here) this barrier (stone) for the (protection of) the 
living (relatives, son and the like) so that none of them may 
go this goal (that the departed went). May they live for a 
hundred prosperous autumns! May they keep off Death by 
means of the mountain (the stone). 5. O Dhātri! Arrange 
the lives of these (the survivors) in the same way as the days 
come one after another in proper order, as the seasons follow 
each other in a proper order, as a younger one does not abandon 
an elder (relative). 6. May you (the survivors) accepting 
old age attain (long) life, striving in order (of age) whatever 
your numbers may be; may Tvaśtri of noble birth and 
gracious give you here (in this world) a long life to live!
7. Let these women whose husbands are worthy and are living 
enter the house with ghee (applied) as collyrium (to their 
eyes). Let these wives first step into house, tearless, without 
any affliction, and well adorned. 8. O wife (of the dead)!
Raise yourself up towards the world of the living (your sons 
and other relatives); you lie down near one (your husband)

469. X. 18.4. Paridhis are encircling sticks of sacrificial wood such 
as palāsa, khadira placed round the fire. This verse is employed by Āśv. 
gr. IV. 6.9 in the Śāntikarma performed after the collection of bones. Here 
the fire is surrounded on three sides by the wooden sticks and a stone is 
placed on the north of the fire with the last quarter as stated by Āśv. gr. 
IV. 6. 10 अन्नायं नौर नागमामि नागमामि 

470. X. 18.5 वच्य न कृम्यमारे. &c. Probably this refers to the funeral 
procession arranged according to ages, as Āśv. gr. IV. 2.9 states expressly 
'अन्नायं नौर नागमामि नागमामि 

471. X. 18.6. This may be symbolic of the fact that the members of 
the family of the deceased are made to stand on the side of an ob 
spread to the west of the fire. Vide Āśv. gr. IV. 6.8 'अन्नायं नौर नागमामि नागमामि 

472. X. 18.7. This verse was employed in the procedure of widow 
burning (sati or sabamaraqa or anugamana) by medieval and later writers. 
Some of them read 'agnēhi' or 'agnē' for 'agre'. But even without this change 
Aparāraka (p. 111) and others rely for the practice of sati on this verse. For 
a discussion on this verse and the next, the different readings in the old 
texts, the different theories built upon these and the practice of widow-
who is now lifeless; come! You have kept true to this your wifehood of the husband who held your hand (formerly in marriage) and who loved you passionately. 9. (I) Take the bow from the hand of the departed (ksatriya) in order that there may be in us martial vigour, brilliance and strength. May thou (the departed) there and may we here be endowed with heroic sons and conquer here all competing and aggressive enemies! 10. (O departed) approach this mother Earth which is spread wide and is pleasant. May this young one (the Earth) as soft as (wool) to you who have bestowed gifts save you from the lap of Death. 11. O Earth! heave yourself up, do not crush it, be of easy approach and of easy resort to him, and O Earth! cover him (the dead person represented by his bones) just as a mother would cover her son with the fringe (of her garment). 12. Let the Earth heave itself up and remain firm. Let the

473. X. 18.8. This verse is somewhat misplaced. It should occur earlier in X. 14. The last quarter is rather difficult to construe. In the Tai. Ā. VI. 1 there is a similar verse 'इर्षय नारी पतियोऽके हुणाना निपाय उप ला मर्य वेलस' विषय युगानयुतस्ति तत्ये मन्त्रा मर्य प्रेष ्य वेषि'। The Tai Á. VI. 1 also has the verse उद्वीष नार्यंबे and as printed reads 'नम्यमुक्त', but Dārāmān explains आमिस्त्रुयन सम्प्रि पापाधि (i.e. he explains सम्प्रि)। The श्री. वि. वृ. I. 8.1—2 reads सम्प्रि and says about Rg. X. 18.8 and Tai. Ā verse अधाःपय स्मारकास्तेष्व वर्णयति। इर्षय नारी...वेषि। तात पापाधि: सर्वे पागान्विकायोत्त्वयति उद्वीष द्योपेति।

474. X. 18.9 अस्से is used with all cases as shown by the Nir. VI. 7. Here it may be equal to अवस्थय or अवस्थय। This verse also should occur earlier along with verse 8 above. In Sān. Sr. 16.13.13 both 8 and 9 are called utthāpini (verses) 'उद्वीष नार्यंतोऽपि विद्वायिताः। विद्वायिताः। निपाय त नार्यं'। The com. remarks 'अवस्थयपधाय से नार्यंतोऽपि विद्वायिताः। उद्वीषात'। इस्त्व तोऽहं निपायात (verses) is Rg. X. 85.21, उद्वीषात्व विद्वायिताः is Rg. X. 85.22 and अवस्थयात्वः is Rg. X. 53.8. These are recited in अवस्थय at the time of making the crowned queen get up from near the dead horse. Compare H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1235. The श्री. आ. VI. 1 reads three verses respectively applicable to मार्यादा. विद्वायिताः or बैद्य departed person as 'सुर्यं हस्तावदानाः', द्वन्द्वस्ततः, सूनं हस्तावदाना and श्री. वि. वृ. I. 8.3—5 cites them and remarks 'अवस्थय इर्षय नारी किरुद्धेति सर्वं हस्तं इति मार्यादां, द्वन्द्वस्ततः इति काश्चित्रियस' &c.

475. X. 18.10. Vide the passage from Āśv. Sr. S. where this and the following three verses are stated to be among the 24 verses to be recited on the death of a dikṣita. The Āśv. gr. 4.5.5 employs this as a mantra to be recited at the time of depositing in a pit the jar containing the burnt bones of the dead. The युम्बुद्ध्व (VII. 17—18) says that X. 18.10—13 are employed in the rite of collecting the bones.

476. X. 18.11. This verse is employed by the Āśv. gr. 4.5.6 for becical at the time of scattering dust over the jar containing the charred ones.
pillars in their thousands stand up supporting this house. May these homes (the clods of earth) drop him nourishment! May they become here for all days the shelter for him (the departed represented by bones)! 13. I prop up the earth around you for your sake. May I placing this lump of clay receive no harm! May the pîtrî support (make steady) this post! 478 May Yama provide here seats (or resting places) for you. 14. (The gods) have placed me in the day that will come back (tomorrow) like the feather of an arrow; (therefore) I restrain backwards (stop) my speech as a person restrains a horse with a bridle. 479

It should be noted that the word 'pîtr-yajña' actually occurs in Rg. X. 16. 10. What does it mean? It has to be remembered that the hymns Rg. X. 15–18 refer to rites immediately on the death of a single person. They are not concerned with rites performed for deceased male ancestors long after their deaths. The anxiety (in X. 15–18) seems to be to make the ancient pîtrî (styled Barhişadāh and Agniśvattāh in Rg. X. 15. 3–4, 11) favourably disposed to the recently departed spirit. Havîs (sacrificial food such as boiled rice) was offered to the ancient pîtrî (Rg. X. 15. 11) who were supposed to have partaken of the food offered (X. 15. 12). The purpose of these Rgvedic hymns is entirely different from the purpose of the mantras in Tai. S. I. 8. 5 (which refer to the pîtrîyajña performed in Śakamedha). As a matter of fact three of the mantras in Tai. S. I. 8. 5 do occur in Rg. X. 57. 3–5 and are employed in the pînda-pîtrîyajña. There is hardly any reason to suppose that the pîtrîyajña in Rg. X. 15. 10 is more ancient than the pînda-pîtrîyajña. It is quite possible that both referring as they do to different matters were coeval.

477. X. 18. 12. This is recited after the bones are covered with particles of dust. It is probable that the particles were poetically described as posts.

478. X. 18. 13. It looks very likely that a wooden post was employed as a support for the urn that was deposited under ground.

479. X. 18. 14. This verse is rather obscure and various interpretations have been proposed by German scholars (Roth, Grassmann, Ludwig, Geldner and Oldenberg) and others like Whitney and Hopkins. The translation is only tentative, but it probably brings out the sense in the context much better than many other interpretations. The idea probably is that the speaker wants to disconnect himself from the dead just as a feather may become loosened from an arrow that is shot and therefore he states that he wants to stop addressing the dead and close up all connection with the dead. The Bhâddevatâ (VII. 18–19) remarks on this verse 'महावीरे समाधाने अप्रदायतामध्येते या। अष्टवेयु पितसे कुशृष्टामस्थलस्य वाणिजः'।

H. D. 26
It would be interesting to see how the ceremonies on the death of an āhitāgni are described in the śrauta and grhya sūtras. The Āśv. Śr. S. VI. 10 describes what is to be done in case one has undergone a dikṣā (initiation) for a Soma sacrifice or a sattra dies before the sacrifice is finished. It states “When the dikṣita is dead, they take out the body by the tirtha,\(^{480}\) place it on the spot where it was intended that avabhṛtha (bath at the end of a soma or sattra sacrifice) was to be taken and deck the body with the decorations that ordinarily are placed on a dead body. They cut the hair (on the head) of the corpse, the hair on the lips, the hair on the body and also pare the nails. They apply paste of Nalada (Indian spikenard) to the corpse and throw on it a garland of naladas. Some (having cut open the entrails) take out the fecal matter from them and fill them with pṛsadājya (when clarified butter is mixed with curds it is so called). They cut off a portion as wide as the foot of the corpse from a new (unworn) garment and cover the dead body with it in such a way that the fringe is towards the west (the head being placed towards the east) and the feet of the corpse are exposed to view. The portion cut off from the piece of cloth is taken by the sons and the like. The deceased man’s śrauta fires are placed on the churning sticks (the two arānis), the dead body is taken outside the vedi (fire altar) towards its south, fire is produced by attrition and then the body is burnt therewith. After returning from the cremation, they should finish the work of the day. On the next morning, the recitation of the sāstras, the singing of the stotras and the saṁstavas (reciting hymns in chorus) should be without repetition and the uttering of the him sound. On the same day before taking up the grahas (cups), the priests come out by the tirtha, go round the place of cremation with the right hand turned away (from the place) and sit round it in the following manner viz. the hotṛ priest sits to the west (of the place of cremation), the adhvaryu to the north, and the sāma priests to the west of the adhvaryu (and the brahma priest to the south). Then the sāma priests sing in a low voice the verse beginning with ‘āyam gauḥ pṛṣṇirakramit.’ When the singing is finished the hotṛ walks round the place of cremation thrice with his left

\(^{480}\) सीर्ध means the path to the sacrificial ground between the चालावट and उक्कर (vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 984). For स्तोत्रिय that occurs a little lower down, vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1186.
turned towards the place of cremation and without uttering
the syllable ‘om’ recites immediately after the song of the
sāma priests the stotriya in a low voice and also the following
verses attributed to Yama and Yāmyāyanas (as seers or
authors) viz. Rg. X. 14. 7-8, 10-11, X. 16. 1-6, X. 17. 3-6,
X. 18. 10-13, X. 154. 1-5. They should finish with Rg. X. 14.12,
then collect the charred bones in a jar, take the jar by the
way of the tirtha and place it on the seat that was occupied by the
deceased sacrificer. 481

The Śāṅkhāyana Śr. S. (IV. 14-15) deals at great length
with the death of an āhītāgni and the rites that follow. Kāt. Śr.

481. सांख्यके सिरेनेन सिद्धरावर्षे पतेनःस्वारथायुरुरुचिः केहाःसङ्केरदाननसारिः
पायसानिः। पतेनःस्वारथायुरुरुचिः केहाःसङ्केरदाननसारिः (केहाः।

The Sat. Br. (XII, 5. 2.5) refers to the practice of cleansing the
deceased of all foul matter, but does not approve of it. It recommends
‘having washed him out inside he anoints with ghee and thus makes the
body sacrificially pure.’ अर्जु नारूकिन —is the first verse of the hymn
Rg. X. 189. 1-3 which are also S. V. No. 630-632 (Āraṇyakāṇḍa) and 1376-78
(Uttarārākāṇḍa). The hymn also occurs in the other Vedas. The verses are
called सांख्यके सिरेनेन सिद्धरावर्षे पतेनःस्वारथायुरुरुचिः केहाःसङ्केरदाननसारिः

It may be noticed that the Āśv. gr. (IV. 4.6) prescribes
the recitation of the 24 mantras prescribed in the Āśv. Śr. above and
employs some more verses (from Rg. X. 14-18) in the ritual set out below
from the Āśv. gr. In the Āśv. Śr. II, 19 there is a description of a rite
called ‘पित्रियाकर्म,’ in which offerings are offered in fire taken from the
Daksīṇagni and in which the devoṭaś are five viz. Pitaraḥ—somavantaḥ,
Soma pitṛmān, Pitaraḥ barhiṣadaḥ, Pitaraḥ Agnisvāṭāḥ, Yama, for each of
whom three verses are recited respectively in order viz Rg. X. 15. 1,
IX. 96.11, X. 15.5; Rg. I. 91.1, I. 91.12. VIII. 48.13; X. 15.4, X. 15.3. X. 15.2,
X. 15.11, X. 15.13, X. 15.14; X. 14.4-5, X. 14.1. Rg. X. 16 12 (repeated
thrice) becomes the sāṃdhena in that rite; X. 14.5 is Yājñā and X. 14.4
and X. 14.1 are anusvāyās; Rg. X. 15.9, IV. 11.3. I. 96.1 are recited when
the rite is finished (instead of Agni Śvisṭakṛt Agni Kavyavāhana is invoked);
Rg. X. 16.11, X. 15.12 are two Samyājīyas in Vasaṭkāra. The editor of the
Prayogaratna explains that Nalada means ‘Uśīra’ (i. e. Wāḷā in Marathi)
and that some substitute japa flowers (china rose) for naladas.
S. 25.7 does the same but more briefly. Kāṭ. (25. 7, 18) refers to the cutting of hair and nails and taking out fecal matter and Kauś. (80. 13–16), Śañ. Śr. 4. 14. 4–5 also speak of the cutting of hair, of bathing the dead body, applying paste and putting garlands. The Baud. P. S. (1. 2) refers to these and adds that if they cut open his entrails from the right side they again sew it with darbha grass or they may simply wash the body (without taking out the fecal matter), cover the body with a piece of cloth, deck it, remove the body by the way between the rēdi and utkara, place it on a couch (āsandī) over which a black antelope skin was spread with the head to the south, put Nalada garland on it and cover it with an unworn piece of cloth (as in Āsv. Śr. above). Sat. Śr. 28. 1. 22 and G. P. S. I. 10–14 contain similar provisions adding that the toes of the feet and thumbs of the corpse are tied with a white thread or the fringe of a garment (baddhvā daśenāṅguṣṭhau-pādayoḥ pānyośca, G. P. S. I. 12) and that the āsandī (a small couch or chair on which the corpse was carried) was to be of udumbara wood. The Kauśikasūtra (80. 3. 3–45) refers to numerous stanzas from Ā. V. that are to be recited in kindling the funeral fire and offering oblations, viz. 18. 2. 4 and 36; 18. 3. 4; 18. 1. 49–50, 58; 18. 1. 41–43; 7. 68. 1–2; 18. 3. 25; 18. 2. 4–18 (omitting 18. 2. 10); 18. 4. 1–15 &c. Compare SBE. vol. XI p. XLI for Budhist practices.

The Āsv. gr. 482 (IV. 1 and 2) prescribes in general the ceremonies on the death of an čhitāgni, while the Āsv. Śr. S. quoted

482. It deserves to be noted that the numbering of the sūtras in Āsv. gr. IV. 1–2 differs in different editions considerably. The rules about the selection of the site for cremation are ancient. The Sat. Br. XIII. 8.1 and Kāṭ. Śr. XXI. 3.15–26 also lay down elaborate rules. The latter may be set out here: 'the site for cremation should be one surrounded by a thicket of trees, but it should be so open that the sun shines directly on it at mid-day. It should be saltish land or land sloping to the north or it may be all level land. Some say that it should slope towards the south. The spot should be such that the houses in the village cannot be seen from it and should be at a distance from the road and from the vāṭa, plippala, tīlvaka, haridra, sḫuṛjraka, bīhuḍaka and other trees that have an evil name (such as śemšētaka and kovidēra). The Sat. Br. XIII. 8.1.16 names all these trees that are to be avoided. The spot should be such that a pile of wood (as directed in Kāṭ. Śr. 25. 7. 16–17) can be constructed thereon. It should be a pleasing one and should have a thicket of various trees to its west or in default, water, which may be to its west or north. The spot should have streams or holes and grass growing thereon. The Kāṭ. Śr. S.
above deals with what should be done in case the āhūtāgni dies while engaged in a Soma or other sacrifice. The Āsv. gr. remarks 'when an āhūtāgni dies, one (a son or other relative) should arrange to have a piece of land dug up to the south-east or south-west at a place sloping towards the south or south-east, or according to some towards the south-west. The piece of land dug up should be of the length of a man with upraised arms, of the breadth of one vyāma and one vitasti (twelve finger breadths) in depth. The cemetery (śmaśāna) should be free (open) on all sides. It should abound in herbs, but plants with thorns and with milky juice (should be dug out) as stated before (in Āsv. gr. II. 7.5 about vāstu-parīkṣā). From which the waters flow on all sides (that is the spot should be a little higher than the surrounding ground); this should be a characteristic required for that (kind of) cemetery where (the body) is to be burnt. They should cut off the hair on the head, the lips and the body and pare the nails (of the deceased); this has been declared already (in Āsv. Śr. VI. 10.2). They should make provision for plenty of sacrificial grass and clarified butter. In this (funeral rite) they pour clarified butter into curds. This is the pṛṣadājya used

(Continued from the last page)

21. 3. 27 adds that a bamboo staff with a bundle of grass at its top is carried to the cremation ground and held by a person to the north of the ground while the rites go on and that it is brought back to the house and kept raised at the house. The ground is measured and pegs of pālāśa, sāmi, varāṇa and a stone are driven into the ground from the east, north, west and south in order. The Sat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 1 mentions pegs (sāṅku). Sān. Śr. (IV. 14, 6–9) states that the ground of cremation slopes to the south or south-east, that the ground is swept with a pālāśa branch with the verse 'apeta' (Rg. X. 14. 9), then it is cleared with the sphyā and sprinkled with water and the pile of wood is made to face south-east.

483. व्याम is defined as 'व्यामे बाह्रः सकारादित्तवैः तत्रः असर्वोतप्पः. It is as much as the out-stretched arms together with the hands (i.e. a fathom).

484. इम्जान has two meanings viz. the place where a corpse is cremated and also the place where the charred bones (after cremation) collected in a jar are deposited in the earth. नागर र र कम. र. 4. 1.11 (अखित आकाश is इम्जान) 'इम्जानम् अन्तः प्रशान्तम् इम्जानम् यहद्रेष्ठम् वहद्रेष्ठम् सलिंकरस्वादित्तवैः तत्र इम्जानम्. तहद्रेष्ठम् सवद्रेष्ठम् अपेन्म. The इम्जानम् XIII. 8.1.1 derives इम्जान in two ways as being a form of शावक or इम्जान in the words अवधारस्वादित्तवैः कुर्वेरति. अधारस्वादित्तवैः कुर्वेरति. इम्जान इ है वार नाम पिपुलमलातो धारितत्वम्हते इम्जानम् सपुष्पण्यपद्धतिः तत्र एवर्वती नरस्तिति तत्र शावकस्वादित्तवैः है वार नामप्रतिस्वादित्तवैः परस्परम्. अथवा 18.4.44 shows that the dead body was carried in a cart drawn by oxen.
(in the rites) for pītya. (The relatives of the deceased) carry his sacred fires and his sacrificial vessels in that direction (viz., where the ground is dug up for cremation). After these aged persons, in odd numbers, men and women not going together, carry the dead body. Some say that (the dead body) should be carried in a cart with a seat drawn by oxen. Some prescribe that a she-animal, either a cow or a she-goat, of one colour or of a dark colour (should be taken to the cemetery). The relatives of the dead tie (a rope) to the left fore-foot and lead it behind (the corpse). Then follow the relations (of the deceased) with their yajñopavitaas brought low (round their body) and with the top knot untied (dishevelled), the older ones going first, the younger ones last. Having thus arrived at the spot (of cremation), the performer (of cremation rites) while walking three times round the spot (for cremation) with his left side turned towards it, sprinkles water on it with a śami twig with the verse ‘apeta vita vi ca sarpatātāḥ’ (Rg. X. 14. 9). To the south-east on a slightly raised corner (of the spot for cremation), he (son or the like) places the Āhavanīya fire, to the north-west the Gārhapatya fire and to the south-west the Daksīṇa fire. Then a person that knows (how to prepare a funeral pile) collects a pile of fuel between the fires (on the dung-up spot). Then the performer of the rites spreads barhis (kuśas) and a black antelope skin with the hairy part outside on the pile, (the relatives) place the dead body thereon carrying it by way of the north sides of the Gārhapatya fire and turning its head towards the Āhavanīya fire. They make the wife

485. The Baud. P. S. (I. 4. 5–6) says that servants or old men should carry the dead body on a couch or chair covering the body with a mat or according to some in a cart.

486. Āmukṣarṣya is a cow or she-goat which is killed and then is made to cover the dead body with its limbs. The word is explained by Śāṅkara as ‘सत्तक्षरस्यानि या श्री पशुः सामुक्षरस्यानि’. The Ātmanubandha (25.7.34–37) Āmukṣarṣya शेषवताकर्षणाय हस्तगोटिकोः. अहैन्द्र्यान्तर्गताः जातकर्षणः। त भावति समेवनादि प्रह्या सुप्रभावोपरिश्वररोपणोति। आहूतितुष्टाः पुष्चाह गात्मौरशास्त्रविभाषालोकीसि तष्टवर्त जातताः पुनः अभी वष्णूलयक्र्यमस्य साहेबलि। The mantra असलातः नौकायम साहेबलिः। स. 35.22. Vide Ātmanub. B. XII. 5.2 15 for the same words and mantra as in Kāṭ Sr. The com. of Yājñikadeva on Kāṭ. Sr. 25.7.34 explains हृदकृत्ति इवृष्णयति. Vide also Baud. P. 1.4.1 and I 9–10, Sat. Sr. 28.2.3–13, Kauś. 81.20–27. The latter prescribes that the cow is led round with the left side towards the corpse with the mantras A.V. 18.3.3 and 4, that the cow is struck on her buttocks and loins, that two vykkas are taken from the cow’s back and placed on the hands of the corpse with the mantra āti drava (A. V. XVIII. 2.11) which is Rg. X. 14.10.
of the deceased (belonging to any one of the three higher varnas) lie down (on the pile) to the north of the dead body, and also place his bow to the north if (the deceased was) kṣatriya. The wife’s brother-in-law (husband’s brother) or a representative of the husband or a pupil (of the deceased) or an old servant (slave) should make her rise (from the pile) with the mantra ‘udīrṣva nāryabhī jīvalokam’ (Rg. X. 18. 8); the performer (of the rites) should mutter this verse if a sūdra (servant) makes her rise and he takes away the bow with the verse ‘dhanur-hastādādādāno’ (Rg. X. 18. 9). It has been stated (above what is to be done) in case a sūdra (should perform this act). Having strung the bow he should before the piling up of the things (mentioned below on the dead body) is done, break the bow to pieces and throw it on the pile. 488 He then should put the following sacrificial implements (on the dead body), viz. into the right hand the spoon called Juhū, in the left hand the spoon Upabhṛ, on his right side the Sphya (wooden sword), on his left side the Agnihotrahavanat (the ladle with which the Agnihotra offerings were offered into fire), on his chest, head and teeth respectively the dhurvā (the big sacrificial ladle), the dishes (or the kapālas), the pressing stones (used for pressing out Soma juice in a soma sacrifice), on the two nostrils the two small ladles (srūva), on the ears the two Prāṣītra-haranas, 489 if there be only one then breaking

487. Many of the sūtras refer to this act of making the wife of the deceased lie down to the north of the dead body on the funeral pile and then making her rise up from it. Vide Kauśikasūtra 80. 44–45 ‘ब्रह्मवीणी पल्लिविद्यायति। उदिन्द्रयानवति.’ These two verses are A. V. XVIII. 3. 1–2. Sat. Sr. (28. 2. 14–16) states that before the corpse is placed on the pyre the wife is made to lie down near it with the verse ‘iyam nāri’ and then her husband’s brother or another brāhmaṇa makes her get up with the verse ‘udīrṣva nāri’. The same sūtra (28. 2. 22) says that the wife may be made to lie down near the corpse after the latter is placed on the pyre or before (as it appears to prefer).

488. Here the Sat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 6 and some of the sūtras (such as Kāt. Sr. 25. 7. 19, Sān. Sr. IV. 14. 16–35, Sat. Sr. 28. 2. 23–50, Kauśika 81. 1–19, Baud. P. S. I. 8–9) and smṛtis like Gobhila (III. 24) add that in the seven seats of vital air viz. the mouth, the two nostrils, the two ears, they cast small pieces of gold. Others add that sesame wetted with ghee are also thrown on the corpse. The G. P. S. II. 7. 12 says that it is the adhbavyu who deposits the kapālas on the head (of the dead body).

489. On the Prāṣītra-haranā, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1064 (the vessel in which a portion of purodāsa is kept for the brahmā priest). For the Samyā (yoke-pin), vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1112 n. 2487.
it into two; on the belly the pātri (in which the oblations are collected before offering) and the cambasa (cup) in which (the iḍā portion) cut off is placed; on his private parts the sāmyā; on the thighs the two arāṇis (wood sticks for kindling fire by attrition) and on the spanks the mortar and pestle, on the feet the winnowing baskets (śūrpa) or if there be one only, by tearing it in two pieces. Those of the sacrificial implements which have a hollow (into which a fluid can be poured) are filled with Pṛṣadājya. The son (of the deceased) should take the upper and the lower mill-stones for himself and the implements made of copper, iron and earthenware.

The Sat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 14 first states that sacrificial implements made of stone or earthenware should be donated to a brāhmaṇa but people regard the latter as a corps-bearer (and so) they should be thrown into water. Taking out the omentum (vapā) of the Anustaranī she-animal he should cover therewith the head and the mouth (of the deceased) with the verse ‘Agni Varma’ (Ṛg. X. 16. 7). Taking out the two kidneys (vṛkkau) of the animal he should deposit them into the

---

490. It should be noted that there are some variations in the statements about the sacrificial implements made here and in the Sat Br. XII. 5. 2, Sat. Śr. 28. 2. 23–50, Kāṭ. Śr. 25. 7. 21–33, Kaṇ. 81. 1–19, Baud. P. S. I. 8. 11–1. 9. 7, Śān. Śr. IV. 14. 18–36. For example, the Śān. Śr. (IV. 16. 21–31) prescribes that the Agnihotraḥavani is placed on the throat and the two arāṇis on the private parts, while Āṅ. gr. places the agnihotraḥavani on the left side and the sāmyā on private parts. Sabara quotes several times a passage which says ‘They burn the āhitāgni with his (vedic) fires and sacrificial implements’ (āhitāgni–agnibhīr dahanti yajñāpātrasīca) on Jai. 4. V. 1. 9, VI. 6. 34, XIII. 3. 34. Those words occur also in Baud. P. S. III. 1. 9. Jai. XIII. 3. 34 states the proposition that the cremation of the sacrificer with the sacrificial implements is what is called pratihātikarman (the final disposal) of the yajñāpātras.

491. Aṣṭādha saṃtā yajñaṁ pañcetaḥ saṃ tīrṇaḥ bhūdantavāt śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāmbviḥ yasyāt tīrṇaḥ śāṃ
hands (of the deceased) the right kidney in the right hand and left kidney in the left with the mantra 'ati drava' (Rg. X. 14, 10, recited once only). He puts the heart (of the animal) on his heart and according to some also two lumps of flour (of rice or barley); according to others only if there are no kidneys. Having deposited the whole animal limb by limb (on corresponding limbs of the dead body) and having covered it with its own hide he recites when the Prāṇīṭā water is being carried forward, by way of invocation the mantra 'īmām agne' (Rg. X. 16. 8). Bending his left knee he should offer into the Daśiṇa fire oblations of clarified butter with the formula 'to Āgni svāhā! To Soma svāhā! To the world svāhā! To Anumati svāhā!' A fifth oblation (is to be offered) on the chest of the deceased with the formula 'from this one, indeed thou hast been born! May he now be born out of thee, N. N.! To the heavenly world, svāhā' (Vāj. S. 35. 22.). He gives the order 'Light the fire together.' Then the Āsv. gr. (IV. 4. 2-5) states what one has to understand if the Āhavanīya or Gārhapatiya or Daśiṇa fire reaches the dead body first or if all the fires reach the body at the same moment; while the body is burning he recites over it the same texts (Rg. X. 14. 7 and others quoted above in n. 481 from Āsv. Sr. sūtra). Being cremated by a person who knows this he goes to the heavenly world together with the smoke (of the funeral pile)—thus it is known (in the Śruti). After he has recited the verse 'ime jīvāh' (Rg. X. 18. 3) they (all relatives) turn round from right to left and go away without looking back. When they have come to a place where there is standing water, having once plunged into it and raised their heads out of it they pour one handful of water, pronounce the gotra name and the proper name (of the deceased),

492. According to Kāṭ. Sr. quoted above in n. 486 the Anustaraṇī animal was to be struck behind the ear and killed. According to Jātikarṇya the several limbs of the animal were to be placed on the corresponding limbs of the dead body. But Kāṭ. disapproves of this since when burnt there may be a doubt (in collecting bones) whether they are of the deceased or of the animal (and so only the flesh of the animal was to be placed on the limbs according to Kāṭ.). Compare Sat. Br. XII. 5. 9-12 for similar remarks. Āsv. gr. IV. 2. 4 (as interpreted by Nārāyaṇa) itself shows that there was an option viz. that the animal may be killed or left off and donated to a brāhmaṇa (vide also Baud. P. S. I. 10. 2). The Sāṅ. Sr. (IV. 14. 14-15) states that the kidneys were to be taken from the killed or living animal from behind and being slightly heated on the Daśiṇa fire were to be placed in the two hands of the deceased with the two mantras 'ati drava' (Rg. X. 14. 10-11)
come out (of the water), put on other garments, wring out (already worn garments) once, lay them away with their skirts to the north and sit down until the stars appear or they may enter their houses when a part of the Sun’s disc is still visible, the younger ones entering first, the older ones last. When they have come to the houses they touch a stone, the fire, cow-dung, fried barley, sesame seeds and water. Compare Śat. Br. XII. 8. 4. 5 for bath and offering of water by relatives and touching a bull on returning from cremation and reciting ‘udvayam’ (Vāj. S. 35. 14 = Rg. I. 50. 10) and applying collyrium and unguent to their bodies.

It is not possible from considerations of space to set out all that is said in the other grhya sutras. A few interesting points may be noted here. The Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 11, Pār. gr. (III. 10. 10 ff) expressly provide that funeral rites for any one whose upanayana has been performed are the same from the choosing of the site for the burning of the body to the descent into water on the part of the relatives (for bathing themselves) as those prescribed for a person who has set up the śrāvata (Vedic) fires, the only difference being that an āhitāgni is cremated with the three Vedic fires kept by him, that one who has kept only the śmārtā 494 or aupāsana fire is burnt with that and that common persons who have neither kept the śrāvata fires nor śmārtā fire are burnt with the ordinary 495 fire. Devala provides that when using ordinary fire, one should avoid taking the fire from a caṇḍāla or any unclean fire or the fire in the room of a freshly delivered woman or the fire of a patīta or fire from a funeral pyre. 496 The Pitrdayitā states that the mantra ‘asmat tvam &c.’ was not to be recited when the deceased was a person

493. अनामार्गपुजुते । पांडूर्वक भवति तत्स्थाति छूमित्रिया आप अंबधः।
सिन्ध्यर्यादिताप उपायति । स्नात-वा कालिसित परिपाठयन्तु दृष्टमन्तरः।
स्यापत्याङ्ग्यो भावानमात्र्युः एव तत्त्वदुक्तो कृष्ळाः कर्मसमारयतः ।
उदयेन तमसस्याति ।

494. अचाल्यिनः । एवेव हः छूमित्रोपयतत्सनायः कर्म पदप्रविशेषः।
श्लोअमा. XIII. 8.4.11.

495. आचाल्यिनेपालिण । स्नात-वा बनितिः । अनाचाल्यिः त्वदे कृष्णेक्षे जाना ।
इदुपम. q. by मित्र. on शा. III. 2, अपरक्ष p.873. This is कृमि उपायम् (उपायम्) 23.67.

496. लोकिकान्तिष्ठित चलानि स्थि-रसपरिशोधि काल:।
चलाविद्धिस्वपुष्टव्रत: छूमित्रिया कालिकातिष्ठि।
पतिःश्रविकालित्व न रसिदं रसिदं रसिदं। इति देवतस्मादन:।
मित्र. on शा. III, 2, अपरक्ष p. 873, प्रति. मा. I. 2 p. 286.
who had not kept sacred fires. The Pār. gr. further provides that all relatives residing in the same village, if they can trace the relationship, do the same, that they wear only one garment, suspend their sacred thread over the right shoulder, that with the fourth finger of the left hand they spurt away the water with Vāj. S. 35. 6 and facing the south plunge into water and pour out one libation of water with joined hands. The Ap. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 2–7) lays down a bath when a person’s relatives on the mother’s side and father’s relatives up to the 7th degree or as long as relationship can be traced die, except in the case of children less than a year old. In the case of a child’s death before one year, the parents and those who carry the child’s body have to bathe. All the above should have dishevelled hair, should throw dust in the hair, wear only one garment, turn their faces to the south, plunge into water, offer water to the dead thrice and then sit down on the bank (of the river or pond), then come to the village and do what the women tell them to do (such as touching fire and bull &c.). Vāj. III. 2 also provides the same rules as Pār. gr. and prescribes the recitation of the mantra ‘apa nama sōucad agham’ (‘May evil be burnt away from us,’ Rg. I. 97. 1, A.V. IV. 33.1, Tai. A. VI. 10.1). The G. P. S. (II. 23) provides that the funeral pyre is to be made with the wood of sacrificial trees, (II. 37 and 39) that the sāpindas of the deceased headed by the women, the youngest being the first, fan the corpse placed on the pyre with the fringes of their garments, that the performer of the funeral rites takes a jar filled with water, places a darbhendva (?) on his head and goes round the corpse thrice and the priest gives a light stroke on the jar thrice separately with a stone (asman) or an axe and recites a mantra ‘imā aṣpo &c.’ when a stream of water rushes out of the broken jar, (changing the words about ‘asmin loke’ to ‘antarikṣe’ and ‘svarge’ at the 2nd and 3rd perambulations). The performer while standing should drop behind him the jar of water. Then after repeating the mantra ‘tasmā tvam adhijātoṣi...asau svargāya lokāya svāhā,’ he should set fire to the pyre to burn the body. The Sat. Śr. 28. 1. 38 provides that the family members

497. अन्तःना, राजमात्राभावायाः ज्ञात्सत्त्वतीरंतिकसमस्तदितिकतेश्चत्या द्रष्टव्यं।
अस्मात...मन्नद्वससदिधि न परेताक्ष्य।। पेत्रहरिधाति p. 78.

498. अथ कालोद्भवमादाय पन्नी वा...वर्गीयुं स्वरूपस्य स्वभावं पर्यथात। तदा विदितं...विद्वेशोद्भवम्भ...कुतहिं तिमिकृति।...तस्मात्तव्यवशेषातीर्तं ज्ञाता हयस्य ज्ञाता...तदानस्तं तस्य तत्र विद्वेशोद्भवम्भ...कुतहिं तिमिकृति।। 13.1-13.
beat their right thighs, fan the corpse with the fringes of their garments and go thrice round the corpse with the left side towards the corpse and recite the mantra ‘appaḥ śośucad-āgham’ (Rg. I. 97. 1. Tai. Ā. VI. 10. 1). It further provides (28. 1. 37–46) that the corpse is carried in a cart or by (four) men and while being carried four stops are made, at each of which clods of earth are dug up and boiled rice is offered thereon with mantras like ‘pūṣā tvetaḥ’ (Rg. X. 17. 3., Tai. Ā. VI. 10. 1), ‘āyur viśvāyur’ (Rg. X. 17. 4, Tai. Ā. VI. 10. 2). The Varāhapurāṇa prescribes that a Paurānic mantra should be recited, that the performer should go round the pyre and apply the kindled fire towards the part of the pyre where the head is placed.\(^499\)

In modern times the procedure of cremation is generally on the lines of that described in the Āśv. gr. cited above and the procedure described in the Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4. 41 ff. The following is a summary of the procedure set out in the Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyanabhatṭa which is generally followed by Rgvedins in Western India. The dead body is washed with water, is decked with a tilaka on the forehead, is clothed in a garment, is covered with a paste of Jatāmāṁśi and a garland of naladas is placed round its neck. Then the performer washes his own feet, sips water, performs prāṇāyāma without Vedic mantra, then makes a Saṅkalpa (as in note 500),\(^500\) he wears his sacred thread under the left shoulder (and on the right shoulder) and prays to the earth with the mantra ‘upasarpa’ (Rg. X. 18.10); he then thrice goes round the place dug up (for cremation) and sprinkles water with a sāml branch at the end of the mantra ‘apeta’ (Rg. X. 14. 9). This mantra is repeated thrice. Then he draws three lines on the ground with an iron piece or kuśa roots saying ‘I draw a line for Yama, the lord of cremation,’ ‘I draw a line for Kāla, lord of &c’ ‘I draw a line for Mṛtyu, lord of &c.’ Then he throws into the dug-up ground pieces of gold and sesame and water mixed with sesame in the middle of the dug up spot for Yama, to the north for Kāla and to the south for

\(^{499}\) शुलासुरुङ्गे कर्म जानता पाप्यजानता। सुरुङ्गालको भदर्मा चलं पंक्तसागरसू। \(\text{Dharmapālahkaraṇī} \text{lokaḥmohanaśukhaḥ} \text{v} \) दुर्योधनस्य वत्सली निर्माण लोकस्तमूलविहित \(\text{V} \) एवं युधस्य \(\text{v} \) तः \(\text{K} \) शुला जैव महतिपरता।ठगमात्यस्य तथा वादः भरतःध्यानाधिप्रद्धित। \(\text{Ch} \) तुस्रास्वद् संस्कार \(\text{E} \) वर्षयिनिः संस्कार \(\text{V} \) राजसुरुङ्गानृ। by \(\text{K} \) तारतमः \(\text{V} \) धर्माकालस्य p. 170 and by \(\text{K} \) तारतमः p. 115. These verses occur with variations in \(\text{K} \) तारतमः chap. 137,106–108.

\(^{500}\) अद्वैतार्थी वेदान्ती शुलासमुन्नरत्यसुरुङ्गालको। दुर्योधनस्य वत्सली निर्माणविहितेऽपि। ज्ञात्यिनिः संस्कार \(\text{E} \) संस्कार \(\text{V} \) ज्ञात्यिनिः संस्कार \(\text{V} \) राजसुरुङ्गानृ। by \(\text{K} \) तारतमः folio 165 a.
Mṛtyu (each being associated with pītra, the formula being 'Yamāya dahanapataye pītbhyāḥ svadhā namaḥ'). He puts sesame in the mouth of the corpse and prepares a funeral pile sufficient for burning the body by means of sacrificial wood brought by the castemen of the deceased. On that pile he spreads kuśa grass and over the latter black antelope skin with the hair outside. Then the corpse is carried to the north of the fire and is placed on the funeral pile with the head to the south. To the north of the dead body, he makes the wife of the deceased sit down. Then the husband's brother, pupil or an old servant makes her get up with the mantra 'udīrṣya' (Rg. X. 18. 8). Then the performer puts pieces of gold in the seven holes of the body (vide above note 491) or drops of clarified butter. He then throws on the body of the departed sesame anointed with ghee, he performs parīsamuhana (wiping with the wet hand) of the fire, then pristaraṇa (strewing darbha grass) round the fire together with the funeral pile) and paryukṣana (sprinkling water) and brings to the south of the fire the vessels viz. proksani, sruva, camasa and the vessel containing clarified butter. Then he puts water in the camasa (cup), covers it with darbha grass and carries it forward and invokes the camasa with Rg. X. 16. 8 (imam-agne &c.). He makes a saṅkalpa that he would wait upon (or worship) the dead, takes two fuel sticks and offers them into fire and performs the worship of Agni, Kāma, Loka and Anumati by offering clarified butter in fire with the appropriate formula (viz. agnaye svāhā, agnaya idam na mama). Then he offers on the chest of the deceased clarified butter (or pṛśadājya) (according to some) with the mantra 'asmatāvai &c. (vide above note 498). Then he prepares apūpas (balls) with barley flour and mixes them with pṛśadājya and places portions of the balls on the five parts viz. forehead, mouth, the two arms and chest with the following mantras viz. Rg. X. 16. 7 (for the ball on forehead and mouth), Rg. X. 14. 10 (for the two arms) and Rg. X. 14. 11 (for the chest). Then he makes the fire flame up with the mantra Rg. X. 16. 9 (kravyādam-agnim) towards the head of a male (and the feet of a woman). Then he should repeat certain mantras while the body is being burnt viz. Rg. X. 14. 7–8, Rg. X. 14. 10–11, Rg. X. 16. 1–6, X. 17. 3–6, X. 18. 10–13, X. 154. 1–5, X. 14. 12. While muttering these mantras he should throw sesame on the body that is being burnt. Then the performer should take a jar (full of water) on his left shoulder, should make a hole in it on the back of the jar with a broken but smooth stone. He should go round thrice with the left towards the
burning body from the spot where the feet of the corpse lie and mutter certain mantras. The jar is struck thrice. All the sagotra relatives go round the burning corpse. Then the jar is completely broken near that part of the funeral pyre where the head rests. The relatives without looking back turn to the left and come out of the cemetery with the youngest members first. The performer recites Rg. X. 18. 3 (ime jivā &c.). The relatives repair to a spot where water is flowing, wearing only one garment and with faces to the south and hair dishevelled, plunge into the water once, sip water, place on the bank that stone (āśman) with which holes were made in the jar, offer water mixed with sesamme on that stone with folded hands with the words ‘O departed, of such a gotra and of such a name! May this water mixed with sesamme reach you’. The performer offers water with the uttariya for allaying the thirst (of the departed) due to the burning.

Many rules were prescribed as regards the carrying of the dead body. It has been seen above that the corpse was carried in a cart or on a couch by the relatives or by the servants (dāsas). Some sūtras, smṛtis, commentaries and other works lay down many other rules here. The Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā 76, 13 ff) states that on the death of Daśaratha his Vedic fires were carried by his priests before the corpse, that the dead body was placed in a palanquin (śibikā), that his servants carried it and that coins of gold and clothes were thrown about on the road in front of the bier (for the poor). The general rule was that members of the three higher varṇas alone should carry to the cemetery a dead body belonging to any one of those varṇas and a śūdra should not carry the dead body of a man of a higher caste (when there were men of the caste of the dead available) nor should a man of one of the three higher varṇas carry the dead body of a śūdra, and that the impurity in the case of a śūdra carrying a dead dvijātī or a dvijātī carrying a śūdra’s body is determined by the caste of the dead man. Vide Viśnu Dh. S. 19, 1-4, Gaut. Dh. S. 14, 29, Manu 5. 104, Yāj. III. 26, Parāśara III. 43-45. A brahmaçārīn was not permitted to be a carrier of the dead body of a person or relative even of his own caste, except his parents, guru, ācārya and upādhyāya and he was not guilty of breaking his vows of student-hood if he carried the bodies of any one of the five mentioned above. Vide Vas. 23, 7, Manu 5. 91, Yāj. III. 15, Laghu-Harīta 92-93, Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Par. M. I. 2 p. 278). Guru, ācārya and Upādhyāya are defined
by Yāj. I. 34–35. If a brahmachārin carried the corpse of any one except the above five he was held to have swerved from his *vrata* and he had to undergo the expiation for *vratalopa*. Manu 5. 103 and Yāj. III. 13–14 state that those who merely carry a dead body of their own caste should bathe with the clothes on, then bite off *nimba* leaves, should perform ācamana, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard, place slowly a foot on a stone and then enter their house. It being the duty of *sapiṇḍas* 501 to carry the dead body of their relative they, after doing so, had simply to bathe, to touch fire and drink clarified butter for being pure (Gaut. 14. 29, Yāj. III. 36, Manu IV. 103, Parāśara III. 42, Devala q. by Par. M. 1. 2, p. 277, Hārita q. by Aparārka p. 871). Carrying the dead body of a brāhmaṇa who has no relatives is highly extolled by Parāśara (III. 39–41) who says that a person, that thus carries the dead body of a brāhmaṇa, secures at each footstep the reward of the performance of a sacrifice and he becomes pure at once simply by plunging into water and performing praṇāyāma, while Manu (5. 101–102) prescribes that if one carries the dead body of a person who is not a *sapiṇḍa* through affection he becomes pure after three days. The Hāralata p. 121 quotes the Ādipurāṇa that if a kṣatriya or vaiśya cremates the dead body of a poor brāhmaṇa or of a kṣatriya who has lost everything or of a poor vaiśya, he secures great merit and becomes pure at once after a bath. Even now generally (particularly in villages) men of the same caste carry or follow a dead body and are held to be purified by a bath with clothes on. The medieval commentators like the Mitākṣara stuck strictly to the extreme exclusiveness of caste by prescribing *'if a man* 502 *carries a dead body through affection, eats food in that family and dwells in their house he is under impurity for ten days*; if he simply stays with the dead man's family but does not eat their food he is impure for three days; these rules apply when the carrier is of

501. विद्वित्त तृ सापिण्डाणा पीतानिघरणादिविधम्। तेषां करोति यः कम्बितसर्वधिविधिना न विवेच्यो। वेदंत q. by Par. Ma. I. 2 p. 277; विद्विति हि सापिण्डाणा पीतानिघरणादिविधम्। दीपः स्वादसर्वधिविधेन तत्ततस्यस्य सिद्धम्॥ हारलता q. by Aparāraka p. 871.

502. अनेकं व्यवस्था। या भीष्माङ्गः धर्माहंरेण हुला तद्द्विप्रभमापार्थति तद्वेत्रत व वसति तस्मि दुपचारैनैव चुनिन्दा। वस्तुं केवलो तद्वेत्रत वसति न सुपद्धमापार्थति तस्मि द्विप्रभमापार्थ। यां पुण्यादिविधादिविधे करोति न तद्वेत्रत वसति न च तद्विप्रभमापार्थति तस्मैकाः हृदि। एवत्सासिद्धः विद्वितिः। विजातिर्भविभवेतुपन्त्वातांति मेत्यैप्रखं तज्जातिपुंजकृतिं कारयाम्। पथाय गौतमः (14.14) ... विद्विति पुण्यादिविधादिविधे करोति न तद्वेत्रत वसति न च तद्विप्रभमापार्थति तस्मैकाः हृदि॥ हारलता q. या. III. 14.
the same caste as the dead person. But if a brahmāna carries a śūdra’s corpse, the brāhmaṇa is impure for a month, but if a śūdra carries a brāhmaṇa’s body the śūdra is impure for ten days.’ The Kūrmapurāṇa prescribes that if a brāhmaṇa carries the dead body of a brāhmaṇa for a fee or from other interested motive he becomes impure for ten days, a kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra doing the same becomes impure for 12, 15 or 30 days and the Viṣṇapurāṇa says that the person carrying a dead body for a fee has to become impure for the period of impurity prescribed for a man of that caste. It may be stated that these rules about impurity on the ground of carrying or following the carrying of a dead body of another caste are no longer enforced and it is extremely doubtful whether they were ever strictly enforced or followed. Ḥārīta 503 prescribes that a dead body should not be carried through the midst of a village if while going to the cemetery a village comes in the way, but it should be carried away from it. Manu, 5.92 and Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 100–101 prescribed that the dead body of a śūdra, vaiśya, kṣatriya and a brāhmaṇa was to be taken out respectively by the southern, western, northern and eastern gates of the town or village. It was provided by Yama and the Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4.56–57 504 that the fuel for the funeral pyre should not be carried (for higher varṇas) to the cemetery by a śūdra and if a śūdra did so the deceased would always remain in the state of preta. The Hāralatā (p. 121) says that if firewood is carried by śūdras still the pyre should be made by brāhmaṇas only (for a brāhmaṇa’s body). The śṛṅgīs and purīṇas provide that the corpse 505 should be first bathed with water and then cremated, that the corpse should never be burned naked, but that it should be covered with cloth, decked with flowers and have fragrant unguents (sandalwood

503. सत्ता सहीतत्वेव न प्रवाहिभिः प्रेतेः हृदयतिर्। सिना व वा III. मक्र. २. प. ३९५, हारतपा प. ११९ विष एद्र व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व व Ready to answer any questions about this text.
paste &c.), that fire should be carried in front of the corpse and one man should carry cooked food in an unbroken earthen vessel and another should deposit part of the food on the way and one should give clothes and the like to cāndalas and the like (that stay near the cemetery).

The Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 159) states that when carrying a dead body to the cemetery, a great deal of noise should be created by means of the four kinds of instruments. 506

There were differing rules laid down about vapaṇa (shaving) for the performer as an auxiliary (ānga) of the rite of cremation, after the cremation and bath thereafter. A smṛti text provides507 'shaving of the head and moustaches is declared in seven cases, viz. on the Ganges, at the Bhāskarakaśṭra, on the death of the mother or father or guru, on consecrating the śrauta fires and in a Soma sacrifice'. The A. K. D. (p. 19) prescribes that the son or other performer of the rites of cremation should first perform vapaṇa and then bathe, then carry the dead body to a sacred spot, bathe it there, or if such a spot is not at hand should invoke the presence of the Ganges, Gayā and other tīrthas in the water to be used for washing the dead body, then anoint it with ghee or sesame oil, again bathe it and put on it a fresh garment, should deck it with yaśnopavita, gopicandana, garland of basil leaves and then should apply to the whole body fragrant substances like sandalwood paste, camphor, saffron, musk &c. But if the cremation took place at night, there was to be no vapaṇa at night, but on the next day.508 Other smṛtis allowed vapaṇa on the 2nd, 3rd, 5th or 7th or any following day up to the offering of śrāddha on the 11th day.509

506. The four kinds of gāṛha were enumerated by भरत ॥ 'ततः वेदवर्गतः च वर्ण शूचिविधेः च तद्विधाके अमरकृत इत्यादि विशेषः च। तत्र विणाचार्यां वायामानां दुरवाचार्यां। अथवा विनाचार्यां अवाचार्यां।

507. गार्ह-भवनं भार्तरं च माताप्रोक्तारं तदुपरि। आधानकारं सन्नाते च वर्णं समाजः स्वस्थं।

508. राजस्व मद्यस्त तथा पिप्पलं भूला भयानंविद्यमानं। वर्णं नेवसते राजस्व भलमिच्छानं

509. अनुवक्रेयणं यो दृष्टं सांस्कृती कर्मविधेयं। विनाचार्यां तुविनाचार्यां प्रमद्वेदि सर्वेन्द्रि

M. D. 28
provides vapana for all sapindas that are younger than the deceased. The Madanaparījata holds that the performer of cremation rites had to undergo vapana on the first day and also on the expiry of the period of impurity, while the Sudhiprakāsa (p. 162) following the Mit. on Yaj. III 17 states that the day on which vapana is to be undergone is determined by the usage of each country. This difference in usages has been even judicially noticed. In Chandra choora Deo v. Bibhuti Bhusan Deva A.I.R. 1945 Patna p. 211 at p. 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares School the person who performs the cremation shaves his head at the time of cremation, whereas under the Mithilā school there is no such shaving at that time.

The Garudapurāṇa (II 4. 67-69) provides that loud weeping may be indulged in when the body is burning but there should be no weeping after cremation and the offering of water to the departed.

There was some difference of opinion as to the offering of water (udakakriyā or udakadāna) to the deceased by his sapindas and samānādakas. Aśv. gr. quoted above (p. 209) speaks of offering water once, but the Sat. Śr. 28. 2. 72 and others prescribe that water mixed with sesame is offered thrice with joined hands on the day of death to the deceased after reciting his gotra and name and every day thereafter up to the 11th. Gaut. Dh. S. 14. 38, Vas. 4. 12 prescribe that water should be offered by sapindas to the deceased with their faces to the south on the first, third, seventh and ninth days of death and Haradatta says that in all 73 añjalis of water were to be offered (three on 1st day, 9 on 3rd, 30 on 7th and 33 on 9th), but that the usage in his country was that on the first day water was offered three times with joined hands and then one more añjali on each succeeding day from the 2nd. On the other hand, Visuṇa Dh. S. 19. 7 and 13, Pracetas, Paithinasi (both quoted by Aparārka p. 874).

---

510. अतुभावलिनः ज परिसपनम्। आप. थ. च. I. 3.10.6. For explanation of this sutra, vide nitisam. on yaj. III 17.

511. ब्राह्मण पौरीयं पाण्डवंपौरवसोंदलितामुर्यं: सकृत्रमन्यकृतेः सच्चे ज्ञान वास: परिवेशवित्तमस्य ज्ञातान्यन्यरूपं विद्यानामिकः तत्त्वाध्यायं त्रिपदिसप्रयाहस्य परमात्मानमन्त्रेषु व्याख्यातादिकोषोच्चादिसाहतात। सर्वापािः भौत. 28.2.72. The śi. च. I. 4.7 is almost in the same words. The water would be offered in the form ‘काव्यपराण: श्वेतज्ञानवर्ण: | ज्ञानवर्ण: श्वेतज्ञाना: (मित्र on yaj. III. 5.). Vide गोविन्दसूत्रम् III. 36-37 also, q. by aparārka p. 874 and parā. ma. I. 2 p. 287.
prescribe that water and pinda were to be offered to the deceased for ten days.\(^5\) The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 202) quotes verses from Gṛhya-pariṣīṣṭa, one of which says that some declare that only ten añjalis were to be offered, some say 100 were to be offered and others that 55 were to be offered and that one should follow the usage settled in one’s vedic Śākhā. The Aṣv. gr. pariṣīṣṭa 3. 4 has a similar rule in prose. The Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa chap. 5 verses 22–23) also refers to the offering of 10, 55, or 100 añjalis. Some smṛtis prescribed that the number of añjalis of water were dependent on the caste of the deceased. Pracetṣas (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 4) provides that 10, 12, 15, 30 añjalis should be respectively offered to a deceased person of the brahaṇa, ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra varṇa. Yama (verses 92–94) states how water is to be offered to the deceased standing in navel-deep water and (98) prescribes that water is to be offered in water to gods and pītris but on the ground to those that died without upanayana being performed. In a smṛti quoted by Devayāñjika\(^6\) it is stated that six pīdās were to be offered from the day of death as follows: at the place where the death occurred, at the door of the house, where four roads meet, where the funeral procession on the way to the cemetery rested, on the pile of wood arranged for burning (cītā), and at the time of the collection of the burnt bones. It was further provided that for the benefit of the departed a lamp fed by sesame oil was to be kept burning continuously for ten days after death and an earthenware vessel was to be kept filled with water and a handful of cooked rice was to be offered on the ground at the time of the mid-day meal after uttering the name and gotra of the departed. This was called pātheya śrāddha because it helped the departed to go on his way from the earth to the world of the departed (vide Dharmasindhu p. 463). According to some of the digests

---

\(^5\) Śrībeṣṭha. Sāstrī, Tattvārthasaṁśāsāna, 335. The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 202) quotes verses from Gṛhya-pariṣīṣṭa, one of which says that some declare that only ten añjalis were to be offered, some say 100 were to be offered and others that 55 were to be offered and that one should follow the usage settled in one’s vedic Śākhā. The Aṣv. gr. pariṣīṣṭa 3. 4 has a similar rule in prose. The Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa chap. 5 verses 22–23) also refers to the offering of 10, 55, or 100 añjalis. Some smṛtis prescribed that the number of añjalis of water were dependent on the caste of the deceased. Pracetṣas (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 4) provides that 10, 12, 15, 30 añjalis should be respectively offered to a deceased person of the brahaṇa, ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra varṇa. Yama (verses 92–94) states how water is to be offered to the deceased standing in navel-deep water and (98) prescribes that water is to be offered in water to gods and pītris but on the ground to those that died without upanayana being performed. In a smṛti quoted by Devayāñjika the number of añjalis of water were dependent on the caste of the deceased. Pracetṣas (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 4) provides that 10, 12, 15, 30 añjalis should be respectively offered to a deceased person of the brahaṇa, ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra varṇa. Yama (verses 92–94) states how water is to be offered to the deceased standing in navel-deep water and (98) prescribes that water is to be offered in water to gods and pītris but on the ground to those that died without upanayana being performed. In a smṛti quoted by Devayāñjika it is stated that six pīdās were to be offered from the day of death as follows: at the place where the death occurred, at the door of the house, where four roads meet, where the funeral procession on the way to the cemetery rested, on the pile of wood arranged for burning (cītā), and at the time of the collection of the burnt bones. It was further provided that for the benefit of the departed a lamp fed by sesame oil was to be kept burning continuously for ten days after death and an earthenware vessel was to be kept filled with water and a handful of cooked rice was to be offered on the ground at the time of the mid-day meal after uttering the name and gotra of the departed. This was called pātheya śrāddha because it helped the departed to go on his way from the earth to the world of the departed (vide Dharmasindhu p. 463). According to some of the digests

---

\(^6\) Śrībeṣṭha. Sāstrī, Tattvārthasaṁśāsāna, 335. The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 202) quotes verses from Gṛhya-pariṣīṣṭa, one of which says that some declare that only ten añjalis were to be offered, some say 100 were to be offered and others that 55 were to be offered and that one should follow the usage settled in one’s vedic Śākhā. The Aṣv. gr. pariṣīṣṭa 3. 4 has a similar rule in prose. The Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa chap. 5 verses 22–23) also refers to the offering of 10, 55, or 100 añjalis. Some smṛtis prescribed that the number of añjalis of water were dependent on the caste of the deceased. Pracetṣas (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 4) provides that 10, 12, 15, 30 añjalis should be respectively offered to a deceased person of the brahaṇa, ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra varṇa. Yama (verses 92–94) states how water is to be offered to the deceased standing in navel-deep water and (98) prescribes that water is to be offered in water to gods and pītris but on the ground to those that died without upanayana being performed. In a smṛti quoted by Devayāñjika the number of añjalis of water were dependent on the caste of the deceased. Pracetṣas (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 4) provides that 10, 12, 15, 30 añjalis should be respectively offered to a deceased person of the brahaṇa, ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra varṇa. Yama (verses 92–94) states how water is to be offered to the deceased standing in navel-deep water and (98) prescribes that water is to be offered in water to gods and pītris but on the ground to those that died without upanayana being performed. In a smṛti quoted by Devayāñjika it is stated that six pīdās were to be offered from the day of death as follows: at the place where the death occurred, at the door of the house, where four roads meet, where the funeral procession on the way to the cemetery rested, on the pile of wood arranged for burning (cītā), and at the time of the collection of the burnt bones. It was further provided that for the benefit of the departed a lamp fed by sesame oil was to be kept burning continuously for ten days after death and an earthenware vessel was to be kept filled with water and a handful of cooked rice was to be offered on the ground at the time of the mid-day meal after uttering the name and gotra of the departed. This was called pātheya śrāddha because it helped the departed to go on his way from the earth to the world of the departed (vide Dharmasindhu p. 463). According to some of the digests
a śrāddha called Nagna-pracohādāna was to be performed on the day of the death of a person after his sapindas undergo shaving and bath, enter the village and the house. It consists in filling a jar with grains of rice wound round with a piece of cloth and putting clarified butter in a vessel of bell-metal and some gold (or coins) thereon according to one's ability. The whole was to be given to a poor brāhmaṇa of good family after remembering Viṣṇu for the benefit of the departed. Vide Smṛti-muktāphala (on śr.) pp. 595–596, Sm. C. (on Āśauca p. 176).

The smṛtis and purāṇas (like Kurma, uttarrādhā 23.70) prescribe that after offering with joined hands water to the deceased a ball of rice or barley flour with sesame was to be presented on darbha grass. There are two views on this point. According to Yāj. III. 16 a pīṇḍa was to be offered for three days after death according to the procedure prescribed for Piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña (such as wearing of the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left shoulder), while according to Viṣṇu 19.13 one pīṇḍa was to be offered every day as long as impurity on death lasted. The pīṇḍa was to be offered on darbhās spread on the ground if the deceased had his upanayana performed, but without mantras or may be offered on a stone. 514 While water could be offered by any and every sapinda, pīṇḍa was to be offered only by the son (and when there were many sons, by the eldest if free from defect); in default of a son the nearest sapinda like a brother or brother's son was to offer it and in default of such then the sapindas of the mother (maternal uncle, his son or the like) could 515 offer it. Even when pīṇḍas were to be offered for three days or āśauca lasted only for 3 days the pīṇḍas were prescribed to be ten by Śatātapa and Pāraskara distributed them as follows: three on the first day, four on the 2nd and 3 on the third and Dakṣa 516 distributed them as follows: one on the first day, four on the 2nd and five on the 3rd. Pāraskara prescribed that 10, 12, 15, 30 pīṇḍas were to be offered according to the varna of the deceased. In the case cited above from A. I. R. 1945 Patna p. 211 at p. 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares school 4, 5 or 6

514. दूसरी मात्रें चिन्तय वातावरणपुलगेत व द्रुषु । द्रुषु q. by मित्र. ०० ग. III. 16.

515. दूसरोऽवसे सत्यविश्वास सिवपालय व द्रुषु । तथाबये सत्यविश्वासाय ।
भी. द. खूँ. १५.१३-१४.

516 दूसरी अवसे सत्यविश्वास सिवपालय या तत्त्वात कोणत्सपा । तुसमेते सत्य व द्रुषु । द्रुषु q. by अपराध के p. ३०४।
pindās are offered at the time of cremation, while according to the Mithilā school only one pinda is offered. Everybody, whether a person of the same gotra as the deceased or of another gotra, had to carry out all the rites up to the tenth day when he once began them on the day of death, as stated by the Grhya-pariṣiṣṭa and Garuḍapurāṇa. It is further prescribed that when the funeral rites are begun by a person and then a nearer relative such as a son comes, even then the former is to carry on all the rites up to the 10th day, but the rites of the 11th and later days are to be performed by the son and in default of him by a near sapinda. The Matsyapurāṇa states that pindas should be offered to the deceased for twelve days; they become his food on his journey (to the other world) and they give him satisfaction; since the deceased is taken to the abode of departed spirits after twelve days, he (his spirit) sees his house, sons and wife for twelve days. Ṛṣyaśriga quoted by Aparārka (p. 889) specifies the limbs of an ethereal body with which the deceased is endowed on each day of the ten days after death when a pinda is offered. The Garuḍapurāṇa (pretakhaṇḍa chap. 5. 33–36) says the same.

Just as sapindas of the same gotra and saṃānodakas were bound to offer water to the deceased, a person was bound to offer water to his maternal grandfather and to the two further ancestors and to his śācyā on their death. Every man, if he so desired (i.e. he was under no religious duty), could offer water to his friend, to his married sister or daughter, to his sister’s son, father-in-law and his sacrificial priest on their death (Pār. gr. III. 10, Śaṅkha-Likhita, Yāj. III. 4). Paraskara (III, 10) refers to a peculiar practice. When the sapindas are about to enter water for bathing and thereafter offering water to the deceased they pray to their relatives or brother-in-law for water with the words ‘we shall perform udakakriya’, where-upon

517. अत्र्येकस्म लगीत्रो तथि ब्र्ली तथि व युगान। सधमेवस्त्री शो रक्तल इनान। समारपदुप श्रुतप्रिसिद्ध q. by मिलास. on पा. I, 255 and III, 16, अपराक. p. 887, मंड. प. p. 400, हर्षव. p. 172. This is उपचार्यानम 20.6 and गाजराज (मोन्क) 5.19–20.

518. अन्यथा श्रवणां द्राहधारवं समारपदुप विश्वास्त्रीय। पायथे तरस ततां संतो भुविकारम्। सदले महामुल संते परवर्षे। श्रुतप्रिसिद्ध q. by अपराक्क p. 889. These two verses are the same as गाजराज, सहिवेश्व 10.5–6.

519. ‘उदकक्रियार्थ श्रुतकालिकी-शिष्ये सहायतायिनिर राजनि च।’ श्रुतकालिकी q. by श्रीकालिक्ता on पा. III, 4.
the other replies 'do so but don't come again (with a similar request),' if the deceased was less than one hundred years of age, but the reply would be simply 'do so' if the deceased was hundred years of age or more. The G. P. S. (I, 4.4–6) has a somewhat similar symbolic dialogue. A king's officer, a sāgotra or a brother-in-law takes a branch having thorns and prevents them from entering water with the words 'don't enter'; then the sapindas should reply 'we shall not again enter water'. The probable significance of this was that they thereby would be able to escape from another death in the family soon after.

There were rules prohibiting certain persons from offering water to the deceased and also directing that water should not be offered to certain deceased persons. Impotent persons and the like, thieves of gold, vrātyas, those who follow forbidden conduct and women that kill their own fetus or husband and that drink the kind of liquor (forbidden to them) should not offer water to a deceased person. Yāj. (III.6) provides that water should not be offered to and no āśauca observed for heretics, for those who do not belong to one of the four āśramas, to thieves, to women who kill their husbands or who are guilty of prostitution or who drink surā, or who commit suicide. Manu (V. 89–90) is to the same effect. Gaut. Dh. S. 14. 11 provides that in the case of those who start (through anger) on the Great

520. समपुर्ण मेघुनार्होक प्रकाशेन्द्रेः करिष्यायणे इति. कुष्ठा वा वैध रुद्रसिद्धान- 

521. श्रीवच्च नीतिकः कुष्ठा: सतो वात्ता विधानम्: गर्भपुंजुमहर्षेषु सुषाप्येषु 

522. गायत्रीस्वात्मकांग्राहितामाहिनीव रघुनाथस्वात्मकां एकलादाय:। गी. 14.11; कोधालाय 

523. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

524. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

525. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

526. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

527. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

528. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

529. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

530. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

531. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

532. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

533. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

534. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

535. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

536. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

537. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

538. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

539. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

540. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

541. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे 

542. होद्र ब्रह्मचारी विश्रामाचारी संपन्न जात्वं। विग्रहास्तेन व ये हुष्टिन नारायणस्त। ब्रह्मचारिहर्षे वे वे वे
Journey, who commit suicide by fasting or by means of a weapon or by fire, by poison, in water, by hanging or falling from a precipice or tree, there is no cremation, no āśauca, no offering of water or pinda. Haradatta on Gaut, 14. 11 quotes three verses from Brahmapurāṇa that those who die of a brāhmaṇa's curse or black magic and those who are patitas are dealt with in the same way. But Āṅgiras (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 6) says that if one dies by water or fire or the like through inadvertence, there was āśauca for him and udakakṛiṇyā was performed. Vīdā Vaik. Sm.Ś. V. 11 for a long list of persons who must not be cremated. In the Mahābhārata the rites of cremation have been described frequently e.g. the cremation of Pāṇḍu in Ādiparva, chap. 127 (the body was carried in a śūlikā covered on all sides, there were musical instruments, the royal parasol and chowries were carried in the procession, distribution of wealth to mendicants, carrying the dead body to the bank of the Ganges on a charming sylvan spot, bathing the body, applying sandalwood paste to it); of Drona in Strīparva, chap. 23.38-42 (three Śāmans were sung, his pupils with Drona's wife in front went round the funeral pyre, going to the Ganges); of Bhīma in Anuśāsana 169.10-19 (fragrant resins were used on the pyre, his body was covered with fine clothes and flowers, an umbrella and chowries were held over the body, Kaurava women fanned the body with fans, śāmans were sung); of Vasudeva in Mausalsparva 7. 19-25; of killed warriors in general in Strīparva, chap. 26. 29-43 and of Kunti, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī in Āśramavāśikaparva, chap. 39. In the Rāmāyana (Ayodhya, chap. 76 verses 16-20), it is said that the funeral pyre for Daśaratha was made with sandalwood, aguru and fragrant resins, with Sarala, Padmaka and Devadāru (pine) wood and various fragrant substances were heaped thereon, then Daśaratha's body was placed on the pyre and that Kausalyā and other women followed the corpse in śūlikas and conveyances according to their status.

If an āhitāgni died away from home, the Śat. Br. (XII. 5.1.13-14) provides that, having brought his bones home they were to be spread on a black antelope skin and arranged in imitation of the human frame, were to be covered with wool and ghee and burnt with his śrauta fires and sacrificial implements. Similar rules are laid down in Kät. Śr. 25.8-9, Baud. P. S. III.8, Gobhilāṃśtī III.47, Vas. Dh. S. IV. 37,
If even the bones could not be found, then the sūtras following the Ait. Br. (chap. 32.1) and similar ancient works provide that on a skin of black antelope one should make the effigy of a human frame with palaśa stalks (leaves) 360 in number, the effigy should be bound round with woollen thread, should be covered with yava flour mixed with water and anointed with clarified butter and cremated with his fires and sacrificial implements. The Brahmapurāṇa (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187) contains similar rules about burning an effigy and ordains three days’ impurity thereafter. Acc. to a smṛti (q. by Aparārkā p. 545), the palaśa leaves were to be 362. They were to be distributed according to Baud. P. S. and Gaut. P. S. as follows: 40 represent the head, 10 the neck, 20 the chest, 30 the abdomen (udara), 50 each of the arms, 10 the fingers of the two hands, 70 each of the two legs, 10 the toes of the feet, 8 the male organ, 12 the testicles. This is also the enumeration in Sat. Sr. 29,4.39. Vide also Śāṇ. Sr. IV, 15,19–31, Kāṭ. Sr. XXV. 8,15, Baud. P. S. III, 8, G. P. S. II, 1,6–14 Gobhila-smṛti III,48, Harita q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 186, Garuḍapuruṣa II, 4, 134–154 and II, 40 44 ff. It may be stated here that all the sūtras and smṛtis do not entirely agree as to the number of palaśa leaves taken as representing the several parts of the body, as may be seen from a comparison of the Śāṇ. Śr. quoted in the note with Baud. P. S. set out here. A smṛti quoted by Aparārkā (p. 545) gives the numbers as follows: 32 for the head, 60 for the neck, 80 for the chest, 20 for the hip and loins, 20 each for the two arms, 10 for fingers, 6 for testicles, 4 for the penis, 60 for the two thighs, 20 for the knees, 20 for the

523. The य. जा. reads: यदि स्त्रीराणि न विचारस पर्यत्त: पालिक्रिया च पूर्वांशाहुर्य तेषां पुष्पाकारिन् कुच्य तांस्मातामाबुद्धुः कुच्यचैवनांछिरिवरः: संस्कारंर्मासेवुष्पुष्पवंतः काये विपक्षी प्रियिवा य विशेष चलोष प्रियार्षी वेतरं दुःश्रुतिपूर्वादशुः सत्तत पर्यत्ततिः।

524. शास्त्रानां च चिन्ति विषयालायेती पताशुल्तानां कुष्माण्डिये पुष्वताः। काराम्। श्री 25, 8, 15, on which the com. remarks ‘पुष्वतिविषयः पुष्वताः काराम्। तेषामेव तत्तथासंविचारस विशेषति।’

525. चलाशिक्षकमिति । धीयाऽयं बुझ। संस्तायंपोषायोऽस्मिन्: शास्त्र:। उरस्ते त्रिमिवादम्। जारे विशेषति। बदुकणां:। सिद्धेऽवचारी। जारे। शास्त्र:। विषयार्जैज्यवधाम्बवोऽपि:। पालाशाहुर्य विशेषति। एवं प्राणी प्रस्ताविता भवति। कुष्माण्डित खङ्कोणांपि: परिशिष्ट यथा:। मात्रेषां भ्रमन्याभिप्रायस्मादृत्तिः: संस्कृतिः। श्री अ. ४३, ४. १५, 2०–३१। Each stalk of Palaśa has three leaves; उल्लासम् will represent the muscles and यथावृत्तिः will represent flesh. It will be seen that as enumerated in Śāṇ. S. the palaśa stalks are exactly 360. The कुष्माण्डित (उपरो) २३,६८ refers to it as ‘वेदाभवावत्यालेक्षुः कुष्माण्डितम् पुनः।’
lower parts of the legs, 10 for toes of the feet. Jātukārṇya (q. by Aparākṣa p. 545) and Bhavisyapurāṇa (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187) say that when a son does not hear for 15 years about his father who had gone to a distant land, he should perform the cremation of the effigy (called ‘ākritidihana’). Bṛhaspati advises waiting for 12 years before resorting to ākritidihana (Śuddhipr. p. 187). The Vaikhānasamārtasastra V. 12 regards the burning of the effigy as a meritorious act for every one and does not restrict it to the case where the body or bones are not found. The Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187 quotes several verses from the Brahmapurāṇa that the procedure of burning an effigy of pālaśa stalks was to be followed even in the case of one who has not consecrated Śrauta fires and āśauca for three days has to be observed, while the āśauca for burning the effigy of an āhitāgni was ten days.

It is further provided in Sat. Śr. 29. 4. 41, Baud. P. S. (III. 7. 4) and Garudapurāṇa II. 4. 169–70 that, if after the effigy is cremated in the belief that a person died in a foreign land, he returns alive, then he is plunged in a pit containing clarified butter and then he comes out of it, takes a bath, then all the saṁskāras from jātakarma are performed on him, then he marries the same wife again or if she be dead, he may marry another girl, then consecrate again śrauta fires. Some sūtras provide that if the wife of an āhitāgni dies before him, he may, if he so desires, cremate her with his śrauta fires or he may cremate her with fire prepared from cowdung and some easily inflammable things (like straw) placed in three sthālis (cooking pots 526). Manu (V. 167–168) provides that if the savarṇa and virtuous wife of a twice-born person who had consecrated sacred śrāuta fires died before him she was to be cremated with his fires (śrāuta and smārta) and with the sacrificial implements. Then he may marry again and consecrate śrāuta or smārtas fires again. To the same effect are Yāj. I. 89, Baud. P. S. II. 4. 6, Gobhila-smṛti III. 5, Vaikhānasamārtasūtra VII. 2, Vṛddha-Hārīta XI. 213, Laghu-Aśv. 20. 59, 527 Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 87 quotes a Kāthaka-śrutī to

526. इच्छावर्ते परी पृविमार्शीस्मिति: संस्कृत्य सात्तपन काल्यानां ततः पुरुष-\[\text{...}\]
527. तस्यावपि: पति: सर्वं पुविमार्शीस्मिति: विरुक्षया इति स्वरूपः ।...
the effect that if a person keeps the same śrauta fires after the death of his wife they are (impure like) the fires used for burning a corpse and adds that even if a brāhmaṇa āhitagni had a wife of the kṣatriya class and she died before him, she was to be cremated with his śrauta fires. This view is opposed to that of many other commentators and he explains Manu V. 167 (where ‘savarnām’ occurs) as merely illustrative and that if it were interpreted as restricted to a savarna wife alone, there would be the fault of vākyabheda. Some of the smṛtis provide that he may remain a widower and perform his Agnihotra by having a golden effigy of the wife or one made of kuśa grass, as Rāma did. Vide Gobhilasmṛti III. 528 9-10, Vṛddha-Harita XI 214. If the householder did not marry again (when his wife died before him and was cremated with his śrauta fires) and did not consecrate fresh vedic fires he was to be cremated with ordinary fire. If the householder was unable to marry again, he may cremate his wife with fire kindled by means of the kindling sticks (aranis) and keep his śrauta fires and carry on agnihotra with the image or effigy of the wife. If the āhitagni died first and his wife then died as a widow she was to be cremated with fire (nirmanthya) kindled by attrition of the aranis. Vide Baud, P.S. II. 4. 6-8, Kāt. Śr. 29.4. 34-35, and Trikānda-mandana II. 121, 528a. When the wife was cremated the mantra ‘Aṃsmāttvam-abhijātosi’ quoted above was not to be recited (vide Gobhilasmṛti III. 52). It was only a virtuous wife and not an unchaste one that was cremated with śrauta or śmāra fire (Gobhilasmṛti III. 53). Kratu (q. by

528. सूत्रापापार्थ भार्या वैदिकार्यः न हि र्मते। उपायनार्थ तत्कार्ध्व भार्याजनें समा-पयत॥ रामोपि हुलता सार्वणि सिंहः पर्विन्मानिः। इद्दे इग्नायुविधुः सह खाताभिषिक्तेऽव। शोभितभूति III. 9-10, the first being quoted by Aparāṅkī p. 114 as विद्वृत्ता's. It is also quoted by गुहस्थानन्दाकर p. 110. Aparāṅkī does not accept the interpretation that the verse सूतायत् etc. allows the householder to have an image of his deceased wife beside him while performing a Vedic sacrifice. The words 'उपायनार्थ' according to Aparāṅkā mean that he may marry a woman not of the same varna. Both verses are q. by छविदमकाश (pp. 164-165) which summarises various views on this point.

528a. ततोऽयं: यथेच तत्त्वाधिशृद्धत्व च यज्ञावेक्ष्य स्वितरूमयः। न: एषाः प्रत्यापापसेवेन। औपचार्यान्वितां निमित्तादिको यत्रमोहुः। धीपि: च. भा. II. 4. 6-8; compare सर्प। भू। 29.4. 34; 'तत्त्व भेदित्वा सुचिः समीरेत काव्याच। तदा औपचार्येऽपिभृत्तान्त्विभिषेक्यायेऽव। विकाशमण्डल II. 121.
Cremation of widower and others

Suddhiprakāśa p. 166) and Baud. P. S. III. 1. 9–13 state that a widower and a widow were to be cremated with fire generated on a kapāla (made red hot and then cow-dung thrown thereon), a brahmaśarin and yati were to be cremated with uttapanā (or kapālaja) fire, an unmarried girl and a boy whose Upānayana is not performed are to be cremated with fire produced from chaff. If an añhitāgni became patita or guilty of suicide in various ways or met death by challenging animals or snakes, his śrauta fires were to be cast into water and śmaṛta fire was to be cast on the place where four roads meet (or in water), his sacrificial implements were to be burnt (a śmṛti q. by Par. M. I. 2. p. 236, Parāśara V. 10–11, Vaik. Śmaṛta V. 11) and he was to be cremated with ordinary fire.

Manu V. 68, Yāj. III. 1, Parāśara III. 14, Viśṇu Dh. S. 22, 27–28, Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Par. M. I. 2 p. 238 provide that in the case of abortion, the foetus, and a still-born child, and a child that has not yet struck teeth should be decked with clothes and the like and should be buried. Children of tender years were not to be cremated, but there was some difference of opinion among ancient writers on the exact age at which one or the other method of disposal was to be resorted to. Paraskara-gr. III. 10, Yāj. III. 1, Manu V. 68–69, Yama and some others provide that a child that had not completed two years at death was to be buried under ground in an unsullied spot outside the village (other than the usual cemetery), the dead body being anointed with ghee and decked with flowers and sandal paste and that no burning nor offering of water nor the collection of bones was to be performed in this case. The relatives may all follow the body or not

---

528b निषुभ्यो निषयं कृष्ण कृपासत्सातिनः क्रहेत्। ब्रह्मचरिती चैव वेद्युत्तपात्यादिनिः।
तुषात्मित्वा च दुर्मभ्यं कृष्णकाष्ठाल्ल एव प्राभः।
अभिरयचायं कपालं तु कुपः तत्र निस्मित्वेऽद।

528c अर्थात् ब्रह्मचरितमात्रं अनेक साधारणसिद्धां श्रीकृष्णसंतानोऽधिकाः निराधारः
अर्थात् विवेकविहारी स्वामीनः निविष्टविहारी निविष्टविहारी।
परस्तर्युक्त इति सर्वोपरिश्रमः। वयम् q. by मित्रः on या. III. 1.

The verses addressed to Bṛhaspati such as: ‘नाके नागर्वम्’ (Pā. X. 123.6 acc. to श्रीपालके, or ने. अह. VI. 5. 3) आद्वैतनिविष्ट नामश्रव्य पुषोव जनाद्। वेद्वैती न दञ्च न प्राणि
एष्टद्विगर्भेऽहृद्येऽपि महान्योऽदित्येऽपि। लोकोपनिवेशः च, or चेताय कोशिष् जनाद्: and the two following verses from ने. अह.
VI. 5.2 (acc. to अपराधः p. 871) and स्वरूपिच। (आशीर्वद्य च p. 201).
and Yama allows the recital of the Yamasūkta (Rg. X. 14) and the verses in honour of the god Yama. Manu V. 70, however, states other optional provisions viz. that the offering of water may be done (and therefore the cremation also of the dead body) in the case of infants that have struck teeth or after nāmakaraṇa. Therefore there is an option as to cremating an infant of less than two years, viz. it may be buried or cremated after nāmakaraṇa or after the appearance of teeth. In this case it is not necessary that all the sapinda relatives should follow the dead body. If a child is two years old or more at death and upanayana has not been performed it must be cremated with ordinary fire and water must be offered silently. The same rule applies to a child whose cūḍa (tonsure) had been performed before death as stated by Laugākṣi.²²³ The Vaik, Sm. S. V.11 lays down that there is no burning with fire until the 5th year for a boy and the 7th year for a girl. After Upanayana the child was to be cremated according to the rites prescribed for an āhitāgni so far as they could be applied (i.e. there would be cremation without sacrificial implements and the mantra ‘asmāt tvam-abhijātosī’ was not to be recited). The Baud,²²⁹ P. S. (II, 3,10–11) provides that there is no cremation for children dying before the performance of cūḍa (tonsure) and there is no pitṛmedha for those whose upanayana had not been performed at death or for unmarried girls. It also provides that infants that have struck no teeth are to be buried with syllable ‘om’ and those that have had teeth with the Vyāhṭis. The Mit, on Yāj. III.2 summarises the rules as follows: Before Nāmakaraṇa there was to be only burial and no offering of water and the like; after Nāmakaraṇa up to the third year cremation and offering of water are optional with burial; from the third year up to upanayana there is cremation and also offering of water but silently (without mantras); if Cūḍa ceremony was performed before the 3rd year and the child died then also the same rule applied. After Upanayana the deceased was to be cremated with ordinary fire but the procedure was to be the same as for an āhitāgni.

²²³ Bh. 5.11.1. ²²⁹ Baud. P. S. (II, 3.10–11). 21 explains ‘āhitāsmāte śatam yā bhaddhaṇe jāyati tatra dvaśādibhisāraṃ bhūyey: ’ आद्रितासमाया बुहस्वाह्विस्स्तारः समेः \ विद्ययोः ’.
A yati (sannyāsin) was and is even now buried. In a previous note (n. 528b) a verse of Kratu is quoted that a brahmaacārin and yati are to be cremated with ātāpana fire. The explanation of the Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 166) is that the word yati here means an ascetic of the Kuṭīcaka kind and quotes a verse as to how the dead bodies of the yatis of four grades are to be disposed of. The Baud. P. S. II.11 gives a brief description which is adopted with some variations by the Śrītyarthaśāra (p. 98) that contains a description of the death rites of a parivṛtjkā. One should go to the east or north of the village, he should dig a pit (lit. a sacrificial place) as deep as the staff (carried by the yati) under a palāśa tree or on a river bank or on some other pure spot to the accompaniment of the vyāhritis; then he should sprinkle water thereon thrice repeating the seven vyāhritis each time, should spread darbha grass on the bottom of the pit, should deck the dead body (with garlands, sandal paste), deposit the body in the pit with the mantra (Tai. S.I.13.1) ‘O Viṣṇu! guard this offering (the dead body).’ He should place in the right hand the staff of the parivṛtjkā (breaking it into three parts) with the mantra ‘Viṣṇu took strides over this’ (Rg. I.22.17, Vai. S. V. 15, Tai. S. I.213.1). He places the sīkṣa (loop of strings) in the left

530. कृदिकम हृ पदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस। हंसो नरो नविष्कृणया। परसंस पूजये। q. by सरमयल्ल ह. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 338–342.

531. अथ परिवारकं संस्कारं ध्यात्मर्थस्ति:। यथायथ अत्यंत्याविधाः। व्याह्रिताः। अवनिट्वातुर्विद्यामिति: वायुक्ताच्योऽस्मिनाः। ब्रह्मदेवताः। व्याह्रिताः। अस्मिना हयेत। व्याह्रितोऽस्मिनाः। वायुक्ताच्योऽस्मिनाः। ब्रह्मदेवताः। व्याह्रितोऽस्मिनाः। अस्मिना हयेत।

532. अथ परिवारकं संस्कारं ध्यात्मर्थस्ति:। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति। यथायथापदेश्योर्षेव च चक्रास्मस्ति।

The Baud. Gr. Sesāsūtra IV. 17.9 reads ‘हः कमण्डलं चैस् वृत्तिविसमास्ति।’ The verse वृत्तिविसमास्ति occurs in Baud gr. Sesāsūtra IV. 17. 17–18. According to the Baud. Dh. S. II. 10.11 the paraphernalia of a yati is: यहं: सिवर्ण अन्यपतिः कमण्डलं प्रतापितं.
hand with the mantra 'what is beyond this world' (Tai. S. IV.2.5.2), the piece of cloth used as a water-strainer on the mouth with the words 'by which strainer the gods' (Tai. Br. I.4.8.6), the pot on his belly with the Gayatri stanza (Rg. III.62.10, Vaj. S. III. 35, Tai. S. I.5.6.4), his water pot near his private parts with the mantra 'earth went to earth'. He then invokes with the mantras beginning with 'cittih sruk' (ten sentences in Tai. A., Maitrayani S. I.9. 1 which are called 'caturhotaraha'). 533 The other rites are not performed here as they were performed before. No cremation should be done, no asvaca should be observed nor should water be offered to (an ascetic who is dead) who was free from all attachments and who had given himself up to meditation. The Smritiyarhasaara adds that no ekoddista sadha nor sapindikaran is performed for an ascetic, but only parrava on the 11th day, that a kuticaka should be cremated, the bahunaka should be buried, hainsa should be thrown into water and paramaahamsa should be thoroughly buried. The Nirnayasindhu (pp. 634–635) quotes the Smritiyarhasaara and then adds a few details from Brhat-Saunaka, viz. that the dead body of a yati should be bathed with the Purusasukta (Rg. X, 90), then the pit (dug for burial) should be sprinkled eight times with the syllable 'Om' on all sides; having deposited the body in the pit with the Yajus formula 'O Visnu! guard this offering' (Tai. S. I.1.3.1) and with 'Om', he should place in the right hand the staff with the mantra 'Visnu took strides over this' (Rg. I. 22, 17), then pierce the crown of the head with a conch by repeating the mantra 'bhir-bhuvaha-svaha', he should fill up the pit with salt to the recitation of the Purusasukta (Rg. X. 90). He should fill up the pit thoroughly (with sand) in order to guard against jackals and dogs and the like (exhuming the body with their paws). The Dharmasindhu (p. 497) adds some details particularly as to the number of hymns and mantras to be repeated. It states that the crown of the head should be pierced with a conch or an axe, that one who is unable to do this should smash a ball of jaggery placed on the head. It adds that no yati except kuticaka should be cremated. In modern times a sannyasin is always buried and not cremated, since kuticaka and bahunaka kinds of yati are no longer in vogue and it is only the paramahamsa that is prevalent in the whole of India. The reason why ascetics were buried and not cremated

appears to me to be as follows; part of the procedure of becoming an ascetic consisted in giving up his śrauta fires and throwing in fire his sacrificial wooden implements (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 954). One of the rules for ascetics is that he should not kindle śrauta or śārta fires nor kindle ordinary fire for cooking his food but was to subsist on cooked food obtained by begging (H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 933–934). The householder was cremated with his śrauta or śārta fire but the ascetic, having abjured these, was without any fire and was therefore buried. The Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra X. 8 (ed. by Caland) contains a brief description of the burial of an ascetic who was not an āhitāgni and the cremation of an ascetic who was āhitāgni.

Special rules were laid down about the cremation of women dying in or immediately after child-birth and women dying while still in their monthly illness. A smṛti quoted by the Mit. and the Smṛti-candrika (I. p. 121) provides that in the case of a sūtikā, one should take water and paścagavya in a jar, should repeat holy texts (such as 'aṇo hi śṭā' Rg. X. 9. 1–9, verses addressed to Varuna) over them, should then bathe the sūtikā with water and paścagavya and then cremate the body. A woman in her monthly illness was to be similarly bathed and she was to be covered with another garment and then cremated. Vide Garudapurāṇa II. 4. 171 ff and Nirṇāyasindhu p. 621. Similarly, elaborate rules are prescribed about the rites of cremation in relation to the death of a pregnant woman (vide Baud. P. S. III. 9, Nirṇāyasindhu p. 622) which are passed over here.

Dead bodies were disposed off in different ways at different times and in different countries. The various methods of disposal were cremation, burial underground, water burial, exposure of the body for being destroyed by vultures and other birds (as among Zoroastrians) or beasts, being preserved in

534. According to the Parsi scriptures burying a human corpse in the earth was a grave sin and if the body was not disinterred there was no atonement in the case of a professor of the law of Mazd or one who had studied it and if he did not disinter it within six months or within a year, he was liable to receive five hundred or a thousand stripes respectively. Vide Vendidad, Fargard III (S. B. E. Vol. 4 pp. 31–32). Corpses were to be laid down on the summits of mountains to be devoured by birds and dogs and the exposure of corpses was the most striking practice of the Mazdean profession (S. B. E. Vol. IV part 1 Intro. p. XLV).
caves, 535 or being mummmified (as in Egypt). The general rule
in India from times of which we have literary evidence was
cremation; though burial took place in certain exceptional
cases such as in the case of infants, ascetics &c. How the
ancient Indians hit upon this scientific though rather heart-
rendering method of the disposal of dead bodies it is difficult to
say 536. Burials were not unknown in India even in very early
times, as Atharvaveda 5. 30. 14 (mā nu bhumīgrho bhuvat)
and 18. 2. 34 show. The last may be rendered as follows:
O Agni! bring all those pītrs here in order that they may par-
take of the offering, those (pītrs whose bodies) were buried or
cast aside (exposed) or burnt or deposited above (on trees or in
caves?) 536a. In the word 'anagnidagdhaḥ' occurring in Rg.
X. 15. 14, scholars see a reference to burial. But it is quite
possible that no burial is referred to. If some ancestors were
killed far from home in a fight or if they were kidnapped and
killed by enemies, their bodies might have been left uncared
for in a distant land and not cremated nor buried. A passage
in the Chāndogya 537 Up. (VIII. 8. 5) is construed by some
scholars as referring to burials. It may be rendered as follows:
Therefore they designate even now a man, an asura who does
not make gifts, who has no faith and who offers no sacrifices;
for this is the esoteric doctrine of Asuras. They deck out
the body of the dead with bhikṣā (perfumes and flowers?), with a
raiment by way of decoration, and think that they will thus
conquer the next world. Though the passage is not quite clear,
the reference to Asuras, their usage of decorating the dead
body and thereby being able to gain the next world render it
probable that the usage of the burial of the body among Asuras
is referred to. In Rg. VII. 89. 1 the sage prays 'O Varuna!

535. In Rome the bones of over 4000 monks are preserved in the walls
of the subterranean burial chapels in the Capuchin Church near the Piazza
Barberini. For a description of the catacombs in Rome, vide Puckle's
'Funeral customs' p. 136 (quoting from Frothingham).

536. Vuliamdy in ' Immortal man ' (p. 34) throws out the suggestion
that one of the purposes of cremation may have been the complete destruction
of the human aspect of the ghost or its transference to a region from
which contact with mankind in any material sense was impossible.

536 a. ये निभाता ये परोक्त ये बुध्या ये होिदिता। सर्वास्तत्र आ वह विनूसविशे
अन्ते अश्रेष्ठम् | 18.2.34.

537. तस्मातुपयोगस्वाधिपस्य्यावतामुक्तामनंस्यायमाक्ष्येतस्य चक्षुसार्यां धीमहिनिहृतां
एतत्स्यां निष्ठुरा ब्रह्माः वस्तेनाद्वियोगिति संस्कृत्यपतेन हां लोकं अवब्रह्म समासे।
छः उप. VIII. 8.5.
may I not go to the earthen house'. This is probably a reference to burial. Besides, after the charred bones were collected, they were placed in an urn or pot, which was buried in the ground and after a good deal of time a mound (śmaśāna) was built upon the bones as will be seen immediately from a passage in the Śat. Br. and other sources. In A. V. XVIII. 2. 25 it is said, 'may the tree not oppress them, nor the great goddess Earth'. This is probably a reference to a coffin and burial.

It is somewhat curious that the progressive nations of the West, believing in a literal interpretation of the Biblical words (such as Matthew 22. 23–33, Mark 12. 18–27 and Luke 20. 37–38, John 5. 19–31 and 6. 32–56) about physical resurrection of the dead, held fast by burial alone and up to the end of the 19th century people in Christendom would not allow the cremation of a dead body. The case of Reg. v. Price illustrates how deep the sentiment against cremation was and how popular fury prevented Price from disposing of the body of his dead child of five months by petroleum fire in a field, how he was prosecuted for two offences viz. misdemeanor at Common Law for burning a dead body instead of burying it and misdemeanor on the ground that he attempted to burn the body with intent to prevent an inquest being held on it by the coroner. It was only in 1902 that the Cremation Act (2 Edw. 7 Ch. 8) was passed empowering burial authorities to establish crematoria on plans approved by the Minister of Health. The Catholic Church does not even now allow cremation. The ancient Romans on the other hand held cremation as the honourable means of the disposal of the dead body but reserved burial for the suicide and the murderer.

Embalming the dead for some time at least was not quite unknown in India. The Sat. Śr. 29. 4. 29 and Vaik. Śr. 31.23 prescribe that if an āhitāgni died away from his people his corpse should be laid down in a tub or trough filled with sesame oil and brought home in a cart. In the Rāmāyana it is several times said that the body of Daśaratha was placed for several

538 (1884) 12 Q. B. D. p. 247. Ultimately Price was acquitted on both charges.

539. आत्मानिविन्दनानि महीनं तेजसः भ्रमणमात्मवधार प्रकटेताहारति निर्मलयेव न द्वष्टा द्वोपां द्वारामेव गृहास्थिति राजस्तस्य संवीत्वं देनवं द्वीपां लवचनाभि निर्मलाम: यत्रा शुभाभागाना आहसासि। सन्य. और 29.4.29; almost the same words occur in वैद्यकसौरि 31.23 p. 312 (Caland’s ed.).
days in a tub containing oil till the arrival of Bharata (vide Ayodhya 66. 14–16, 76.4). In the Viṣṇupurāṇa 540 it is stated that the body of Nimi being covered with oil and fragrant substances did not become decomposed and looked as if the death was recent.

What the state of things was before the composition of the Rgveda cannot be said with certainty. There is no general agreement as to the age of the Rgveda and of the ruins found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Sir John Marshall (in Mohenjo-daro vol. I, p. 86) refers to complete burials, partial burials and post cremation burials. The excavations at Lauriya 541 Nandangarh have brought to light supposed Vedic burial mounds in which has been found a small repousse golden plaque bearing the figure of a nude female, the Earth Goddess. These and the disposal of corpses in paleolithic ages are matters for archaeologists and are outside the proper scope of the present work.

The Hāralatā (p. 126) quotes a passage from the Adipurāṇa to the effect that Magas (Magians) are buried underground and that Daradas and Luptarakas (?) go away after placing their dead relatives on trees. 541a

It appears that among early Buddhists in India hardly any religious ceremony was performed, whether the person deceased was a layman or even a member of the Order. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta the death and the funeral ceremonies of the great founder of Buddhism are described in chapter VI (Section 14 ff). All that is gathered from that chapter is that the favourite disciple of the Buddha, Ānanda, uttered a stanza, some of the disciples that were not free from passion wept and fell headlong on the ground, while others (who were Arahata) bore the grief with composure, that next morning Ānanda went to the Mallas of Kusinārā, that the Mallas took perfumes,

540. निमेषेण तथ्यीर्विभिन्नगृहं तैत्तर्यविभिषितविपक्षानां नैव कृष्णविको द्वीपसम्बन्ध 

541. Vide T. Bloch in Z. D. M. G. vol. 60 pp. 227–232 for the excavations at Lauriya; also Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India for megalithic burial and urn fields in South India; Prof. V. G. Childe in 'Man, for 1945 p. 13 ff. for the disposal of corpses in Paleolithic, Neolithic and Bronze ages and Prof. E. O. James in 'Christian Myth and Ritual', chap. VII on 'Last rites.'

541a. सत्याबृहत्ते निश्चायति वर्षांश शृङ्खला तत्त्व । आदिवर्त्तम ॥ अविनाशय ॥ वर्षार्य ॥ वर्षार्य वर्षार्य ॥ हार्य कुण्डम प्राणशुल्कस्थः प्राणविवर्तनस्त्रयस्मानसः। तरो भाषार्यितस्य भाषा: ॥
garlands, all musical instruments and five hundred suits of apparel, the Mallas passed seven days in paying homage to the body of the Buddha that lay in the sala grove with dancing, hymns, music, garlands and perfumes, in making canopies of their garments, that on the 7th day they carried the body of the Blessed One to the south but owing to a miracle (described in sections 29–32) they carried it through the city by the north gate and laid the body to the east (the general rule was that a dead body was not to be carried through the middle of a village, and was to be carried to the south but as Buddha was so extraordinary and holy the above was allowed to be done). The body of the Buddha was then wrapped in a new cloth, then with cotton wool, then in a new cloth and so on till 500 layers of cloth and cotton wool covered the body. The body was then placed in an oil vessel of iron which was covered with another oil vessel of iron. Then a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes was built upon which the body was placed. Then Mahākassapa and five hundred brethren accompanying him arranged their robes on one shoulder (representing the way in which the sacred thread is arranged among the brāhmaṇas), bowed down with clasped hands, went round the body reverently thrice. The body was then burnt and only bones remained. Then the narrative states that Ajātashatru, king of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vesāli and several others claimed portions of the relics of the Buddha. Then the relics were divided into eight parts. Those who received them built mounds (Thūpas) over the relics and the Moriyas who got only embers also built a Thūpa over them and a brāhmaṇa Dona (Droṇa) built a mound over the jar (kumbha) in which the bones were collected. Mr. Rhys Davids remarks (S. B. E. vol. XI Introduction p. XLV) 'though funerals are naturally not infrequently mentioned in the historical books and in the Birth stories there is nowhere any reference to a recognised mode of performing any religious worship'. It will be noticed that the Buddhist ritual 542, though simple, agrees closely with some of the rules of Āśv. gr.

542. Vide Fleets' papers in J. R. A. S. for 1906 pp 655–671 and 381–913 on the disposal of the bones and ashes of Buddha based on the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, the Divyāvadāna, Fa Hian's work, the Sūmakādāvilāsini and other writings. He therein states his view that the Piprahva relic vase, on which there is an inscription that is the oldest Indian Inscription found up to date (it is about 375 B.C.) and in which 700 articles were

(Continued on the next page)
After the relatives (sons and the like) of a deceased person have offered water, have taken a bath and after they emerge from the water (of a river or the like) and are sitting on a plot of soft green grass, elderly persons should talk to them (in order to lessen their grief) about ancient narratives (Yāj. III. 7 and G. P. S. I. 4.2.543). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 22–53 contain a long disquisition on the grip that Kāla (Time, Death) has on everybody including even Indra, gods, dailyas, great kings and sages, how everyone that is born is sure to die (i.e. Death is inevitable), and how no one (except the wife) can follow the departed on his journey to the other world, how the good actions and bad actions will accompany the spirit of the dead, how śrāddha confers great benefit on the departed; it winds up that therefore the surviving relatives should offer śrāddha and give up lamentations that help no one, that it is dharma that alone follows the soul through his wanderings 544. Yāj. III. 8–11 (=Garuḍapuraṇa II. 4. 81–84) are verses in a similar strain and are intended to serve the same purpose. They are: 'He, who seeks everlastingness in this human life that is as devoid of strength as the stock of a plantain plant, and that is as inconstant as a bubble of water, is a deluded person. What is the use of lamentation if the body, created out of the five elements by reason of actions performed in a former life, returns to those five elements? The earth, the ocean and the gods

(Continued from the last page)

found, enshrines the relics, not of the Bhagavān Buddha, but of his kinsmen. Fleet further refers to the tradition that the great emperor Aśoka dug up seven out of the eight mounds of the relics of Buddha and transferred almost all their contents to 84000 boxes of gold and silver and distributed them throughout India and built monuments (stūpas) over them. Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (pp. 78–80), after stating that deceased persons of distinction either by birth or wealth or official status or as public teachers were cremated and the ashes were buried under a tope (Pāli 'thūpa'), remarks 'The dead bodies of ordinary people were disposed of in a unique way. They were put away in a public place. There as a rule the bodies or the remains of the pyre were not buried but left to be destroyed by birds or beasts or dissipated by the process of natural decay'.

543. शोकतत्त्वाय कुलपालीकाभामानिः सातिकाभिः कथाभिः दुःशै।। झुकतिमि झाला भोहुव्राम्ब बनासिः सौत्तमपिनिमोद्दयः I. 4. 2.

544. It may be noted that Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 29. 48–49 and 51–53 are the same or almost the same as Bhagavadgītā II. 27, 28, 13, 23–23 respectively. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 47 (yathā dhenukasahāresasū &c.) is the same as Sāntiparva 181. 16, 187.27 and 323.16 and Viṣṇudharmottara II. 78. 27; and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20.41 is the same as Sānti 175. 15 and 322. 73. The कठप्र -शह (झुख्यं pp.91–97) quotes ताक्ष (III. 7.11). विस्मुं 20.22–53 and नीतिः II. 13, 28.
are destined to go to destruction (at some future date when pralaya takes place). How is it possible that the world of mortals which is (evanescent) like foam will not meet with destruction? As the departed spirit, being helpless, has to swallow the tears and phlegm cast by kinsmen, they should not weep but should perform (obsequial) rites according to their ability.' Gobhīlasaṃrta III. 39 urges 'do not lament for what is perishable and what is the characteristic (destiny) of all beings. Exert yourselves in the performance of meritorious acts which will accompany you.' Gobhila then quotes Yāj. III. 8–10 and one verse from the Mahābhārata 544a viz. 'All collections are to end in dissipation, all rise is to end in fall, all unions in separation and life in death'. Aparārka quotes the Rāmāyaṇa and Vāsudeva's words from the Śalyaparva to Dhṛtarāṣṭra on the death of Duryodhana. The Par. M. I. 2 pp. 293–93, the Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 205–206 and several other works quote the verses of Viṣṇu, Yāj. and Gobhila.

The Garudapurāṇa here (II. 4. 91–100) waxes eloquent over the immolation of a wife on her husband's funeral pyre, over the miraculous power of a pativṛtā, and states that a brāhmaṇa woman should not burn herself apart from her husband's body (or after he is cremated), but that kṣatriya and other women may do so, that the practice of satī is common to all women even including chāndāla women, but pregnant women or those that have young children should not do so and that a woman does not become free from the liability to be born again and again as a woman until she becomes a Sati.

After listening to the philosophical discourse of elders the relatives return to their house, placing children in front and standing at the door of the house, they with minds under control bite the leaves of the nimba tree, perform uśamana, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard; then they should enter their house after slowly (firmly) planting their foot on a stone. According 545 to Śaṅkha the relatives should touch the tendrils of Dūrvā, fire and a bull, should offer a pīṇḍa to the departed at

---

544a. सर्वे क्षान्त्वा निकप्य: पति|न्त: सुकुक्ष्यस:। संयोगा किपप्राप्ता मन्त्रानं च जीवितस:। This is śāhṣṭigīr 331.20 (in 330. 20 in Citraśāla edition).

545. दुर्संसार|निन्ध्य दुष्पच: बालस्य प्रेमार्थ यिन्येन हस्त: परागविषदुः। मन्त्र q, by सिन्ह. on वा. III. 13. परा. मा. I. 2 p. 293.
the door of the house and then enter it. Baijavāpa⁵⁴⁶ q. by Śuddhātattva prescribes the mantras to be recited in touching tāmi, the stone (aśmā), fire and provides further that a cow and a goat should be touched holding fire between themselves and these animals; food should be purchased or obtained from another's house, it should be of one kind only without salt, that they should for one day eat only by day and stop all actions for three days. Yāj. III. 14 prescribes that the actions prescribed by him in III. 12 for relatives (viz. biting nimba leaves up to entering the house) must be done by others who, though no relatives, carried the corpse or decked it &c.

The Śāń. Śr. IV. 15.10, the Āśv. gr. IV. 4.17–27, Baud. P. S. I. 12.10, Kauśikāsūtra 82.33–35 and 42–47, Pār. gr. III. 10, Āp. Dh. S. I. 3.10.4–10, Gaut. Dh. 14.35–36 Manu V. 73, Vās. 4.14–15, Yāj. III. 16–17, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19.14–17, Saṁvarta 39–43, Śaṅkha 15.25, Garuḍasūrāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa chap. 5.1–5) and others lay down several rules for those (both men and women) who have lost a near sapinda by death to be observed immediately after they return from the cremation and for three more days.⁵⁴⁷ The Śāń. Śr. provides that they should sleep on the bare ground (not on a cot), they should subsist on sacrificial food, they should give up the performance of their usual religious duties (except in relation to the vedic fires) for one night, three nights or nine nights or till the day of the collection of the bones. The Āśv. gr. (IV. 4.17–24) provides these observations viz. 'Let them not cook food during that night, let them subsist on bought food or on food received from others,

⁵⁴⁶. शममहान्नमेच्छ शाच पार्ष शममलिति अम्नमहान्नमेच्छ शिष्योदश्चामलिति अतिनर्मि:।
शमममलिति स्यायिति न्यैत्तिक अन्तर्या यामण्यमेतस्नत्ते। क्रिया उपयोग्या या यायपुरुषें कालमंडयनकारां देवा ओषध्युर्व निरूपंचम आएमोऽपरंन्तः । बैज्ञाणिक अनुसूचित अवधारपत्र (पुष्पिक्ष पृ. 100), शूचित्तत्त्व पृ. 319, the शूचित्तत्त्व itself being q. by लिप्यादिकसु (III. p. 580 (which reads लम्बा याम्येकोदरका)).

⁵⁴⁷. अव: यादव यववृद्धयति नमुन्हं च करण्ण वेदांवनामेकराष्ट्रें निरायुें नरायुं या, वासवपमाधवतातः। शां. श्री IV. 15.10:-नामानी निविध्यं जुष्ट हुजारस्तरावनः
मोऽजारस्तरावन खल्लान्वयं दारके दारके सेवकेर सरस्तरावन पावन महान्या हुजारस्तरावन प्रकीर्णमाचारावन देवारावन नामानी । शां. श्री I. 12.10.: न साधारणसम्बलितामि। निरायुं निविधज्ञातनामेऽपि। हायारां चेके। अया एवाया छुन्ते। पार. श्री III. 10 (ascribed to पिन्निकर्यानि निःसारनि. on श्री. III. 17): उभयम दशहाणां दशमहाणं न भुवर्ते। दुश्चर्यो दृश्यमो दृश्यमं दृश्यमेऽपि | cited as यद्य in the अर्यस्त्रय p. 892, परा. मा. I. 2. p. 211. Aparārka and others explain that the cessation of homa refers to सांत्रा and not to स्रवित्ता homa. The last verse is ascribed to यद्य by मिन्ति. on श्री. III. 17, where it adds the half verse 'दुश्चर्यो' to कुर्हात्वमकाश्च महामहामात्री। The विश्वेषणम III. 13.18 reads भूतंन्योभोगसाहि भुतंन्योभोगयुं...निविधं.
let them eat no mineral salt or ordinary \textsuperscript{548} salt for three nights, let them optionally avoid for twelve nights the distribution of gifts and the study of vedic texts if one of the principal gurus (father, mother or the teacher who performed upanayana and taught the whole Veda) dies. Pä. gr. III. 10 adds that they should remain chaste, eat food only once in the day and that they should not repeat Veda study, and should give up the daily obligatory duties except those connected with Vedic fires. Manu (V. 73) adds that they should not eat flesh for three days. Vas. (4.14–15) lays down that the relatives who returned from the cemetery should sit down for three days on mats and fast, that if they are unable (to fast for three days) they should subsist on food bought in the market or obtained unasked. Yāj. III. 17 and Pār. III. 10 \textsuperscript{549} provide that for the night they should put milk and water in an earthen vessel in the open space (on a śikṣa) with the words ‘O departed one! bathe here (in the water) and drink this milk’. Yāj. III. 17, Paśṭhinasi, Manu V. 84, Par. gr. III. 10, and others state that the relatives of the departed should perform their own daily rites to be performed in the śrauta fires (such as Agnihotra and Darśapūrṇāmāsa) and in the smārta fire (such as morning and evening homa) on account of the peremptory dictates of the Veda (such as ‘one should perform Agnihotra as long as one lives’). The commentators have added several limitations and restrictions. The Mit.\textsuperscript{550} on Yāj. III. 17 states that, as Manu V. 84 only prohibits the stopping of the rites in (Vedic and Smārta) fires, such religious duties as the five daily Mahâyajñas are excluded, that Vaiśvadeva, though performed in fire, is excluded because there is an express text of Samvarta a brāhmaṇa should be without Vaiśvadeva for ten days (after the death of a sapinda), that the Śrauta and Smārta rites should be got performed by another, as Pāraskara (III. 10 ‘anya etani kuryaḥ) expressly lays down. Only nitya and naimithika acts to be performed in Vedic and Smārta fires are allowed and so kāmya rites cannot be performed. Even at present Agnihotris

\textsuperscript{548} For the different explanations of ‘kṣāra-lavaṇa’ vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 304 n. 723.

\textsuperscript{549} चेताष्ट्र स्नात्शुद्भक्ष्य धार्यते विच बोधिति कौदे। परि. स. III. 10.

\textsuperscript{550} यत्रकृत्तम् स्थायम् सत्थपालितानि विशिष्टै: हति यथाय वस्ताः सत्यभासिः विशिष्टः। यथात् तथा चालितोपपद्ये कृष्णद्। यथात् सत्यभास चालितस्त गैलितम् चतुर्मिं प्रयत्नस्य कुलम् दूरे ध्याय- सत्यभासिक्ति वै खण्डितस्सक्ति। स्मित: on या. III. 17. यत्रकृत्तम् स्थायम्: is मानिते- रूपं III. 60. Vide तिथिपुरा या. III. 13. 18 ‘ज्ञाते विनिवेददिः स्त्राः: स्त्रास्यग्नाम् निमित्ते’.
perform their śrauta nitya homa during days of impurity themselves, though some get it performed by another. (Vide Yaj. III. 17, Manu V. 84). Although there is a text of Gobhilasmṛti (III. 60) prohibiting the performance of sandhyā, yet relying on a sūtra of Paithinasi the Mit. says that a man can offer water to the Sun in worship; others like the Smṛtimuktāpaha (p. 478) say that sandhyā mantras may be revolved in the mind, except the prāṇyāma mantras. This is followed in modern times in many parts of India. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22.6 prescribes that in impurity due to birth or death homa (Vaiśvadeva), giving and accepting gifts and the study of Veda cease. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 14.44 appears to hold that a brāhmaṇa is not affected by impurity on birth and death for the purposes of Veda study. On the other hand Saṁvarta (43) affirms that on the days of impurity on birth and death there is no performance of the five Mahāyajñas nor of Veda study. The Nityācara-paddhati p. 544 states that even in āśauca the thousand names of Viṣṇu may be recited.

Asthisāṅcavyana or Saṁcavyana means that rite in which the (charred) bones (of the cremated person) are collected. This rite is dealt with in many sūtra and smṛti works, such as Śān. Śr. IV. 15. 12-18, Sat. Śr. 28. 3, Āsv. gr. IV. 5. 1-18, Gaut. P. S. I. 5, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 10-12, Baud. P. S. I. 14, Kauśika-sūtra 82. 29-32, Viṣṇu Dh. Sūtra V. 7, Yama 87-88, Saṁvarta 38, Gobhil-smṛti III. 54-59 (q. by Hāralatā p. 183). There is great divergence of views about the day on which this was to be done. For example, Sat. Śr. 28. 3. 1 provides: 552 ‘bones are collected on the next day (after cremation) or on the 3rd, 5th or 7th, Saṁvarta (verse 38) and Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 5. 15) prescribe that collection of bones should be made on the 1st, 3rd, 7th or 9th and (particularly) on the 4th by twice-born persons. The Vāmanapurāṇa (14. 97-98) allows it on the 1st, 4th or 7th day. Yama (87) requires the relatives to collect bones from the 1st to the 4th day after cremation and also provides (verse 88)

551. पञ्चवज्‌विवर्त द न कुष्णवतुद्वुज्ञनमो: | इसहातु परे सत्वविषियशः प्रवृत्तिः संपर्य। 43.

552. अस्तीत्रस्तुतीपरः पञ्चवज्त्र सत्तप्त सर्वस्य सहित्यसंपर्य। सत्तप् श्री। 28. 3. 1।
अन्य सत्तप्त घुटे विपर्विन्यासं विद्वर्त द्वन्द्रोभ ब। श्री। विष। 1. 5।। मनोहारिः जनोभे वा सत्तगे मात्स्यकालिनौ। ऊपरी श्रवणसत्तसः सविनयाः भवामुक्तरण। 114. 97-98.
that the four varpas should respectively perform sañcayana on the 4th, 5th, 7th and 9th day. The Āśv. gr. S. IV. 5. 1 states that sañcayana should be performed after the 16th day from cremation in the dark half, but on uneven līthis (i.e. 1st, 3rd, 11th, 13th, 15th) and on a nakṣatra which bears a name not applicable to two or more nakṣatras (i.e. except on the two Āśādhas, two Phalguns and two Bhādrapadās). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19, 10, Vaik. Smārta-sūtra V. 7, Kauś. 82, 29, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13. 14, Kārmapurāṇa (uttara) 23 and a few other works lay down that sañcayana must be done on the 4th day after cremation. The various texts differ a good deal in details. The following is the procedure in the Āśv. gr. IV. 5:—The bones of a male should be collected into an urn that has no special marks (protuberances), those of a woman in an urn that has protuberances but no other special marks. Aged persons, odd in number 553 not being together with women, (i.e. not as a mixed assemblage) collect the bones. The performer walks thrice round the spot (where the body was burnt) with his left side turned towards the spot, sprinkles it with a śanī branch milk mixed with water with a verse ‘sītkī’ (Rg. X. 16, 14). With the thumb and the 4th finger they (gatherers) should put each single bone into the urn without making a rattling noise (of the bones in the urn), the bones of the feet being taken first, those of the head last. Having well gathered the bones and having purified them with a winnowing basket (i.e. removing the dust attaching to them) they should put the urn in a pit at a place where the waters from different sides do not flow together except rain water with the verse ‘upasarpa’ (Rg. X. 18, 10) and he should throw earth (into the pit) with the following verse (Rg. X. 18, 11). After having thrown (earth) he should repeat the next verse (Rg. X. 18, 13). Then covering (the mouth of the urn) with a lid with the mantra ‘ut te stabhnāmi’ (Rg. X. 18, 13) (he fills up the pit). Then without looking back they return (towards the house), bathe in water and then offer śrāddha to him alone (the departed). Dr. B. N. Datta in his paper ‘Vedic funeral customs and Indus Valley culture in ‘Man in India’, vol. 16

553. The सिटकी (p. 184) explains अज्ञो सित्तक्षणः मवसः (in Āśv. S.) as ‘निष्कुरु विवक्त विवक्तविनी विन्युः पद दुष्पां द्वायणं द्वार्यां वत्सा विवण्य एव दुष्पाः मवसः प्रवस्तः’. It is probable that women also accompanied the cortege to the cemetery in ancient times, that gradually they ceased to do so and by the time of the Haralata only men comprised the funeral procession and so it explained the words of Āśv. as above.
pp. 223–307 regards (p. 285) Rg. X. 18 as a hymn dealing with burial of the whole body (and not of ashes), while he admits (p. 287) that Rg. X. 16 is a cremation hymn. I dissent from him for various reasons; the most important is that if his theory be correct a period of several centuries must be postulated between the two hymns. This is inadmissible.

The Kauśikasūtra (82. 29–32) prescribes certain details differently. It says that the bones are collected with A. V. 18. 2. 24, 26, then they are consigned to a jar over which all fragrant powders are scattered, then the jar is raised with the Utthāpant verses and carried with the verses called Harīnis (i.e. A. V. 18. 2. 11–18). He (the performer) deposits (in the earth the urn) at the root of a tree with the verse ‘mā tvā’ (A. V. 18. 2. 25 ‘May the tree not injure thee all round, may not the wide goddess Earth also injure thee’). 554

The other sūtras present several variations which are passed over here, excepting one or two matters. The Sat. Śr. provides that the twig should be of the Udumbara tree, that the bones are collected by women of the family of the deceased (his wife and others) odd in number (five or more), or other women (in the absence of women of the family). A woman who is not likely to have a child should tie in her left hand a Bṛhatī fruit with two threads, blue and red in colour, should step on a stone with her left foot, collect the bones first from the teeth or head with the mantra ‘uttīṣṭhata’ (Tai. A. VI. 4. 2) and she should deposit those bones in a jar or garment, then a second woman of the same type collects bones from the shoulders or arms, a third woman from the sides or hips, a fourth from the thighs or legs, and a fifth from the feet. They or more women collect the bones completely. The urn is deposited at the root of a śani or paluṣa tree.

In modern times, particularly in towns and cities, the collection of bones has to be done immediately after cremation. The Antyesti-paddhati closely follows the procedure prescribed in the Āsv. gr. quoted above. It says: the performer goes to the place of cremation, sips water, mentions the time and place, makes a saṅkalpa (declaration) that he will perform the collec-

554. मा से मने यस्ये अष्टभिषोत्सवी शिर्षकालानि । पश्चातःपन्यः समस्तेऽसृजेऽपान्नेर्विष्कृतामार्गमिह गान्योत्साहनः । मा तस्य इति हीहृदयुवात्सुनिदानसे । काशीकापूरुपस्य 82. 29–32. It appears that the sūtras are not properly arranged by Bloomfield. They should be read as, etc. For the utthāpanī verses see n. 474. The śrīnīpati verses from अधसेववः are 18.2. 11–18 and are the same as Rg. X. 14.10–12 and X. 154. 1–5.
tion of the bones of the departed naming him and his gotra. He walks thrice round the place of cremation with his left towards it and sweeps it with a šami branch and sprinkles it with milk mixed with water with the mantra ‘sitike’ (Rg. X. 16. 14). Then old men odd in number with the performer collect the bones (as stated by Āsv. gr. above) and place them in a new jar and if they are of a woman in a jar with protuberances. They also winnow the ashes with a śūṭpa and place in the jar even small bones and throw the ashes into the Ganges. Then at some time other than the rainy season a pit should be dug in a pure spot whereon water would not flow and the performer deposits the jar in the pit with the mantra ‘approach this mother, Earth’ (Rg. X. 18. 10). With Rg. X. 18. 11, he throws earth in the pit all round the jar and murmurs with folded hands the mantra (Rg. X. 18. 12) and he closes the jar with a new earthen disk with the verse Rg. X. 18. 13. Then he should put earth on the jar in such a way that it may not be seen by anybody and without looking back should go elsewhere and bathe. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 586) expressly states that the procedure for the collection of bones may be gathered from one’s sūtra or from the work of Bhāṭṭa (i.e. Nārāyaṇa, Kamalākara’s grandfather).

The Visnuḥdharmaśūtra (19.11–12) and Anu. 26.32 state that the collected bones should be cast in Ganges water, since as many particles of the bones of a man remain in Ganges water for so many thousands of years he dwells in heaven. It was provided in the Purāṇas that a virtuous son, brother or daughter’s son or a relative on the father’s or mother’s side should cast the bones in the Ganges, that one not so related should not do it and that if he does it he has to perform cāndrāyana práyaścitta. Even in modern times many Hindus take the charred bones of their parents or other dear relatives to the Ganges at Prayāga (Allahabad) or some other holy river 554a or cast them into the sea. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 587) quotes an elaborate rite of casting the ashes in the Ganges from Saunaka. It is briefly as follows: The performer should go out of the village, bathe with clothes on, sprinkle the earth where the ashes are deposited with the Gāyatrī and the other mantras usually repeated over

554 a. The śruti. (Aṣṭāṣṭa) p. 190 quotes several verses on this point.

तत्र ज्ञानिनः। धार्मिकः सेतुपथे नोकर्यं च पुष्करे। अस्वस्य विशेषः स सूतोऽसुतिनः। मायायां। श्रुव्येलिङ्गम्। ग्रहणं च ब्रम्हचे च वेदोऽवरोऽवरोऽर्थवतः। अर्थशीरो विश्ववतः तववधस्य बिभण्डे भक्तू। नितिकोणात्मकेऽति तत्र श्रवण्यं नैस्यायाम्यः। इति। योगमान्वकः। ग्रहणं प्रहार्यर्यं च वानस्यं च शतांतिः। सरस्वती विशेषः धार्मिनः विशेषः॥.
pañcagavya. With the four mantras ‘upasarpa’ (Rg. X. 18.10-13) he should respectively pray to the earth, then dig it, take out the earth, and then the bones. Then he should bathe and purify the bones by touching the bones again and again and repeating the mantras ‘eto nvindram stavama śuddham &c.’ (Rg. VIII. 95. 7-9). Then he should bathe with pañcagavya and become pure. Then he should bathe ten times with cow’s urine, cow’s dung, cow’s milk, curds, clarified butter, water in which kuṣas have been dipped, ashes (of sacred fires), earth, honey and water. Then he should sprinkle (with kuṣas) water on the bones with the mantras, viz. Rg. I.22.16. Rg. VIII. 95.7-9, 555 Rg. VII. 56.12-14, Rg. X. 126.1-8, Rg. X. 119.1-13, Rg. IX. 1.1-10 (called Pāvamāṇi verses), Rg. X. 128.1-9, Rg. I. 43.1-9 (a hymn to Rudra); then he should offer a hiranya āśūdhā for the deceased, offer pīṇḍa to him and perform tarpāṇa with sesame. Then he should cover the bones in seven ways viz. by deer-skin, woollen blanket, dārbhas, cow’s hair, hempen cloth, birch leaf and palm leaf. He should cast among the bones pieces of gold and silver, pearls, coral and sapphire for the purification of the bones, then he should offer into fire 108 oblations of clarified butter and sesame with the hymn beginning with ‘udrātām’ (Rg. X. 15). Then he should cast the bones in holy water; thereby he does not incur the fault of touching an unclean object. While answering the calls of nature or performing ācamana one should not hold the bones.

The Nīrpayasindhu adds (p. 588) that there is no asthisāncayana for one whose upanayana had not been performed.

The Āśv. gr. IV.6, the Sat. Sr. 28.4, Śaṅ. Śr. 4.6 (called paridhikarma) and some others prescribe a Śānti rite after collection of the charred bones of a deceased person. The Baud. P. S. (II. 3.3) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19.19 appear to prescribe the Śānti rite after the ten days of impurity have expired (‘daśarātra śaucam kṛtvā sāntih ’). It is described by Āśv. gr. as follows: They who have lost a guru (father or mother) by death should perform on the new moon day an expiatory ceremony. Before sunrise they should carry fire together with its ashes and with its receptacle to the south with the half verse ‘I send away the flesh-devouring Agni’ (Rg. X. 16. 9). Having cast that fire down at a place where four roads meet or somewhere else, they

555. It should be noticed that in Rg. VIII. 95.7-9 the word ‘śuddha’ (pure) occurs thirteen times and hence it is appropriate that those verses are employed as purificatory ones. Similarly, in Rg. VII. 56.12 the word ‘suci’ (pure) occurs six times.
walk round it thrice, with their left side turned to it and beating their left thighs with the left hand. They should then return home without looking back, bathe in water, have their hair, beards and hair on the body and nails cut, furnish themselves with new jars, pots, vessels for rinsing the mouth, with garlands of Śānti flowers, with fuel of Śānti wood, with two pieces of Śānti wood for kindling fire\(^{556}\) and with branches for encircling the fire, with bull's dung and hide, fresh butter, a stone and as many bunches of kuśa grass as there are young women (in the house). At the time of the Agnihotra (in the afternoon) he should kindle fire (by means of the arāps) with the half verse 'Here may this other Jātaavedas' (Rg. X. 16.9 latter half). Keeping the fire burning they sit till night silence falls, repeating tales of old men (of the family) and stories of auspicious contents, Itihāsas and Purāṇas. When all sounds have ceased or when the others (members of the deceased's family) have gone to their houses or resting place, (the performer) should pour out a continuous stream of water beginning at the south side of the door with the verse (Rg. X. 53.6) 'spreading the thread follow the light of the world and go round the house ending at the north side of the door. Then having placed the fire and spread to the west of it a bull's hide with neck to the east, with the hair outside, he should cause the people of the house (including women) to step on that hide with the verse 'Arise to long life' \(^{557}\) (Rg. X. 18.6). He should place twigs round the fire with 'Here do I deposit an encircling thing' (Rg. X. 18.4). Having placed a stone to the north of the fire with the words 'May they place a mountain between themselves and death' (Rg. X. 18.4 last pādā) and having sacrificed with four verses 'Go hence, O Death' (Rg. X. 18.1–4), he should look at his people with the verse 'as days follow each other' (Rg. X. 18.5). The young women (belonging to the house) should with each hand separately with the thumb and 4th finger salve (at one and the same time) their eyes with fresh butter by means of young darbhā blades and cast

\(^{556}\) Nārāyaṇa explains that the fire means ordinary kitchen fire and he seems to be right in spite of Oldenberg's note to the contrary on p. 246 (of S. B. E. vol. 29). The deceased sacrificer is cremated with his iṣṭu fires (vide Āśv. gr. IV. 4) and śmaṛta fire (if any) and on his death the Śāntikarma is performed by the son or other relative who may have no consecrated fires at all or, if he has, he cannot cast them away as long as he lives. The Com. on Sat. Sr. 28. 4, 1 states that it is the adhvaryu priest that kindles the fire and not he who performed the cremation.

\(^{557}\) Most of these mantras occur also in Tai. Ā. VI. 10.
away the blades turning their faces away. The performer should look at them while they are saluting their eyes, with the verse ‘these women, being no widows and having good husbands’ (Rg. X. 18.7). The former should first touch the stone with ‘the stream containing stones flows’ (Rg. X. 53.8). After that, stationing himself to the north-east, while others go round with the fire, bull-dung and a continuous stream of water he should, after repeating the three verses (āpo hi śṭhā, Rg. X. 9.1–3), murmur the verse ‘these have led round the cows’ (Rg. X. 155.5). A tawny-coloured bull should be led round. They then sit down at a place where they like to stop, having put on fresh unwashed garments and they sit there till sunrise avoiding sleep. After sunrise, having murmured the hymns sacred to the sun and auspicious hymns, having prepared food and made oblations with the hymn beginning ‘May he burn away evil from us’ (Rg. I. 97.1–8), verse by verse, having given to the brāhmaṇas to eat, he should cause them to pronounce auspicious words. A cow, a cup of metal and a fresh unworn garment are the sacrificial fee for each of the brāhmaṇas.

A few details may be added from other sūtras. The Sat. Śr. (28.4.1) provides that the Śānti is performed on the 10th day after cremation by a priest, that in the folded hands of the wives (of the members of the family) he puts the remains of the material used for oblations with the verse ‘these women, not being widows’ (Rg. X. 18.7=Tai. Ā. VI. 10.2), that the priest plants in the earth the stalk of a plant with the verse ‘yathā tvam’ (Tai. Ā. VI. 10.2) 558, that after they return home, they cook goat flesh and boil yava grains and eat them and then may occupy couches and cots (i.e. give up the observances of mourning).

Interesting information is furnished by the Śat. Br. about graves (XIII. 8. 1–4) and Kāt. Śr. 559 It is said in Śat. Br. that

---

558. The mantra is very significant, यथा त्वस्त्रिनिष्ठि अपेक्षे प्रातिपादित्रि अधि। एव द्रष्टम उदयाओत्ती दिगिरिया कत्साज प्रवर्ज्जन्य ॥ तै। आ। VI. 10. 2.

559. अपेक्षा कुमार्य निधिसंशोधितः निधिसंशोधितः हविपालितः युवा वधानां दोमपालितक्षणात्मसम्मिकतेन इति। सत्याः श्री 28. 4, 28; almost the same words occur in नी नि. ५, २, II. 3. 2. This passage refers to four modes of the disposal of the charred bones viz. burial in the earth of the urn for women and men who had not consecrated śrauta fires, depositing the bones alone on the earth for him who performs havir-yajñas (in which only boiled rice and clarified butter are offered, vide Gaut., 8. 20.), re-cremation for one who had offered soma sacrifice and building a brick or clod structure for him who

(Continued on the next page)
the grave or monument should not be built too soon after death, lest he (the performer) freshen up the sin of the deceased; that he should make it a long time after and when people do not even remember the years (that have elapsed since the decease). He should make it in uneven years and under a single nakṣatra (i.e. containing a single star such as Cītra and Puṣya, and not dual such as Pūnarvasu and Viśākhā or plural such as Kṛṣṭikā) and on the New Moon day. Let him make it in autumn or in Māgha or in summer. The sepulchral mound should be four cornered, because the people who are worshippers of gods (or godly) make their burial mounds four-cornered, while those who are followers of Asuras, the Easterns and such like people, make them round. As to the choosing of the ground, the Śat. Br. states several views viz. he makes it on ground sloping towards the north or, according to some, to the south; but the Śat. Br. disapproves of both the views and prescribes that he should make the burial mound on any level ground where the waters flowing from a southerly direction come to the east and stand still without dashing forward and on such a ground one may make it (burial mound). Let him make it on a pleasant and peaceful spot, but not on a road nor in an open place lest he should make the deceased's sin manifest. It should have the sun shining on it (at mid-day). It should not be made at a place.

(Continued from the last page)

had performed the solemn rite of Agnicayana. Modes of urn burial, earth burial and re-cremation resemble the funeral customs of the copper age folk of the lower Indus at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Vide Memoir No 31 of the Archaeological Survey of India by Ramprasad Chanda at pp. 13-14.

560. अधासे इम्झाणी कूर्णिति । तहे न लिये कुरादः। नेशमञ्चब रात्तानीति चिर एव कुर्णिन्यायम पस्ति करोति यथ समा नाटु च न स्मरेदुः। वरहुम्रूः। अचुमुः। सवस्तेन्दुः कुर्णिति । एकमन्न्दे अमावस्यायम्। शास्त्रिय कुर्णिति । मापे या मा नेदेष्य द्रव्यिति तिन्याचे पा नोदेय नीतीरामा हतां । चाहुः। चाहुः। अतर्माय बौध: भजबुदायुगायमे तत्। प्रामाणानि कुर्णितः या अरायः। मात्यास्त्रध्वरे भुरिम्भारायः। अराधितानि उद्योगिनाचे निरोजितामे। करोति । दोषम्यायाने कुर्णितः । द्वारेष र्याणपायः। दृष्टिकात्। दुर्मञ्चयां तथा र्याणवाच्यायम्। अन्योपयायेऽकुर्णितः। कर्मिति कुर्णितैः। के नै सर्दिस्य ध्वरस्ति हैं। सर्दिस्य महान्याति नादेष्यानि कुर्णितासासे नेविरेष्य करारामाणि । दृष्टिकार्योऽवेश्य नै। नात्स्यिन्यासा। नात्स्यिन्यासा। नात्स्यिन्यासा। नात्स्यिन्यासा। नात्स्यिन्यासा। नात्स्यिन्यासा। नात्स्यिन्यासा। नात्स्यिन्यासा।
where it would be visible from the village and there should be charming objects to its west (woods, gardens &c.). If there be no charming objects there should be waters to its west or north. He makes it on salt (barren) soil, on such ground as abounds in roots. Let him not make it near where grows the Bhūmipāśa plant or where reeds grow, or Āśvagandhā or Adhyapāḍā, or Prśniparṇī grows. He should not make it near an aśvattha tree or near a vibhitaka tree or a tilvaka, a sphūrjaka or a haridru or nyagrodha tree or other trees that have an evil name (like śleśmātaka or kovidāra). For one who has performed Agnicayana, he makes a tomb after the manner of the fire altar. One must not make it too large lest he should make the sin (of the deceased) large. He should make it just a man’s size, broader behind (to the west) and broader on the north side. He encloses it with cords twisted in the non-sunwise way. He then bids them to cut out the earth which would be just sufficient for making the mound of a man’s size.

The Kāṭ. Śr. (21. 3. 1 and 6) closely follows the above directions contained in the Śat. 561 Br. The Sat. Śr. 29. 1,2 provides that when the day of cremation is not known or remembered one may erect a mound over the bones (with clods of earth or bricks) on the New Moon day that comes immediately after the Full Moon day of Māgha, Phālguna, Caitra, Vaisākha or of the summer months (Jyeṣṭha and Āśādha).

The Śat. Br. (XIII. 8. 2–4) pursues the subject of sepulchral monuments as follows: Godly people make their sepulchres so as not to be separate from the earth; while those who are of the Asura stamp, the Easterns and others, make the sepulchral mounds so as to be separate from the earth, either on a stone basin or a similar thing. He then encloses it with an undefined number of stones silently. He then sweeps the sepulchral site with a palāśa branch with (Vāj. S. 35.1 ‘May the niggardly god-haters go away’) and prays that Yama may grant him (the deceased) an abode. He throws out the branch to the south side. He then yokes the team of six oxen to the plough on the south side or on the north side, as he chooses. Having given the order ‘Yoke’ he (the performer) utters the

561 The grave is to be constructed in such a way that the four corners would lie in the direction of the four quarters, as Kāṭ. Śr. (21. 3. 28–29) states ‘dikṣrakta puruṣamātram mīmāte uttarataḥ prthu paścāca’.
Having turned round the plough from right (south side) to the north, he ploughs the first furrow with Vāj. S. 35.3 ‘May Vāyu purify’ along the north side towards the west; with ‘May Savitṛ purify’ along the west side towards the south; with ‘Agni’s lustre’ along the south side towards the east; with ‘Sūrya’s brilliance’ along the front side towards the north. Four furrows he ploughs with a Vajus formula. He then ploughs across the body (of the sepulchral site) silently with an undefined number of furrows. He then unfastens the team of oxen. To the right side (south-west) he removes this (the plough and the team).

He then sows seeds of all kinds of herbs with a single verse (Vāj. S. 35.4); for long life he thereby prays for these (the performer’s family) and accordingly each subsequent one of them dies of old age. He then pours out that (jar of bones).

He does so before sunrise so that the sun should rise over him while he is doing it. He does so with Vāj. S. 35.5-6. He then says to some one ‘Proceed in that (southern) direction without drawing breath and having thrown down the jar, return hither without looking behind.’ He then mutters Vāj. S. 35.7. He then arranges the dead man (the bones) limb by limb with Vāj. S. 35.8-9. Now thirteen unmarked bricks each measuring a (human) foot (pada) have been made and are laid down

562. It is not possible, owing to considerations of space, to set out all the verses of the Vāj. S. chap. 35 mentioned as mantras by the Sat. Br. Only a few are set out here in order to show how appropriate they are as referring to the actions prescribed by the Sat Br. Verse 1 first half is ‘अभित्व वन्यं पञ्चायतेण-हुस्न देशीयम्’; सविता ते यारीयम्: पुष्पवाहोत्तकविच्छिदुः। तस्मि हुपक्षतकोकिक्षिता॥

563. The bricks of the fire altar are marked with lines (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p 1248). The bricks in Agnicayana are as long as the foot of the sacrificer. Thereon gods have to be worshipped. Here it is the fathers to be honoured. Throughout Sat. Br. XIII. 8.2-3 a distinction is drawn between what is done for the gods and what is to be done for piths in order to keep the divine distinct from what belongs to the fathers. In Agnicayana a bird-like pattern is the most frequent (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1249). It is hence that the Sat Br. speaks of wings and tails. The heights prescribed for men of the several varnas and for women are symbolic. Ksatriyas, brāhmaṇas and vaśīyas represent the arms, the mouth and thighs of the Purusa (as stated in Rg. X. 90.12). The Kāt. Sr. (21.4 13-14) gives an option in the case of a ksatriya viz, the mound may be as high as the chest or as high as a man with upstretched arms.
silently (and not with mantras as in the case of the Agnicayana). One of the thirteen he places in the middle, with the front towards the east (this represents the trunk); three are placed in front (representing the head); three on the right (that is the right wing); three on the left (that represents the left wing); three behind (representing the tail). He then directs them to bring some soil from a cleft in the ground. Some dig in the intermediate (south-eastern) quarter and fetch it from there; others dig in the south-west and fetch it northwards; he may do as he likes (there is an option). Let him not make the sepulchral mound too large. For a kṣatriya he may make it as high as a man with upstretched arms, for a brāhmaṇa reaching up to the mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a vaiṣya up to the thighs, for a śūdra up to the knee; or let him rather make it so high (for all) as to reach below the knee. While the mound is being made, they hold a bundle of reed grass to the north of it. Let him not throw it down after holding it up or after bringing it, but let him set it up in the house (as it represents offspring). Having prepared it he sows barley grain, thinking ‘May they ward off (yavaya) sin from me!’ He covers it over with Avakā plants in order that there may be moisture (ka or joy) for him and with darbha grass for softness.

They fix pegs round it, a palāśa one in front, a śami one on the north corner, a varāha one behind and a vṛtra ⁵⁶⁴ peg on the right (south corner). On the south side they dig two somewhat curved furrows and fill them with milk and water and they dig seven on the left (north) side and fill them with water for sin not to pass beyond. They throw three stones each into the northern furrows and pass over them with Vāj. S. 35. 10 (= Rg. X. 53. 8). They cleanse themselves with Apāmārga ⁵⁶⁵ plants with Vāj. S. 35.11; they thereby wipe away sin. They bathe at any place where there is water. With Vāj. S. 35.12 he takes water with his joined hands and he throws it in the direction in which he who is hateful may be and thereby overthrows him. ⁵⁶⁶ Having bathed and put on garments that have never yet been washed they hold on to the tail of an ox and return to their

---

⁵⁶⁴. The meaning of Vṛtra-Saṅku cannot be stated. Kāt. Sr. 213.31 reads श्रवण for ह्रवण and the Com. explains ह्रवण as पाषाणह्रवण.
⁵⁶⁵. अपामर्ग विकल्पमन्य कुष्माणपत्रं लिप्य। अपामर्ग लम्बायम् हुः \* वघं। S. 35. 11.
⁵⁶⁶. हुमिलित्वा न आप आपस्य गद्यं हुमिलित्वात् सन्तु होरमयायस्ते स वर्ष्ण्विष्णुः। वघं। S. 35 12.
home. They proceed towards the village muttering Vaj. S. 35.14 (ud vayam). When they have arrived, ointments for their eyes and feet are given to them; such indeed are human means of embellishment and therewith they keep off death from themselves. Then in the house having kindled (domestic) fire and laid enclosing sticks of varana wood round it he offers by means of a srava (spoon) an oblation to Agni Ayusmat. Vaj. S. 35.16 serves 567 as a puromuṣṭya (invitational formula). He then offers with Vaj. S. 35.17. He says this so that Agni may guard and protect these men. The sacrificial fee is an old ox, old barley, old chair with a head cushion. He may give more if he desires. This is the procedure in the case of one who has performed Agnicayana. 568 In the case of him who has not performed Agnicayana, there is the same procedure for selecting a site and the same performance save that of the fire-altar. Having fetched a clod from the boundary he deposits it midway between the sepulchral mound and the village with Vaj. S. 35.15 (iṃam 569 jīvebhyaḥ). He then makes this a boundary between the Fathers and the living, so as not to commingle the two.

The Sat. Śr. 29.1.3 ff. and Baud. P. S. I.17–20 provide a lengthy procedure for erecting a mound over the bones of one who has performed the special rite of agnicayana which is passed over here. In building a mound the urn deposited under a tree is taken out and after the bones are purified in various ways (such as the spilling on them of curds mixed with vajina from a jar, the digging up of the clods by means of a plough to which a certain number of oxen are yoked). The Sat. Śr. (29.1.3–12) deals with one kind of procedure in which there is no dhavana, while 29.1.13–32 deal with the procedure where dhavana is employed and sītras from 33 deal with procedure common to both pākas (viz. one without dhavana and the other with dhavana). The building of a mound with clods (loṣṭačiti) in which there is dhavana is rather an obscure matter in its nature and had some symbolic significance which is now lost. It may be briefly described as follows:— The members of the deceased’s house

567. अयः आशुर्यि पवस आ खोरोजवियि च न:। आरे भावाश हुः जुनास्। वाज. सं. 35.16.

568. आयुक्तानसे हतियाह दुधानो चुतपतीको चुतप्तामिरोधि। दृश्य शीघ्र भू खास गध्य विशेष इनमभिकारितातान्ति स्थाना। वाज. सं. 35.17.

569. हंसं जीवेन्यः परिति दृढासि मेतास्य ख गाढः अर्केतातः। शरी जीवन्त प्रारं:। इत्यर्घरघुरहस्युः वृक्षत विभेन।। वाज. सं. 35.15.
build a shed or a seat for a bed. They drive in the eastern half or middle or western half of it a three-pronged palasha peg. In front of it one born of a śudra woman or a brahmabandhu (a brāhmaṇa only in name) sits down for a dialogue. He asks the principal wife (of the deceased) ‘will you dwell with me.’ That woman replies to him ‘I shall not give (what you ask).’ The same dialogue takes place on the 2nd day. Then on the third day she replies ‘I shall give for one night.’ Or if this peculiar practice (of talking about dhavana, which literally means ‘sexual intercourse’) was intended to last for more days than three she was to give a suitable reply (viz. for three nights or for five nights &c). When the words of the reply are uttered by the wife, the performer deposits the bones (of the deceased) at the root of the peg and places between the three prongs of the peg a jar having a hundred holes at the bottom. The mouth of the jar is covered with a hide and kuśa grass. On that jar he sprinkles curds mixed with vājīna with the mantra ‘Vaiśvānare haviridam’ (Tai. Ā. VI. 6.1). When the liquid oozes from the jar on the bones he invokes the two verses ‘drapṣa-caskanda’ and ‘īmam samudram’ (Tai. Ā. VI. 6). Then the Sat Śr. (39.1. 26–29) provides that four brahmaçarins or other brāhmaṇas, that are pure, tie up their locks on their heads that are to the right and keep dishevelled those on the left side of the head, they strike their right thighs and also the hide that is wound round the jar of bones, fan it with the fringes of their garments, go round the peg thrice with their left side towards the jar and the people living in the same house (with the deceased) and women also do the same,570 that lutes (vina) are played upon and also conches are blown and other instruments like nālika, tūla, panara are beaten and there is also dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments. This practice of dharana (symbolic) may go on for five, seven, nine, eleven days, half a month, a month or a year during which time one has to donate food and money (gold &c.) according to one’s ability or on the last day according to some.571 If one may offer a conjecture, this rite was intended to assure the deceased man (represented by the charred bones) that his wife had remained faithful and

570. Compare कैलिककृति 85.10–11 ‘करये युजास्य देवि तिष्पति: मस्यं महोऽत्तत्वं: परिवल्ल देविणालस्तुलादिनां। एवं मध्यवर्ती अधिष्ठात्रिः सः’; करये युजास्य is अघवैच्छः 18. 3. 17.

571. On एकराजय दुःसामस्य सुनीति (सर्व: अभ. 29. 1. 19.) the वैज्ञानी remarks ‘एतस न ज्ञात कार्यं प्रसूतितायाः’.
unattached to any one else even long after his death. The Baud. P. S. (I. 17.8) also states that female dancers dance in this rite. Various measurements are given in the sūtras for the mounds that are constructed over the bones. Sat. Śr. (29.1,5-6) says 572 that the site of the mound (smaśāṇa-gatana) is five prakramas on all four sides (or six on the east and five in the other directions, acc. to some). The height of the mound is variously given even in the same sūtra. 573 Sat. Śr. states that the height may be two finger-breadths, or three or four or a prādesa (the distance between the thumb and index finger when both are stretched away) or a rītalī (twelve finger-breadths), or it may be up to the knee or thighs or buttocks. The Baud. P. S. I. 18 gives different 574 measurements. It states 'if the mound to be raised is as high as the neck towards the west, then it is up to the navel on the east; if it is as high as the navel on the west, then it is as high as the knee on the east; if up to the knee on the west then on the east it is level with the ankle'. The Kauśikasūtra 575 (85.4-10) gives certain options viz. the mandapa on which the mound is to be erected is either 7, 7, 5, 3 prakramas on the south, north, east and west or 9, 9, 7, 5 on the same sides in order or 11, 11, 9, 7; that in the case of those who worshipped the gods, the length was eleven on all sides; that in the case of the Saunakins the sides (of the mound) are to be measured in odd numbers (of prakramas) and the mounds are either round or four-cornered; that such mounds are seen (in those days) and that the grave built for one who had set up vedic fires was to be of the height of a man with arms upraised. These passages show that the graves were generally

572. अपरात्रेण स्माशानायतनसि निमित्ते पश्चापक्षांश्च स्तवतः। पद पुरातात्त्विकः। सर्वान् ओि 29.1,5-6; the Com. वेदज्ञाति explains 'तथा च पश्चापक्षांश्च स्तवति श्रव्यद्विक्षिते स्तवति कृतं ग्रहणात पेतुके शुल्कूतु'।

573. स्माशानस्य मात्रा हर्षक्षणं हस्तस्य चतुर्दशं मादग्नि दीर्घाकारवाचस्य मुखद्वायेन वातावरणस्य मात्रा स्माशानस्य। सर्वान् ओि 29.1,70. The com. says 'इवानी- सुपारिष्ठानाय विवरणमूलयं। तत्र हर्षक्षणानोऽपत्तिसनामण्यतमं स्थलस्य ततप्रसारं का- श्रोतवर्णम'।

574. तत्र मात्रा यदि सीतिसिद्धं पारस्त्तपालितेऽविविधेऽविविधं पश्चापक्षार्गाजगम्य चतुर्दशं यदिः जानुङ्ग्यः पश्चापक्षाद्विविधेऽविविधं 13.6; Dr Caland's text reads the exact opposite (I. 15 p 21) 'यदि हर्षक्षणं पुरातात्त्विकाधितं पञ्चायती- निमित्तं पश्चापक्षाद्विविधे तत्पत्रितं पश्चापक्षाद्विविधं पश्चापक्षाद्विविधे।'

575. अर्थावशिष्ठमिहाय स्थानं। अभयान्तरस्य परिसम्बन्धस्य चतुर्दशायोऽविविधिभ्यं कृतं कस्थलयेत। तथापि हर्षक्षणं पारामायुरुपं धैर्याद्वृक्षाचार्यतिलिखितम्। कृतं कल्पनं 83, 7-10.
quadrangular but sometimes round also (acc. to certain schools). The mounds at Lauriya referred to above are round.

Another feature to be noted is that clods were employed (and so the mound was called lostaciti) or baked bricks in building the mound or grave over the bones by piling up layers of clay or bricks. In laying down the bricks first on the east, then on the north, then on the west and then on the south, the sūtras such as Sat. Śr. (29.1.53 i), 576 Baud. P. S. (I. 19.4–7) four verses were respectively employed that are (in order) Rg. X. 18.13, 10, 11, 12 (which are also A. V. XVIII. 3.52, 49 50, 51 and Tai. Ā. VI.7.1). One of these (Rg. X. 18.12) speaks of pillars and the other (Rg. X. 18.13) of a post (sthūnā). Vide above p. 189. The discovery of two wooden posts in two mounds (at Lauriya above) in which the bones were deposited indicates that the Lauriya mounds followed a vedic custom which is mentioned by the śrautasūtras. The main difference between the Vedic and sūtra ritual on the one hand and the Lauriya mounds on the other is the height of the latter, which betokens a later age than that of the sūstras.

The Sat. Śr. describes in the 28th praśna what is called pitmedha while in praśna 29 it describes the brahmamedha. The difference between the two is pointed out in Sat. Śr. 29.3.4–18 and it is stated 577 (in Sat. Śr. 29.3.20, 22) that the mantras called ‘catur-hotāraḥ’ are spoken of as brahma (in Tai. Br. III. 12.5) and that the procedure of Brahamedha is to be employed only for an ācārya or a krotiya and for no one else. The Vaijyantyā by Mahādeva states (in the Introductory verses) that praśnas 28 and 29 of Sat. Śr. are taken from Bharadvāja. It may be stated here that the procedure of dhavana described above in Sat. Śr. is no longer followed in India in

---

576. विलुप्तिताह्न पतिकिरस्मीधिध्ययुग उपदायमुख समोभीतेऽः विपषयेत्। पतिमधुत्ति-पिकिरस्मीधिध्ययुग उपदायमुख समोभीतेऽः। सत्यम्। भृ. 29.1.53, on which the Com. says अतःधियारस्य विभावनाः। अथ भेक्ष्याधिकारीयाँ चतुर्धाराध्याद्वैते विभावनाः। सत्यम्। भृ. 29.1.53, on which the Com. says अतःधियारस्य विभावनाः।

577. On 29.3.2. (व ब्रजाभिषेकार्यवेत्) of सत्यम्। भृ. the वेज्यास्ति explains ‘अतःधियारस्य विभावनाः। परमस्त्र वेज्यास्ति।’ भृ. the वेज्यास्ति explains ‘अतःधियारस्य विभावनाः। परमस्त्र वेज्यास्ति।’
modern times. In the Baud. 578 P. S. I. 17 there are passages
that bear a close resemblance to some passages of the Sat. Sr.
on dhavana. Similarly, Kāt. Sr. 579 21, 3, 6 provides (immedi-
ately after the months in which mounds were to be constructed)
that as many jars should be taken as there are persons per-
forming dhavana (or dhavana) and the commentator explains that
word as meaning ‘fanning’.

It will be seen that the disposal of the dead in ancient India
was divided into four stages viz. cremation, collecting the
charred bones and depositing them underground in an urn,
expilatory rites (called Śāntikarma) and erection of a monument
over the bones. The last was not necessarily done in every
case. The Andhau Inscription of the time of Rudradāman in
the year 52 (probably of the śaka era) refers to the
erection of a staff (lāṣṭi i.e. yaṣṭi) as a funeral monument to the
memory of a sister, brother and wife by Madana son of Sihila
(vide E. I. Vol. 16 pp. 23–25). In a long passage of the Brahma-
purāṇa quoted by Aparārka (pp. 885–886) it is stated that the
charred bones of a cremated person should be collected in an
urn and deposited at the root of a tree or cast in the Ganges,
that the place of cremation should be purified with cowdung and
water, that a puṣkaraka tree should be planted there or an
eḍūka (a structure) should be built over it. 580

The Sat Śr. 28, 4, 28 and Baud. P. S. II. 3, 2 state as shown
above that the rites immediately after death were performed
only up to the depositing of the urn (containing the bones)
underground in the case of those householders who had not set
up the vedic fires and in the case of married women and that in
the case of him who had performed the solemn rite of Agni-
cayana a mound with bricks or clods was built up on the bones.

---

578. एकाद बुद्धहिंशीण्यां भूतः प्रतिसंभवाय दश्यां सर्वस्यां भूतवरुणां
राजीर्थादित्तथा सदास्यां य संगां संपदाय रुणादिति ।...अपातिरेष गयाम & इमणाम
चाणारण च नितित्वात् च निरतित्वम् भवति। यो: परं प्र म 17. 1 and 3; compare सत्या, सौः,
नोटेड aboce p. 252.

579. सरलान्त: पुरवल्प: कस्मान्तः कस्मान्तः छवाणि वाप्रारम्भाणि। कार्या,
अर्थ: 21, 3, 6. On this the comm. says: ‘अद्वावायामाने पुव्योज्याद्वासिसायामानं वर्णयति
उपवाज्यं चतुर्मयः.’

580. हृदिभासीणी नवम्यं नीतं तते बिनिविधेयतुः तत: संगमानं सन्ते: कल्यं नीमां
बिनिविधिं।...पुष्पार्धानां संगमाने संगमाणि। पुष्पाणि च नोक्तात्सत्त्र संग: सत्याम्
क्षणि:॥ भारुल्लारण q. by अनुवदकं p. 886; the same passage is quoted in एकाद् Commentary on ब्रह्मपूरङ्की (verse 28, p. 253) which explains पुष्करक: as पुष्करकिषो
हि and reads पुष्करक: for पुष्करक: and explains it as भवतः;
It is remarkable that while slaves and even attendants were often buried with the master in Babylon and Celtic Britain, there is no similar reference to the burial or cremation of anybody with the deceased even in the ancient procedure found in the Sat. Br. It is only possible to say that in some cases in the pre-Vedic age the wife might have burnt herself along with the deceased husband on the funeral pyre. There is no doubt that later works like the Viṣṇudharmāsūtra recommended to women the practice of Sati as an option to leading the life of perfect celibacy after the husband’s death.

The persons entitled to perform the funeral rites after death (antyakṣaraṃdikārīṁ) are the same as those entitled to offer śrāddha. There is a good deal of difference as to the order of the persons so entitled. For example, Gautama (Dh. S.15. 13-14) states ‘On failure of sons the sapindas (e.g. brother, brother’s son), the sapindas of the mother (e.g. maternal uncle or his son) and pupils may perform śrāddha for the deceased; in default of these the family priest and the ācārya (veda teacher).’ Śaṅkha says 581 ‘The offering of pinda and water should be done by the son for the father; in default (i.e. absence or death) of the son, the wife (of the deceased) should offer, but in default of her the full brother.’ The Viṣṇupurāṇa 582 provides: ‘the son, grand-son, great grand son (of the deceased), the offspring of the brother (of the deceased), the offspring of a sapinda become entitled to offer (pinda).’ The Mārkandeyapurāṇa provides (30. 19-21, chap. 27. 19-23 of the Venk. ed.) ‘On failure of the sons, sapindas, on failure of them the samānodakas, then the sapindas of the mother, and samānodakas of her, should perform these rites; a daughter’s son should perform them (if the man dies soulless), the putrikāputra should perform them for his maternal grand-father; in default of all these, women should perform these rites for their husbands but without Vedic mantras; in default of wife the king should get the rites performed by some one belonging to the family (of the deceased).

581. विष्णु: पुजाण करतः विष्णुकारकृतक्रिया। पुजाभावे तु पनी स्या पर्ययस्यभावे तु संपादः। शास्त्र 9. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 335, सिन्धेयसिंह III. p. 380.

582. पुजः पौरः पालिः च ददरा संस्थापितः। सपृष्ठस्थविविध्विषकृतक्रियाः चूँ जातवः। तथासमि सत्यं समाकृतक्रियाः। मातुवशय सिद्धेन संबंधः स जलन च। कुःस्व रात्रा व्याधोप्य वैशेषिके तपाय क्रिया चूँ। सम्प्रदातस्वविविधाय वायु प्रचुरं च्रिया। उपासना बन्धुपविविधाय गर्वावस्तुलिपिः। विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 31-33 q. by अर्थेके p. 433, स्मृतिच. II. p. 336, प्रां. म. I. 2. p. 461, मुख्यतमच p. 583. विष्णुपुराण mentions the king as the अविचारी in v. 34.
or by persons of his caste, since the king is the relative of all varṇas.' 583 There was a close connection between taking the estate of a man and performing the rites after death up to the 10th day. For the doctrines represented by the Mitaksara and the Dāyabhāga, vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 734–743. Even those that regarded that inheritance was based on relationship by blood and not on the capacity to offer pindaśas held that it was obligatory on everyone who took the estate of another (including the king who took as the ultimate heir by escheat) to arrange for the rites after death and śrāddha. Viṣṇu 584 Dh. S. XV. 40 declares ‘whoever inherits the estate of a deceased person has to offer pinda to him.’ Yāj. II. 137 says the same thing about the Kṣetraja son (ubhayorapyasau rikhī piṇḍa-dāta ca dharmatah).

The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 94) states the order of adhikārins as follows; a competent son is the first adhikāri for offering piṇḍa; in default of a son, husband, wife and co-wives; in default of these, the brother’s son, the brother, daughter-in-law, daughter, daughter’s son, any other sagotra, a sapinda, a fellow-student, a friend, a pupil, the teacher, any relative and anyone who takes the wealth of the deceased may offer piṇḍa. The father is not competent to perform śrāddha rites for his (deceased) son, an elder brother for his younger brother; these may even do so through affection but they cannot perform the sapindaśarana. Parents may offer piṇḍa to unmarried daughters, and even to married daughters in the absence of another (proper) giver. The daughter’s son and the maternal grandfather may offer to each other; the daughter’s son to maternal grand-mother; the son-in-law and father-in-law to each other, the daughter-in-law to her mother-in-law, brothers among themselves, teacher and pupil to each other. For the order of śrāddhādhisvarins, according to the Dāyabhāga, vide H. of Dh.

583. इत्यादिभि सर्वनासु तद्भवे सहोदरः। मातृ: सर्वपल्लि ये व च स्थुरः वा मातृः। सहोदरः। । कुद्रूपीतः चिन्ति समयदुर्घर हुलातः। कुद्रूपीतः चिन्ति समयदुर्घर हुलातः।

584. इत्यादिभि सर्वनासु तद्भवे सहोदरः। मातृ: सर्वपल्लि ये व च स्थुरः वा मातृः। सहोदरः। । कुद्रूपीतः चिन्ति समयदुर्घर हुलातः। कुद्रूपीतः चिन्ति समयदुर्घर हुलातः।

H. D. 33
The Nirñayasindhu says that in the Kali age only two kinds of sons viz. aurasa and dattaka are allowed (out of the twelve mentioned by Yaj. II. 128-132) and the order of śrāddhādikārins is given by it as follows: aurasa son, then grandson, then great grandson, then adopted son. If there are many sons then the eldest alone is the adhikārin; if the eldest be not present or is patita, then the son next to the eldest is the adhikārin (and not the youngest). If the sons are divided from each other, then all the rites up to sapindaśārana are to be performed by the eldest alone who may make the other sons contribute to the expenses, but the yearly śrāddha may be performed by each son separately. If the sons (of the deceased) are not divided, then all rites including the yearly śrāddha also are to be performed by the eldest alone. When the eldest son not being present, the younger one or the youngest performs the cremation, he should perform all rites up to and including the sixteen śrāddhas, but not sapindaśārana and he should wait for one year for the arrival of the eldest. If the eldest comes to know of the death within one year, he alone should perform the sapindaśārana. If the eldest son does not come even at the end of one year, then even the youngest may perform sapindaśārana. If before the expiry of one year the youngest son or some one other than a son performs the monthly, anumāsika, sapindaśārana śrāddhas, then the eldest son or a son should again perform these. If there is a grandson who has his upanayana performed and there be a son whose upanayana is not performed it is the latter who is a preferable adhikārin, provided he is either three years old or has the cūdī ceremony performed as stated by Sumantu. Manu II. 172 states that a boy should not repeat the Veda before the performance of Upanayana except the mantras that are required for the śrāddha of his deceased father or mother. Such a son may perform with Vedic mantras the funeral rites on the death of his father or mother and their yearly and other śrāddhas. If he is unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, he may simply perform the cremation with mantras and the rest may be got performed through another person. In the

585. अद्वेदाधिकारिण्यां तत्र द्वापाणि योजिन्ति द्वापा योजनां द्वारा योजनानि हृदि झडिपितः। निर्मिकृतं सिंहं प. 381, which relies on Manu IX. 137 (= Vas. 17.5 and Visnu 15.46) and Yaj. I. 78. This is opposed to the प्रायींसिंहं p. 368 ‘इत्यादिभवति पीछे’ पौराणिकात्मकः। अर्थात् तु अद्वेदाधिकारिण्यां तत्र द्वापाणि योजनानि हृदि झडिपितः।

586. अहंकारे कुरुक्षेत्र सत्यवते प्रभुमधोपकष्टे। पधारे हरकुलसे स्मारके स्मारक सिवलसे।” सुमस्या q. by पर. मा. I. 2 p. 465, निर्जनसिंहं p. 382, मद्ध. पा. p. 403.
same way he should make only the declaration (saṅkalpa) of
darśāśrāddha and mahālāya and the rest may be performed by
some one else. An adopted son becomes an adhikārin for fune-
ral rites and the like only if the upanayana has been performed.
If there be no legal descendant up to a great-grandson and also
no adopted son, then the wife should perform with mantras
the funeral rites and yearly and other śrāddhas but if she is
unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, then the same rules apply
as in the case of an anupanita son. Even if the husband be
not divided from his brother, or be re-united with his brother,
it is the wife and not the brother who is to be preferred as
having adhikāra for śrāddha, though the brother gets all the
property. Though some of the latest works on dharmaśāstra
like the Nirṇayasindhu 587 and Dharmasindhu (bhāryayāpi
samantrakam-eva-audhīvadehikādikam kāryam) allowed the
wife to perform rites after death with vedic mantras, several
works such as the Mārkandeya-purāṇa and the Brahmapurāṇa
did not allow the wife to repeat Vedic mantras (vide note 583
above). In default of the wife, the daughter has the right to
perform rites after death if the deceased was separated and not
re-united. But if the deceased was joint then his full brother
would be the proper adhikārin after the wife. Among daughters
the married one is preferred, though an unmarried daughter
is a preferable heir. In default of daughters, the daughter’s
son is an adhikārin; then a brother, then a brother’s son. Among
brothers a full brother is preferred to a half brother and if there
be both elder and younger brothers, then the younger is preferred
for performing rites after death (in order to make as near an
approach as possible to the relation of father and son). If there
be no younger brother, then even an elder one could be adhikārin;
in default of full brother, a half brother. Some held that even
if the deceased was separate from his brother and had a daughter
or daughter’s son as heir the funeral rites were to be performed
by the brother (and not by the daughter or her son), since a
sagotra is to be preferred as an adhikārin to one of a different
gotra. If there be no brother, then a full brother’s son was to be
preferred, then the half brother’s son, then father, then
mother, then daughter-in-law, then sister. In case of there being

587. अरस्तुक्तते वत्या च ह्यविनिद्रान् समन्वयात्। कर्त्तायत्विनिर्वक्त कारणेऽस्मात् हि॥
कारणपत्र q. by मद्द. पा. pp. 402-403, which remarks ‘यद्वा क्षणपनीत: पुय: संस्करोऽ
पत्नी या तदविनिद्रान्त विनम्ब्रः कारणेऽ॥’. This is opposed to the view of the
न्यायसिद्धान्त, पण्डितान्त and other works.
full sisters, half sisters, younger and older sisters the same rules apply as in the case of brothers; in default of any sister, sister’s son. If there be many sister’s sons, the rules as to brothers would apply. Then come paternal uncle, his son, other sapinda; then samanodaka, then other persons born in the same family. In default of these, the sapinda of the mother, such as the maternal grand-father, maternal uncle, maternal uncle’s son in that order; in default of the sapinda of the mother, the sons of the deceased’s paternal or maternal aunt; in default of these the pitr-bandhus such as the sons of the father’s father’s sister, of the father’s mother’s sister, of father’s maternal uncle; then the matri-bandhus such as mother’s father’s sisters’s son; in default of these, a disciple (of the deceased); in default of disciple, son-in-law of the deceased (or the father-in-law of the deceased); in default of these, a friend; in default, any one who takes the wealth of a brahma (deceased); if the deceased was other than a brahma the king (who took the wealth of everyone dying heirless, except the wealth of a brahma) who arranges for funeral rites through another.

In the case of women the following order of those entitled to perform rites of a deceased woman is given in the Dharma-sindhu (p. 370); If the female be unmarried then her father is the adhikarin, then her brother and the like; if the woman was married, her son, then her co-wife’s son, then co-wife’s grandson and then great-grandson; in default of these, the husband; in default of husband, daughter, then daughter’s son; then husband’s brother; then husband’s brother’s son; then daughter-in-law; then (the deceased) woman’s father; then her brother; then her brother’s son and the rest.

An adopted son should perform the sraddha of his natural father if the latter left no son or other adhikarin. If a brahma-carin dies, his monthly, yearly and other sraddhas should be performed by his father and mother. A brahma-carin may carry the dead body of his parents, or of his maternal grand-father, upadhyaya and acarya and perform the cremation and other rites; but if another adhikarin is available, he should not do these even for the parents and the other three. A brahma-carin

588. The word sapinda here means a man of the same gotra as the deceased but within seven degrees of the common ancestor, tracing relationship through males only; a samanodaka means one of the same gotra from 8th to the 14th degree descended from a common ancestor tracing descent through males only and gotraja means a relative of the same gotra as the deceased but beyond the 14th degree from the common ancestor.
should not at all carry the dead body of any one except of the above five or perform the cremation and other rites for any one else. If a brâhmaçärîn performed all the rites for ten days he had to observe āsauca for ten days, but if he performed only the cremation he had to observe āsauca only for one day. Even while in mourning his obligatory acts do not stop; but he should not eat the food cooked for his relatives that are in mourning nor should he dwell among them; if he did (both these) he had to undergo pâryâsaçitta and perform upanayâna again.

It is somewhat curious that Baudhâyana, the Lîngapûrâpa (quoted in Śrâddhaprakâsa pp. 361–371), the Mârkaṇḍeya-pûrâna, the Pitra-dâtâ (p. 82) and several other works allow man himself while living to perform his own rites after death (antyeṣṭi). This will be dealt with briefly later on under śrâddha. Further, if a man became patita and refused to undergo pâryâsaçitta, he was driven out of the Hindu fold by the procedure of ghataśphota (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 387–388), and Gaut. Dh. S. 20.2 and Manu XI. 182–183 provide that such a man was to be held to be dead and his relatives were to perform all rites for him such as offering water and śrâddha and were also to observe āsauca for him.

Many commentators and digests quote certain verses of the Visnupûrâna (III. 13. 34–39) wherein the rites (kriyāḥ) after death performed for a person are enumerated as falling into three classes, viz. pûrva, madhyâma and uttara. The rites from cremation up to the end of the 12th day are called pûrva, the śrâddhas performed monthly and sapindikarâna and ekoddiṣṭa are called madhyâma rites and those that are performed after sapindikarâna, when the deceased has reached the position of pîṭṭha after being a preta, are designated uttara.

589. अर्थविविधातां तत्त्वपरिवर्तनः कार्यार्थविविधातां श्राद्धान् ।

590. तत्र नियतायुक्तोत्तमात्मानं सति्यत महावृddhâvâति अष्टकारणि कृः ।

591. तत्र नियतायुक्तोत्तमात्मानं सति्यत महावृddhâvâति अष्टकारणि कृः ।
madhyama rites of the deceased may be performed by the father, the mother, sapinda, samandakas and those belonging to the deceased's group (gotra) or by the king if he takes the wealth of the deceased. But the rites called uttara are to be performed only by the son, grandson, great-grandson, daughter's son or the latter's sons. Even in the case of women, on the day of the anniversary of death every year an ekodishita shradha may be performed for them. There is also another classification of shraddhas viz. Navasradha (those rites up to ten days after death), Navamiitra (those performed after ten days up to six seasons), Purana (those performed after a year).^591a

As stated above, for ten days after death a handful of water mixed with sesame was to be offered to the deceased on a stone (asman) placed on kuśa grass and one large pinḍa (called puraka-pinḍa) was to be offered on kuśa grass everyday with the face to the south and the sacred thread on the right shoulder (pracinaviti) for the purpose of freeing the departed from the state of being a preta. On the pinḍa, water mixed with sesame was to be offered and leaves of Bhārīgarāja (called mākā in Marathi) and Tulasī also. The verse 'anādinināhano' was to be repeated. The performer throws the pinḍa in water and then bathes. Vide A. K. D. pp. 43-50 and Antyesti-paddhati of Nārayana for detailed treatment of the procedure of these ten days. Besides this, the Āśvalayanagrhyaparisiṣṭa III. 6 speaks of five shraddhas called 'nava-

^591a. नारायण इसाधारित नाममिश्रे तुझ्यासाठी. अथार्यं पुराणं व्य सिद्धिः आदय-निषेध. II. आश्वलयानग्रीष्टांपरिशिष्टे Q. by Aparakh. p. 525, सिद्धकिरिणी III. p. 395. अपरबे (p. 521) says: एकोद्विषय तशा विचित्रः. नव मिश्रं पुराणं च. तवेकविक्रियात्वस्तः. तत् इतरं पुराणं. The printed A. K. D. p. 175 quotes the author 'त्रिगोलं न नारायणं कथ्याति भक्ति संज्ञानं सर्वायुक्तं भक्ति संज्ञानं सर्वायुक्तं'.

^592. अनादिनिसि देवः प्रणवकृमाः प्रेमोम्प्राप्तिः भव || quoted by अम्बेटिहत्रीति of नारायण.

^593. अध नारायणाः इति महंते विनाभद्रेकादेशम् कर्मवेदसादिकामनापापाम् बाध्यं-बृहद्वजेश्वरेष्य तथसंवृत्तीकं कारणवाच कृत्वानां नारायणाः इति सर्वावस्थाणयम् इति तदादयार्यं यथासाध्येष्य सिद्धिः चामण्डिकात्वस्तः सत्याध्येष्य तिष्ठित्वार्यं इति नारायणाः इति नारायणाः इति सर्वावस्थाणयम् इति तदादयार्यं यथासाध्येष्य सिद्धिः चामण्डिकात्वस्तः सत्याध्येष्य तिष्ठित्वार्यं इति नारायणाः इति नारायणाः इति सर्वावस्थाणयम् इति तदादयार्यं यथासाध्येष्य सिद्धिः चामण्डिकात्वस्तः सत्याध्येष्य तिष्ठित्वार्यं इति नारायणाः. The नारायणाः are एकोद्विषय and several details which occur in other अदयाः are omitted here and the word 'पुराण' is not to be employed, but only the word 'त्रेन'. The चामण्डिकात्य (II. 29. 35-37) enumerates eighteen details that were to be omitted in प्रेमोम्प्राप्ति. Vide तृणप्रकाश pp. 215, 221: 'त्रिगोलं नारायणं कथ्यार्यं प्रेमोम्प्राप्ति. नारायणां कथ्यार्यं प्रेमोम्प्राप्ति. प्रेमोम्प्राप्ति चामण्डिकात्य प्रेमोम्प्राप्ति. the महंते on पाः I. 252 (without name) and महंते on पाः I. 168.
śrāddhas' (or Visamaśrāddhas) performed on the uneven days (i.e. 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th and 9th) with uncooked food. According to the Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 34. 36 which speaks of six śrāddhas on uneven days from 1st day to 11th) and Apastamba they are six (Dharmasindhu p. 464, Nirnayasindhu p. 588, Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 214-216, Śrāddhāratva p. 619) and according to others there is an option. Āṅgiras and Vasiṣṭha speak of six Navaśrāddhas on uneven days from the 1st to the 11th, while Baud. Pīṭhmedha S. II. 10. 6 speaks of five. Some prescribe the placing of some cooked food sprinkled with ghee on the hand of a brāhmaṇa. Others do not approve of this. They prescribe the placing of uncooked corn in front of a brāhmaṇa or in front of a figure of a brāhmaṇa made with kuśas (called cāta in Marathi). The Garudapurāṇa (II. 5. 67 ff) holds that the navaśrāddhas are those performed at the place where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way, when the bones were collected and those performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th day. The Śuddhiprakāśa, p. 214 quotes similar views from Kātyāyana and the view of Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha that the deceased does not become free from the status of a preta, unless the navaśrāddhas are performed. The Garudapurāṇa, Pretakhaṇḍa (chap. 34. 27-28, 44, 48) states that by the pīṇḍas offered for ten days the several limbs of a subtle body are provided for the departed spirit which at first wanders like thin air. There are several differing views on the navaśrāddhas which are passed over here. On the uneven days if navaśrāddha is performed two pīṇḍas will be offered (one the daily one and the other, of the navaśrāddha). The Padma (Srṣṭikhaṇḍa 10. 19) prescribes that one should not partake of the food at navaśrāddha and on doing so should undergo the cāndrāyana expiation.

In modern times, after the rites of the first day of cremation and of the collection of the bones, the rites for the dead generally begin on the 10th day. The performer goes to the place where the rites of the first day were performed, makes a saṅkalpa and offers a pīṇḍa with the words 'May this pīṇḍa wait upon the preta named N. N. and of the gotra (Kāśyapa &c.) in order that hunger and thirst affecting the preta may be removed'. Then he offers water mixed with sesame, places leaves of bhrīgarāja and tulasī, repeats the verse 'anādini-dhano' (note 592), removes the pīṇḍa to another place from the place where it was offered. Then he prepares a vedi with
loose earth with a triangular shape, purifies it by means of cowdung, decks it with turmeric powder and places thereon five jars full of water and on each of them a ball of rice. Then he offers a request to the middle jar with the words 'May this pinda together with the jar of water wait upon the preta by nama N. N., of such and such a gotra in order that his hunger and thirst may be allayed'. There is a prayer before the jars to the east, south, west and north respectively to those whom the preta had befriended, to Yama, to crows, to Rudra respectively. There is a difference of view here, some prescribing four jars, some three, while others offer a pinda with the jar of water only on the place meant for the preta and mere pinda to others. Then water is offered over the pinda and to each of the above he offers sandals, umbrella, banner, bread. Then the performer waits till a crow seizes or eats the pinda placed to the west 594. Then the aśman (stone) is anointed with oil and cast in water. Then the performer requests the relatives, who offer one handful or three handfuls of water to the preta on the bank of the reservoir of water. Then the sons and others according to usage cut their hair and nails. Then all persons of the same gotra, according to the custom of the country, bathe with sesame and myrobalan, wear pure and dried garments, go home and take their meals there.

594. In modern times great importance is attached by many people to a crow touching and pecking at the pinda food. There is a common belief that if a crow does not touch the pinda then the deceased had some intense wish at his death that was unfulfilled and it is certainly heart-rending and a source of poignant sorrow even for passers-by to see the relatives waiting for hours and tempting the crow or crows to come down from trees with dainty pieces of copra and other things and also loudly declaring that they would do this or that and fulfill the last desire of the deceased. Often it so happens that no crow touches the pinda food in honour of the deceased, a very old and venerable man, and relatives are very much distressed to find that their venerable ancestor who could have hardly any ambition or desire at the advanced age of 50 or 90 (except to die speedily), judging from the reluctance of the crow, had some unfulfilled desire. Often the crow immediately touches the pinda offered to one who died very young (say 25 or 30 years old) and who would naturally be presumed to have many unfulfilled desires. In such cases the relatives feel very much relieved at the thought that their young relative passed away without any unfulfilled desires. The Śuddhikaumudi refers to this offering to crows as a usage.

[Note: The text continues with further details and references to the Śuddhikaumudi for more information.]
Ethereal body after death

Some of the Purāṇas and medieval digests assert that after a man dies, the soul or spirit assumes what is called an ātīvāhika 594a body consisting of three of the five elements (viz. fire, wind and ākāśa) that rise up from the dead body (while two viz. earth and water remain below), that such a body is obtained only by men and not by other beings, that with the aid of the pindaṣ that are offered to the departed at the time of cremation and during ten days thereafter, the soul secures another body called bhogadeha (a body for enjoying the pindaṣ offered) and that at the end of a year when sapindīkaranā is performed, the soul secures a third body wherewith the spirit reaches heaven or hell according to the nature of his actions. The word 'ātīvāhika' is comparatively an ancient one. It occurs in Vedāntasūtra IV. 3.4 (ātīvāhikas-tal-lingāt). But there the meaning is somewhat different. The Upaniṣads speak of the soul as going by the path of arcis, day &c. The sūtra says that these (viz. arcis, ahaḥ &c.) are superintending deities that take the soul gradually onward by the path that leads to Brahma. Govindānanda in his commentary on the Prayaścitāviveka (pp. 13–14) holds that there are only two bodies (and not three as appears at first sight), viz. the ātīvāhika or pretadeha and the bhogadeha. The belief was that the man on whose death no pinda was offered or the sixteen śārdhas (to be described below) were not performed remained for all time in the condi-

---

594 a. taddhāntvā śrādiratitaiśvārtanaḥ śṛṣṭimaṇḍitāvāhikāḥ. abam śrādaśī pūrtaiśvārtī śṛṣṭiṣvārtayānapi
vijñāto. āvivekābhāsāyānāṃ śuddhādevī śrādiratitaiśvārti śṛṣṭiṣvārtayānapi
śāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraš

---

H. D. 34
tion of a *piśāca*, from which he would not be freed even if numerous other śrāddhas were later on offered for him. The Brahmapurāṇa calls the body ‘yātaniya’ (i.e. one that has to undergo trials and torments), while the Agnipurāṇa calls it ‘yātaniya’ or ‘atvāhika’ and asserts that this body is made up of the elements of ākāśa, vāyu and tejas. The Padmapurāṇa (II. 67. 98) states that persons who commit certain sins secure after death a body similar in shape to the physical body for undergoing torments. The underlying conception was that when the gross body was destroyed after death by cremation, burial or other methods an intermediate subtile body had to be built up before the departed soul was compelled to assume another body in a fresh incarnation. The subtile body was gradually built up, as stated by the Mārk. 10.73, by the rites performed on death and on several days after death. Though this conception is very clearly set forth in the Purāṇas it should not be supposed that it was altogether a new one. It had its roots deep down in the earliest Vedic period and was implicit in some of the hymns as indicated by Rg. X. 15, 14, X. 16, 4–5 translated above. Though in the Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1–2 and in passages of the Tai. Br. and Śat. Br. to be set out later on it is said that the offerings are made to the paternal ancestors, it does not follow that the brāhmaṇas were not fed at the same time on the food prepared for being offered to the ancestors, just as in the solemn Vedic sacrifices offerings were made to the gods, Agni, Indra, Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and others and at the same time priests engaged in the sacrifices were fed and given presents (*daksinā*). Therefore, it need not be necessarily supposed that feeding the brāhmaṇas at śrāddha was a later idea and offering food to the dead was the original idea.

595. यद्‌यैवालि न कोपसे पेततभा‌जाति बोधा || विशालं भर्मं तत्‌स्व यस्ते: भावे‌
the same verse is लिस्लितसुत्रति V. 16 and महवण्‌, पेततप्रथ 34. 131.
CHAPTER VIII

SUDDHI

Śuddhi (purification) is a very comprehensive topic including within it purification after āśauca (impurity on birth and death), purification of a person after contact with an impure object or on account of certain occurrences, purification of pots, wells, food &c., after they are polluted. Āśauca, however, is the most important subject under śuddhi and therefore the Śuddhi-kaumudi defines ‘śuddhi’ as ‘the state of being fit for or capable of performing the rites that are understood from the Veda.’

The Śrutis employ the word śuddhi in relation to purification after āśauca. For example, Manu V. 57 starts by saying that he will expound purification after a man is dead (pretaśuddhi) and purification of things (dravyaśuddhi). Manu V. 83 (= Dakṣa VI. 7) avers that a brāhmaṇa becomes pure after ten days (on the death or birth of a relative), a kṣatriya after twelve &c. The Parāśara-smṛti starts chapter three by declaring ‘I shall expound śuddhi on birth and death.’ Yaj. III. 14, 25 also employ the word śuddhi. Therefore āśauca on birth and death will be first dealt with.

The word āśauca is formed from śuci (pure) according to Pāṇ. V. 1. 131 and Pāṇ. VII. 3. 30 (vide note below) with the negative particle ma (a). In some smṛtis such as that of Devala the form ‘āśucya’ also is found (see Hāralata pp. 2, 9, 36 in quotations from Devala).

Another word which is often used as a synonym for āśauca is ‘agha’. It has been seen above (p. 6) that the word agha means ‘sin’ in the Vedic Literature (as in Rg. I. 97. 1–8, X. 117. 6). But in the Śan. Śr. IV. 15. 11,

596 न्यूनोधितकारणान्तः छूँक्रे:। छूँक्रे। कौ।। p. 1.

596 a. इसस्माच तुडुरुपलय। पा. V. 1. 131 (अन्य अनुस्मर।—छुँबेनागः कर्म वा शौचयः। न शौचस्यौचयः।।।। This is one way of explaining the word. We may also explain न छुँचिः अछुँचि, अछुँबेनागः कर्म वा अशौचवर्ग वा अशौचवर्गनियोः। (पा. VII. 3. 30).

596 b. जनस्मे मरणे निर्ययमुद्रकमुद्रावर्ति। ब्रवत्त् Q. by हारलता। प. 2।।।। अछुँचः इसरां हु तस्य वायुं स्वरूपः। ब्रवत्त् Q. by छूँक्रे। p. 41.
Manu V. 84 (na vardhayed-aghahani) the word ‘agha’ has come to mean the same thing as aśauca. 597 The Padmapurāṇa II. 66. 73–74 states that since the outlets of the body always emit mucus, urine &c. it is always impure.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 1 defines aśauca as an emergent attribute attaching to a person, which is got rid of by lapse of time or a bath and the like and which is the cause of the positive direction to offer (to a deceased person) pīḍa, water and the like and of the cessation of Vedic study and other actions. The Mit. adds that aśauca is not merely the absence of the privilege or power to do religious acts, since even those who have incurred impurity (on death &c.) are enjoined to do certain religious acts such as offering water (to the deceased).

This definition of the Mit. appears to be an echo of the Garudapurāṇa (pretakhaṇḍa) 5. 9 and is probably based on a verse of the work called Saṅgraha. Haradatta 599 on Gautama 14. 1 states that aśauca may be defined as ‘the absence of the privilege to perform religious acts, unfitness for being one whose food may be partaken of, untouchability and the loss of the privilege to make religious gifts.’ A comparatively early writer Bhaṭṭācārya, 600 appears to have defined ‘śuddhi’ as the ‘removal of sin’ or as ‘being fit for performing religious acts.’ This was accepted by the Smṛti-candrika, but rejected by Nandapāṇḍita, commentator of Śadaśīti (pp. 2–3). Even the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 18) emphasizes that aśauca has two characteristics, viz. it takes away the privilege of performing

597. नापाहानि सर्विजुस्तिति ह समाह कौषीविलकःः। षां. श्री. IV. 15 11. The com. says ‘अपाभ्रातो भूलतुकोत्तरेत।' पेश्वहुः सापिर्यसर्वं संहृतं त्वायपाहानि सर्वार्थस्य-कारणार्थनि यानि तत्रेत्यात्मांतुकानि यानि न विपथ्य: नापाहिवशानि कुर्दुः। कम्यार्थिकार- ब्रतेन स्वामुः।’

598. आशोवास्तेन च कालसनानायानय: पिण्डोदकाः नायुविविषः अधपणालिः- पुरुषार्थ: च निमित्तिषु: पुष्पमत: कर्मणातिसय: कर्तवे न पुनः कर्मानिधानार्थयः। सिद्धां तत्। अनालों निष्ठा कालानुसरिताः निविधायः। पिण्डार्थिकारनातपः पुष्पोत्तरिः। कालसनानायानय: पुरुषोपाधिकाराः। संबंध Q. by स्वतिः। (आशोवा) p. 477.

599. न च पुरुषार्थिकारनायानय: कर्मानिधानार्थय: पुष्पायात्रा ताराहितन्नायानिधित्वाति। इद्धे on मूः 14. 1.

600. चुंबितहर्षस्तु पापशय: चुंबिस्मृतिपथस्त्रया वा हि मद्धवायांको गुर्णं:। पापशय: सापिर्यसय जनान सुने वा तदायुर्गवधायुर्गवतिः च पापिस्वयमव: क्षयं। धर्मोद्गवात् त्वायामायानायानायान्त्रात्। एवं चुंबिस्मृतिः मतभेदन हिष्य विद्यती मद्धवायः। स्वतिः। (आशोवास्तेन p. 2). स्वतिः. p. 477 mentions this view.
religious acts and it renders a person untouchable. The Smṛtimuktāphala follows this. Rudradhara in his Śuddhiviveka (D. C. ms. No. 309 of 1887–91 folio 1) says that śuddhi is a special attribute which brings about a capacity or privilege for the performance of all dharmas, while aśuddhi is an attribute opposed to śuddhi and arises on the occasion of the birth of a sāṇḍha or the like.  

Aśauca is of two kinds, viz. that arising on birth (and so called jāvanāśauca or sūtaka) and that arising on death (and therefore called pūrṇāśauca or mṛtakaśauca or maraṇāśauca). Śāva is derived from śāva (meaning a corpse). The word sūtaka occurs in the Ait. Br. (chap. 32, 8) and is there probably used in the sense of impurity on both birth and death. There it is said that if an āhātāgni partook of food from the house of him who was affected by sūtaka, then the prāyaścitta was to offer a purodāśā cooked on eight potsherds to Agni Tantumati. Tantu means also ‘son or progeny’ and so it may be argued that it is an indication that sūtaka is used in the Ait. Br. in the sense of impurity on birth. The word sūtaka is used in the smṛtis in three senses: (1) impurity on birth (vide Manu V. 58); (2) impurity both on birth and death, as in Gobhila-smṛti III. 6) and 63; (3) impurity on death alone (as in Daksā VI. 1 and Gobhila-smṛti III. 48). In some of the modern vernaculars (such as Marathi) the word ‘sūtaka’ is used in the 3rd sense alone. In each of these two divisions there are two varieties viz. where the duration is brief or comparatively long (Ṣaḍaśīti, verse 2).

A question arises why birth and death should cause impurity to the members of the family or to relatives. Only a
few have to say anything on this question. Hārīta says: ‘the
family incurs death impurity because by death the family feels
overwhelmed (or frustrated), while when a new life appears
the family increases (and there is gratification or joy)’ 606.

The literature on Śuddhi (including āśauca) is very exten-
sive. Apart from the smṛtras, smṛtras and Purāṇas there are
numerous digests dealing with the subject at great length.
Some of them have been printed. The smṛtras contain a mass of
contradictory dicta to such an extent and different from the
usages of medieval times that the Mit. on Yāj. III. 22 af-
quoted the views of Parāśara, Śītātapa, Vasistha and Aṅgiras
on the periods for which impurity had to be observed by per-
sons belonging to the four varṇas refuses to evolve order
out of them and remarks that the usages in its day were diffe-
rent from the dicta of those sages607. The Madana-pārijātā
(p. 392) agrees with the Mit. and also suggests other modes
of dealing with the conflict. Two examples may be cited of
the way in which different smṛtras approach the same problem.
Atri 83, Parāśara III. 5 and Dakṣa VI. 6 provide that a brāhmaṇa
who has consecrated the three Vedic fires and has mastered
the Veda becomes free from impurity (on birth and death)
in one day, one who has merely mastered the Veda (but has
not consecrated the śrauta fires) in three days and one who
is devoid of both in ten days. Manu V. 59 gives various
options viz. 10 days, 4 days, 3 days, 1 day but does not
state explicitly to whom his remarks apply. Brāhaspati607 a(q.

606. अर च कुल्कुमालबीले कारणांक शरीतः। पेताभिमुखमारामाधौरूप्यः जीवः
श्रुद्धियोगः कुलसप्तभूतः। हृदितः। जातिकारिकमयमयः। सम्भविन्यासम् सार्टपदसार्वभोध्यां
श्रुद्धियोगः कुलसप्तभूतः। हृदितिः। श्रुद्धियोगः कुलसत्त्वतिभावः। प्रस्तुतिः।(मे (आश्रीन्त्र) p. 11 reads somewhat differently “न विश्वसना वर्षे उपन्यासिति-
रिकृतम् न भवति। कारणाभिमुखमारायामाधौरूप्यः हृदितः।” पेताभिमुखमारायामाधौरूप्यः जीवः।
श्रुद्धियोगः केवलम्। मानसस्या नामयाचिक्षकायामाधौरूप्यः श्रुद्धियोगः कुलसत्त्वतिभावः। हृदितः।”

607. इदियमनेववाच्याशास्त्राशुरूषतः। यतं लोके समधाताभासमात्यान
पवसाधारणांगुष्योग्यः नात्र व्यवस्था मद्वृत्तम्। मित्रो 02 पा. III. 22। लोकसाधारणां
दशाधारणांविभिन्तिकेन्त्र। अथवा चैतिकातुगो व्यवस्था। उव शुद्धिसर्वसाधनहृदितः। यथार्थमें
पुरुषाधिकाराशुरूषितिनिमां:। किंवा आपदायाध्येतु व्यवस्था। नद.। पा. 392।

607 a. विद्यासू विद्यासू उपदेशसमितिः। पराभासाणिनिनालक विकारः
बालक्यः।। बुधस्तम्। प्र. निनालक 04। हलत्तम् 05। त्यो। प्र. 07। अद्विता
defines बालक्यम् as ‘गोपाधिनामप्रकारायुक्तविनयमतः। नानायाचिक्षकायामाधौरूप्यः।' बालक्यम्।।
by Haralata p. 5 and Haradatta on Gautama 14. 1) states that a brāhmaṇa who is endowed with Veda and śrauta fires becomes pure after three days, one who is devoid of śrauta fires (but is master of the Veda) in five days and one who is only a brāhmaṇa by caste (has not studied the Veda or does not teach it) in ten days. The Śān Śr. and Manu 608 (both quoted above) urge a man not to increase through laziness the number of days for which impurity is to be observed. It is possible that persons claiming to be learned observed impurity for a few days only, while neighbours disputed their claim to this special dispensation in favour of Vedic learning and keeping śrauta fires. The result was that later on a flat number of ten days was prescribed for all brāhmaṇas whether learned or not and the provision for lesser number of days of impurity was relegated to Kalivarṣīya usages. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 941–42.

Another example of the dependence of the days of impurity on the caste of the deceased and of varying dicta thereon may be cited. Manu V. 83, Dakṣa VI. 7, Yāj. III. 22, Atri (verse 85), Śaṅkha (15. 2–3), Matsyapurāṇa (18. 2–3), Brahma purāṇa 220. 63, Viśnū Dh. S. 22. 1–4, all lay down periods of 10 days, 12 days, 15 days and a month for impurity among brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, valśyas and sūdras respectively. Yaj. III. 22 makes the virtuous sūdra observe impurity only for 15 days as a concession. Gaut. (15. 1–4) prescribes 10, 11, 12 days (or half month) and a month respectively for the four varṇas, while Vas. (4. 27–30) gives the periods of 10, 15, 20 and one month for the four varṇas. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his article on Nāgar brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas of Bengal, protests that the Kāyasthas of Bengal (owing to social tyranny) still observe āsauca for one month as if they are ordinary sūdras (I. A. for 1932 at p. 71). On the other hand, Aṅgiras (quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 22) states that Śātātapa declared that all varṇas become purified after ten days whether the impurity is due to birth or death. 609 Parāśara (III. 9) quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 18

608. On न कल्याणदायिनी (नाग. V. 84) कुलक comments: परम द्व इततताश्च।

काशिकेश्वर: समस्तेऽक्षमं कृताय: व: इत्यतः इत्यताश्च। इतः इत्यतः इत्यताश्च।

सिंहवंदिनीस्य भाषाविलासः इत्यताश्च।

609. अनुसारस्वाम-सद्वेषाव्य-वर्णानां सूर्य स्वतः तथा। वर्णाश्च विवेकि विषयाभिव न्यायमिति

शालापुर्द्वेष्यत्रत्र सिमित। on यज. III. 22.
provides that a sapinda who is 4th in descent from the common ancestor of the deceased and himself becomes pure after ten days, one who is 5th after 6 days, one who is 6th in descent after four days and one who is 7th after one day. The Mit, says that this should be discarded as it is in conflict with many other smritis and is disapproved of by people.\(^{610}\) Some of the rules mentioned by Vijnanesvara (about 1100 A.D.) themselves underwent changes in 500 years as noted by the Nirnayasindhu (composed in 1612 A.D. \(^{611}\)).

The Mit, on Yaj. III, 18 declares that when a child that has not completed two years dies, it is the parents that have to observe ashuca for ten days and not all sapindas and that their asuca entails untouchability for them. The Nirnayasindhu (p. 517) remarks that what Vijnanesvara said is not now (in its time) the usage and that the Smrvyarthasastra also did not accept Vijnanesvara’s view.

In view of the above-mentioned circumstances no useful purpose would be served by setting out in detail the varying dicta of the smritis, Puranas \(^{612}\) and the digests upon the several matters that fall to be treated under ashuca. Digests on this subject are too numerous to mention. The following printed ones and a few mss. have been made use of in preparing the following account. In the first place, there are several works that deal with this subject in verse. The Asaucaastaka attributed to Vararuci (published in the Trivandrum series) with a

---

\(^{610}\)  The fourth and fifth chapters of the Purashcharita-chatur means the second and third chapters of the Purashcharita. These chapters contain the rules for the establishment of a new Vedic school, and they are followed by the rules for the upholding of the Vedic tradition. The rules are presented in the form of verses, and they are intended to guide the students and teachers in their studies.

\(^{611}\)  The sixth and seventh chapters of the Purashcharita-chatur are devoted to the establishment of a new Vedic school, and they are followed by the rules for the upholding of the Vedic tradition. The rules are presented in the form of verses, and they are intended to guide the students and teachers in their studies.

\(^{612}\)  The eighth and ninth chapters of the Purashcharita-chatur are devoted to the establishment of a new Vedic school, and they are followed by the rules for the upholding of the Vedic tradition. The rules are presented in the form of verses, and they are intended to guide the students and teachers in their studies.
commentary by an anonymous writer that names the bhāṣya of Maskarin on Gautama-dharmasūtra (on p. 35) deals with the subject in eight saṅgadharā verses. The Āsaucadaśaka or Daśaśloki attributed to Vijñānesvara seems to have been a very popular work. There are several commentaries on it. The one by Harihara is the earliest of them. In the Deccan College collection of MSS (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona) there are several MSS of it, two of which were copied in saṅvāt 1539 (D. C. No. 216 of 1879–80) and saṅvāt 1579 (D. C. No. 196 of 1884–87) and which expressly state that the work was composed by Vijñānesvara-yogindra. The ten Śārdūla-vikṛḍita verses of the Āsaucadaśaka are set out in the appendix. The Kalpataru of Laksmanādhara has a section on śuddhi which has been recently published in the G. O. S. The Hāralatā of Aniruddha is very useful (B. I. Series). The Āsaucakanda of the Śrītandrikā has been edited by the late Dr. Shamsastry and published as No. 56 of the Mysore University Sanskrit publications. The Śrīnāscchloki with the commentary of Raghunātha composed in śakte 1645 has been published at the Poona Anandāśrama press and contains 30 Saṅgadharā verses on āśauca. The Śaḍaśiti (86 verses in the Anuṣṭubh metre) composed by Kauśikāditya with the commentary Śrīdhicandrikā by Vināyaka alias Nanda-paṇḍita (composed about 1600 A. D.) has been published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series. The Śrīdhikaumudi of Govindānanda (B. I. Series); the Śrīdhitattva of Raghunandana (ed. by Jivananda pp. 233–412), the Śrīdhiprakāśa (part of the Vrāmītrodaya of Mitramiśra) published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series, the Śrīdhimayukha of Nilaṅkanta (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) and the Śrīmuktāpahāla of Vaidyanātha (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) are compilations that are useful in their own way. These exhaustive treatises on āśauca show one thing unmistakably that brāhmaṇas of the medieval ages attached an extremely exaggerated importance to ceremonial purity of the body on birth and death.

The periods of impurity depended on many circumstances. There was a difference between impurity on birth and that on death; so also the duration depended upon whether the deceased was an infant or a male or a female or one whose upanayana had been performed or not performed; it depended on caste and also on the question whether the deceased died near the relative or far away; also upon the degree of relationship; and on the time that elapsed from the birth or death till it reached the ears

H. D. 35
of the relative. The intensity of impurity was different in each of the following: a sūtikā (a freshly delivered woman), rajasvalā (woman in monthly illness), impurity on death, impurity on birth (the last being the least).

Dakṣa (VI. 2–3) states that there are ten varieties in impurity, viz. immediate purity (after taking a bath), one day, three days, four days, six days, ten days, twelve days, a fortnight, a month and till the end of one’s life. Dakṣa then explains in what cases these different periods apply. As to what is meant by impurity till life’s end (lit. till he is reduced to ashes), Dakṣa (VI. 8–10) says: ‘those who take their meals without bathing or offering to gods or without making gifts—all such persons are in impurity till life ends. One who is permanently afflicted with a disease, who is close-fisted (i.e. stints himself, wife and son and religious acts through greed), who is always in debt (i.e. who has not paid off his debts to gods, sages and manes), who is bereft of religious acts (nitya or naimittika), who is a fool and is under the thumb of his wife, whose mind is bent on vices (gambling, prostitution &c.), who is always dependent (a king’s servant or the like), who is devoid of faith and benevolence (charitable gifts)—he incurs impurity which ends only with his ashes (i.e. only when he is cremated).’ These words are not to be taken literally; what is meant is that such a man is to be shunned by others (i.e. it is an arthavādā conveying merely censure).

We shall now turn to the impurity on birth.

That the impurity on birth lasted for ten days even in Vedic times can be inferred from the story of Śunāḥ-sepa narrated in the Ait. Br. (chapter 33. 2.), where occurs the passage ‘when the animal is more than ten days from birth he becomes pure (and fit to be offered in sacrifice).’ The same

613. समसमालं तथा कावात्स्यक्षुक्षुक संवातसाधिक्षुक। शुद्धासाहुकासाहुक पक्सो माससत्येव च ॥
श्रवणमस्त्य विषयाय द्रव वधासु वृहकाः। द्रव VI. 2–3, referred to by विश्वास on ya. III. 30 and q. by कल्प (वन शुद्धि) p. 5, अध्याय p. 894, एव मा. I. 2. p. 207.

614. अनन्तकावहुकासाहुक च हाथवाल ते तु भूषणम। एषंभित्रं सर्वं दक्षिणे दक्षिणे तु श्रुतक्रम ॥
गतिविविद्यमान कृष्णं युग्मवत् संवादा। किसामनस्मु कृष्णं युग्मवत् भ्रेतते॥
यथा मनसबोधितपराभुतं गिरितथा किसामनस्मु कृष्णं भंवेत॥ द्रव VI. 8–10, by विश्वास on ya. III. 30, कल्प (वन शुद्धि) p. 15, हरसत्य p. 14, अध्याय p. 895. The last verse of द्रवणिक्षु is to the same effect as the first verse quoted above. The हरसत्य (उत्त.) 23. 9 provides ‘किसामनस्मु मूलिकं महारोगि एव च। वृहकासाहुकासाहुक।’ q. by हरसत्य p. 15.
inference can probably be drawn from Tai. Br. II. 1. 1.3, where it is said 'therefore people do not take the milk of a cow for ten nights when a calf is born.'

Abortion in the first four months of pregnancy is called srāca, abortion in the 5th or 6th month is called pāta and from the 7th month of pregnancy onwards it is called prasūti or prasava (according to Parāśara III. 16, Śaḍaśiṭi verse 9). When there is srāca the mother incurs impurity for three days, in the case of pāta the mother has to observe impurity for as many days as correspond to the months of pregnancy (i.e., 5 days or 6 days). The impurity consists in the mother being untouchable. The father alone has to bathe when there is srāca, but when there is pāta the father and sapinda have to observe impurity for three days (according to Madana-pārijāta p. 330-331 and others) but they do not incur impurity as on death. These rules hold good for all castes. But when the foetus comes out dead in any month from the 7th or the child is still-born, then the impurity is for ten days for both parents and the sapinda for all varṇas or for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varṇas as laid down in Yāj. (III 22) and the samānodakas have to observe āśauca for three days and sagostras for one day (Dharmasindhu p. 427). The above rules are more or less laid down by Gautama 14. 15-16, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 136, Parāśara III. 24, Manu V. 66, Yāj. III. 20 (latter half) and the first verse of Āṣaucaśāṣaśa. The mother is untouchable for ten days on birth, still-birth or abortion in 7th, 8th or 9th month but the father and sapinda when they take a bath after the prasava are not untouchable (Yāj. III. 19). In ancient times there were several differing views about janaṇāśvarca for the father as vouched for by Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 125-128. Although a woman

615. अज्ञनि वै ते पुजेऽग्नस्त मारणेति। स हृत्य यथा वै पश्चिमवद्वद्वे नवतथा स मेघयो भास्ति। ए। वा 33.2। तत्त्वादास्त अते दशा धातिन मुदात। ते। ब्रा। II. 1.1.3.

616. आचार्यार्योऽस्मातः पाते। नम्पायुष्योऽ। अत अवेय नमूनि। स्याय देवरां दृष्टे अभवत।। अर्थे मातुर्थवेती र्यालसिद्धान्तवर्त्तनम्। पाते मातुर्धार्यां र्यालसिद्धान्तवर्त्तनम्। विन्यासयो। नदीमा। न्य ततः। जय। II. 20, हर्दून। ग्रा। 14.15, स्मृतिच।। (अलोक)।। p. 4. The first is Parāśa III, 16 and is quoted as such in रुद्धिन्ग। p. 16.

617. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 452-455 for the meaning of sapinda and samānodaka (H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 752-753). These words mean in this section generally (unless otherwise expressly stated) persons descended from a common male ancestor through unbroken male descent.

618. जनने सम्मूक्तातिविद्येऽवसामान्यस्त। मातुरिन्योऽ। हर्दुःसिद्धाय। विन्यास-परे हृत्य यथा। अवेयेन ग्राह्यं युज्जाति। हर्दूऽन्ते मलाविन्योर्ते दु समानस्मायाप्न। ब्रा। ब्रा। I. 5. 125-128 q. by स्मृतिच।। (अलोक)।। p. 9.
becomes touchable in ten days after delivery she is not fit to take part in religious rites for 20 days after she becomes touchable (i.e., 30 days from birth) if she gave birth to a son but for 30 days (i.e., 40 days from birth) if a daughter was born. Women of all varṇas become pure (i.e., touchable) ten days after delivery—says Pracetā, 620 Devala states that there is no āśauca on the ground of birth when the period of (ten or twelve) days has expired. 621 If a woman was delivered at her father’s or brother’s house, then her parents and her brothers staying with the father had to observe āśauca for one day (Dharmasindhu p. 427), but if a woman was delivered of a child at her husband’s house then her father or brother had to observe no āśauca (on birth). Even when sagostras have to observe āśauca on birth they are not untouchable (Saḍāṣiti verse 6).

It would be better to state here certain general rules once for all. When any text employs the word day (ahā) or night (rātri) in prescribing the duration of āśauca what is meant is ahorūtra (both day 622 and night). When counting the days of āśauca one has to begin from the day of the cremation, if the deceased was an āhitāgni, but from the day of death in the case of one not an āhitāgni 623 (Āśauca-daśaka verse 4, Kūrma, Uttarārḍha 23. 52). Birth and death are causes of āśauca only when they are known to the person who is to be affected by it and not by the mere fact of the birth or death. This follows from certain

619. सपाध संबंधः। जाते पुत्रे पितुः श्यामं सचेचिये स विचिये। माता कुपेद्रुद्दर्शणे। स्मानातु सरवेन पितुः। माता कुपेद्रुद्दर्शणे यथेऽवचः संस्थवारयोग्यत्वादिर्वादम्। अद्यथायु पुरः करंसू पेर्वत्ति सिंहव उक्तः। शूलिकाः पुदितविंदा संस्तिरवेशणे कर्माणि कार्येऽति। मासेन श्रीजननीपुः। इति। निताः। भा. भ. III. 19.

620. शूलिका सरवेणां दुषाहें सिन्धुपालिः। कर्तृते न पुरंसु श्रीचं सर्वायं निर्भिः। प्रेतेन्द्र q. by हर्षलता p. 20, शूलिकिन्द्रिका on verse 6. शूलिका. (आसौच-काण्ड) p. 5 quotes it but explains it differently.

621. भारीचं प्रवर्तितं शतीसु दिनेनपिः। भवल q. by कुसुम on महा V. 76; मुनोय in his com. on ब्रजस्त्रेषुकी verse 6 p. 27 reads ‘नाजश्रमः प्रवाची भती-तेषु दिनेनपिः’.

622. अत्राचार्यकारणे अहंदं राज्यं प्रवाची भारावस्वं धारावर्षस्यम्। निताः। भा. भ. III. 18.

623. हरं भाराचार्यमहानावेशंवरोर्तं संस्थवारयोग्यत्वमत्वं। अनवाहासेल्य मरणायवोभूतम्। निताः। भा. भ. III. 20; दाहामाहताधिकारी मरणविवेकसंस्कारं कुपराहार्धम्। विश्वासाकी वरेण्य (second पद); दाहामाहतं कर्तं प्रवेशं धिज्यामाहाताधिकारिणां। सप्ताह 9 च महान भविष्यम् च। कृमिः (उपतापं 23. 32).
General rules about āśauca

passages of Pāraskara gr. III. 10 and Manu V. 75–76 and the Brahmapurāṇa. Pāraskara (III. 10) provides: "if one who had gone abroad dies, (his relatives) should on hearing (of his death) sit down and offer him water and should remain untouchable for the days that remain out of the proper period (viz. 10, 12, 15, 30 days); if the prescribed period (of āśauca) has expired they should observe āśauca for one night or three nights," Manu (V. 75–76) is to the same effect. The Brahmapurāṇa states: "if a donor makes a gift and the acceptor accepts it when both are not aware of there being a birth or death in their family, no blame attaches."

We should now turn to āśauca on death. Here again there is no unanimity and therefore the views preferably of the latest works (such as the Dharmasindhu) will be set out after referring to a few smṛti passages. Āśauca on death renders those who incur it untouchable and unable to perform religious rites. Pār. gr. III. 10. 29–30 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 357) stated generally that the impurity caused by death lasts through three nights and that according to some teachers through ten nights. If a child dies within ten days of birth, the father and mother have to observe Jananāśauca and become purified by the end of the āśauca on birth and the father remains untouchable for those days (Kūrma-purāṇa q. by S. K. p. 21). If a child died before it struck teeth the sapindaḥ had only to undergo a bath, while the parents had to observe āśauca for three days if the child was a son and for one day if a daughter (vide Yāj. III. 23, Śaṅkha 15. 4, Atri 95, Āśaucadasaśaka verse 2). If the child died after striking teeth but before Cūdā (or the end of the third year) the sapindaḥ had to observe āśauca for one day and night (Yāj. III. 23, Śaṅkha 15, 5), but the parents had āśauca (of death) for three days. If the child was a girl the sapindaḥ became pure by a bath up to the girl’s third year. If death occurs between Cūdā (or three years) and upanayana or marriage (in the case of girls) the sapindaḥ including the father have to observe āśauca for three days and samānodakas become purified by a bath alone. After upanayana all sapindaḥ have to observe āśauca (on death) for ten days (Gaut. 14. 1, Manu V. 59, Āśaucadasaśaka 2) and all samānodakas for seven days. In the case of a śūdra dying

---

624. अष्टसन्यासायन प्रवर्णनम् हस्तोऽवर्ता: कान्तलोकसारसारस्योदेकस्रारोत्र विधाः पारस्यनिर्देशं III. 10.
after three and before marriage or 16 years the āsauca is three
days for all sapindas. After sixteen years or marriage (in the
case of a śudra) it is the āsauca prescribed for his caste. In
the case of a girl dying after three years and before vāgdāna
(betrothal) the parents have āsauca for three days and
the sapindas (up to three generations) one day. If a girl
dies after vāgdāna and before marriage the sapindas of
her father as well as of the proposed bridegroom had to
observe āsauca for three days. In the case of women and
śudras if death takes place after marriage or after 16 years
(if the Śūdra was unmarried) the period of āsauca for all
sapindas is ten days. If a woman dies at her father’s house
after marriage, her parents, step-mother, full brothers and
step-brothers have to observe āsauca for three days and her
paternal uncle and the like that stay in the same house with
her father for one day. Some say that if the married daughter
dies in a village other than that of the father, the parents
have to observe āsauca for a pāksini (i.e., two nights with a day
between or two days with a night between). There are other
views on this point which are passed over. For example,
Viśṇu-dharmasūtra (22. 32-34) says that in the case of a
married woman there is no āsauca on the parents’ side; but
when she is delivered of a child or dies in the father’s house
then the impurity is for one day or three days respectively.

A married woman has to observe āsauca for three days for the
death of her parents or step-mother if ten days have not elapsed
from the day of death or for the remaining days out of the
period of ten (Yaj. III, 21 latter half). If the married daughter
hears of the death of the parents or step-mother at a time more
than ten days after the death or within one year she has to
observe āsauca for a pāksini. If a brother whose upanayanā
has been performed dies at his married sister’s house or vice
versa, āsauca has to be observed for three days by them, but if
they do not die at each other’s house but in a different one

625. Gaut. Dh. S. 14.17 (धृत्र चोरिच्छ मृत्युमयः पश्चिमी), Manu. IV. 97
and V. 81 employ the word pashā śiṣṭ. Ḫrabhūt explains ‘अहेतुःमध्यमवर्तमानः रातिः पश्चिमी
सा दिशामयमयमयम।’ The Amskaraṇ gives only the first meaning ‘अहेतुःमध्यमवर्तमानः
हेतुकारण निःश्रृष्टिः पश्चिमी।’ The Śrīdhara p. 36 remarks ‘द्वादशवर्तमाणिक्ष पश्चिमी-भविष्यते-हेति
मन्त्रवर्तमपविशिष्ट। यथा वच्च्याविस्तारः परारः।’

626. भीमादिविषाध्यां संक्रान्तः। संक्रान्ताः धृत्रु मात्राः नित्यति पित्युमः। तदर्दवमपत्रे
चतुर्दशीस्तमाता तद्वेष्टरं विशिष्टस्य च। विश्वमर्तस्य 22. 32-34.
then the āśauca is for a paksini and if the death occurs in another village then there is āśauca only for one day. The same rules apply to step-brothers and step-sisters and also among sisters. A married woman on the death of her paternal grand-father or paternal uncle has to undergo only a bath. If a maternal uncle dies, the nephew and the niece have to observe āśauca for a paksini. If the maternal uncle dies in the house of the nephew then there is āśauca for three days and for only one day if the maternal uncle had not his upanayana performed or died in another village; the same rules apply to one's mother's step-brother. If the wife of a maternal uncle dies, the nephew or the niece of the maternal uncle have to undergo āśauca for a paksini. If a nephew whose thread ceremony has been performed dies, his maternal uncle and maternal aunt have āśauca for three days. The same rules apply if the deceased be the son of a step-sister of the maternal uncle. If the niece (sister's daughter) dies there is only a bath for the maternal uncle. If a maternal grandfather dies, the grandchild (the son or daughter of a daughter) has to observe āśauca for three days, but only for a paksini if the maternal grandfather dies in a different village. On the death of the maternal grandmother the grandchildren have to observe āśauca for a paksini. Some works do not prescribe āśauca for a female descendant such as a niece or grand-daughter. If a daughter's son, whose upanayana had been performed, died, the maternal grandfather and grandmother had to observe āśauca for three days and for paksini if the daughter's son had not upanayana performed for him. On the death of a daughter's daughter the maternal grandfather and mother incur no āśauca. In all these matters the general rule is that a male whose upanayana had been performed and a married woman alone are liable to undergo āśauca for any relative other than the parents (i.e. on the death of a parent a male though without upanayana and a woman though unmarried are liable to undergo āśauca).

If a man's father-in-law or mother-in-law die near (in the house of) the man, he has to undergo āśauca for three days, but only for paksini if the death is elsewhere than with the son-in-law. On the death of a son-in-law, the father-in-law and the mother-in-law have to observe āśauca for one day or they have only to take a bath, but if the son-in-law dies in the house of the father-in-law then the āśauca is for three days. On the death of one's wife's brother, the āśauca is for one day i
upanayana had been performed; but if no upanayana was performed or if he died in another village a mere bath is enough.

On the death of one’s mother’s sisters (full or half) the person (whether man or woman) has to undergo aśauca for a paksīṇī; the same rule applies on the death of the father’s sister. If it is a step-sister of the father then a mere bath is enough. The father’s sister has to undergo a bath if the nephew dies. If one’s father’s sister or mother’s sister dies in one’s house then the aśauca is for three days.

In the case of bandhus (described by the Mit. on Yaj. II. 135 as bhinnagotra sapindas) of 627 the three kinds, the aśauca is for a paksīṇī, provided the bandhu is upanita but if he died before upanayana then aśauca is for one day and if the bandhu died in one’s house then for three days. If the daughter of the father’s sister (and of the other bandhus enumerated in the three verses) dies married, the aśauca is one day, but if they die unmarried only a bath is necessary. Among the three kinds of bandhus, a man himself and his three ātmabandhus have to observe aśauca for each other’s death; but the case is different as to pitrbandhus and mātrbandhus. If any one of these latter dies, there is aśauca for the man whose bandhus they are, but if a man dies, his pitrbandhus and mātrbandhus have to observe no aśauca.

If an adopted son dies, his natural father and adoptive father have to observe aśauca for three days (the Vyavahāramayūkha differs from this) and the sapindas for one day.

If the adoptive or natural father dies, the adopted son has to observe aśauca for three days and for one day for the sapindas of any one of them. On the death of the son and the grandson of an adopted son, the sapindas of the natural father and the adoptive father have to observe aśauca for one day and

627. The bandhus are of three kinds, आत्माभिन्दु, पितृभिन्दु and मातृभिन्दु.
In three verses variously attributed to Baudhāyana or Śatātapa three illustrations of each of the three kinds of bandhus are given. आत्माभिन्दुः: इत्य आत्माभिन्दुः।
पितृभिन्दुः: इत्य पितृभिन्दुः।
मातृभिन्दुः: इत्य मातृभिन्दुः।
vice versa. These rules apply if the son adopted is not a sapinda or samanodaka of the adopter, when he was in his family of birth. But if a sagotra sapinda or a samanodaka be adopted, then the asauca is for ten or three days respectively.

If one's acarya dies, the pupil has to observe asauca for three days, but only one day if he dies in another village (Gautama 14. 26, 52, Manu V. 80). On the death of the acarya's wife or son the asauca is for one day. On the death of a guru (who instructs in Vedic mantras) the asauca is three days and pakshipi if he dies in another village. On the death of a teacher who imparted instruction in grammar, astronomy and other anagas (subsidiary lores) of the Veda, the asauca is one day. Similar rules are laid down about the death of a pupil, rtvik (sacrificial priest), a sacrificer, a dependent srotiya, a fellow-student, a friend, which are all passed over as not now useful. Vide Gaut. 14. 19-20 (which prescribe one day's asauca on the death of a fellow-student or a dependent srotriya).

These provisions about asauca on the death of the acarya and rtvik who were not sapindas show how closely the bond between teacher and pupil was thought to be in ancient times, almost equalling the tie of blood. When a yati (ascetic) dies, all his sapindas have simply to undergo a bath (and nothing more). Conversely, a yati and brahmacarin have to observe no asauca. Manu V. 82, Yaj. III. 25, Visnu 22.45, Sankha 15. 15 provide that on the death of the ruler of the country in which one resides one has to observe asauca up till

---

628. An acarya is defined by Manu II. 140 as one who performs the upanayana of his pupil and teaches him the Veda together with the Kalpasutra and Upansuds. Rtvik is defined by Manu II. 143 as one who is chosen for the performance of Agnyadheya, the pakayasas and the solemn sacrifices like Agnistoma.

629. आचार्यांपल्लीप्रथायांत्रिकवर्णमाणज्ञानवर्गाज्ञानवादिशास्त्राद्वितियोपासेर विष्णुपुराणं २२. ४४। अन्नपूर्वी means wife's brother, Manu (V. 80-81) prescribes three days' asauca on the death of the acarya, his wife and son, and srotiya. Gaut. 14. 26 does the same.

630. वननाथ्यावती चोपरस्ति कलेजे काणने चाङ्ग: स्नान:। विस्तरिऽकौकुक ५वीं वर्त्तमाणः। 3rd पादः. Vide मद्व V. 91 ( = Visnu 22.86) about a मद्वाकारिष्ठ carrying the corpse of his parents.

H. D. 36
the coming of the day or night next to that on which the king dies. 631

As long as a corpse is not removed from the village in which a man dies, the whole village is in śaśauca. Āp. Dh. S. 1. 3. 9. 14 declares that there is no Veda study till a corpse lies in the village. The Smṛti-muktāphala (p. 541) quotes 632 several smṛtis to the effect that in a village in which a corpse lies unremoved, there is to be no eating, no Vedic study and no sacrifice, but that this does not apply where in a village there are more than four hundred brāhmaṇas. The Dharmaśindhu (p. 433) also says the same about a village, but adds that this rule does not apply to a town.

The ideas of ritualistic purity went so far as to provide (as stated in the Śuddhitattva quoted by the Nīrṇayaśindhu) that if a dog died in a brāhmaṇa’s house the house became impure for ten days, that, if a śūdra, 633 a patta or a mleccha died in a brāhmaṇa’s house, the house became impure for a month, two months or four months respectively and the house had to be abandoned if a śvapāka died therein.

Ātikrāntaśauca (impurity on coming to know of birth or death after the several periods fixed). The general rule 634 is

---

631. में राज्यमि स्मर्त्यतिष्ठय स्वायत्वे स्विन्तः। महतं 82। स्मर्तितः is explained by the śiṃta as ‘योदिशेष सह वत्ते हृति स्मर्त्यतिवाच्छन्य। आङ्कि चेतायतत्त्ववर्धां राज्ये चेतायतत्ववर्धन्नमलय्यमिः।’ या. III. 25 (निवासराज्य में तवह मुदिताविवाच्छन्य) is explained by the Mit. in the same sense as महतं 82, but the द्वितीया p. 36 holds that the śaśauca for king’s death is for a whole day and night provided he is a good king protecting his subjects.

632. स्तुत्रवन्दे। राज्ये शंकावादेऽपारुषुयत्विषांशेषें। नागायत्तवं न भोक्त्रयं न होतयं क्षाभिषं। हृति। स्तुत्रवन्दे। शंकावादेऽपारुषुयत्विषांशेषें। एतं तवह अर्थात्तिष्ठयं। समुपूर्ण भाषात्तिष्ठयं। विशेष संस्कृतात्मका जापमार्गचीं पाते। अन्तः शासन होयतु। नासित तत्व समासौदेऽ। श्वतिष्ठ। (आरोच्छ) p. 541.

633. धुनितांगुरुपन्तां। अभुद्धारणिकांशान्त्या। सुताभेदं हिंजस्विदे। सौधें तत्र पवित्राय ‘मा’ भाषितं पयत। द्रूपदत्विषां शुद्ध भाषात्तिष्ठयं। हरिणां तथासम्य नामस्थलुपन्तां। अवघ्या वर्षगुम्यस्तिसंय भाषात्तिष्ठयं। अथवा स्तुतिः। अर्थात्तिष्ठ। अर्थात्तिष्ठ। श्वातक हृति। गा। सूपार्णसिद्धी पू. p. 523। ये वर्णविन्यास स्वायत्तिष्ठ। निर्माणसिद्धी पू. III p. 528; these verses are quoted by श्वातक (p. 100 also).

634. देशानामास्तु न तत्र। कुलायनं महापोषो। गिरित्यां इतरणस्य तत्तीतद्याचिन्दयेत। तत्र परीयां सम्बन्धेन नमस्कारस्य पूर्वमित। श्रवण तः। गीतान्वेष्याचुववध्यक्षविवुद्धत कालस्थलार्यसांसर्गतिकार्यां विनायकं वा। परार। I. III. 10.
that, if a person stays in a different country and hears of a birth or death among his sapindas, he has to observe āsauca not for ten days after hearing but for that number of days that are short of the ten days (counting from birth or death) prescribed for sapindas. Vide Manu V. 75, Yāj. III. 21 (latter half), Śāṅkha 15.11, Pār. gr. III. 10. Āsauca interferes very much with one's activities and it is hence that often-times people send a closed letter to their relatives living in a different place stating thereon that it be opened on a particular day (which is the 10th day from the day of death of a sapinda). Everyone knows the meaning of such a direction and by such a subterfuge inconvenience is avoided and the dictates of the sāstra are deemed to be satisfied. If a son hears of the death of a parent he has to observe āsauca for ten days from the day of hearing, but if he hears of the death of a parent before the collection of bones then he has to observe āsauca only for the days that remain (Smṛti-muktāphala p. 534). There is great divergence about the period of āsauca if the death of a sapinda comes to one's ears more than ten days after the day of death. Manu V. 77 provides that on hearing of the death of a sapinda or the birth of a son after ten days (from the event) a man becomes pure after plunging into water with the clothes on and Yāj. III. 21 (last pāda, 'pūrṇe dattvadakam śucih') states that he becomes pure after (a bath and) offering water when the period fixed has passed off. From the words of Manu that only the father, even if he hears of the birth of a son more than ten days after the event, has to take a bath the Mit. infers that there is no atikrāntāsauca for sapindas on birth. The Mit. quotes Devala in support (vide note 621 above). The Dharmasindhu follows the Mit. Manu V. 76, Śāṅkha 15.12, Kūrmāpurāṇa (Uttarārdha) 23.21 state that when ten days have passed after the event of death, the man who hears of the death is impure for three days and if he hears of the death more than a year after death, he becomes pure after a bath. In order to remove the conflict among smṛtis Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha lays down: ‘āsauca is for three days if the news of death is heard within three months (but later than ten days after death), for a pāksīṇi if it is heard within six months (but later than

635. जम्मुन्तिकालालोऽयं सणिष्णां नासीति सम्मे। चिन्तसु निबिर्विशुधि जनने स्मानमस्येः श्रृवा प्रत्ये जनम च श्रृति त्रिवन्यान। एतत्र इतिहासं जम्मुन्तिकालालोऽयं। नितिकालालोऽयं नासीति श्रावकः। अन्यत्याः ‘निबिर्विशुध्द्यानेषु श्रृवा जनम च निबिर्विशुध्’ हर्षे वाक्यम्। न भोक्तव। सितत. on श. III. 21 (latter half).
three months), for one day if heard before nine months (but later than 6 months) and thereafter (i.e. up to one year but later than nine months) one becomes pure by a bath. But the Mit. says 636 that this holds good as to all except one's parents and quotes Faithnasi and another śṛṇṭi for the proposition that whenever a son staying in a distant country hears of the death of a parent whether within a year or after a year he has to observe āśauca for ten days from the day he becomes aware of it. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (20.88) lays down the same exception in the case of a son. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 21 last half) further says that the rules about atikrāntāśauca apply only to a deceased person whose upanayana had been performed. The Dharmasindhu (p. 433) remarks that there is no atikrāntāśauca as regards the periods of one day and three days prescribed on the death of one whose upanayana had not been performed or as regards the periods of pakṣiṇī and three days on the death of the maternal uncle and others of a different gotra. Similarly, there is no atikrāntāśauca with reference to the āśauca for three days prescribed in the case of samanodakas; but in these cases even after the lapse of the fixed time a bath is necessary. The rules about atikrāntāśauca apply only to āśauca on death for ten days. As in the case of the son, so in the cases of husband and wife and co-wives among themselves even after the lapse of more than a year and even if the death is in a different country the husband or wife or co-wife has to observe āśauca for ten days. The parents, even when they hear of the death of an āurasā son after a year, have to observe āśauca for three days. On the news of the death of a sapinda living in the same country coming to a sapinda's ears after ten days but up to three months, the period of āśauca is three days, pakṣiṇī up to 6 months, up to nine months one day and up to one year a bath. Here also there are various views such as those of Mādhava and others. Vide Śūdhiprakāśa pp. 49-51 for various views.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 21 (latter half) makes a distinction between knowledge of the death of a sapinda staying in the

---

636. तथा ज मःवनसिद्धः मासवेच्च जिरार्यां स्वास्वभासा पश्चिं तथा। अहस्य नवमावयूलाश्च स्नातनेन हुष्टलि इति। एतच माधवसवस्तिरित्विविभयः ।।संवक्त सर्वस्वप्निवि स्नेहमाध्या\|स्वास्वभा\| \|कर्तव्य न ध्यत स्नानन्दोध्यविविभिरित्यथः। सिंता। यथा। त्रयो। III. 21

(latter half). The pura. मा. 1. 2. p. 232 quotes a similar verse of वेशेभ्यो अश्विनसाह्य विभाग्यां स्वास्वभासां। पश्चिं तथा। इति। परंकामयं धनेषुध्वरिश्च स्नातो विशुद्धिपति। इति। The विष्णुस्त्रति (34) includes the verse of वेशेभ्यो। The verse मासवेच्च occurs in Laghu-Āśvalāyana-śṛṇṭi 20.86.
same country coming to a person’s ears after ten days from death and of the death of a sapinda staying in another country separated by a big river &c. In the latter case the sapindas coming to hear of the death after ten days but even before three months are purified by a mere bath. It quotes a smrti verse ‘on hearing that a person (sapinda) died in another country and in the case of the death of an impotent person or a forest hermit or an ascetic purification follows after a bath and the same applies to sagoatra sapindas in the case of abortion.’ The Sadasiti (35) has a similar verse. The Mit. quotes two verses of Bhraspati which define what deantar (a different country) means: ‘Where there is a large river or there is a mountain which separates (one territory from another) or where the languages differ then there is deantar. Some say that a different country means the distance of sixty yojanas, while others put it down at forty yojanas and still others at thirty yojanas.’ There is a difference of opinion as to whether in order to constitute a different country all three must co-exist (viz. a large river, a mountain and difference of speech) or any one of the three will suffice or whether 60, 40 or 30 yojanas would constitute a different country or whether the requirement of ten days for news to be carried to a place would constitute deantar. The Sm. and Sadasiti 37 hold the view that any one of the above three is sufficient while others hold other views. The Suddhiviveka holds that a distance of 60 yojanas constituted deantar by itself, but even within sixty

637. पत्रो नाशातिरविपवति देवानते मुतस्तास्यपिशवानो वृक्षादःृवृध्व भास्थपापै तथा लोकम्। वृक्षादःृवृध्व खः काहे बैलासने यति। सूते स्नाने शुद्धयथ गर्भावे च गो- विषयः इति। सिद्ध. खा. म. III. 21.

638. भाजितायापि पदार्थाच दृषाधरतू यथा: श्याति। एकदेस इदं शोकः स्नात्वा देवानते श्याचः। शवस्ती 35.

639. वृक्षादःृवृध्व शिफातिरिविपवति। महाकाली यथा भिनिव श्यावधिस्य। पार्वती यथा शिरमिष्ठकाति। वृक्षादःृवृध्व मिस्तरद्विययै भैरव्। इति। सिद्ध. खा. म. III. 21. The first verse is ascribed to वृक्षादःृवृध्व by अवराक्रन. p. 905, स्वीतिस्य (आशीर्व) p. 52 and to भृगुमुख by भृगुविज्ञ. p. 51. The स्वीतिस्य. p. 53 adds one more verse and भृगुविज्ञ. p. 51 and the com. on शवस्ती 37 add the same and another half verse from भृगुमुख viz. भृगुमुख- न्यायिनी निकटे यथा भृगुमुख। तत्त्वादेवानते गोक्षे स्थमेन स्वप्नम्र हृदिष्टाय यथा। स्वप्नमाणाय व 20-87। महायाज्ञवान महायाज्ञवान महायाज्ञवान। विभ्रोत्झान्ति वा स्वयः स्नाने शुद्धिः। 640. एकदेस इदं शोकः देवानते श्याति। शुद्धिनिष्ठे देवानते श्याति। एकदेस इदं शोकः देवानते श्याति। विभ्रोत्झान्ति वा स्वयः स्नाने शुद्धिः। गुनाय खा. म. III. 29.
yoganas if a large river, a mountain and difference of speech occurred together, that could give rise to desāntara. The Snyatvarthaśāra 641 avers that desāntara is differently described in the Smṛtis, Purāṇas and the works on tirthas. For yojana, vide H. of Dh. vol. III n. 185 pp. 145–146.

The Dharmasindhu (p. 435) provides that if the bones of an āhitāgni were not found and only an effigy of palāśa leaves were burnt, still the āśauca is for ten days even if he died in a different country and a long time had elapsed. Similarly, in the case of the effigy of one who is not an āhitāgni, the āśauca is for ten days for his son and wife if they have not already observed any āśauca for him but if they had observed it (on hearing of his death) then for three days (on the burning of the effigy). For other sapindas (than the son and wife) in the same circumstances three days and bath are respectively prescribed.

It is provided in the Grhya kārikas, the Snyatvarthaśāra (p. 94), Dharmasindhu (p. 435) and other works that if a man 642 went to a distant country and no news of his being alive was heard, then his son (or other relative), after the lapse of 20 years from the time when no news was heard if the man went away when he was young or 15 years if he left when he was of middle age or 12 years if he left later in life, should perform three cāndrāṇas or thirty krochras, prepare an effigy of the man with kuśas (or with palāśa leaves), should burn it and then observe āśauca and perform śrāddhas &c.

To summarize the above discussion it is clear that as indicated by Medhātithi on Manu V. 58 there is a distinction as regards the periods of āśauca and the persons affected by it in several ways. (1) There is a distinction between āśauca on birth and āśauca on death; (2) As to āśauca on death numerous distinctions arise viz. (a) when there is abortion (garbhārāva or garbhapāta, as in Śaṅkha 15. 4, Brhat-Parāśara VI. p. 186); (b) when the foetus comes out from the 7th to the 9th month of

---

641. देवानात्यनास्तथा स्त्रुर स्वादिष्टुणासतीर्थचक्षुः। स्वम्येदपसारि p. 90.

642. देवानात्यनास्तथा द ऋचानात्यनास्तथा दिभेषयो वेद्यानात्यनास्तथा। दर्ददेवानात्यन्ति जीवितानि एकः। इत्यतः समविशेषयोऽपि अर्थालेकामेव गतास्ति। तद्विष्णुमायणां वर-शान्तिक्षेपेतृ। तथं पूववेचसरसं विधित्यदृस्त शैलिका। किंया॥ खर्च प्रमोदादात्वमेव मयादेह स्वतं। पारस्यागमाधि कृत्वा किंचिः किमलक्ष्याः। बुद्धे। कान्त्वकृति तस्य ब्रह्माध्यायिन्यं। किंया॥ कान्ते इत्यत् श्रेष्ठः। रघुनाथ विन. 00 विंशती 15 p. 97.
Summary of rules on āśauca

If a person is born or died at night or news thereof is received at night, a question arises as to from what day the periods of āśauca are to be calculated. For example, if a man died at 1 A.M. on Monday, was Monday to be included in counting ten days of āśauca or was it to be excluded? There are two views on this point. One view is that any time before midnight is to be counted as belonging to the previous day, while any time after midnight is to be taken as belonging to the next day. On this view in the above illustration Monday would be excluded in the calculation of ten days. The other view is that the night is to be divided into three

---

643. सिद्धकोश्चितिान्तम सया छापेि द्विद्रोतम। संघकार ६, by घर सा। 1. 2. p. 216. For सिद्धकोश्चिति vide सख X. 112 and सा। I. 128.

643a. राहू जननमने राहू मणात्ने वा राहू श्रात्मना शुता यथभाबूिये पृथिन तुसायभे उन्हितनात्माशीबे। यश्यराित्र ताक पृथिन वस्त वकने। अर्थ राहू एिाघुिना यथस्वम। घरसिन्धु p. 435. This view is based on verses of पारस्कर and काृष्ण 'अर्थायुक्तार्थायुक्ताः सुते तथा'. पृथिन द्वित वाधायुिे बे- पुराणशास्त्री राहू श्रात्मना के ही भागी पृथिनविमाण। उन्हें: परिृते जातिकु च सुते च। पारस्कर ५, by स्वरिच। (आशोक) pp. 118-119.
parts and if death occurs in the first two of the three parts then the day is to be included in the calculation; if the time of death falls in the 3rd part, the ten days are to be calculated from the next day. On this view Monday would be included in the ten days. The Dharmasindhu (p. 435) remarks that in this matter the usage of the country is to be followed. Vide Madanaparijātā pp. 394–395 also.

Several rules are mentioned in the smṛtis about the periods of āśauca for the relatives of higher castes when they marry women of lower varṇas (i.e. when there are anuloma marriages). For example, Dakṣa VI. 12 says that if a brāhmaṇa has married wives of the four varṇas, then the impurity on the delivery or death of these women respectively lasts for 10, 6, 3 or 1 day. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (22. 22–24) provides that when a kṣatriya has sapindas of the vaiśya or śūdra varṇa the āśauca on the birth and death of these lasts for six or three days, if a vaiśya has a śūdra as sapinda then impurity is removed after six days. But when people of lower varṇas have sapindas of higher varṇas then impurity on birth and death ceases when the impurity of the higher varṇa sapindas ceases. Laghu-Hārīta 84 (= Āpastambhasmṛti IX verse 13) has similar provisions. Other smṛtis and purāṇas like the Kūrma (Uttar-ārdha 23. 30–36) mention differing views quoted in Ḥāralatā pp. 54–60, Smṛ. M. pp. 435–496. The Madanaparijātā remarks (pp. 425–426) that some say that these varying provisions may be discarded or that they may be assigned their proper place according to the usages of the several countries or they should somehow be explained as based upon the person affected being possessed of virtues or not or they may be held to be applicable to seasons of distress or otherwise.

According to the Mit. on Yāj. 644 III. 22 persons belonging to the pratiloma castes have no periods of āśauca, but they have to observe rules of purification similar to those relating to answering the call of nature. Others like the Smṛti-muktāphala 645 p. 495 aver, relying on Manu (X. 41.), that the pratiloma castes are like śūdras and have to observe the āśauca prescribed for śūdras. The Ḥāralatā (p. 12) quotes Adipurāṇa to the effect that var纳斯āṅkaras (i.e. pratilomas)

644. श्रवनिर्वाचनमां स्मर्भोषाचारमां व वत्सरामां धर्मानिना:—हि विभद्वमयुः। केवल श्रवस्ती पदविच य नगालक्षमार्थेऽ शुचिपुरुषोपसांस्तमस्त शौचालये। समितां उच्छ: या III. 22। वैभव्यमालामहो धर्मानिना: is sa. 4. 20।

645. श्रवनिर्वाचनाभिन्द्यं श्रवाणिमांथवं श्रवस्तीपदावरस्तं। शुचिपुरुषोपसांस्तमस्त । समि । (असोह) p. 495।
should follow the āśūras in the matter of āśauca and purification. The Sūtryartha-sūra (p. 92) states that those born of pratiṣṭhna unions should observe āśauca if they perform prāyaścitta, but if they do not perform prāyaścitta then there is no āśauca for them.

It has already been stated (p. 215) how it was the duty of sapinda-s to take out the corpse and to cremate it and how carrying the dead body of a poor brāhmaṇa was highly eulogised (Parāśara III. 39-40). But, as Mānu V. 101-102 provide, if a brāhmaṇa carried through affection the dead body of one who was not his sapinda, as if he were a bandhu or carried (the dead body) of his mother’s bandhus (such as mother’s brother or sister) he became pure after three days; but if he partook of the food of those who were bereaved by death he became pure after ten days and if he does not stay in the house of those bereaved nor partakes of their food he becomes pure in a day (but if he stays in their house though not partaking of their food he has to observe āśauca for three days). Vide Kūmapurāṇa (Uttarārādhā 23, 37) and Viṣṇu 22, 7-9 also. Gautama (14, 21-25) has rules on the same subject but they somewhat differ and Haradatta remarks that this āśauca is somewhat different from the āśauca observed by sapinda-s, viz. he becomes untouchable but he need not follow the other rules such as sleeping on the ground &c. If a person carried a dead body through greed (for money), a brāhmaṇa, ksatriya, vaśya or ū śudra had to observe āśauca respectively for 10, 12, or 15 days or a month. This was called nirāśauca, the word ‘nirāśa’ including the covering of the dead body with a garment, decking it with garlands, perfumes and ornaments, carrying it and cremating it. Sapinda-s who are observing āśauca for the death of the same person may dine in the same house and partake of the food cooked, but not others who are not undergoing the same āśauca.

646. असारिष्ण द्विंते सैनिवे निधिं वस्थिः। अशिर्भा च सहःस्रिविव इत्तये। कुमःशुराण (उ. त. 23.37)। नाहि च कृत्विविद्वामत्तः। वाजःशाद्रिनामानि। यादि च सहकुमःशुराण। यासतापथ (ए. 34.1)। अशिर्भाचापमेन ग्रामावित्वं कुसदृष्। कुमःशुराण 22.7-9.

647. निधिं विविद्वाणु: सुप्रस्तेत् वर्षितम्। अतः वास्तवायुष्मयोऽयस्थितां! वहने दहने वैलिनिविद्वाणुः निम्नवतां। इति। या. कु. तिततः। (ए. 34.1)। p. 544.

648. तत्त्व व्रतमानं न कापायं। उपयुक्त दाहानि कुत्तार्थस्तम्। सुप्रस्तेत्। इति। कुमःशुराण। उपयुक्त जनाननमावपुर्णोऽः। कुत्त व्रतमानं। सहाय्यानी भूममाट्यांन भूममाट्यां। कुलार्थां जनाननोऽः। सुप्रस्तेत्। इति। कुमःशुराण। भूममाट्यां अन्यं हेतु। सूत्रो द्वारा व्रतमानं सहाय्यां। इति। विद्म. ो या. 31.17। कुलाश (ए. 83)। p. 23 तथा अस्पृयु स्त्रीत:। अप्राप्त:। (ए. 83)। p. 892।

H. D. 37.
Gaut. 14. 29, Manu V. 103, Yāj. III. 26, Parāśara III. 42 prescribe that a brāhmaṇa should not follow the funeral procession of a deceased brāhmaṇa, but if he does so, he has to bathe, touch fire, take in ghee and then he becomes pure. Parāśara III.43-46 and Kūrmapuruṣa (Uttarārdha 23.45) provide a rising scale of the days of āśauca if a brāhmaṇa follows the corpse of a kṣatriya (āśauca for one day and pañcagavya), a vaiśya (āśauca for two days and six prāṇyāmas), a śūdra (āśauca for three days, bath in a river going to the sea, 100 prāṇyāmas⁶⁶⁹ and drinking of ghee). Vide Trimbac-cholkı verse 13.

If a brāhmaṇa who is not a sapinḍa of the deceased went to the bereaved family and wept along with the relatives before the collection of bones he had to observe āśauca for a day and then a bath if the deceased was a kṣatriya or vaiśya, but āśauca for three days if the deceased was a śūdra; but he had to undergo only a bath if he went after the collection of the bones; when the deceased was a śūdra and the weeping took place after the collection of bones he had to observe āśauca for a whole day and night. Vide Kūrmapuruṣa (Uttarārdha 23.46-47), Agnipuruṣa 158.47-48, Par. M. 1.2. pp. 283-285, Smṛ. M. (āśauca) p. 543 and Aśaucaśaka verse 9 (for mirāha, following a funeral procession and weeping).

Persons⁶⁶⁰ undergoing an āśauca on birth or death for one person were forbidden to touch other persons undergoing āśauca for the birth or death of another person altogether. If they did so they had to perform prāyaścitta (Prajāpatya or Santapanā).

Even if a person's wife left him and lived in illicit relationship with a person of the same or higher caste he had to observe on her death āśauca for one day. But if she lived with one lower in varpa than her husband, the latter had not, on her death, to observe any āśauca at all (Yāj. III.6). Similarly, one had to observe one day's āśauca on the death of sons that were not aurasa (such as kṣetraja). Vide Yāj. III.25 and Viṣṇu 22.42-43.

Certain exceptions were recognized to the above rules about partaking of food at the house of one who is afflicted with

⁶⁴⁹. एकाहासःकामिणि शर्मिन्यं च स्वादं खेदयन्ति। वृद्धं विन्यं मूलश्च मानवायमध्। पुरुषं। कुमारनन्दम् (उत्तरार्द्ध 23.45) q. in सुभित्तम p. 293, शृविष्ठ p. 63.

⁶⁶⁰. आकाशिभात्तिस्वस्वस्वस्वस्यस्यन्तरस्यस्यस्यादिपरिहारे। स्वाथात्तिस्यस्य त्वमेक्षे विन्यं विदितम्। अकाशिक्षाय समावेशं स कर्मसंयो विज्ञामानं। आकाशिक्षार्ह्याः समावेशं शृविष्ठधि च कामतः। चतुर्थं साम्भवते छान्तं वातावरणकामतः। शृविष्ठ (आशो) p. 502.
aśauca. While a marriage rite (as also caula and upanayana), festival in honour of a deity and a sacrifice (like Jyotiṣotama) are in progress, if impurity due to birth or death overtakes the performer, the materials (money and other things) already set apart for them may be dedicated or donated to the deity or brāhmaṇas and no fault is incurred. As regards food, a smṛti text quoted by the Mit. says 'if in marriage, in a festival in honour of a deity or in a sacrifice aśauca on birth or death intervenes, the cooked food should be served through others (not affected by the aśauca) and the donor and the partaker of the food incur no blame. Acc. to Aṅgiras, 653 Paitṭhinasī (q. by Sm. C.) and Viṣṇu Dh. S., when once a sacrifice (like a Somayāga), a marriage, a sacrifice or festival in honour of the mother Goddesses or a deity or the dedication or foundation of an idol or temple has been begun a supervening aśauca does not matter. Even in modern times this is followed as regards upanayana and marriage. When exactly a sacrifice or marriage ceremony may be said to have begun is laid down by Laghu-Viṣṇu as follows: 654 in the case of a sacrifice it may be said to begin when the priests are chosen, in the case of vratas and japa when the saṅkalpa (declaration) is made, in the case of marriage when the Nāndiśrāddha is performed, and in the case of a śrāddha when the food meant for the brāhmaṇas has been cooked completely. Certain things could be taken from the house of one who was undergoing aśauca on birth or death and who was the owner thereof (though not actually

651. विषालोकतवयेत्तवीति odh. लस्यम् शुचबुधकी | पूर्वसुभुतिवयं त्र्यं दीपमाणि न दुक्तोपमी । परास ि, 27. The latter half is also ascribed to कृति by the सिंहान. on परा III. 29.

652. विषालोकतवयेत्तवीति odh. लस्यम् शुचबुधकी | शेषमाणि त्र्यं दीपमाणि न दुक्तोपमी । q. by सिंहान. on परा III. 29 and परा मा. II. 2 p. 262. हारस्त्र (pp. 105-106) quotes a very similar verse from आदनुराण 'विषालोकतवयेति शुचबुधकी वान्तमाणि लस्यम्...सुदेशानु.'

653. Vide स्त्रिति. (आदान. p. 70) for the verses of आदनुराण and वेदीनिसि: न देवन्तिः सवान्तिः: पूर्वसुभुतिवयं न देवन्तिः सवान्तिः: बालनारदी कवाज्यानां । तिष्ठुमुददु 22.53-55 q. by सिंहान. on परा III. 29 (with variants).

654. तावत्त्वेवाद्वा आदु दीपमाणि जये। भाषम्वयं हस्यम्वयं न दुक्तोपमी। मारम्भम् वर्षम् यथे संहवर्षम् अवर्षम्:। नारिकान्तानु विषालोकी आदु पाटपरिक्रमा। तनुमित्वं q. by चौरसिका. p. 94, सब प. 423. The स्त्रिति p. 17 begins मारम्भम्बासांतिः सवान्तिः: कायम् यथा व, then has the verses मारम्भम् वर्षम्...परिक्रमा и adds 'सिंहानां श्रवणम् न दुक्तोपमी। उदाहरणम् 23.66 q. in हारस्त्र p. 31.

655. विषालोकतवयेति odh. लस्यम् शुचबुधकी च त्र्यं दीपमाणि न दुक्तोपमी। तत् कथित व दुक्तो त्र्यं सवान्तिः सवान्तिः। आदनुराणां शुचबुधकी आदुनारदी निराय व था। कृत्तिलेखं उदाहरणम् शुचबुधकी वान्तमाणि लस्यम्:। कृत्तिलेखं, उदाहरणम् च 23.66 q. in हारस्त्र p. 31.
from his hand, but with his permission). The Kūrmapurāṇa enumerates such articles. They are ‘fruits, flowers, raw vegetables, salt, firewood, butter-milk, curds, ghee, oil, drugs, milk and dry food’ (like laddus, lājās). Marici (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 17) and Trīṃśac-chloki verse 20 present even longer lists of such things.

Some smṛtis and commentators lay down rules about the āśauca to be observed by slaves when their masters are in āśauca. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22.19, Devalasūrīti verse 6, Bṛhaspati quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. 14.4. But as slavery has long been abolished this topic is passed over here.

Āśaucaśamnipāta or āśaucaśampāta (the knowledge of another āśauca coming to a person already observing one āśauca). The rules about this matter were promulgated early enough and they are based on convenience and common sense. The rules try to give relief to persons who may be sorely tried if it were held that, when another āśauca supervenes while a person is already in the midst of one, he has to finish all the days of the first āśauca and then begin the period of the second āśauca. The Gaut. Dh. S. 14.5 starts by saying that if another āśauca supervenes on one already being undergone, purification results after the remaining days of the first āśauca are over. Then sūtras 6 and 7 provide that if the second āśauca supervenes in the last night of the first āśauca then purification results in two days after the first āśauca ends and if the second āśauca comes to be known in the last watch of the night of the last day of the first āśauca, the second ends in three days after the first ends. Baud. Dh. S. I. 5.123 appears to be similar to Gaut. 14.5–6. Manu V. 79, Yāj. III. 20, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 25–38, Śaṅkha 15. 10, Parāśara III. 28 lay down the general rule promulgated by Gautama 14.5.

Some general rules concerning this topic may first be stated. The first rule is that in a conflict between āśauca on death and āśauca on birth, that on death is stronger. The
2nd rule is that if both āśaucas are of the same kind and the second is of the same duration or of lesser duration than the first then a man gets rid of both at the end of the first, but if the second, though of the same kind, has a longer duration than the first, then purification follows at the end of the one that is of longer duration. It has to be remembered that birth and death give rise to āśauca only when they are known by a person.

On this topic there is a good deal of divergence between the views of the followers of the Mitākṣara, of the Gaudas and Maithilas (vide Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 74–82, Nirñayasindhu 536–540). Following the Nirñayasindhu it may be said that twelve alternatives are possible, when another āśauca supervenes on an already existing one. They are set out here. (1 & 2) If both āśaucas are due to birth and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the first āśauca there is purification from both (Viṣṇu 2.25, Śaṅkha 15.70); (3) If both āśaucas are due to birth and the second is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Śaṅkha 15.10, Śaḍāṣṭi 19); (4 and 5) If both āśaucas arise on death and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the period of the first āśauca there is purification from both; (6) If both āśaucas arise on death and the second that intervenes is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Śaḍāṣṭi 21); (7, 8 and 9) When the first āśauca is one arising from birth and an āśauca due to deaths intervenes, the āśauca on death must run its full course (i.e. there is no purification by the lapse of the first āśauca due to birth), whether the āśauca for death is of lesser duration than the āśauca on birth, or whether it is of the same or of longer

(Continued from the last page)

658. भस्मात्र तद्वस्त्र यथा दलित अत्यन्तं दलितः सत्वाश्विता भनेः (q. by śṛṣṭi 15.18-19) Q. by śṛṣṭi 15.18-19 Q. by śṛṣṭi 15.18-19 Q. by śṛṣṭi 15.18-19 Q. by śṛṣṭi 15.18-19. This occurs in the Śrīmacūla 158.64.
duration (Saśāstī 18); (10, 11) If the first āsāuca arises on death and the supervening one is due to birth and is of lesser duration than the one on death or of the same duration then both end at the expiration of the first āsāuca on death (Saśāstī 21); (12) If the first āsāuca arises on death and the supervening one arises on birth and is of longer duration, then both run their proper courses (Saśāstī 21).

The Dharmasindhu (p. 436) generally follows the Nīrṇaya-sindhu but remarks: 'Āsāuca on death cannot be done away with by āsāuca on birth which is of the same or greater duration; āsāuca on death of the extent of pākṣipīt cannot get rid of āsāuca on birth which is three or ten days in duration and āsāuca on birth extending to ten days cannot be got rid of by āsāuca on death which is of three days' duration.' These are the views of many writers. A certain writer says that āsāuca on birth though longer in duration can be got rid of by āsāuca on death which is of lesser extent.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 20 (first half) states an exception to the above rules about āsāuca-sannipāta. When a person's mother dies and then, while the period of āsāuca for the mother's death is not over, the father dies, it does not follow that the āsāuca for the father comes to an end with the end of the āsāuca for the mother, but the son has to observe the full period of āsāuca for father's death. Similarly, if the father died first and then, while the period of āsāuca for the father was not over, the mother died, it does not follow that the āsāuca for the mother's death comes to an end with the end of the first period of āsāuca for the father, but the son after observing the period of the father's āsāuca has to observe āsāuca for the mother for one pākṣipīt in addition. It may be remarked that Aparārka construes this verse differently by stating that if the father dies during the period of āsāuca for the death of the mother, then the general rule applies, viz. that purification follows at the end of the āsāuca for the mother.

---

659. आतके नेव तुतक क्षर्य गाति न संशयः || वृहदम IV. 20; जातके पुत्रक वा स्त्राद्ध्वः तके सुङ्कम तथा || दुर्गवती 58.

660. तथा सर्वजीविन्त्याश्वविशेषः क्रियाक्रम:- दुर्गवती 76. वृहदम IV. 20. The verse is ascribed to Śṛṅg by Aparāṅkha p. 900, Mā. I. 2. p. 267, दुर्गवती 76. Verses 24-25 of the वृहदम contain the same idea; Mā. p. 438 ascribes it to अहिरन्त.
If, while an āśauca on death is being undergone, an āśauca on birth arises, the father of the child born is able to perform the rites of Jātakarma and the like, because he is to be deemed to be purified for the nonce, according to Prajāpati.661

The Śaḍaśāti (verse 22) provides662 that the rule about purification on the expiry of the first āśauca in the case of succeeding āśaucas on birth or death has three exceptions, viz. a woman who is delivered of a child, the person who actually cremates the body (of the deceased) and the sons of the deceased; that is, a sūthīka has to observe the proper period of untouchability and one who cremates a dead body has to observe āśauca for ten days, though the delivery or cremation takes place in the midst of an āśauca on death.

SADYAH—ŚAUCA (purification on the same day). It has already been seen (p. 274) that Dakṣa (VI. 3) speaks of ten kinds of impurity on birth or death, the first two of which are sadyah-śāuca and ekāha. Ekāha means day and night together (vide note 622 above). The ordinary meaning of ‘sadyah’ is ‘at once, immediately.’ But when Yāj. III. 29, Parāśara III. 10, Atri 97 and other smṛtis employ the word ‘sadyah-śauca’ what is meant is that there is no āśauca for a whole day or three days or ten days, but only up to the taking of a bath or up to the end of the day or the end of the night on which the event occurs. Pāṇini663 mentions ‘sadyah’ and thirteen other words in one sūtra as nipūtas (irregularly formed). From Yāj. III. 23 (ādantajanmanah sadya acūdānma niśīkṛi smṛtā) it implicitly follows that sadyah has the meaning of ‘a part of a day or a part of the night’ (as the case may be) and ‘naiśīkṛi’ means a whole day and night (as note 622 shows). The Śuddhāsvatā

661. ैताकियः युन; श्रुतकस्यान्विते ऊय निन्यवै थाति तन्मवेशमित्र (शालातपन)।

662. ूपरिश्रवणय लोधः श्रवणन्तरे तत्व। श्रवणकारिया हिह्यो मेततय च

663. सायापरवतसे: परशुपुरस्मुर्दस्यस्यादाद्वयस्यादारस्यसत्सोधपृय:भवयुक्ते। पद्ध. ५. ३. २२, 'समानतय समाशो वध भावनिः' is शालिक on the सृज.
(pp. 340–341) explains 664 'sadyaḥ' as meaning 'a portion of the day or of the night' and cites several authorities in support. The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 92) explains that 'sadyaḥśauca' in some contexts means 'absence of śauca,' while in others it means 'bath' and with reference to those killed in battle and the like (to whom pīṇḍas have to be offered) it means 'a part of the day or of the night.' The Śrīvimuktāphala 665 (āśaucaṅkāṇa) p.481 says that 'sadyaḥśauca' means 'impurity that comes to an end by a bath.' That pīṇḍas have to be offered to those about whom there is 'sadyaḥśauca' is stated by the Ācipurāṇa. 666 According to the Śuddhikaumudi (p. 73) 'sadyaḥśauca' has two meanings, viz. (1) the entire absence of śauca as in the cases of sacrificial priests &c. (Yāj. III. 28), (2) śauca that is removed by a mere bath (as in Manu V. 76).

The rules about śauca for several days do not operate in five classes of cases, viz. certain persons are exempted altogether, certain activities of certain persons who would ordinarily be untouchable owing to śauca are allowed without causing pollution, certain articles can be taken by anybody without fear of pollution from those who are affected by śauca, no śauca is to be observed for certain deceased persons owing to their faults, in the case of certain persons express texts say that no śauca need be observed for them. These five classes will briefly be dealt with in order. In the principal texts these five classes of cases are rather mixed up. In the Viśnupurāṇa III, 13.7 it is provided that there is sadyaḥśauca on the death of a child, or of a person dying in another country, of a patita, or of an ascetic or on the death of a person committing suicide by water, fire or hanging. Vide also Gaut. 14.11 and 42 and Vāmanapurāṇa 14.99.

---

664. अन्तः सद्यः पद्महोरश्राक्षपरसः...हे सन्ये सद्यः इत्यज्ञावस्यविवेकम्। स्थूलः। बालावेकरकेत्वाभि पतिश्वेतदिवशः। हे सन्ये सद्यः इत्यज्ञावस्यविवेकम्। हे सन्ये सद्यः इत्यज्ञावस्यविवेकम्। विद्येकरकेत्वाभि पतिश्वेतदिवशः। हे सन्ये सद्यः इत्यज्ञावस्यविवेकम्। विद्येकरकेत्वाभि पतिश्वेतदिवशः। हे सन्ये सद्यः इत्यज्ञावस्यविवेकम्। एकनकः सद्यः इत्यज्ञावस्यविवेकम्। एकनकः सद्यः इत्यज्ञावस्यविवेकम्। एकनकः सद्यः इत्यज्ञावस्यविवेकम्। एकनकः सद्यः इत्यज्ञावस्यविवेकम्। एकनकः सद्यः इत्यज्ञावस्यविवेकम्। एकनकः सद्यः इत्यज्ञावस्यविवेकम्।

665. सन्य: पीढ़ि नाम स्वामसा०॥ सन्य: पीढ़ि न वशमात्मः संस्कारः # बालावेकाः न मुखित्व सन्ये वशमात्मः॥ हृदय:-स्वरूपम्।। स्थूलः। p. 481.

666. हिंसने हिन्दुने विविधो हेवें एवं कर्मेन् तु || सन्य: पीढ़ि दशताय वशे वेवेदुपनोम् # आदिपुराण q. by हरिताला p. 165. The latter half is cited as from ब्रह्मपुराण by हरिताला on विविधशा० verse 28 p. 249. It is not unlikely that the ब्रह्मपुराण which is mentioned in several works as the first of the 18 पुराण was therefore called आदिपुराण.
Yāj. (III. 28–29) prescribes that there is sadyaḥ-śauca (purification after a bath) in case of birth or death (of a saptiṇḍa) for priests chosen for a sacrifice (after they are offered Madhuparka), for those who have undergone dikṣā for a vedic sacrifice (like Somañāga) and those who are engaged in performing the constituent parts of a Vedic sacrifice, those who continuously distribute food at a charity house, those who are engaged in prāyaścittas like cāndrayaṇa or the vows of snātakas, for brahmācārins (when performing the duties of their uśrama), for persons who everycaḷā make gifts of a cow, gold etc. (at the time of making the gift), for those who have realized Brahma (ascetics); there is sadyaḥ-śauca at gifts (when once begun), at marriage, in a Vedic sacrifice, in battle (for those who are about to be engaged in it), when there is commotion in a country (through invasion), and in a severe calamity (like famine when one can accept food from any body).

Gaut. (14. 43–44) says that there is sadyaḥ-śauca in the case of kings as otherwise there will be obstacles in their duties and also in the case of brāhmaṇas in order to prevent the cessation of their duties of teaching. Śaṅkhaliṅkita say the same 'Rāja dharmaẏatanam sarvēṣām tasmādanaruddhaḥ pretraprasa-vadoṣaiḥ' (Śuddhikulpataru p. 62). It is stated in Manu V. 93 that kings, 667 those engaged in vratas and sattras (like Gavām-ayana) are not liable to undergo the blemish of śauca, because they (kings) occupy the position of Indra (ruler) and are like Brahma (which is free from all taint) and Manu V. 94 clinches the matter further by observing 'sadyaḥ-śauca is ordained for the position of a king which can be obtained only by great merit (in past lives) for the sake of the protection of the subjects and the reason of this (rule) is the position that he occupies.' Similarly, Gobhillasmrti 668

667. न राजा गयाज्यातनम् किं न सत्रमिणि। वरुण स्थनथुपातिः। यामुख हि ते सब्र ॥ राज गयाज्यातनम् किं न सत्रमिणि। वरुण स्थनथुपातिः। यामुख हि ते सब्र ॥

668. न राजाकृतीर्थ वरुण स्थनथुपातिः। यामुख हि ते सब्र ॥ राजाकृतीर्थ वरुण स्थनथुपातिः। यामुख हि ते सब्र ॥

H. D. 38
(III. 64–65, often quoted as Chandogaparāśīṣṭa of Kātyāyana) states 'in a sātaka, a brahmacārīn should not give up his peculiar duties (Veda study and vrata), a sacrificer his various actions (required) in a sacrifice after he has undergone dīkṣā, one who is practising penance should not give up kṛcchra and the like; these do not incur impurity even on the death of their father (or mother). The Kūrmapurāṇa provides 'no impurity is declared on death in the case of perpetual or temporary brahmacārins, forest hermits or ascetics'. Similar rules are given by Atri 97–98, Līṅga-purāṇa, pūrvabhāga, chap. 89.77. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 28 remarks that in the case of the three āṣramas of brahmacārīn, vānaprastha and yati there is freedom from impurity in all cases and at all times; ascetics and brahmacārins have to undergo a bath with clothes on the death of their father or mother (Dharmasindhu p. 442); in the case of several others such as those who are continually making gifts or are observing vratas there is freedom from impurity only when they are engaged in those particular actions and not when they are engaged in any action whatever or when they mix up among others for everyday work. Similar rules occur in Parāśara III.21–22. It has already been stated following Manu V. 91 ( = Viśnup 22.86) that a brahmacārīn was not to perform the last rites (of carrying the corpse, cremation) for anybody except for five persons (viz. his parents, upādhyāya, ācārya and guru). He did not incur āśauca by performing the funeral rites of his parents and offering water and pinda to them. But if he did so for any one other than the five mentioned by Manu he had to observe āśauca for ten days, and to undergo pṛyaścitta and had his upanayana performed again. A brahma-
cārīn had to observe after samāvartana (returning from the Vedic teacher) āśauca for three days for all relatives that died during the period of his studenthood (Manu V. 88, Viśnup Dh. S. 22.87). Gautama (14. 42–44) says generally that on the death of child-

669. अनिवार्यम् जननामि तीन्म ब्रह्मचारीयम्। नासौवं कवितां सिंहे: पति ज स
नथवा दूरे न कुमुदस्य उपराष्ट्रम् (उपराष्ट्रम) 23.61 q. by हराल्या p. 114, परा. मा. 1. 2. p. 254.

670. शंकितम् जननामि सचे दत्ते न शुरुः कर्माचैः संयूक्तेऽये च। ... ब्रह्मचारिषी:... 
एतेऽवं च त्रायमानाभिः संयमेऽस्थिति। बिसर्ये मायालभे। सिद्ध. ओ. या. III. 28.

671. ब्राह्मचारिषीः स्त्रियाः सत्यायामस्य शास्त्रोपित्याऽस्य। राजं च कार्यविरोधाः। 
कार्यसिद्धम् च साधारणात्तुपयुप्य च। श्रुद्धम् 14.42–44. परा. या. III. 10 and वारस्युपुराणः 
14.99–100 contain verses almost in the same words as the first aṭṭha.
ren (before the appearance of teeth or before Cūḍā), of those who are separated by a country, of ascetics and of those who are not sapindas, the relatives are purified by only a bath; so also there is sadyaḥśauca for kings, for otherwise there would be conflict with their duty (of protecting the subjects) and for a brāhmaṇa also in order that there may be no cessation of Vedic study. The Śuddhirakāśa (p. 93) remarks that though there is no śauca (as stated by Yaṭ. III. 28) yet a sacrificial priest and a dīkṣita had to bathe on the death of a sapinda, a brahmācarin also would have to take a bath if he followed the funeral procession of his father or mother &c., but an ascetic would not have even to bathe and that usage was the same in its day.

The second class of exceptions refers to cases where certain persons, though they have incurred aśauca, are allowed to do certain acts or carry on their activities without bringing pollution to those with whom they deal or come in contact. For example, Parāśara (III. 20–21) says: 'craftsmen (such as those who draw pictures or washermen), workers (cooks and the like), physicians, male and female slaves, barbers, kings and brāhmanīyas are declared to be sadyaḥśauca, as also one observing a vrata (cāndrāyaṇa &c.), one purified by being engaged in a sattra (such as Gāvām-āyana), a brāhmaṇa who has established ārāma fires; the king has not to observe aśauca and also any one (such as his purohita) whom the king for his own purpose desires not to observe it.' The Ādiyāśaṇa gives the reason why craftsmen, physicians and others were allowed not to observe aśauca when engaged in their peculiar tasks, viz. what these people do cannot be done by any one else at all or at least so well or so easily.

672. धिलिन्यां कारका वैष्ठ दसौऽकाभाव नापिता। राजा: शोभित्रायमेय सपः शीखा:। 

673. तथा बालिक्षणे। धिलिन्याधिकाराणाः कर्म यस्त्याध्यक्षलय्यत्। तक्तम नाथ्यो 

[Note: The text is in Sanskrit and contains references to Vedas and specific rituals. The translation is provided for educational purposes.]
It has been noted that the absence of āsaucya in the case of craftsmen, physicians and the like has to be restricted to the peculiar activities of these and does not extend to all actions such as religious rites, śrāddhas and gifts. This is clear from the words of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra 675 22. 48-52. The Trīṃśacchloki (verse 18) 676 gives a long list of such peculiar activities. The Kārnavaṭa (Uttarārdha 23. 57-64) has nine verses on this topic which are quoted by the Haralata (p. 114).

It has already been seen (pp. 238-240) that Pār. gr. III. 10 (nityāni vinivartante vaitānavarjam), Manu. V. 84, Yaj. III. 17 (latter half) provide that even those who have to undergo āsaucya on death should not stop rites to be performed with śrāuta fires, but should perform them themselves or get them performed through others. Thus certain religious rites were allowed to be done even by those who were āsaucin.

The Dharmasindeh (p. 552) emphasizes that this exception to āsaucya should be availed of only when there is no other alternative or in a season of distress.

It has already been stated how certain materials and things can be received without any pollution from those who are undergoing āsaucya. That is the third class of cases which are exceptions to the rules of āsaucya.

The fourth class of cases where rules of āsaucya do not apply relate to persons deceased to whom some fault or taint attaches. Gaut. (14. 11) 677 and Śankha-Likhitā provide that there is sadyahśaucya for those who kill themselves (i.e. commit suicide) by starting on the great journey (to the Himalaya), by fasting, by a weapon (like a dagger), by fire or poison or water or by hanging or by falling down from a precipice.

---

674. अर्थ ्यायिन्द्रपालसागारकर्मुङ्क्तकां अशुमरोपात्येयंत्रस्योऽन्तः। न तस्य वृद्धेन द्वाराशिवारिधेक्षेयासोचातः। भिष्जाग. p. 95.

675. (अत्थवच) न रक्षा रजावर्णमी। न भृति रेवती। न सर्वाणि सर्वे। न कालाण प्रकाशानिक। न श्रावः ताचिकां रिवेच्याय। भिष्जाग. 22. 48-52.

676. तत्तकांस्यु तत्तकांस्यु साहित्यस्पष्टांकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःकुःk. 18. दुपवत्र means दुपवसक.

677. For this vide note 522 above; प्राणितिवेचंक्षेपत्वमपाशैःक्षेत्राः। अथ ्यायानायकारिकायुन्जजेपायमयेयोऽसे। न्यायसाहित्यं q. by हरिताम. p. 113; डूतिका प्राणायाममोद्यमुत्तात्तिनि वतानि स नासोंच विद्ययुग-हस्ताय ये। अभिप्रयास 157.32. Vide वामसमुत्साव 14. 99-100.
Yāj. III. 6 provides \(678\) that women that have gone over to heterodox views and practices, that do not belong to any particular āśrama, that are thieves (of gold and the like), that (attempt to) kill their husbands, that are unchaste and the like, that drink liquor and that attempt suicide, do not deserve to have water offered to them (on death) and no āśauca should be observed for them. This verse applies to men also as far as possible. Manu V. 89-90 are to the same effect. The Kūrmapurāṇa also prescribes \(679\) that for him who kills himself by means of fire, poison and the like, no āśauca, no cremation and no offering of water is prescribed, there is no cremation for patitas, nor antyeṣṭi nor collection of bones, no shedding of tears and no pindā and no śrāddha should be performed for them. It is provided by Āṅgiras quoted by Mit. on Yāj. III. 6 that 'death results to evil-minded men from cāṇḍālas (with whom a quarrel is purposely got up), from water, from a snake, from a brāhmaṇa, from lightning and from animals that have sharp fangs (like tigers). If water and pindā are offered to such people (who die wilfully in these cases) they (water and pindā) do not reach them and perish in mid air.' These verses refer to death in a wrathful fight with tigers, snakes and the like or suicide in water through wrath or sorrow. But, if one died in water or by fire through inadvertence or negligence, then Āṅgiras \(680\) himself provides that water should be offered and āśauca should be observed. Long passages are quoted from the Brahmāpurāṇa by Haradatta on Gaut. 14. 11, Sūddhiprakāśa pp. 56-57, Nīrṇayasindhu p. 550, which elaborate the same ideas as those of Yāj. III. 6, Āṅgiras and others and wind up by stating that if any one offers water or śrāddha to patitas through affection or cremates them, he has to undergo prāyāscitta (viz. two Taptakrcchas).

---

678. For yā. III. 6 read p. 222 above. अपराकोऽर्जते 'पानवनाविनितः' and explains 'पाण्डवायुज्जातिनाविनितः: सहीकाय नविदः', while the समान: reads पानवनव- नाविनितः and makes two different classes.

679. पतिलान: च दाहः; vide note 522 above; the अहिंसर (159. 2-4) states 'आयुक्तस्मातन: माति पतिलाने तथा किमा। तेषाये तथा गाये तेषामात्रवृद्धस्वतः विनियमम्। तेषां दर्शन्ती चाह चाह बने तथार्थेते। अनुवादपणः मन्त्रा जेल्लम पतिलानव च। नारायणवस्ति कार्यसेवनाविनितम्॥ ॥

680. पति कार्यकस्मातनेव ब्रह्मायणानुपुस्तकाचारिनः: तथायायानिविधाय तिर्थय चोदक- क्रिया अधिष्ठात्स क. द्वितीय या. III. 6. A similar verse is आयुक्तस्माति (Jiv. vol. I p. 540), chap. VII.
If an āhitāgni were killed by cāndālas in defiant fight with them or commits suicide, his corpse should be got cremated by śudras without proper mantras and Gobhilaśmṛti (III, 49–51) provides for the disposal of his śrāuta fires and sacrificial implements. Though suicide was generally condemned, the śṛṅgis (such as Atri 218–213) and Purāṇas allowed certain exceptions, viz. very old men (above 70), very weak men who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or those who have no desire left for the pleasures of the senses or who have carried out all tasks and duties, may start on Mahāprasthāna or die at Prayāga. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 926–928 for detailed treatment of this topic. If a man killed himself in the way allowed by the śāstra then there was no blemish and āśauca had to be observed and water and śrāddha had to be offered. It may be noted that starting on Mahāprasthāna and suicides on the part of old men by falling down from a precipice or in fire are forbidden in the Kali age. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 939 and pp. 958–959.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 6 quotes Vṛddha–Yājñavalkya and Chāgaleya to the effect that in the case of those who commit suicide in any manner that is not sanctioned by the śāstras, Nārāyaṇabali should be performed one year after their death and then the rites of śrāddha may be performed thereafter. The Mit. 681 on Yāj. III. 6) relying on Viṣṇupurāṇa describes the Nārāyaṇabali as follows: On the 11th day of the bright half of a month, having worshipped Viṣṇu and Yama, one should with the face to the south offer near them on darbhās with ends turned towards the south ten pindaś laved with honey and ghee and mixed with sesamum after bringing to mind the deceased 682 who should be looked upon as having the form of Viṣṇu and having uttered the name and gotra of the deceased; he should honour the pindas with sandalwood paste and the rest and having performed all the rites up to the removal of pindas, should cast them in a river and not give them to the

681. एवं नारायणवल्लः वेदै गृहानुरागन्तराण आद्यन्त्यवस्त्रानव शोभयते अनवयक्ति अधोपस्थितमयम् सवा कार्यामेव। अत् एव पदलात्मकलिः अधोपलितस्थिता मुखानाम्।
682. एवं तत्त्वार्थात् नारायणवल्लम् नारायणवल्लम् कुलोपलितकर्तव्यम्। नितता। न पा। III. 6. The same provisions are recommended by Pārśa. Ma. I. 2 pp. 226–227, सुधिकर्ष। p. 489. Vide गुरु, नेत्रसभ्य, 40. 15–65 for नारायणवल्लः।
wife or to others. Then on the night of the same day he should invite an uneven number of brāhmaṇas, should observe a fast, should worship Viṣṇu the next day, in the noon he should perform all the rites from washing the feet of brāhmaṇas up to the query about the gratification of the brāhmaṇas (by the food served to them) according to the procedure of ekoddīśṭa śrāddha, then he should silently go through all the rites from ullekhana (drawing lines) up to auṃejanā (anointing) by the procedure of Pinda-pitrīyāṇa. He should offer four pīḍas to (images of) Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama together with the attendants, should remember the deceased by name and gotra, should utter the name of Viṣṇu and then offer the 5th pīṇa. Then having gratified the brāhmaṇas (after they have sipped water) with fee, he should bring to his mind one (of the brāhmaṇas) that is the most qualified of all as representing the deceased and having gratified him to the utmost with the gifts of cows, land and money, should then make the brāhmaṇas that have pavitra on their hands offer to the deceased water together with sesame and should then take his meal along with his relatives.

The passage quoted by the Mit. makes it clear that Nārayaṇabali is meant only for those who commit suicide and is to be offered one year after the death of the person guilty of suicide. The Haralata also says the same and explains a verse of Viṣṇu extending the performance of Nārayaṇabali to those killed by cows and brāhmaṇas and those who become patita as a usage restricted to a certain country only.

The Antyesṭipaddhati of Nārayaṇabhaṭṭa describes (on folio 187) Nārayaṇabali rite at greater length than in the Mitaksarā. One or two details may be pointed out. Five kalaśas (jars) are to be placed over a quantity of rice or yavas, then filled with water, then have the three mantras ‘Apo hi śṭā’

683. आत्मपालित हृदभिविषयानां आत्मपालितनास्वरूपस्वरूपं विद्यां न तु महापालकस्य नामात्मितिः वर्षान्तिः. विष्णुः गौरवाणियानां च पतिताणां तदवेच च. अविच संतंतपूर्वाय अविच संहीनविषयेकृतश्च एवं दुःधिकृतां दुःधिकृतां अविच न तु ह्यतं वद्वयाक्ष्यादानदार्यादिर्विभुत्वायाँदेहिमवादिर्वियोगायांदेहिमवादिर्वियोगायां। हरालतां p. 212. A long passage is quoted from आविशुराण in हरालतां pp. 203–205, the last verses of which are: किमिवदैव पतिताणां तु गते संवन्दे नवंतुः। बुद्धार्थियममाणियानां वन्यक्षुपेशु भगवेषुः। मतंतवादयूं वा भादव हाहारस स्मरसं।

(Rg. X. 9. 1-3) repeated over them, then copper plates are to be placed over them on which five images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Yama and the deceased are to be drawn and the worship of these five is to be performed respectively with the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90), Rg. X. 121. 1-10, Rg. I. 43. 1 (= Tal. A. X. 17), Rg X. 14. 13 and the name and gotra of the deceased, sixteen oblations of cooked rice are to be offered to Nārāyaṇa with the sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90). Ten piṇḍas⁶⁶⁵ are to be offered on darbhas to the deceased after repeating his name and gotra (as stated in the note below). After the ten piṇḍas are cast in a river, there is tarpaya of the deceased sixteen times with the sixteen stanzas of the Puruṣasūkta. Then bali is offered separately to Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama with his servants.

In the Mitāksāra, there is no homa nor bali, both of which are described in the Āntyeśṭipaddhati and the Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 85-86) copies verbatim the procedure given in the Mit. Brhatparāsara (V. pp. 175-176) contains the same procedure that is set out by the Mit. from the Viṣṇupurāṇa. The Nīrayaśindhu first describes Nārāyaṇabali as gathered from Hemādrī and the Garuḍapurāṇa (III. 4. 113-119). It then describes Nārāyaṇabali to be performed for a deceased ascetic on the 13th day (along with Pārvaṇaśrāddha), following the procedure laid down by Baudhāyana. It then describes another form of Nārāyaṇabali based on Saunaka which is meant for all those who commit suicide or who are killed by cāndalas,⁶⁶⁶ snakes, lightning, animals with fangs or who die in a distant land or for ascetics and yogins. The Vṛddha-Hārītasmṛti (IX. 133-143) describes another method of Nārāyaṇabali for devotees of Viṣṇu.

The Vaikāhāsya-smārtasūtra (X. 9) sets out a rather brief procedure of Nārāyaṇabali which was intended for the benefit of men who committed suicide or were slain and for ascetics and provides that the same may be performed for those guilty of mahāpālakas after twelve years from their death. The

---

⁶⁶⁵. अन्तेश्टिसमीये अनुप्रत्जयायसुक्तमेघ्ये वेदय विषयालोचणेन विवेच्यु निर्गु तप्यातातुसतसस्तितमस्मिनिष्ठं विशिष्टम विषयालोचणेन मेंभु मर्यादानिष्ठं अनुप्रत्जयायसुक्तमेघ्ये वेदय विवेच्यु निर्गु तप्यातातुसतसस्तितमस्मिनिष्ठं विशिष्टम। तत: पुत्रशृङ्खलेन मेंभु मर्यादानिष्ठं अनुप्रत्जयायसुक्तमेघ्ये वेदय विवेच्यु निर्गु तप्यातातुसतसस्तितमस्मिनिष्ठं विशिष्टम। अन्तेश्टिसमीये विषयालोचणेन।

⁶⁶⁶. चार्तानबुद्धकाःसांताहार्ष्यनायेनततः। कुमुदद्विगुः पल्लवयक्ष्मरं नामयोगामिन- यास् ॥ सू. कृत्यम III. 21. The same is q. by अयावसर्स p. 877 as यमस्, as जयवस्त्र by हुँैर p. 56 and without name by the सम्र. on या. III. 6.
Baudhāyana-grhya-śāstrasūtra III. 20 and 21 contain two different sets of the procedure of Nārāyanabali, the latter of which appears to be the later one. The latter contains the well-known verse about death at the hands of cāndālas, from a snake &c.

The 5th class of exceptions to āśauca rules comprises those that are declared by express texts as not liable to observe an āśauca. Gautama (14. 8–10) provides 687 that (the sapindas) of those that met death for the sake of cows and brāhmaṇas, of those that met death through the wrath of the king and those that were killed in battle have to observe no āśauca but only ‘sadyaśāuca’. Manu V. 95 and 98 state 688 that (the sapindas) of those are killed in a sudden affray or by lightning or by the king (for an offence) or of those that met death in protecting cows and brāhmaṇas and of one who was killed in the fashion of kṣatriyas in a battle by the sword have to observe no āśauca, as also he whom the king desires (for his purpose) to observe no āśauca. It is provided by Śatātapa 689 that as regards a yati dying, his sons and other sapindas are not to offer water or pīṇḍa to him or to observe āśauca for him. The Dharmasindhu (p. 449) says that this applies to all ascetics, whether they be triḍantin or ekadantin, haṁsa or parama-haṁsa. So also on the death of a vānaprastha there is no āśauca. In the case of one who has performed his own śrāddha while alive his sapindas have an option either to observe āśauca or not. On the death of a brahmacārin āśauca is to be observed. The Dharmasindhu further notes that in all works it is stated that there is no āśauca 690 for one killed in battle, but at least

687. गोवाल्यादनामात्मकस्स्र रत्नकोण युज्ये । मि: 14 8–10. हरस्व says ‘अन्यदये भ्वयये भास्तासचाराने स्नातका खुस्खरिति’, while the नितां या. III. 21 (first half) explains ‘तत्समयदवाना बास्कम्बुस्वतन्त्रमेत्थन स्वःसोबसत्वाण्या’. The नितां या. takes the corresponding passage of Yaj. III. 21 (first half) to mean ‘of those that were killed by the king, by bulls or brāhmaṇas’. The नितां या. reads रत्नकोण युज्ये, while हरस्व says that he does not like to read युज्ये but would read युज्ये.

688. विभिन्नते हतान्तै हियता पारित च। मोगाजयय चैत्यत्य पि च चेत्यते पैति:। मि: V. 95. विभिन्नता is explained by कुलक and हरस्व (p. 111) as दुष्पतिरिद्धे उज्ये, while हरस्व takes दद्व: to mean जनसंधन्द्व and अद्यारः p. 916 explains विभिन्नता as अतस्तकन्तः and बुधदकलात अस्तकन्तः संमद्व: या (p. 46).

689. एकोहैद च विशेषतं विद्विद्वत्कथा। न कुलक्यत्वविलुप्त: भन्धित्वष भिक्षे॥ याताय खसून। (आरोय) p. 171 ascribes this to बलसेना.

690. मुद्येनवाचिसं नेति सर्वन्यप्रत्यम्ये न चेब माधवेणु शिस्ताष्टि। इति। ग्रहमत्सु p. 449.

H. D. 39
among brāhmaṇas (i.e., as to brāhmaṇas killed in battle) the usage of the śiśas is different (i.e., āśauca is observed).

Parāśara (III. 12–13) provides that, if a man has gone for many years to a distant land and it is ascertained that he died there but the exact date of his death is not known, then either of three tithis viz. the 8th or 11th day of the dark half or the amāvasyā should be accepted as the day of his death and water, pīṇḍa and śrāddha should be offered on that date and the Par. M. I. 2 p. 237 adds that āśauca also must be calculated from that date. On the other hand Laghu-Hārīta says that if there is some obstacle at the time of a śrāddha or when the date of death is not known, then the funeral rites should be performed on the 11th tithi of the following dark half (Śuddhikaumudi p. 17).

The digests lay particular emphasis on the fact that in matters of āśauca the usages of a country must be observed. The Hāralatā (pp. 55, 205) quotes passages from the Ādipurāṇa where special reference is made to the authority of the usages of a country (deśa-dharmapramāṇatvāt). The Śūdhīaatvā p. 275 quotes691 a verse of Marici ‘one should not disregard the manner of observing śauca and religious usages that are current in particular localities; the dharma is of that sort alone in those localities’. On p. 276 it quotes a passage of the Vāmanapurāṇa to the same effect.

It deserves to be noted that Dakṣa692 (VI. 15) states that all rules about āśauca apply when the times are easy and peaceful but when a man is overwhelmed by distress there is no (enforcement or application) of the (rules of) āśauca.

Viśṇu (19. 18–19) provides693 that at the end of the period of āśauca one should go out of the village, get himself shaved and take a bath after applying a thick paste of sesame or white mustard to the body, change garments and then re-enter the house. Then he should perform a śānti (propitiatory rite)

691. तथा च सरीचि:। रेवू स्थानेनु रेवू धृतेऽवं धर्मांवर्धयाद्व:। तथा तत्सहस्यवेत प्रभेम्येत तादादो। केवलवर्गविशेष (D. C. ms. No 309 of 1887–91, folio 77 b), द्व. की. p. 360, भृजित्व प. 275: ‘तथा च वामनपुराण ‘वेश्यालिनी कुलसमस्याम् स्वामास्वर्य न हि संतंयेव’। भृजित्व प. 276.

692. त्यस्यकाले तथा सर्वं शुद्धं परित्यज्ञत। आपद्यकस्यं सर्वस्य शुद्धकेष्य न वृत्तमः॥ द्व: VI. 15.

693. यामासिकसङ्गानां शुद्धस्य आपद्यकस्यांसत्तकानां: सर्वप्रकृतिः कालं परित्यज्ञस्यस्य दु: प्रतिष्ठात:। तद्वा साङ्गते द्वा बुद्धानां व पूजनं क्रुद्धु:। विश्वसद्य द्व: 19.18–19.
and honour brāhmaṇas. Many medieval digests provide for a more elaborate procedure. For example, the Śuddhikāumudī (pp. 155–164) sets out the procedure of the 11th day separately for the followers of the three Vedas. A few salient points may be mentioned. After a bath for the whole body, the sapindaḥ should touch a cow, gold, fire, dūrkā, clarified butter and repeat the name of Govinda, then engage brāhmaṇas to sprinkle śānti water over them and say 'svasti'. If a brāhmaṇa cannot be had one should himself perform śānti. The Hāralatā and others say that without śānti water āśauca is not completely removed. The followers of Śāmveda should sing the Vāmadevagāna for śānti or should repeat the four Vāmadevya verses viz. 'kayā naścrita,' 'kastvā satyo,' 'abhi sū naḥ' (No. 682–684 of the Śāmveda) together with the last verse of the Śāmveda ('svasti na Indro') preceded and followed by the sacred Gāyatri; these form the śānti mantras for Śāmavedins. For followers of Yajurveda seventeen mantras beginning with 'rcam vācam prapadye' and ending with 'dyauḥ śāntiḥ', preceded and followed by the Gāyatri form the śānti mantras; the Ṛgvedins should employ for śānti Ṛg. X. 9. 4, VII. 35. 1, V. 47. 7 &c. preceded and followed by the Gāyatri. Then some gold with silver as daksīṇa should be donated to a brāhmaṇa, then the Vaitāraṇi cow should be donated, if one was not given at the approach of death, then a gift of the bedstead &c. should be made.

We have seen (p. 270) that originally the sūtras (like Śaṅ. Śr.) and smṛtis (like Manu) emphasized that one should not increase the number of the days of āśauca and that men learned in the Veda and consecrating śrauta fires had to undergo only one day's āśauca (Parāśara III. 5, Dākṣa VI. 6). But ultimately a flat period of ten days of āśauca (Manu V. 59) for all sapindaḥ came to be prescribed. In the old days the means of communication were very limited, and hence the news of a birth or death must have taken considerable time to reach relatives staying even at a short distance and hence the restrictions imposed by the rules of āśauca were not felt to be very irksome. It is on account of this reason and also the great penchant of dharmaśāstra writers for all sorts of divisions, sub-divisions and classifications that we find medieval writers bestowing an enormously exaggerated attention in very exuberant and enthusiastic style on such a subject as āśauca. Most nations have their own usages to indicate that a person (male or female) or a family is in mourning. But probably no country in the world
can equal (much less surpass) the Dharmaśāstra writers in the elaborate rules evolved in books about āśauca on birth and death. In these days when there is a State postal system and the means of communication abound owing to railways, air-mail, telegraph and wireless, the ancient and medieval rules of āśauca are felt by all people to be most galling and troublesome. Mischievous people sometimes create trouble in the celebration of marriages by sending information about a death or a birth to persons against whom they have a grudge. Devices have to be employed for dodging the inconvenience due to rules of āśauca. It is therefore necessary to introduce substantial changes in the rules about āśauca that will prevent trouble, loss of time and work and would at the same time be more or less in agreement with the spirit of the dicta of the smṛtis and the sentiments of most common people. At the end in the appendix note 693a is added which gives the text of the Āśauca-daśaka with Sanskrit explanation.

As regards āśauca on birth I would recommend that hereafter in the changed set-up of society in these days one simple rule should be observed, viz. it is only the mother that has to observe impurity for ten days and no one else has to observe impurity on birth. This is in general accordance with the ancient smṛtis set out above.

As regards impurity on death four rules should ordinarily suffice.693a

1. Āśauca for ten days on death should be observed by the father and the mother for the son and by the son for the parents, by the wife for the husband and vice versa and by one who performs the rites of cremation and the rites after death.

2. For others (than the above) staying near the deceased as members of a joint family āśauca for only three days should suffice.

3. For all other relatives of the deceased whenever the news of death may reach them within a year after death, only a bath should be enough.

4. When the death occurred more than a year before the news reached the relatives not even a bath should be required in the case of any relative except those mentioned in the first rule, who should be held clean after a bath.

693a. Vide appendix.
Practices observed among ancient and modern primitive tribes show that the most important tabus were those on the dead, on women in child-birth and women in their monthly illness. Among the ancient Israelites all that were unclean through the dead were put outside the camp and they were not allowed to offer an offering at the Passover (Numbers V. 1-4 and IX. 6). Among the Syrians those who belonged to the family of the dead man were tabu for 30 days and could then enter only with shaven heads. Child-birth made a woman unclean and the number of days that she was to be unclean depended on whether the child was a male or a female (Leviticus 12. 2-5). In India also the ancient Aryans probably inherited their ideas about uncleanness on death and child-birth from their remote ancestors. If one may surmise one can say this: it must have been found out by the remote ancestors of the Vedic Aryans that if a person touched a dead body or used the clothes worn by the dead man when living, he also suffered from the same disease (particularly in the case of contagious diseases like plague, cholera, typhoid &c.) and that segregating such a person for ten days from other members of the tribe or community made the latter immune from the attack of such diseases. Therefore, those who touched the dead or carried the corpse for cremation or burial and the members of the family were thought to be unclean and were segregated for ten days. Gradually the ideas about the uncleanness on death and the necessity of segregation were made applicable to death due to all diseases or causes whatever. The uncleanness on child-birth might have been a case of extension by analogy derived from the tabu on death. At all events smrti writers put both on the same level (e.g. Manu V. 61 “Just as impurity on death is ordained for ten days in the case of sapindas the same holds good in the case of birth”). Rules about women in their monthly illness were prescribed as early as the Tai, S. and have been already dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 802-805.

We have now to turn to the subject of suddhi apart from ātāvca. Suddhi of a dravya means the removal of a taint attaching to a thing and it is of two kinds, purification of the body and the purification of an external object (Manu V. 110 and Aparārka p. 253). It has already been seen (note 555)

694. प्रत्यक्ष देशपरम: चुःचुः। तत्र दिव्यया दुर्दिः। वैरीशुर्भिर्विद्यक्षेधान्द्वयिनयता। अवस्थिति। प्र. 252-253; पौराणिक वृत्तानि प्र. 252-253; स्पर्शयात्रभयात्रापिको द्विधिक्षेधः। धुःधुः संस्कृति विशेषित्यायता। शेषायते। (42 वृत्तेण p. 787).
above) how even the Rg. lays great emphasis on śuddhi and being pure (śucc). There are Vedic passages laying down that the cups (grahas) used in Jyotiśōma and other sacrifices were to be cleansed with a strainer of wool, but not the camasas. In the Ait. Br. 32.4 it is provided that if the milk of an agnihotrin that was heated by him for the homa became impure (anēdhyā, by an ant or worm falling therein), the milk is to be taken up in an agnihotraḥavanī and was to be poured upon the ashes near the Āhavanīya fire. This shows that great care was taken about the purity of vessels to be used in sacrifices and about the offerings to be made. Sāuca is one of the eight qualities of the soul (ātmagunās) mentioned by Gaut. 8.24, Atri (verses 33, 35), Matsyapurāṇa 52, 8–10, Brhaspati (q. by Aparāraka p. 164). Haradatta on Gautama quotes a verse that sāuca is of four kinds viz. monetary purity, mental purity, bodily purity and purity in speech; while Atri and Brhaspati (q. by Aparāraka p. 164), aver that sāuca is constituted by avoiding what ought not to be eaten, by associating (only) with those who are not censured (i.e. are not reprehensible) and by firmly abiding by one’s own prescribed duties. Many works divide sāuca into two varieties viz. bāhyā (external) and āntara or abhyantara (internal). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 651–52 for passages from Baudhāyana Dh. S. (I. 5. 3–4), Hārita, Dakṣa and others defining and subdividing these. Agni 872. (17–18) is the same as Dakṣa V. 3. The Vanaprava 200.52 speaks of purity in speech, in actions and that brought about by water. The Padma (II. 66. 86–87) emphasizes that it is the mental attitude that is the highest thing and illustrates it by saying that a woman embraces her son and her husband with different mental states. There is an interesting passage in the Lingapurāṇa 8.34–36 (not quoted there) which after stating that abhyantara sāuca is superior to bāhyā sāuca (verse 31) remarks 697 that one void of inner purity is dirty even after a

695. अस्ति ज्ञेश्वरोऽयैः। तत्र द्वाते द्रापापविषय वषो समार्थी इति। द्रापापोः सम-भिषमः। सवं ग्रहः। समाज्ञेश्वरी: इति। इद्विभाषी सहिती तेषामेव व चिन्मत आपि संगमं या उत्त नेति। वररूपोऽयैः। लिङ्गम् श्रेयोऽयैः। 111. 1. 16.

696. अभयाधीर्वर श्रीमग्निमर्याद्य। सत्यमेव भवस्थानं दुःखमातारीमिति-तत्र। श्रवणस्थितिः (q. by अर्यार्के p 164). अतः अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. 66. 86-87.

697. अभयाधीर्वर श्रीमग्निमर्याद्य। सत्यमेव भवस्थानं दुःखमातारीमिति-तत्र। श्रवणस्थितिः (q. by अर्यार्के p 164). अतः अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. अर्यार्के p 164. 66. 86-87.
bath, that moss, fish and animals subsisting on fish are always immersed in water, that in spite of that no one would call them pure, that therefore one must always endeavour to secure inner purity and that one should bathe in the water of correct knowledge of the Self, apply once the sandal paste of faith and purify oneself by the clay in the form of desirelessness and that this is declared to be (the real) śauca. Manu V. 106 provides that of all kinds of purity mental purity is the highest. He who is pure as to wealth (i.e. who does not deprive another of wealth by unjust means) is the (only) pure man and not he who is purified by water and earth. Viṣṇu 22. 89 is the same except that for wealth (artha) it substitutes food (anna). The Trikāṇḍamandana (prakṛṣṇaka 21) has the same verse as Manu V. 106. Vide also Ānuśāsana 108. 12 (for purity of conduct, of mind, of a holy place, purity due to correct philosophical knowledge); Brahmāṇḍa III. 14. 60 (śucikām hi devā vai), and Yogasūtra II. 32 (for śauca as one of the five niyamas).

External purity of the body by various means (rinsing the mouth, bath & c.) has already been described in detail in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 648–668. The ancient and medieval Indians insisted on a daily bath for all, recommended two baths a day in certain cases and three baths to a hermit and did not subscribe to the view of some of the early Christians. St. Agnes was canonized primarily for her refusal to bathe and St. Francis of Assisi considered dirt as one of the proper insignia of holy poverty. 698.

In śrauta rites (such as Agniṣṭoma) the sacrificer had to undergo a severe discipline of consecration (or dikṣā), one item of which was the purification of the intending sacrificer's body by the adhvaryu priest by rubbing the former's body twice with three bunches of seven darbhas each (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1136). Śatātapa q. by Sm. C. I. p. 120, Śuddhiprakāśa p. 147 provide bath for one who has sexual intercourse with his wife during the period from the 5th to the 16th day after monthly illness begins, but for intercourse after these days the purification is the same as for urination and voiding ordure; bath is also prescribed for vomiting after sunrise, after shaving, after a bad dream, on the touch of foul men (such as cāṇḍālas).

698. Vide Reginald Reynolds' work on 'Cleanliness and godliness' p. 36 (chapter IV).
The Ap. Śr. II. 12 provides that Pavitresṭi should be performed by him who is desirous of śuddhi and that if one performs in each season the three iṣṭis, viz. Vaiśāvānara (to Agni Vaiśāvānara), Vṛatapati (to Agni Vṛatapati) and the Pavitresṭi one purifies ten generations (of his family).

The following pages will deal with the purification of things (draavyaśuddhi). But a few general observations must first be made. The Ap. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 17–20) states that infants do not become polluted or impure (by the touch of a woman in her monthly course) up to the time the sāṁskāra of annapraśāna (taking cooked food for the first time), that, according to some, up to one year or as long as they cannot distinguish between the different directions or up to the time of Upanayana according to others. Manu V. 127–133, Yāj. I. 186, 191–193, Vīṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 47–52, Baudh. Dh. I. 5. 56–57, 64, 65, Śaṅkha 16. 12–16, Mārkaṇḍeya-puṭāṇa 35. 19–21 state that the following are always pure:—what is not seen to be polluted; what is cleansed with water; what is commended expressly (by a brahmaṇa as pure, when there is a doubt), water collected on (pure) ground that is not visibly polluted by an impure thing and that in quantity is so much that a cow can slake its thirst therein and that has the smell, colour and taste (of pure water); the hand of a craftsman (such as a washerman or a cook while engaged in his peculiar work); articles exposed for sale in a market such as rice and barley (though touched by many intending buyers); alms (collected by a brahmocārin though walking from house to house on the road); the mouth of a woman (at the time of dalliance); meat of animals seized or killed even by dogs, cāḍālas, and carnivorous birds; rays (of the sun), fire, dust, the shadow (of a tree or the like), a cow, a horse, land, wind, dew drops, flies, a calf at the time of making the cow flow with milk from the udder—these latter are pure when they come in contact with a person. Then it was said that certain birds and animals were either always pure or as to certain parts of the body e. g. Yāj. I. 194 says that the mouths of goats and horses are pure but not of the cow. Baudhāyana quoted by Aparāṅka p. 276 provides that

---

699. शृङ्खलाकामो वा। द्वेशवचिंपितरं भीवते। वैवचित्रासि वर्तमानं पवित्रां तथैव च। कस्ततुस्ततिः पद्मिनाः पुरुषोपदेशः। इति। आय। श्री। II. 12.

700. शुचिर्यते गार्भमल्लम मार्गिणिः केवले (ि शामिके) श्रुवे। शौचायन q. by Aparāṅka p. 276; almost the same words occur in रूप 16 14 (latter half).
the cow is pure except as to its mouth, and a cat when it is leaping or moving about. Brhaspati\textsuperscript{701} and Yama (q. by Aparārka p. 276) state: 'the feet of brāhmaṇas, and the mouth of goats and horses, the backs of cows and all limbs of women are pure; the cow as to its back, the elephant as to its shoulder, the horse as to all its limbs and the dung and urine of cows, all these are pure'. Atri (240, 241) contains several verses\textsuperscript{702} on this point. 'Things taken out from a mine or from kitchens (or places where grain is pounded &c.) are never impure, since all such places (where anything is prepared in the mass) except a place for the manufacture of liquor are pure. All fried (or roasted) things, fried barley and grain, dates, camphor, whatever else is well fried is pure'. In Atri V. 13 we read\textsuperscript{703} 'flies, a continuous stream (of any liquid), the earth, water, fire, a cat, a wooden ladle and a mongoose are always pure'. Parāśara (X. 41) states: \textsuperscript{704} 'space (ākāśa), wind, fire, water fallen on the earth, darbhas are not to be deemed polluted just as camaśas in sacrifices are held to be not polluted.' Par. M. quotes a verse of Caturvīṁśatimata\textsuperscript{705} that raw meat, ghee, honey, oils extracted from fruits—these even when contained in vessels belonging to cāṇḍālas become free from taint the moment they are taken out of these vessels. Brhaspati provides: \textsuperscript{706} 'machines for crushing grapes and sugarcane stalks, mines, the hands of craftsmen, the milk pail, fluids that come

\textsuperscript{701} \textsuperscript{702} \textsuperscript{703} \textsuperscript{704} \textsuperscript{705} \textsuperscript{706}
out from crushing machines, actions (such as cooking) done by women and children when they are impure (by walking barefooted on the road) and are seen to be so, are still free from taint. One’s own bed, garment, wife, child, water pot—these are free from taint for oneself, but these are impure to others. Śaṅkha 16.15 is to the same effect.

Śaṅkha\textsuperscript{708} states that whatever removes the dirt (or pollution) that is natural to a substance or arises from contact with another polluting substance must be declared to be its purifier. Śaṅkha-Likhita\textsuperscript{709} declare that the substances that bring about purification of all (polluted things) are water, clay, the powder (or paste) of soap berries, bilva fruit, rice and mustard cake, salts (ashes), cow’s urine and dung and that according to some when a substance is heaped up in a big mass, sprinkling with water. Manu V. 118, Yāj. I. 184, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.13 also provide that sprinkling with water is the mode of purification when large quantities of corn or clothes are polluted, but when the quantity is small they must be washed with water. The quantity is said to be large when it is more than what one man can carry as a load (according to Kullāka on Manu V. 118).

The general rule laid down by Gaut. I. 45–46, Manu V. 136 (\(=\) Viṣṇu 23.39), Yāj. I. 191 about the purification of things or bodies that are smeared with foul matter is that water and earth are to be employed for purification till the foul odour and the contact of the foul thing is entirely removed\textsuperscript{710}. Devala (q. by Aparāṅka p. 270) defines \textit{sauca} as the removal by means of clay, water, cowdung and the like of the besmearing, the oiliness and odour of a thing that cause impurity.

\textsuperscript{707} आसमायरा च वर्षे च जायरण्य किमश्च। ! आसमाये: \textit{शूचिन्येनान्ति परेशानः- शूचिनीति तृतीयम्} II. 4, बोधयन I. 5. 61 (reads \textit{स्त्रयात्सर्वस्ते} \(=\) स्त्रयात्सर्वस्ते); \textit{अपराङ्क} p. 257 quotes it as \textit{बोधयन}.'

\textsuperscript{708} मर्यादामायेऽर्थे तत्त्वं परमेयं येनोपाध्ययते। तत्स्थं तत्त्वाक्षरं मौर्य गौतमायं वर्णाविकोर्तचः || सर्वाचः q. by \textit{अपराङ्क} p. 256, दीर्घकालिकः on या. I. 191. मग. पा. p. 451 reads मर्यादामयायेऽर्थे।

\textsuperscript{709} वऽविविधस्थिविविधानन्तरसंपर्कसंपकारणोदस्तोपविविधानानी शौच- ओपायस्य केंद्रात्तन्त्र पौरनामालकस्य शौचालये q. by \textit{चतुर्वेदी} vol. III. part 1 p. 817.

\textsuperscript{710} तुषापायार्थार्थमिद्योजने सम्मेत्यकाः। तदन्तः: इति \textit{बुध} च नो: \(=\) गु. व. I. 45–46. Almost the same words occur in \textit{महाभारत} III.48; \textit{परस्परपर्यङ्गसर्वस्ते} \(=\) तदन्तः: इति \textit{वर्ण्यम्यादि} चार्यश्च सर्वस्ते वर्ण्यम्यादि॥ मग. V. 126=विषयः 23.39.
Purification of things

Gaut. Dh. S. (I. 28–33) briefly deals with the purification of things as follows: Purification of metallic substances (like bell-metal), earthenware, substances manufactured from wood, cloth made of threads or yarn is brought about respectively by rubbing (or scouring) them, by baking in fire, by chiselling or planing, by washing in water; objects made of stones, jewels, shells and pearls are purified by the same means as metallic substances; bones (ivory and the like) and mud (floor of houses) are purified in the same way as wooden substances; and earth (when polluted) is also purified by adding to it earth (brought from another pure spot); ropes, chips of bamboos and reeds, leather are purified by the same means as cloth or they may be abandoned when they are extremely polluted (as by the spilling of wine or urine or ordure). Vas. (III. 49–53) has almost the same words, employing the word 'bhasmaparimārjana' (scouring with ashes and washing) for 'parimārjana'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 5. 17. 10–13) provides: 'If one gets a used vessel only, he shall eat from it after having heated it thoroughly; a vessel made of metal is purified by being scourced with ashes and the like; a wooden vessel becomes pure by being scraped; at a sacrifice, vessels must be cleaned according to the precepts of the Veda.' Yāj. (III. 31–34) states; time (lapse of ten days or a year as to āśauca), fire, religious rites (like Āśvamedha or performing of sandhyā), clay, wind, mind, spiritual knowledge, austerities (such as kṛcchra), water, repentance (in the case of sins), fasting—all these are the causes of purification. Gifts are the (main) cause of purification for those who do what is forbidden, flow of water in the case of a river, clay and water are means of śuddhi in the case of substances that are not clean, sannyāsa (order of asceticism) in the case of the twice-born, austerities in the case of those that have studied the Veda when they commit a sin (through ignorance), forbearance in the case of those who know the Self, water in the case of dirty limbs, silent recital of Vedic mantras (japa) is the means of purifica-

---

710 a. शृध्ययुक्तः परि�ivrता वा। भ्रात्यज्ञानिनी। वै जस्मातैकसंपत्ति वा। वै जस्मातः क्रिया। रासहस्त्यस्य। अयुपं च दूसरः। चैव। प्रत्येकः। प्रत्येकः। तत्समस्तै। वासवश्रोतः। अयुपन्यासा। 1.28–33. अयुपन्यासा। इतिविश्लेषित 23.1 as 'शोभापूर्णः। श्रांविपिन्ययोः वृद्धपरं वहीनस्यापेक्षा।

711. अपीते हि शृध्ययुक्तः। अपीते चैव। परि�ivrता तौवः। प्रत्येकः तौवः। निन्दितः। ब्रह्मचर्यः। वयथास्य मयः। अयुपः। चै। I. 5. 17. 9–13. हरसः। इतिविश्लेषितं | 'अपीते केवलोऽर्थः प्रत्येकः। प्रत्येकः। अर्थः। वर्णेच्च। वसालिनेषु संसाधनानि मार्गान्तः। मासामिनी। आयुपाचार्यविधेयो। बालिना।
tion for those guilty of secret sins, truth in the case of the mind (that is full of or is polluted by sinful thoughts), austerities and esoteric knowledge in the case of the man who identifies his soul with the body, correct knowledge in the case of intelligence, knowledge of God is the pre-eminent purifier of the soul. Manu V. 107–109 (= Viṣṇu 22,90–92) contain almost the same idea in almost the same words.

In prescribing the methods of cleaning polluted objects certain matters have to be considered according to a verse ascribed to Baudhāyana 712 by the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 190) which states: ‘One should prescribe means of purification after considering the time, the place, the body (or himself), the thing (to be purified), the purpose for which the thing is to be used, origin (of defilement), the condition (of the thing or person defiled).’

There is some divergence of views about the means of purifying or cleansing certain objects. It is unnecessary to set out in detail these differences. It is proposed to take certain objects one after another and to specify how they were rendered pure according to several of the smṛtis and digests.

Certain foul things were said by the Śrītyarthaśāra p. 70 to be the causes of extreme pollution and certain others as causes of lesser or insignificant pollution. For example, excreta, urine, semen, blood, fat, marrow, liquor and intoxicants were the causes of great pollution; while dogs, village swine, cats, their urine, the wax from the ear, nails, phlegm, discharge from the eyes, perspiration are the causes of insignificant pollution.

Baud. Dh. S. I. 5.66 provides 713 that the purification of the ground is brought about by means of sweeping with a (faultless) broom, by sprinkling (cow’s milk, urine or water), by smearing with cow dung, by scattering (pure clay on it) and by scrubbing away (or scraping) some of the soil, when these are employed according to the situation of the ground and the particular impurity (of which it is to be purified). Baud. Dh.

712. वेदीं कालं तथात्मनं क्रष्णं कृत्यमण्योजनस्तु। उपपत्तिसंस्थों च ज्ञाता कूटे न ग्रन्तं कालंपि सरस्वतेः। वीरायणि q. also by निक्षेपः on या. I. 195 and मेलालिङ्गः on मत्व व. 118. वीरायणनमेव स. I. 5.55 reads वेदीं...व्रतं च विमच दौर्यं शीतं भीष्मं भुसलं ग्रहं देवं दीर्घते। The verse is तुइकारित 55 which reads कालं वेदीं। The स्मित. reads स्तो ग्रहं which means ‘the bulk’ (or extent of the thing to be purified).

713. ब्रह्मण्योपदेशो याज्ञवल्क्यसमाधिपति। अनार्यस्मीयमार्यस्य। ब्र. व. S. I. 5 66. वालस्त्री III. 56 is almost the same.
S. in another place states: 714 when firm soil is polluted it is purified by smearing it with cowdung, hollow ground (one having holes) is purified by ploughing, ground wet (with impurity) by covering it (with pure clay brought from elsewhere) after removing the impure thing. Land is purified by means of four viz., being trodden under the foot of cows, by digging it up, by burning (firewood or grass thereon), by pouring over it (water, cow’s urine or milk &c.) and fifthly, by smearing it (with cowdung) and sixthly, by the lapse of time. Vasiṣṭha III. 57 quotes a verse which mentions five means of purification almost in the same words as those of Baudhāyana (except the sixth viz. time). Manu V. 124 mentions five means of purification, viz. sweeping with a broom, smearing with cowdung, sprinkling, digging (and removing), the stay of cows thereon (for one day and night). Viśnu Dh. S. 23.57 adds dāha (burning) to the five of Manu. Yāj. I. 188 mentions seven means of the purification of the ground by adding dāha (burning) and kāla (lapse of time) to the five mentioned by Manu. According to 715 the Vāmanapurāṇa the ground is purified by digging, burning, sweeping, treading by cows, smearing of cowdung, scrubbing and by sprinkling water. Devala quoted by the Mit. and Aparārka on Yāj. I. 188 gives a more elaborate treatment. According to him polluted ground (bhūma) is of three kinds, viz. amedhya (impure), duṣṭā (soiled), and malinā (dirty). Where a woman is delivered of a child or dies or is cremated or where a spot has been inhabited by cāndālas or where there are heaps of ordure and the like, ground that is full of foul things in this way is declared to be amedhya. 716 That ground which is polluted by the contact of dogs, pigs, asses, camels and the like becomes duṣṭā (soiled) and it becomes malinā (dirty) by charcoal, husk, hair, bones or ashes. Then

714. धन्याय चूरतेवपात उत्लेपनम्। छुरिराम: कर्षणम्। क्रिष्णाय भेदयति। परमाध्याय पच्चाधिनम्। बनामिः छुरते चूरतीमिरतिकान्ताय कवन्नात्निधिः। सत्तुत्तरदृष्टिः। अश्लोभाय। गर्भावतीश्वरादिदृष्टिः। अखिरोऽश्की। इत्यविश्वासः। अध्याय: कर्षणम्। नामान्यते। इत्यविश्वासः। अखिरोऽश्की। इत्यविश्वासः। अध्याय: कर्षणम्। नामान्यते। इत्यविश्वासः।

715. सूर्यमितिः व्याप्तेष्व शास्त्रवार्तायानंयोगी:। वेदपूर्विकानासवक्रमसंग्रामसंपन्नाणं प्रचुरम्। वायुपात्रोपल्लवादित्वार्यायान। विवेकादित्वार्यायान। विवेकादित्वार्यायान। विवेकादित्वार्यायान।

716. पञ पञ्जुर तरिकै दयुष्यते दयुष्यते च। चूर्तान्तिपतिः पञ पञ पञ्जुरतिः। यथा चूर्तान्तिपतिः चूर्तेः पञ पञ्जुरतिः। अथातः द्विपदितिः द्विपदितिः द्विपदितिः। इत्यविश्वासः। अध्याय: 188। अपराधे कदम्भवत्ताः कदम्भवत्ताः। यथा चूर्तान्तिपतिः पञ पञ्जुरतिः। इत्यविश्वासः।

The definitions of कुर्ता and मलिना as quoted from वेदत्व by धुष्का। p. 101 and धुष्का। p. 99 are different.
Devala\textsuperscript{717} prescribes the purification of the three kinds of ground: 'Purity is of five kinds, viz. digging up, burning (with wood or grass), smearing (with cowdung), washing (with water) or the fall of rain. Even amedhya ground may be purified by these five means employed together (where a corpse is cremated or caṇḍālas dwell) or by four (i.e. omitting rainfall or burning in other cases of amedhya); ground that is duṣṭā is purified by three (digging up, burning and smearing with cowdung) or two (viz. digging up and burning) and maṭina ground is purified by one (i.e. by digging up).

The Smṛtyarthasāstra (pp. 73–74) provides that if an idol made of iron or other metal is slightly polluted (as defined above) then it can be purified by means of pañcagavya after rubbing it with ashes; similarly a stone idol, when slightly polluted, should be washed with water mixed with the clay from an ant-hill and becomes pure after being treated with pañcagavya. Any idol, if polluted with ordeur, urine or village mud would become pure after first being flooded for five days with pañcagavya, after being well washed with cow’s urine, cowdung and clay from an ant-hill and by being again installed (with all installation rites). Questions about the pollution of temples by the entry of the so-called untouchables or by the entrance of persons other than brāhmaṇas in the inmost shrine (garbhagrha) have come before the courts e.g. in Gopala Muppanar v. Dharmakarta Subramania 27 Madras Law Journal p. 253 at p. 258, where reference is made to the ceremonies for the removal of pollution according to the Āgamas and Tantras. In S. K. Wodeyar v. Ganapati (37 Bom. L. R. 584) the point arose whether, when a custom was alleged that in a temple at Banavasi in the Canara district none could enter the inner sanctum except persons belonging to the ten sub-divisions of brāhmaṇas and a Lingayat entered it in spite of the protests of the worshippers in charge of the temple, his entry polluted the temple and whether he was liable to pay for the sum spent over the purification of the temple, the High Court of Bombay held that the custom alleged viz. of excluding from the inner sanctum all that were not brāhmaṇas was proved and that the Lingayat gentleman who entered it in spite of protests was liable to pay damages for the wrongful entry. In the Nirṇayasindhu (III.

\textsuperscript{717} बहुन श्च जनाण बुद्धेऽर्द्धम्बेपनवाने। पञ्चगाव्यं चेत्ति सौर्य पञ्चगाव्यं स्वस्तम्। पञ्चगाव्यं च चद्वां वा चद्वेवम् विचारपति। द्विभ्रो विविधाश्च दुर्बहुं द्विभ्रो अविविधाय॥ वेदः q. by ब्र. कर्म. p. 101 which explains यथावस्था as व्रतस्तरेण दृष्टमः।
The Viṣṇu-dharmaśāstra (23.34) provides that idols when polluted should be purified in the same way in which the substance of which they are made (such as stone or copper &c.) is purified and then they should be re-consecrated. If the worship of an idol already consecrated is stopped for a day, two days, a month, or two months or it is touched by śūdras or a woman in her monthly course, then at a proper time punyāhavācana should be performed, an even number of brāhmaṇas should be fed, the idol should be submerged in water for a night and next day bathed with patāca-gavya from a jar full of it to the accompaniment of the respective mantras, then another jar should be filled with pure water and therein the nine kinds of precious stones should be cast, the jar should then have the

718. As āmaḥ-mālāta, tasmādītcarant hṛṣṭiṣināṣṭakāraṇe. Ānandaśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstraśाग

The passage from Purāṇa-tīrtha-pañcāla 1.19 to the end is a quotation (with some omissions and additions) from Viṣṇu-viṣṇu-purāṇa II.19 (Mysore Un. ed.)
Gayatri mantra appropriate to the idol repeated over it 1008 or 108 or 28 times and the idol should then be bathed with that water, it should be bathed with pure water to the accompaniment of the Purusasuktta (Rg. X. 90) and the mūladantra 1008, or 108 or 28 times. Then flowers should be offered and worship of the idol should be performed and a naivedya of boiled rice and jaggery should be offered.

Recently after the attainment of Independence some of the Provincial Legislatures in India have passed laws (e.g. Bombay Act 35 of 1947, C. P. and Berar Act 41 of 1947) throwing open all Hindu public temples to people who were once called untouchable. This is not the place to discuss in detail the arguments for and against these measures. Many orthodox Hindus hold that their inmost feelings are hurt by this tyranny of the majority in the Legislatures. They feel that these measures are contrary to the four freedoms that are promised in many constitutions viz. freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. These measures are likely to be followed by serious consequences. It is felt that the younger generation now being educated has hardly any faith in religion or in anything being sacred, that the so-called untouchables themselves when once they have asserted their right of entering Hindu temples scarcely ever care to frequent them and the orthodox Hindus also often cease to worship therein. There is the further fear that, if religious feelings even when unreasonable according to progressive views could be trampled upon by the views of the majority, there is no knowing where the process would stop. There would be temptation for the majority in a country to say that the sacred places of other religions should either not exist at all or be opened for any one not belonging to the faith of the minorities. It would have been far better that, while removing all the disabilities of the so-called untouchables as to employment, public places, courts and education, temples had been left alone for some years to come. The entrance of one set of people into the temples often entails the departure of another set, as said by P. C. in Saklat v. Bella 28 Bom. L. R. 161, which is not a very desirable thing. The equality of the former untouchables in all secular matters is sure to spread in a generation or so to other non-secular matters and so to entry into temples. Adjustments on an unprecedented scale are taking place in modern India with regard to usages cherished for ages and the entry into temples of the so-called untouchables would have been effected in a few years without recourse to the threat of
punishments and without bitterness and rancour in the hearts of many people.

From very ancient times water has been regarded as a great purifier. Rg. VII. 47 and 49 are hymns addressed to waters as divinities and they are there described as themselves pure and as purifying others (as in Rg. VII. 49, 2 and 3 'ṣucayah pāvakāḥ'). Similarly Rg. X. 9 and 30 are hymns addressed to waters, in the former of which the waters are invoked to remove whatever sin or wrong one may have committed (Rg. X. 9. 8 'idam-āpah pra vahata yat kiṃca duritam mayi'). Atharva-veda I. 33 is a hymn addressed to waters, wherein also they are described as 'ṣucayah pāvakāḥ' (in A. V. I. 33, 1 and 4). The Vāj. S. VI. 17 (closely following Rg. X. 9. 8) invokes waters to remove whatever is insurmountable and dirty.\(^\text{719}\) In Vāj. S. IV. 2 the sage prays 'May the Waters, our mothers, purify us!'\(^\text{720}\) The Śat. Br. I. 7. 4. 17 (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 213) states 'water is a means of purification.' Viṣvarūpa on Vāj. I. 191 quotes a long Vedic passage\(^\text{721}\) wherein it is said 'whatever creates doubt (whether it is pure or impure) should be touched with waters; then it becomes pure.' It is therefore that water (hot or cold) is said to be the purifier of various kinds of vessels and of the ground in Vāj. I. 182–183, 188, Manu V. 109, 112, 126. Gobhila (I. 31–32)\(^\text{722}\) lays down that when a man engaged in any religious rite hears a mantra addressed to the pītras, scratches his body, looks at a man of the lowest caste, or allows the wind to escape from his intestines, lauds loudly or speaks an untruth, touches a cat or a mouse, or uses harsh language, has a fit of anger, he should perform ācamana (or touch water).

According to Vāj. I. 187 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.56 a polluted house is purified by being swept and cowdunged. But more stringent rules were laid down if a dog, a śūdra, a patita, a mleccha or a cāndāla died in a brāhmaṇa's house (vide note 633 above). After keeping the house vacant for the periods

\(^\text{719}\) हुज्याप: जनहतायच च मं च च वध। वचा० नू काँचकांत चयण तैये अभिविपण।
\(\text{आयम म तस्मविनस्त्र: परशस्वध ज्ञातु} \) वा: से VI. 17.

\(^\text{720}\) णापी अस्सामास्त; हुज्यापतु चुलन थो चुलन: पुनस्तु \) वा: से IV. 2.

\(^\text{721}\) तथा जानाम्: वाहे त्रे० वा:पांकामायस्तु तस्मात्वामस्वमायस्तु तस्मात्वामित्वाय: सुसेवः
\(\) चुतुच स: भवति। विनिवृत्त on चा. I. 191.

\(^\text{722}\) विग्रहमान्तुधुकाणु आसाताम्नामाचंप्राचं। अधोपच्छात्तमस्य महासेवित्वामाचं॥
\(\) मार्जारंडुओक्तवात् आकृति कोयोद्भवः। तिमितवोक्तु सत्य्य वर्ण कम् कुप्प्यः: सुसेवः॥
\(\) गोवितस्तुः I. 31–32, quoted by कुर्यदत्तात्तर on p. 50.
stated in note 633, it is provided by Saṁvarta 723 that a house that is polluted by the existence of a corpse inside it should be dealt with as follows: earthen pots and cooked food should be cast away and thrown out of the house which should then be smeared with cow dung and then a goat should be made to go about in it smelling it and then the whole house should be sprinkled over with water in which gold and kūtas are put in by brāhmaṇas rendered holy by the repetition of the Gāyatrī mantra; then the house becomes pure. Marteı prescribes 724 that if a caṇḍāla (merely) entered a house, it can be purified by plastering it with cow dung, but if he were to stay in it long, purification can be had only by heating it and making flames of fire lick its walls.

The ground in a brāhmaṇa's house, in a temple, in a cowpen should, says Yama, always be regarded as pure (unless it has been polluted).

A great deal is said in the smṛtis and digestes about the purification of water. Ap. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 2 says 725 in a general way that a person after sipping water from what is collected on the ground becomes pure. But the Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 65, Manu V. 128, Yaj. I. 192, Śaṅkha 16. 12–13, Markapāyapurāṇa 35.19 and others add that water collected on the ground that is of such volume that a cow can slake its thirst therein, that is in its natural state and is not polluted by any thing impure and that has natural colour (is transparent) and taste and odour (either no odour or a fragrant odour) is pure. Śaṅkha says 726 the same about water collected on a stony surface and adds that the water of a flowing river is always pure. Devala states 727 that water brought in clean vessels is

723. संस्कृती: युग्याचरणि अवस्थास्थानसे। मृत्युष्म द्वाराय भाष्यं विद्वानं यत्र स्थानं

724. आप. 6. S. I. 5. 15. 2. 

725. भारतराजस्वस्थानम् मथोभवति। आप. 6. S. I. 5. 15. 2. 

726. भविष्याचरणे युग्यादिति। संस्कृती युग्यायेन वाच्यम् विद्वानं यत्र स्थानं। 

727. भविष्याचरणे युग्यादिति। संस्कृती युग्यायेन वाच्यम् विद्वानं यत्र स्थानं।
Purification of water

pure but when it is (stale owing to its being stored) for one night (or more) it should be thrown though it was pure (when originally brought). There is no taint in water that cannot be agitated by any beings and in the water of springs (that flow from hills). Tanks (that are so deep) that they cannot be agitated, rivers, wells and lakes (that are similar) should not be used by the usual way of descent (the ghat) if they come in contact with candaśas and other impure persons or things. In Narhari v. Bhimrao, the Bombay High Court had to deal with the question whether a certain tank at Mahad in the Kolaba District could not be resorted to by untouchables for taking water and held that the untouchables were not prevented from using it (vide 39 Bombay L. R. p. 1295).

Brhaspati provides that if in a well the dead body of an animal with five nails (man or beast) is found or if the well is otherwise extremely polluted all the water of the well should be taken out and the rest should be dried up by means of clothes, then if the well be built with burnt bricks flames of fire should be made (to lick the surface of the walls), and then paniçagavya should be poured over when fresh water begins to flow in (from the springs). Āpastamba (q. by Śuddhikaumudi p. 299) states the circumstances when a well may be said to be extremely polluted: ‘hair, excrements and urine, menstrual discharge, a dead body—when a well is defiled by these one should take a hundred jars of water from it’ (and further purification by putting paniçagavya in it should be resorted to if there is more water). Paraśara VII. 3 says the same about wells (with steps), wells without steps and tanks.

Yāj. I. 197 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 41) provides that mud and water on roads which come in contact with lowest castes (like candaśas), dogs and crows and buildings (like mathas) constructed with burnt bricks are purified by the wind alone.

---

728. असाध्यायि तथापि नवासात्तेन वै रा. चिन्तालाष्ट्रापियिं तिर्यकः परिपल्लित: । असाध्यायिं नारिके कछुताना वै कुलुषयः। देवते q. by अपराके p. 272 ॥ शु. म. p. 102 (reads कसमलाष्ट्राक्रियिः) and explains कसमलाष्ट्री श्वारेव तथा आयुर्वीचि विशेषतः.

729. युत्पत्तियान्तङ्गतःपियिं वै वै रा. चिन्तालाष्ट्रान्तङ्गतः । अधिकारिणानां हुलापि कुर्कु एवं कृपाविवधचि । चिन्तालाष्ट्रान्तङ्गतः व्यसये पञ्चायतापोसावने ॥ युत्पत्तिः q. by अपराके p. 272. The first is quoted as a text of Udbanas by शु. कौ. p. 298 and reads साश्शेत् (साश्शविविधा) for क्षेत्रे. The two verses are विशेषतः 23. 44-45.
324  History of Dharmaśāstra  I Vol.

(blowing on them). Parāśara VII. 34 states 730 that mud and water on roads, boats, paths, grass and whatever is constructed with burnt bricks are rendered pure by the wind and the sun.

Rain water after it fell on the ground was supposed to be impure 731 for ten days. Similarly Yogyājñāvalkya (q. by S. K. p. 291) remarks that water of a river (dried up in summer) coming down in a flood for the first time (after rains) should not be taken (as pure) and also water that is agitated by some one (with the feet &c.) and waters that start in a separate stream by themselves from a holy river (like the Ganges). Even when a well (without steps) or a well (with a flight of steps) or a reservoir with a dam is constructed by men of the lowest castes, no prāyaścitta is prescribed for bathing therein or for drinking water therefrom, 732

Viśṇu Dh. S. 23. 46 provides 733 that the purification of small reservoirs of water that are static (i.e. from which no streams flow down) is made in the same way as that of wells (without steps), while in the case of large reservoirs no pollution is recognised. It is declared that waters are purified by the rays of the sun and the moon and the contact of the wind and by cowdung and the urine of cows; some of these ideas are supported by modern scientific discoveries.

A verse q. by Aparaśaka p. 273 provides 734 that even the water at a praṇā (a shed where water is distributed gratis to

---

730. śravaṇaṁsātāyaṁ nātāḥ pārāśarasūryamitāḥ ca. sivāstotram p. 197 and sū. कृत्रिताः. क. प. 304 quote it but read śravaṇaṁ sātrāyaṁ pārāśarasūryamitāḥ and the latter explains śravaṇaṁ sātraṁ muiśālaḥ sūtrāyaṁ sūraṁ. विनयमव्य कर्मव्य sūtraṁ does not comment on. I. 197 saying that it is superficial; for the verse śravaṇaṁ sātraṁ gātāṁ pārāśarasūryamitāḥ sātrāyaṁ muiśālaḥ vide sūtrāyaṁ 14, 73.

731. अता गाने महामथ्य भाग्यमित्री च प्रतिकात्। द्वारधाण्य सुधेश्च सुतिः से महोदयस्य प्रतिकात्। ग्य. q. by sū. कृत्रिताः. क. प. 297, while Aparaśaka p. 293 ascribes it to mahā.

732. अत्रस्य प्रिे छुडे छुडे सेर्वतिः धार्मिकने तथा। तत्र स्ताना च पीता च यात्रित्वम् न नियते। हलावत् q. by निश्चित अवानिक p. 192. विविध. क. प. 106 remarks 'हलावत् हलावत् (विविधम्)।'

733. अजस्मात्महायेशु स्यामेशु महात्। स्मृतस्मरणैर्महायेशुयुगलीत्। द्वारधाण्य सुधेश्च से महोदयस्य प्रतिकात्। ग्य. q. by Aparaśaka p. 273. The first is विविधमायुगली 23.46 and the 2nd is almost like अपातम (in verse) II. 7.

734. प्रामाण्यम् यथाल का छुडे महामथ्यमृते कोश्मास्तायनम्॥ कीदत्तस्मात्महायेशु सयुक्तायुगली || ग्य. q. by Aparaśaka p. 273 and sū. म. प. 104 (which reads 'हलावत् हलावत्।'). This reading would mean that he should pour such water on the ground and when it is as much in volume as would slake a cow's thirst he may drink it. The first half occurs in अत्रि 233, अवानिक II. 2. म. प. 103 quotes हलावत् to the same effect.
thirsty travellers) in a forest or from a jar placed near a well (for drawing water by any body) or the water in (a stone or wooden) trough (meant for all and sundry) and water from a leather bag even though these may not belong to a śūdra are unfit for drinking, but one may drink even such water as much as he desires when in distress. This shows that even in ancient times water was carried in leather bags or drums where there was scarcity of water and was allowed to be used even by twice-born people.

We may now turn to the purification of metals and vessels. Baud. Dh. S. I. 5, 34-35 and I. 6. 37-41, Vasiṣṭha III. 58 and 61-63, Manu V. 111-114, Yāj. I. 182 and 190, Viṣṇu 23. 2, 7, 23-24, Śāṅkha 16. 3-4, Śrīvyasāra p. 70 and others lay down rules about the purification of metals which do not agree in details. Therefore it is proposed to set out only what is said by Manu and one or two others. Manu (V. 113 ff.) says 'The wise declare that the purification of metals (like gold), of precious stones (like emerald), of all articles of stone is brought about by ashes, water and clay. Articles of gold that are not smeared (with dirty things like leavings of food &c.) become pure by means of water alone; the same holds good of articles that are found in water (coral and shells), that are made of stone and are made of silver on which no craftsmanship (such as drawing lines or figures) has been expended. Gold and silver sprang forth through the union of water and fire; therefore their purification is brought about best by their causes, viz. water (in case of slight pollution) and fire (in case of extreme pollution). The purification of copper, iron, bell-metal, brass, tin and lead should be brought about by salts (ashes), acids and water according to circumstances (i.e. pollution caused). Vasiṣṭha (III. 58, 61-63) says: 'bell-metal is purified with ashes, gold and silver with water alone and copper with acids.' Yāj. I. 190 says 'the purification of tin, lead and copper is brought about by salt water, acids and ordinary water, of bell-metal and iron by ashes and water.' The Liṅgapurāṇa (pūrvārdha, 189. 58) says: bell-metal is purified by ashes, iron-articles by salt; copper, tin and lead by acids; golden and silver vessels are purified by water and jewels, stones, conches and pearls are purified in the same way as metallic vessels. Vide Vamanapurāṇa (14. 70) which states that copper pots are purified by acids, tin and lead ones by salts, bell-metal by ashes and water. Medhātithi on Manu V. 114
quotes a verse 735 which says 'vessels of bell-metal (or brass) when licked (or breathed over) by cows, in which śudras have taken their food and which have been defiled by dogs and crows are purified by being scourcd ten times with ashes (salts).’ Śātātapa has a similar verse (vide Par. M. vol. II part I p. 172).

Elaborate rules are laid down about the purification of polluted pots and vessels used in ordinary life, in Baudh. Dh. S. I. 5. 34-50, I. 6. 33-42, Yāj. I. 182-183, Viṣṇu 23. 2-5, Śaṅkha 16. 1-5 and others. There is some variation in all these, but as the Mit. on Yāj. I. 190 remarks, it is not an absolute rule that copper must be purified by acids alone but if purification is possible by other means, they may be resorted to. It is not necessary to set out the different modes of purifying vessels.

A passage from the Śuddhi-prakāśa pp. 117-118 would be sufficient to indicate how this matter of pātraśūdhi (cleansing of polluted vessels) was dealt with in medieval India: “vessels made of gold, silver, conches, shells, stones, precious stones, bell metal, brass, tin, lead are purified by mere water, provided they have no dirt or pollution sticking to them; if these vessels are polluted by the contact of leavings of food &c. they are purified by ashes and water or acids and water according as anyone of these is appropriate; the vessels made of the above substances that are polluted for a long time owing to being used by śudras or owing to contact with leavings of food should first be scourcd with salts (ashes) and water three times and should be then cast into fire so long as it can be borne (without the vessels being broken, melted or burnt up) and then they become pure. Vessels of bell metal when polluted by only dogs, crows, śudras and leavings of food only once or licked by cows become pure by being scourcd ten times with salts and water; but if they are polluted by the above several times then they have to be scourcd 21 times for becoming pure. If in a vessel belonging to the three higher varnas a śudra takes his meal, it becomes pure after being washed four times with salts and being cast in fire and then taken up with hands that are washed clean with water. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted once by the leavings of a

---

735. भवान्तवाली कार्यावली शुकोपिष्टेश्वरी वाद्य च। शुकोपिष्टेश्वरी वाद्य च ॥ ग. विषय-वस्तु V. 113 and मिति-क्रिया वस्तु I. 190. This is लुहाराल्ले 141. This verse is ascribed to जन्नस्य by व. जै. p. 307 and to अश्वलेख by व. m. 116. This occurs in व्रातार्थ VII. 23, where the words तुष्टोपिष्टेश्वरी and नकाकोपिष्टेश्वरी are transposed.
woman freshly delivered or by intoxicants or liquors becomes pure after being heated in fire; but if it is polluted several times then it becomes pure by being again manufactured. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted by being frequently used for holding the water expelled from the mouth after rinsing it or the water in which the feet are washed should be buried in the ground for six months, then heated in fire and then it becomes pure (compare Parāśara VII. 24–25); but if it is polluted thus only once it becomes pure after (being buried in the ground) for ten days. All metal vessels polluted for a short time by the bodily dirt such as urine, excrement, semen become pure after being placed for seven nights in cow’s urine or in a great river; but if they are polluted as above many times or are polluted by the contact of a corpse, a freshly delivered woman or a woman in her monthly course they become pure after being thrice washed with salts, acids and water and after being heated in fire till they can bear it, but if these are polluted by urine and for a long time and frequently they become pure by being beaten into shape (manufactured) again.

Viṣṇu (23, 2 and 5) provides that all metal vessels when extremely polluted (as stated in note 710) are purified by being cast into fire and that vessels of wood or clay when extremely polluted should be given up, but Devāla 736 and others provide that wooden vessels when slightly polluted become pure by being planed or chiselled or by means of clay, cowdung or water and that earthen vessels if not extremely polluted become pure by being baked in fire 737 (also Yāj. I. 187). But Vās. III. 59 provides that an earthen vessel if polluted by the contact of wines, urine, excrement, phlegm, tears, pus and blood is not purified even by being burnt in fire. 738

Special rules are provided for the purification of vessels and implements used in Vedic sacrifices. Baudh. Dh. S. (I. 5. 51–52) 739 remarks that the camasa vessels used in sacrifices

736. काठानां लक्षण्यंविहँसिते समस्पन्नवत्रः पाश्चर्यं। सुम्मदयानं ह पात्राणां बुद्धारथं रिसयते॥ देवल प. द्वारिकाम. प. 118. Vide मह. V. 115 for the same rule about wooden vessels.

737. Vide Leviticus 11. 32–33 about unclean vessels of wood and earthenware and their purification.

738. सदैवैः पूर्वमास्मृतः। संस्तुप्रायं प्रेषितम्। सुम्मदयानम्। कस्यम् III. 59 = मह. V. 123. It may be noted that महाविलय does not comment on this verse and quotes it on मह. V. 122 without naming the source.

739. नवनावर्तः चतुर्विकाब्यानृत। न समनाविलयानं भवनीति कृष्टिः। वै. घ. २४। I. 5. 51–52. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1177 n. 2598, for the drinking of soma from camasās by the priests one after another.
are purified according to the special Vedic texts, since the Veda says that camasa vessels do not incur the fault of being uchīśīga when it is soma liquid that is drunk from them. Manu V. 116–117, Yaj. I. 183–185, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 8–11, Sāṅkha 16. 6, Parāśara VII. 2–3 and others lay down rules about the purification of sacrificial implements. For example, Manu (V. 116–117) provides ‘sacrificial vessels should be first rubbed with the right hand (or with darbhas or strainer) and then camasas and cups are to be washed with water before using them in the sacrifice; the carusthāli (the vessel in which the oblation of boiled rice is prepared), sruca (a wooden vessel used for pouring clarified butter on sacrificial fire), and sruva (wooden ladle of a semicircular shape) are purified by being washed with hot water; the sphyā (wooden sword), the winnowing basket, the cart (for bringing the soma plant), wooden mortar and pestle, are purified with water (or sprinkling water according to Yaj. I. 184).

Several rules were laid down about the purification of polluted corn and polluted cooked food. A reference has already been made to the purification of heaps of corn. Common sense, convenience and the loss that may be caused by very stringent provisions are the considerations which prompt the rules on this subject. Viṣṇu 23.25 provides 740 that where a heap of rice (or other grain) is polluted, one should throw away only that portion of it which is actually defiled and should submit the rest to pounding and washing with water; cooked food that exceeds in volume one droga and that has been defiled does not all become tainted, but that throwing away the defiled portion alone, one should sprinkle over the rest water mixed with gold on which the sacred Gāyatrī verse has been repeated and should hold it before a goat to see it and should also bring fire near it. Vide Baudh. Dh. S. I. 6. 44–48. ‘If grains of rice are polluted they should be washed and dried. But if it is a large quantity then sprinkling with water is enough; husked rice (if polluted) should be cast away. The same rule applies to cooked offerings. But in the case of large heaps of cooked food that portion which is polluted by dogs or crows should be cast away and the rest should be sprinkled with the Anuvākā.

740. असिद्धार्थां पास्य धातुवीर्योपसर्वं तद्यति परिज्ञाना शैवर वर्णविचार गुप्त प्रस्तुति। महाधामी सिद्धमान्येन न च गुप्त प्रस्तुति। सर्वपल्लवसम्प्रदायं वायुक्षेत्रिष्ठलिन्तं शूकालीभस्म: महाधामी धातुसर्वं च महाधामीस्थित्वं। विष्णु 23.11. The शूकालीभ is p. 317 reads ‘सत्सर्वं गुप्तधामविश्रामं’
What is polluted food

pavamānaḥ suvarjanāḥ’ (Tait. Br. I. 4.8). Gaut. 17. 9–10 provide that one should not partake of food that was cooked along with hair and insects (like ants), nor food that is polluted by the contact of a woman in her monthly illness, by a crow or by being struck with the foot (of some one). But where food is already cooked and then it is smelt by a cow or it is polluted by the falling into it of hair, insects, flies, then Yaj. I. 189 and Parāṣara VI. 64–65 provide that in order to purify it water, ashes (with water) or loose earth (with water) should be cast over it. Ap. Dh. S. I. 5.16, 24–29 provide that one should not partake of food in which hair exists (i.e. it was there from the beginning) or anything else (like nails) that is impure or of food that is touched with an unclean substance or in which an insect that subsists on impure things exists or food which is struck by the feet of any person or in which the excrement or the tail (or limb) of a rat is found.

The general rule is stated by Manu V. 118 which applies not only to corn and clothes but to many other articles viz. if there is a heap or a large quantity then sprinkling with water (prokṣana) suffices for purification but if the quantity is small then washing with water is necessary. Manu V. 125 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.38) provides that (a small quantity of) cooked food part of which is pecked by birds (whose flesh is eaten by men), which is smelt by a cow, which is struck with the foot (by a man) and over which some one has sneezed or which is polluted by the falling in of hair and insects becomes pure by casting into it loose earth (and water). Parāṣara (VI. 71–74) puts the matter thus: “food licked by dogs and crows or smelt by a cow or ass, if little in quantity, should be thrown away by a brāhmaṇa, but purification should be resorted to if it is a droma or āḍhaka in quantity. That portion which is defiled by the saliva of a dog or crow should be thrown away and water in which gold is put should be sprinkled over the remaining portion, then flames of fire should lick the remaining

741. निश्चितमोक्षपुरूः केशकार्यार्थमुः रजस्वतात्युक्तकुलिन्यपीतस्व। मृ. 17. 8-10.

742. काकच्याानावतीष्टु तु सत्यापति दर्शेत् वा। सत्यपर्याय यथोऽज्ञ। छृष्णुप्रकाश्य भैरवः। अमरसरस्य सम्बन्धम् यथा तालाख्यते भैरवः। छृष्णांकाशपुरुषो द्रव्योऽन्तः सत्यार्थो भैरवः। हुनास्वनेन संपर्युवर्णसिद्धनेन व। निर्मित्यां ब्रम्हवर्गेऽपि भैरवं भवति तस्यकालम्। परार्थ व. 71-74, q. by हुनास्वप्यकाश pp. 128–129 (which reads यथा तालाख्यते in the 2nd verse).
food and brāhmaṇas should loudly recite Vedic hymns (like the Pavamānasūkta) over it and then the food becomes fit for eating”. The Śuddhprakāśa explains that the wealthy should not throw away food if it is more than a drona in quantity and a poor man if it is more than an ādhaka.⁷⁴³

Manu V. 115⁷⁴⁴ says that in the case of all liquids (such as oils, ghee &c.) purification (when they are little in quantity) is brought about by means of two kuśas dipped into them (or by straining them through a piece of cloth into another pot) and if the quantity is large then by sprinkling (water). Śaṅkha provides⁷⁴⁵ that purification is brought about by mere prokṣaṇa in the case of all exudations (Asafoetida &c.), jaggery, salts, safflower, saffron and in the case of wool and cotton. Vide note 705 above about certain articles being pure the moment they are transferred from the pots of even mlecchas &c.

A few words may be said about the purification of different kinds of cloth and garments and the materials of which they are made. Laghu-Āśvalayana (I. 28–30) provides that a white garment is always commended for wearing (as a dhoti), but they are commended for wearing as upper garments and both are not defiled by the touch of anybody. Men may take their food or answer calls of nature while covered with both; trasara is purified by being washed while a silken garment is always pure. Manu V. 120–121, Yāj. I. 186–187 and Viṣṇu (23. 19–22) provide almost in the same words that silken and woollen cloth is cleansed by saline earth (and with water and cow’s urine), Nepalese blankets by the powder of soap berry, clothes made of tree bark with Bilva fruit and linen cloth by (paste of) white mustard. Viṣṇu 23. 6 says⁷⁴⁶ that when a garment is extremely polluted that portion thereof which when washed with water loses its colour should be cut off. Śaṅkha⁷⁴⁷ quoted by Viṣva-

---

⁷⁴³ Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 124 for the measures of capacity called drona and ādhaka. According to most writers four ādhakas are equal to a drona.

⁷⁴⁴ जूष्णा जै भैर देवस्य नुक्तिस्पर्शं स्नातसं। मंगलोऽपि सर्वं दार्शणां व तपस्या॥ मनु V. 115. कुमुद न्यूक्तिस्थितिः । पार्श्वमन्दिरादित्याचार्याः चुक्तिस्पर्शं नुक्तिस्पर्शः।

while the कुमुद p. 133 remarks उत्पल्लवरे वज्रमयितातिक्षेपण कीदाक्रमणयत्नित्यक्षुः।

⁷⁴⁵ निकष्म्यस्य निकष्म्यमेव तपस्यां तत् व। कुप्रमकुप्रम् गूढानं तन्मालीतानं सप्तस्तथाः। मेयन्ताकृप्तात् नुक्तिस्पर्शः समस्तस्यः। सारा 16. 11–12.

⁷⁴⁶ अवलोकनं जनां यथापद्यमित विन्ययं तत्तथतत्त्वं। विन्ययं विन्ययं। विन्ययं 23. 6.

⁷⁴⁷ जैस्यं निकष्म्यस्य निकष्म्यं तस्मानं तस्मानं तस्मानं तस्मानं स। सारा 182. q. by निकष्म्य 23. 6.
Purification of garments

rtapa on Yaj. I. 182 prescribes that garments are purified by being submitted to hot steam, by washing with water or by cutting off only that portion that is defiled. Parāśara VII. 28 provides that garments made from bamboos and barks of trees, linen and cotton garments, garments of wool and birch bark are purified by mere prokṣaṇa.

The smārtis speak of purification of many other things, which is of little importance and is passed over here. Only a few illustrations are given here. Manu. V. 119 provides that skins and things made of split bamboos (or canes) are cleaned in the same way as clothes, while vegetables, roots and fruits are purified on the analogy of grain. Manu V. 120-121 state that the purification of conches, horns (of buffaloes and rams) and bones and tusks (of the elephant or boar) is to be caused in the same way as that of linen or with cow’s urine or water and that grass, wood and straw become pure by being sprinkled with water. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 15, 16, 23 and Yaj. I. 185 are very similar.

From the above it will be clear that purification of substances depends on many circumstances, viz. whether they are metallic or are earthen, whether they are solid or liquid, whether a polluted substance is small in quantity or is a big heap, whether the pollution is extreme or insignificant and so on.

In Manu the purification of substances follows (V. 110) the means of purifying one’s own body. Purification of the body by means of ācamana and snāna (bath) has already been described in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 315-316 and 652-653 (about ācamana), 656-668 (about snāna). Purification by bath on āśauca has already been dealt with before. Special rules were prescribed for women guilty of adultery (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 594, vol. III. pp. 647-649), as also for women raped (vide vol. II p. 575). Snāna (bath) with the clothes on was prescribed for purification of the body when a person touches one who is patita (murderer of a brāhmaṇa &c.), a caṇḍāla, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse or one who has touched a corpse; also when a man follows a funeral procession or touches a dog (vide Gaut. 14. 28-30, Manu V. 85 and 103, Aṅgiras verse 152, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 15-16, Yaj. III. 30). Baudh. Dh. S. I. 5. 140 provides that on touching one who sells the Veda (teaches it for money), a yūpa, a funeral pyre, a patita, a dog and a caṇḍāla one should
undergo a bath.\textsuperscript{748} Parāśara also has a similar verse.\textsuperscript{749} It has already been stated elsewhere (in H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 175-176) how the rules about touching untouchables were relaxed when people congregated in a temple or in a religious procession, at marriages and festivals and at holy places. It is said by some that this refers not to the so-called untouchables, but to men who are untouchable owing to āśauca. But this is not correct. The explanation of the Śuddhi-kaumudi and Śuddhprakāsa given below makes it clear that the untouchables are meant. In the first place, the words are quite general and not restricted. In the second place, there is no untouchability (except for the mother) on the ground of Jananāśauca and it is most unlikely that a person who has incurred mourning on death should visit a temple or go to a marriage or enter a religious procession, or festival. In the third place, looking to the several occasions mentioned together (particularly pilgrimages, battles, fire in a town or village and commotion or invasion of a country) it appears most unlikely that the verse refers only to āśauca on birth and death.\textsuperscript{750}

The ancient and medieval Indians put very great emphasis on purity of mind, of body, of the place where they resided or performed religious rites, of the vessels used by them and of the ingredients of their food and worship. Many of the rules about purification of substances may appear to modern minds as very stringent; but it should not be forgotten that the ancient Indians were imbued with the thought that purity of the mind followed from purity of food

\textsuperscript{748} वेदविविधिः सूर्य पतितं दितिमेव च। शुद्धा समाजे स्तना भानि यज्ञलोकः च॥

\textsuperscript{749} जैवप्रहारितादिदृश्यवालः सोभविक्रिय। जारीता भाषणः शुद्धा जनेदीतो जलं

\textsuperscript{750} तीनं विलापे भैरवायं संग्रामे वेदविविधिः। नवाचारसुधारे च सुवाससूहनेन कुष्ठित।
(as stated in the Chāndogyopaniṣad VII. 26.2 'ahāraśuddhau sattvasuddhiḥ' and by Hārīta). It would be conceded that some of their rules about purification (such as about large quantities of corn or heaps of cooked food) are based on common sense and convenience. We are probably going to the other extreme in taking our food anywhere and in any surroundings.
SECTION III

CHAPTER IX

ŚRĀDDHA

This subject is of great practical importance from several points of view.

The Brahmapurāṇa defines śrāddha as follows: ‘whatever is given with faith to brāhmaṇas intending it to be for the (benefit of) pītsṛs at a proper time, in a proper place, to deserving persons and in accordance with the prescribed procedure is called śrāddha.’ The Mit. on Yāj. I. 217 defines śrāddha as ‘abandonment with faith of an article of food or some substitute thereof, intending it for (the benefit of) the departed’. The Kalpataru on śrāddha defined it as ‘the giving up of sacrificial material intending it for pītsṛs and its acceptance by brāhmaṇas’. The Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara and the Śrāddhaprakāśa define śrāddha in the same way as the Mit. but in a more involved manner. Yāj. I. 268 (= Agnipurāṇa 163. 40–41) states that the pītsṛs viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas that are the deities of śrāddha, being gratified by śrāddha, give gratification to the ancestors of human beings. This verse and Manu III. 284 make it clear that the three ancestors of a man,

751. इत्यौऽदेशे काले च पाते च अद्वया निविष्ठम् च यद। पितृविराग विमोच्यो वै भ्राम्य। 
भद्रपराण Q. by भा म. प. 3 and 6. भा व्य. ल. प. 3. पत्र. मा I. 2. 
p. 299; भ्राह्मण गायत्रीपराण तत्त्वानीपर्यं दयपराण प्रत्येकेऽपि श्राह्मणं तथाय। भिन्ननारण 
on भा. I. 217; लेखन पितृविराग विमोच्यो वै भ्राम्य। भ्राह्मणाधिकारपराणं भ्राह्मणः भ्राह्मणः। 
कल्पतरु (भ्राह्म) p. 4; कल्पतरुकारणमत्वपराणं धन्यात्मामात्मायां वेदाभि भ्राह्मणः सत्ता विभागां लघानात्। भ्रा. म. क. को प. 3-4; अत्र कल्पतरुः पितृविराग विमोच्यो वै भ्राम्य। 
श्राह्मणाधिकारपराणं भ्राह्मणः भ्राह्मणः। भ्राह्मणाधिकारपराणं भ्राह्मणः भ्राह्मणः। 
कल्पतरु (भ्राह्म) p. 204. भ्राह्मणाधिकारपराणं भ्राह्मणः भ्राह्मणः।
The भ्राह्मणाधिकार on भा. I. 218 accepts कल्पतरु; भ्राह्मणाधिकारपराणं भ्राह्मणः भ्राह्मणः। भ्राह्मणाधिकारपराणं भ्राह्मणः भ्राह्मणः।
The भ्राह्मणाधिकार states that भ्राह्मणाधिकार is enjoined by the words of the भ्राह्मणाधिकार and the thing abandoned is handed over to a deserving brāhmaṇa (पाचार्यमन्नुक्तका). मानिसिः in भा. म. means the final disposal of a thing used in a sacrifice e.g. in Dārśa-पूर्णमांस we have the sentence सह शाख्यम् भवति महर्षीम्। Here भ्राह्मणाधिकार is मानिसिः ज ज भ्राह्मणाधिकारम् (Jal. IV. 2. 
10–13) and not अर्थावेद; similarly, the cremation of an अहितग्नि with his sacrificial vessels is a मानिसिः so far as the यज्ञवादिः are concerned.
viz. the father, paternal grand-father and the paternal great-grand-father are respectively to be identified with the three orders of superintending pitṛ deities, viz. Vasus, Rudras and Adityas, when performing śrāddha. According to some, śrāddha denotes three things, viz. homa, the offering of piṇḍa (ball of cooked food) and gratification of brāhmaṇas invited to a dinner; the application of this word to any one of these three can only be in a secondary sense.

A firm believer in the doctrine of karma, punarjanma (reincarnation) and karma-vipāka (explained above) may find it difficult to reconcile that doctrine with the belief that by offering balls of rice to his three deceased paternal ancestors a man brings gratification to the souls of the latter. According to the doctrine of punarjanma (as very clearly and succinctly put in Br. Up. IV. 4.4 and Bhagavad-gītā 2.22) the spirit leaving one body enters into another and a new one. But the doctrine of offering balls of rice to three ancestors requires that the spirits of the three ancestors even after the lapse of 50 or 100 years are still capable of enjoying in an ethereal body the flavour or essence of the rice balls wafted by the wind. Further, Yās. I. 269 (which is the same as Märk. 29. 38, Matsya-purāṇa 19. 11–12, Agnipurāṇa 163. 41–42) provides that the grandfathers (i.e. pitṛs) being themselves gratified (by the offerings of food in śrāddha) bestow on men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, mokṣa (final beatitude), all happiness and kingdom. In the Matsya-purāṇa (chap. 19, verse 2) a question is asked by the sages how food which a brāhmaṇa (invited at a śrāddha) eats or which is offered into fire is enjoyed by departed spirits that might have assumed (after death) good or evil forms of bodies. The answer given (verses 3–9) is that fathers, grand-fathers and great-grandfathers are identified with Vasus, Rudras and Adityas respectively according to Vedic passages, that the name and gotra (mentioned at the time of śrāddha), the mantras uttered and faith carry to the pitṛs the offerings made, that if one’s

752. होमस्व विष्णुवां स तथा भार्तराष्ट्रवान्। आदिज्ञानात्मश्वयं प्राचीकस्मिन् प्रमाणितः। पु. ब्र. II. 7. 16. 2 says the same thing. नीर्वाकनम् in विनिगम्यां (folio 23a) says ‘विष्णुवां तु न आदिज्ञानात्मविश्वेषो निर्वाचनवर्गमनात्।’

753. अवस्थानयो घरिरे निधन्दयाविषयं ममविन्द्राध्यक्षवित्तम् काम्यात्मार्थम् सत्यं केवले निष्ठयं वा वसन्त्यं वा ज्ञातस्य यथा वास्थायं वा निष्ठयं यथा वास्तवस्य यथा भूतानां। ब्रह्म. U. IV.4.4; तथा घरिराजिनि विष्णाय भोजानांस्यनिमि संगतिः सनातिः सस्त्री। गीता 2.22.
father has become a god (by his good deeds) the food offered in śrāddha becomes nectar and follows him in his state of godhood, if he has become a dāitya (an asura) then (the food) reaches him in the form of various enjoyments, if he has become a beast then it becomes grass for him and if he has become a snake the śrāddha food waits on him as wind (serpents are supposed to subsist on wind) and so on. Verses 5–9 of the Matsya, chap. 19 are quoted as from Mārkandeyapurāṇa by the Śrāddha- kalpalatā p. 5. Viśvarūpa 754 on Yājñ 1.265 (p. 171 of Tri. ed.) also raises the same objection and gives several replies. One is that this is a matter entirely based on śāstra and so when śāstra says that pīṭhas are gratified and the performer gets desired objects no objection should be raised. Another reply is that the gods Vasus and others that have access everywhere have the power to gratify pīṭhas wherever they may be situated. He does not call the questioners (nāstika) as some other and later writers do.

The Śrāddhakalpalatā of Nandapanidita 755 (about 1600 A.D.) enters upon an elaborate reply to these persons (whom he dubs atheists) that aver that the performance of śrāddhas for departed fathers and rest, who according to the particular actions of each go to heaven or hell or to other forms of existence serves no purpose. He asks: why is śrāddha useless? Is it because there is no prescriptive text laying down an obligation

754. 'कर्म यथा: सक्करियािापिका निवासिनासापि कियु िासति:। आयुर्तिमाओऽक्षेत्रेषु भवाक्षेत्रेषु कालस्पृहानुसारेषु।' विश्वरुप 754 या. 1.265 p. 171.

755. 'अये नातिका बुद्धानि निवासीनि निवासिनिः सदृशनािािःविनासिनिः सयीत्वािािः तत्त्वािीतु तत्त्वािीतु तत्त्वािीतु।' विश्वरुप 755 या. 1.265 p. 171.
to perform it or is it because śrāddha produces no consequences or is it that it is not proved that pitṛs and the rest are gratified by śrāddha? To the first he replies that there are such passages as 'therefore a wise man must perform śrāddha with all his efforts' that lay down the obligation; nor is the 2nd objection proper, since Yaj. I. 269 does declare the rewards (of śrāddha) viz. long life &c. Nor is the third alternative acceptable. In the śrāddha rites it is not that the mere ancestors named Devadatta and the like are the recipients and that they are denoted by the words pitṛ, pitāmaha and prapitāmaha, but that those words denote them as accompanied by the superintending deities viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas. Just as by the words Devadatta and the like what is denoted is not merely the bodies (so named) nor merely the souls, but what is denoted by the words is individual souls as particularised by the bodies; in the same way the words pitṛ and the like denote Devadatta and others together with the superintending deities (viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas). Therefore, the superintending deities viz. the Vasus and the rest, being gratified by the food and drink offered by the sons and the rest, gratify those also viz. Devadatta and the rest and endow the performers (of śrāddha) with such rewards as male progeny and the rest. Just as a woman expecting to be a mother becomes gratified by partaking of the food and drink for which she has a longing in pregnancy and which is given to her by another person for the sustenance of the child in the womb, she satiates also the child in her womb and endows those that offer her the food and drink for which she has longings by bestowing on them some reward in return. Thus the pitṛs denoted by the words father, grandfather and great-grandfather are the deities Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas, and not merely (human beings called) Devadatta and the rest. Hence these deities of śrāddha become the recipients (of gifts) in the śrāddha rite, are gratified by the śrāddha and gratify in their turn the ancestors of human beings. The Śrāddha-kalpalata then quotes 18 verses from the

756. अब्धाकिर्त्यं नथन मनुष्यं: किमयति सुखं:। तेन तुन्तव्यपायस्य वे विशालयस्मनस्ता:।
यदनुमुन्नान्तः तुस्म पति पुनः। तेन ते तद्यथापत्तेद्यथा सुखं: ज्ञात्यात्।। पासु सप्ता-
स्वस्त्रिक्षिका: पवत्नति प्रथमतः। ताभिषा अप्यायं स्वस्त्रिक्षिका: पवत्नति प्रथमतः॥
ताभिषा अप्यायं स्वस्त्रिक्षिका: पवत्नति प्रथमतः॥ न भएतेत्वा विहेक्षु
पासु सप्तास्किर्तिक्षिका: पवत्नति प्रथमतः॥। अभिभाविख्यायं स्वस्त्रिक्षिका: पवत्नति प्रथमतः॥।
के वाहनास: (पञ्जा:ै)। के कहते पात्रं: किमप्रयोगं द्वारस्तिमतः।। विभावलेखितिकिरसमानस्वस्त्रिक्षिका:॥।
अनुसारः ख्यातः यास्ते पंच जन्तुं विभावलेखिन:॥। अनुसारः ख्यातः यास्ते पंच जन्तुं विभावलेखिवः॥
28. 8-13, स्कंपणु. VII. 205.23-28 (with slight variations), बहुवृत्तम 220.89-95,

(Continued on the next page)
Märkaṇḍeya-purāṇa many of which are found in chap. 28 (verses 3 ff) of the printed text. It is said\(^{757}\) that just as a calf finds its own mother from among many cows that are scattered about, so the mantras repeated in śrāddha carry the food to the pīṭras.

The explanation offered by the Śrāddha-kalpalata relying on passages of the Märkaṇḍeya-purāṇa is not satisfactory and is rather far-fetched. The Märkaṇḍeya and the Mātsya appear to agree with the doctrine of Vedānta that immediately on leaving one body the soul has recourse to another body, either as a god or a man or a beast or a snake &c. The hypothesis propounded is that the food and drink offered in śrāddhas becomes transformed into various substances for the use of the ancestors (Mātsya 141, 74–75). But the great difficulty in accepting this explanation is that the ancestors might die at different places, while śrāddha may very often be performed at one place far away from those places. It is difficult to believe that the grass growing in one place where the ancestor has been transformed into a beast as a result of his evil actions is the same that might have been produced from the substances offered in śrāddha at a place hundreds of miles away. Further, if one or all the three ancestors have been transformed into beasts or the like how can they recognize their offspring and bestow on them long life, wealth &c? If the Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas bestow these, it is better to say so directly and affirm that pīṭras cannot bestow

(Continued from the last page)

quoted by स्वतित्व. (आ. p. 333.), आचार्य प. 7 (the first three from माहृत्युष्टिर and the rest from ब्रह्मचार्य.), आ. क. ल. p. 5; नामगृहि विषयाः तु यापकं हर्षकत्यावः। नागमयोक्ताः (नागमयोक्तास्य देवस्य) भवतामहासतायाति। गणिनः मीरापत्तेवेव तदापार्थमामानार्त। देवो यज्ञ विधा भक्तिः भवतामहासतायाति। तदापार्थमामानार्त देवो यज्ञ विधा भक्तिः भवतामहासतायाति। गणिनः मीरापत्तेवेव तदापार्थमामानार्त। देवो यज्ञ विधा भक्तिः भवतामहासतायाति। गणिनः मीरापत्तेवेव तदापार्थमामानार्त। देवो यज्ञ विधा भक्तिः भवतामहासतायाति। गणिनः मीरापत्तेवेव तदापार्थमामानार्त।

\(^{757}\) वधा गोइङ्ग गोइङ्ग बलो विषयाः मातयाः। तथा माहृत्युष्टिर-दियास्तूर (दियास्तूर?) मानः नामास्य दुः तस्य। आ. क. 141. 76, 45. 85 and 83. 119–120, ब्रह्मचार्य, अवस्थापादव 218. 90–91, उपपादमाव 20. 12–13, q. by स्वतित्व. (आ. p. 448) which reads गोइङ्गहोडः and आचार्याः (दियास्तूर?) आ. क. 8. p. 5.
any thing on their progeny. It appears very probable that the worship of ancestors by means of śrāddhas was a very ancient institution and that the doctrines of punarjanma and karmapiśaka were comparatively later ones and that Hinduism being all-embracing retained the institution of śrāddhas while adopting also the doctrine of metempsychosis. The institution of śrāddha is from one point of view an excellent one. It provides an occasion for remembrance of one’s ancestors and relatives that were dear and near when living. The Āryasamāja objects to the institution of śrāddha and interprets pīṭhas in the Rgveda as meaning living men in the Vānaprastha stage. It may be noted that the texts support both views. The Śat. Br. expressly says that food is offered to the father of the sacrificer in the words ‘this is for thee.’ Viśnū Dh. S. 75. 4 ‘He whose father is dead may put down a pīṇḍa for his father &c.’ On the other hand Manu III. 234 states that fathers are spoken of as Vasus, grandfathers as Rudras &c. and Yāj. I. 269 provides that Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas are the pīṭhas and the devatās of śrāddha. These latter are to be explained as containing an injunction to contemplate upon the pīṭhas as Vasus, Rudras &c.

As stated below (p. 347) with regard to the Rgvedic passages, it was on account of the supposed power of pīṭhas to benefit or harm the living that the cult of the dead became a prominent feature in primitive societies. Offerings and ceremonies which may have in most ancient times been prompted in part at least by the desire to placate the ancestors are continued as tokens of pure affection and remembrance. Various beliefs about pīṭhas are mentioned in post-Vedic Literature. The Baudh. Dh. S. II. 8. 14 summarizes a brāhmaṇa text stating that pīṭhas move about in the form of birds. The Auśanasa-smṛti and Devala quoted by the Kalpataru say the same thing. In the Vāyu-purāṇa it is stated that at the time of śrāddha the ancestors

758. पपस्तः विचल्यं बुद्धाः। पपस्तः हि पितृः। मितिस्य चारणात्मितिविज्ञाप्ये। प्रेम. भ. २५। II.8.14। न च पपस्तः कामायिनौ पलिणस्तु न चारणेः। तदूः पितृस्त्र समायात्मिः इत्यौस्तरः। अवधामस (Jiv. I. p. 531)। न चाम घनेनकायकायीं पलिणै। मितिस्यचेवेदै। तदूः। पितृस्त्र समायात्मिति पैदिक्षेऽन्न। कृत्य q. by कल्याणं on आन्त p. 17.

759. आभूकारे तु सत्ततः बायुप्रतः पितामहः। अविष्मलि विन्यासः हट्ठशा समाकेतुः। अथानीये वेदीप्ये परेषास्वयं स। भौमि-नेत्रोत्तमः ग्रामः भूजिनिष्ठः दिनिष्टशः। नवत्ततिस्य इत्यतः। शिवः भूजिणीशु विज्ञानिये। तस्मादैव विकृताः। भूजिणीशु विज्ञानसत्त्वः। वायुप्रतः 75.13-15 ( = श्रेष्ठ, उपसङ्ग 13.13-15, Venk. ed.): आन्तस्त्र समायात्मिति वितारो त्रानारिस्तः। वायुप्रतः तिलितिः भूलूः यात्रि परा गतिवः। अवधामसपूः (Jiv. I. p. 526).
enter the brähmanas (invited) after assuming an aerial form and that when the best of brähmanas are honoured with clothes, foods, gifts, eatables, liquids, cows, horses and villages, pîtrs become pleased. Manu III. 189 and the Auśanasamrît also support this notion that pîtrs enter the invited brähmanas. The Matsyapurâna (18. 5–7) enjoins: ‘pîças should be offered to the departed for twelve days after death, since they serve him as food on his journey and give him great satisfaction. Therefore, the soul leaving the dead body is not taken to the abode of the departed for twelve days (after death); the departed spirit hovers near his house, his sons, his wife for twelve days. Therefore for ten days after death milk (and water) should be placed (hung up) in space for ten nights for reducing all torments (or troubles of the departed) and for the removal of the fatigue of the journey (that the departed spirit has to make). The Viśnudharmasûtra 760 (20. 34–36) provides ‘the departed spirit enjoys in the world of pîtrs the food offered in śrâddha with the utterance of the word ‘svadha’; whether the departed is in the state of a god or in the place of torments (Hell) or in the form of a lower animal or a human being, the śrâddha food offered by his relatives reaches him; when śrâddha is performed, the performer and the departed soul both certainly secure vigour (or prosperity).’

The Brahmapurâṇa 761 states that śrâddha is to be treated of under five heads, viz. how, where, when, by whom and with what materials. But before proceeding to deal with these five heads, it is necessary to dilate upon the underlying ideas and significance of the word ‘pîtaraḥ’ from the most ancient times of which we have literary records.

The word ‘pîtṛ’ means ‘father’, but the word ‘pîtaraḥ’ is used in two senses, viz. (1) a man’s three immediate deceased ancestors, (2) the early or ancient ancestors of the human race that were supposed to inhabit a separate world (loka) by them-

760. पितुलोकसङ्कराशः भागे वृक्षैव स्वधासंड। पितुलोकसङ्कराशः तस्मात्सङ्कराशः

761. शुष्कं श्रवणसाधनं: भागाकलं खविनिर्देहं। भवत यद्य पद्म श्रूः (v. 1. शन)
selves. For this second meaning, vide Rg. X. 14. 2 and 7, X.15.2 (translated above pp. 191–92, 194) and Rg. IX.97.39. That Soma which becomes stronger and stronger and makes others strong, that is strained through a strainer, that flows in a stream, protected us by means of the luminary (the Sun)—that Soma with whose help our ancestors knowing the place (where the cows were kept concealed) and the higher regions, harassed the mountain for (the sake of recovering) the cows.’ In Rg. X. 15.1 the pîtris are said to be of three grades, lower, middling or higher. They are also said to be earlier and later ones (Rg. X. 15.2). They are all known to Agni, though all pîtris are not known to their descendants (Rg. X. 15.13). The pîtris are divided into several groups such as Āṅgirasas, Vairūpas, Atharvans, Bṛgus, Navagvas and Daśagvas (Rg. X. 14.5–6), the Āṅgirasas being particularly associated with Yama who is invoked to come to the sacrifice along with the Āṅgirasas (Rg. X. 14.3–5). In Rg. I.63 2 it is said: ‘through whose (Indra’s) help our ancient ancestors (pîrāḥ), the Āṅgirasas, who sang his praises and who knew the place, found out the cows.’ The pîtris called Āṅgiras were, it appears, again subdivided into two classes viz. Navagva and Daśagva as both of which words occur in Rg. I. 62 4, V. 39.12 and X. 62. 6. In several passages the ancient fathers are identified with the seven sages as in Rg. IV. 42.8 and VI. 22.2 and sometimes the Navagvas and Daśagvas also are said to be the seven sages (Rg. I. 62.4). Āṅgirasas are said to be the sons of Agni (Rg. X. 62.5) and also of Heaven (Rg. IV. 2.15). The pîtris are often said to regale themselves in the company of gods,

762. This idea is at least Indo-Iranian, if not Indo-European. The ancient Parsi scriptures speak of Fravashis that were originally the same as pîtris of ancient Hindu works or the Manes among the ancient Romans. They were the everlasting and deified souls of the dead. Gradually the meaning of Fravashi was extended and even Gods and objects like the Earth and the sky were supposed to have each a Fravashi. Vide S. B. E. vol. 4 p. 262 for the Fravashis of the holy Yama and for the different classes of Fravashis; also S. B. E. vol. 23 pp. 180, 184, 230.

763. वेदना न: हर्म पितार: पद्यः सविभो अभिन या अभिन्दुः: ॥ या. X. 97.39.
763a. वेदना न: हर्म पितार: पद्यः अर्हत्यो अख्यासो या अख्यावृत्तुः: ॥ या. I. 62.2
764. नवगवास: दत्तोभास इन्द्राः इन्द्रास्त्री अभिष्मेवलः: ॥ या. V. 39.12; ये अर्ष: परि जतिरे विस्मासो विस्मासः । कविवी यु दुःश्चो अख्यास्त्रम: सर्वा वेदेऽवं मयंते ॥ या. X. 62.6.
765. असमकम् पितरस्त आसन सप्राषो तौतिष्ठ बलवताना: ॥ या. IV. 42.8; ततु: न: पूर्वो पितरो सश्च: सम स्विदः अभि यथार्थः: ॥ या. VI. 22.2.
particularly of Yama (Rg. VII. 76. 4, X. 14. 10, X. 15. 8–10). 766 The *pitṛs* are said to be fond of Soma drink (Rg. X. 15. 1 and 5, IX. 97. 39), they lie down on kuśa grass (Rg. X. 15.5), they come with Agni and Indra to partake of the offerings (Rg. X. 15. 10 and X. 16. 12) and Agni is also said to carry the offerings to the *pitṛs* (Rg. X. 15. 12). Fire is supposed to take the spirit of a cremated person to the *pitṛs* (Rg. X. 16. 1–2, 5 = A. V. 18. 2. 10; Rg. X. 17. 3). In later works also (e. g. in Märk. chap. 45), Brahma is supposed to have created in the beginning four classes viz. gods, asuras, *pitṛs* and human beings. Vide also Brahmacāparāṇa, Prakriyā, chap. 8, and upoddhāṭa chap. 9. 35 (ītyete pitaro devā devāśca pitarāḥ punāḥ anyonyapitaro hyete).

It was supposed that the departed spirit, after the cremation of the body, was endowed with an ethereal body and became associated with Yama, the gatherer of departed men (Rg. X. 14. 1 and 8, X. 15. 14, X. 16. 5), and with *pitṛs*. The departed spirit went to the world of the *pitṛs* and Agni was implored to take the spirit to the world of the departed whose deeds were good and to the stride of Viśṇu (Rg. X. 14. 9, X. 15. 3, X. 16. 4).

Although Yama is said to dwell in heaven (*dīvī*) in Rg. X. 64. 3, he is really a god of the middle region, as the Nirukta states. 767 The Atharvaveda states: 768 ‘let us worship with obeisance the fathers and grandfathers of our father, that enter the wide middle regions, that dwell on the earth and in heaven.’ In Rg. I. 35. 6 769 it is said: there are three worlds; two of them (Heaven and earth) are in the lap of Savitr; one (i.e. the middle region) is in the domain of Yama where departed spirits congregate, ‘The great Luminary (the Sun) has risen, a gift of the *pitṛs*’ (Rg. X. 107. 1). In the Tai. Br. I. 3. 10. 5 770

---

766. त हृदेनां समागत आसंस्तंतानां क्रयं पुन्यासः॥ युक्तं उपयोतस्त वितरो अम्मविवर्द्ध नरमण्यो सारीकुर्वस्य॥ अरण्य. VII. 76. 4; अथा पितृसु छुर्वितरो उपयोगः पञ्चेन दे समागत महताः॥ अरण्य. X. 14. 10 = अरण्य. 18. 2. 11.

767. मायस्मिको यम ह्र्दारुः। तस्मात् मायस्मिकादिन पितृसु नस्य। निश्चल XI.18. The Egyptian legend of Osiris presents many of the details connected with Yama. Vide Vulilimm's 'Immortal man,' chap. V. pp 140–143.

768. येन न: पितृ: वितर: येन वितरण: य आत्मिष्ठस्य धार्मिकम्। य आत्मिष्ठस्य पुर्विपीत वां तेन: पितृस्यो नाशा विषयम्॥ अरण्य. 18. 2. 49.

769. तिसो हादः सतित्वल उपस्या एका यमर छुने विषयवा । अरण्य. I. 35. 6.

770. तेनावयं ब्रह्मणो श्रद्धा त्रिवेणी देवसेवा देवसेवा देवसेवा देवसेवा सानः पितृस्यो वेदोपनीयश्च एवं ताकानां अंबेदक्षामेण वसात्। ब्रह्मण. उ. I. 5.16.
it is said that the pîtr̥s dwell in the third world from this. This means that after hûlôka and antarîkṣa comes the pîtr̥lôka. In the Br. Up. I. 5.16 three worlds of men, pîtr̥s and gods are separately mentioned. In Rg. X. 135. 1-7, Yama is spoken of in somewhat different language. He is in this hymn mentioned as a god by himself and not as the first mortal who made a path (Rg. X. 14. 2) or as the gatherer of men (X. 14. 1) or as being in company of the pîtras. In a few other places Yama is no doubt called râjan and praised in the same breath with Varûṇa (Rg. X. 14. 7). But such a position is very rarely mentioned. For the further development of Yama and his assistants as the punishers of men for evil deeds, vide pp. 159-160 above and notes 351-386.

There is another division of pîtras viz. pîtarâh somavantâh, pîtarâh barhiṣadâh, pîtarâh agnisvâttâh. The latter two are named in Rg. X. 15. 4 and 11 (which occur also in Tai. S. II, 6. 12. 2). The Śat. Br. defines these as follows:—"those that performed a soma sacrifice are pîtarâh somavantâh; those that offered cooked oblations (like caru and purodâsa) and secured a world are pîtarâh barhiṣadâh; those that did none of these (two actions) and whom fire consumes when burning them are 'pîtarâh agnisvâttâh'; these are the only ones that are pîtarâh." The Tai. Br. has a somewhat similar passage and the Kâthaka Samhitâ IX. 6.17 also refers to these three kinds of pîtras. Later writers introduced certain changes in the meanings of the words for the different classes of pîtras and also increased the number of the classes of pîtras. For example, the Nandipurâṇa q. by Hemâdri states: the pîtras of brâhmaṇas are called 'agnisvâtta', those of ksatriyas 'barhiṣadâh', those of vaiśyas 'kâvyas', those of śúdras 'sukâlin' and those of mla-cchas and untouchables are called 'vyāma'.

---

771. सत्रै समेतहनि:। ते पितरः सोमवत्तोधे ये वर्जन पूर्वः होकेह जयति ते पितरी
772. विस्मृत बहिःस्य रजति ये ये यजनः ।...विवृत्तिनिववत्तहर रजति ये या
773. अवस्याय भुवाऽन् रजति य एव विवृत्तिमः। तस्मात तृतीयोऽरुपावावमि दुःहिं। एतत्रवस्यो होयते। ते. भा. I 6.9.5. भाष्यपाणि (10.6-7) echoes this 'अवस्याय: स्वातः पौर ये पितारोऽरुपावाविषय:। यज्ञसमेरुः ये धार्मिक
774. तिस्त्ति विभवात्रे वे पितारोऽरुपावाविषय:।
(III. 193–198) mentions several classes of *pitṛs*, connects *pitṛs* called Somapās, Havirbhujah Ājayapās and Sukālīnas with the four varnas and in III. 199 states that the *pitṛs* of brahmaṇas are designated as Anagnidadha, Agnidagdha, Kāvyas, Barhiṣad, Aṅgīrvatvasa and Saumya. Those verses of Manu appear to summarize different traditions about the several classes of *pitṛs*. Vīda Matsyapurāṇa 141. 4 for the same last four names and 141. 15–18 for their definitions. In Śatātmapraṇī (VI. 5–6) twelve groups or divisions of *pitṛs* are mentioned viz. pindabhājāḥ (three), lepabhājāḥ (three), Nāndimukhas (three) and Āśrumukhas (three). This is a classification of *pitṛs* from two different standpoints. In Vāyu 72.1 and 73.60, Brahmapāda (Upodghāta 9.53), Padma V. 9. 2–3, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 138, 2–3 and other Purāṇas the classes of *pitṛs* are said to be seven, three of which are formless (*amūrtimāt*) and four have forms (*mūrtimāt*) and they and their offspring are described in detail. All this is passed over here. The Skanda-purāṇa (VI. 216. 9–10) speaks of nine groups of *pitṛs*, being Aṅgīrvatvāh, Barhiṣadāh, Ājayapāh, Somapāh, Rāsmipāh, Upahūtāh, those called ‘āyuntunāh’, Śrāddhabhujāh, Nāndimukhāh. In this list old and new elements are mixed up. The Indian mind often revels in divisions, sub-divisions and classifications without much basis therefor and this is probably an illustration of that tendency. Manu (III. 201) states that from the sages the *pitṛs* sprang, from the *pitṛs* sprang gods and human beings and from the gods arose the whole world whether moving or immovable. It is remarkable that here the gods are spoken of as springing from the *pitṛs*. This is really a mere eulogy of *pitṛs* (i.e. it is an arthāvāda).

The *pitṛs* were in a class apart from the gods. On the meaning of the word ‘pañcajanāh’ occurring in Rg. X. 774 53. 4

774. पञ्च जना मन होम तुष्यन्तः। गण्योऽविष्कृतं अजुर्र रक्षस्नाते॥
वल्लकः कन्या नित्यः। पञ्च जना हरिप्रसन्नः। निश्चयोऽसि ॥
The Śvetāṣṭarar Brah. 13.7 has एव तद्भवाः जनानः
hūthy āyutānyāphāmaṃ ganañciśasadāṃ saṃtāṇi ca vilūnaḥ ca. The real meaning of *पञ्चजनाः* is the same as that of *पञ्चकुटिः* (in Rg X 60.4).
Pञ्च जना नित्यः: (Rg. VII. 79.1), Pञ्च जना: (Rg. V. 86.2) and we have यदि पञ्चाजनां लिसि in Rg. VIII. 63.7.
Pञ्चजनाः means ’five’, the whole Aryan people divided probably into five clanes.
By the time of the Ait. Br. the original meaning of *पञ्चजनाः*: was probably forgotten. The Vedāntaśāstra (I. 4. 11–13) explains that the expression *पञ्चजनानाः* occurring in Br. Up. IV. 4.17 refers to Prāṇa, Caksuḥ (eye), ear, food and mind occurring in the next verse (Br. Up. IV. 4.18). Saṅkarācārya in his *bhāṣya* on Vedāntasūtra I. 4.12 states that the word *पञ्चजन* in Rg. VIII. 63.7 means प्राण (people).
(pañcajanā mama hotram juśadhvam) and other passages, the 
Ait. Br. (13.7 or 3.31) explains that they are the five classes, viz. 
Gandharvas with Apsaraśeśa, pitṛs, devas, sarpas and rākṣasas. 
The Nirukta III, 8 partly follows this explanation and also gives 
another. In the Atharvaveda X, 6. 32 the gods, pitṛs and men 
are mentioned in that order. The ancient Vedic texts and 
practice make a sharp distinction between the Gods and the 
Pitṛs. The Tai. S. VI. 1. 1. 1 states: 'the gods and men divided 
the quarters, the gods took the east, pitṛs the south, men the 
west and Rudras the north.' The general rule is that sacrifices 
for gods are begun in the forenoon, while the pitṛ-yajña is 
performed in the afternoon (Śāṅk. Br.). 
The Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 2 narrates that the pitṛs wearing the sacred thread over the right 
shoulder (and under the left arm) and bending their left knee 
approached Prajāpati, when Prajāpati said to them 'you will 
have food at (the end of) each month (on the Amāvāsyā), your 
svadhā (cordial) will be swiftness of thought and the moon will 
be your light,' while to the gods he had said that sacrifice will 
be their food and the sun their light. The Tai. Br. I. 3. 10. 4 
appears to make a distinction between pitṛs who are of the 
nature and position of gods and pitṛs that are more or less like 
human beings.

The Kauśika-sūtra (1. 9–23) neatly collects in one place the 
difference in the procedure of the rites meant for gods and for 
pitṛs. The performer of rites for gods wears the sacred thread on 
the left shoulder and under the right armpit, while in the case of 
the rites for pitṛs it is worn on the right shoulder and under 
the left arm; the rite for gods is either begun facing the east 
or north, while that for the pitṛs is begun facing the south; the 
rite for gods is finished in the north-east (or north or east), 
while that for the pitṛs is completed in the south-west; an action 
is done only once for pitṛs, while for gods at least thrice or as 
many times as the texts direct; in going round (perambulating) 
the right side is turned towards gods and the left one in the 
case of pitṛs; offerings are made to gods with the words 'svāhā' 
and 'vaśat'; while they are made to pitṛs with 'svadhā' and

773. अथ पद्मपर्वेष्य पितृप्रज्ञ चतुर्थि अयस्यवाहि ते मित्रः। श्राः मा. V. 6.
776. चेनां भै पितृया भीतानि मईनास: निनित्तरापिति । तिर्य आदुधुःसोवति तिनित्तरापिति 
पर प्रम्याशिरः प्रद्वयशा यत्त्र यस्य अतिरः । तत्र श्राम श्रायदैव तित्रयाः अतिरेतान देशाय निनित्तरापिति 
तात्र प्राणसातुराय निनित्तरापिति ते मा. I. 3, 10.4 (com explains अदुधुःपितृसे अस्रता भाविति)। 
This is alluded to in the चार्यमण 30, 4 'सम्बाध्यु: प्रद्वय तत्तत्तुर्गित्तरापितसे। 
तत्र तित्रयास्य देश इत्येक बृहक्क चतुर्विंशिते॥' 
H. D. 44
‘namaskāra’; the darbhas employed in rites for Fathers are those that are taken out from the earth with their roots, while for gods darbhas used are cut a little above the roots. The Baud, Śr. II. 2. also mentions some of these in one place.\textsuperscript{777} The Rgveda itself (in X. 14, 3 ‘svāhānye svadhayānye mādantī’) marks this distinction in the words employed at the offerings to Gods and Pitrṣ. The Śat. Br. (II. 1, 3, 4 and II. 1, 4, 9) speaks of the gods as immortal and of the Fathers as mortal.

Though the gods and pitṛṣ are placed in separate classes, still the pitṛṣ partake of some characteristics of the divine. As Rg. X. 15, 8 shows, the pitṛṣ drank Soma. In Rg. X. 68, 11 it is said that the pitṛṣ adored the sky with naksatras (naksatrebhīḥ pitaro dyāṁ-apimśan) and placed darkness in the night and light in the day. The pitṛṣ are said to have found out the light that was secreted and to have produced the Dawn (Rg. VII. 76, 4). Here the pitṛṣ are credited with powers possessed by the highest gods. The pitṛṣ are invoked with affection and regard for conferring various boons and their favour is sought in various ways. In Rg. X. 14, 6 the good will (sumati) and favour (saumanasa) of the pitṛṣ are sought. In Rg. X. 15, 1 and 5 the protection of pitṛṣ is sought. They are requested to grant happiness unmixed with trouble (Rg. X. 15, 4.), to bestow wealth on the sacrificer (Rg. X. 15, 7 and 11) and on his son. Rg. X. 15, 11 and A. V. 18, 3, 14\textsuperscript{778} seek the bestowal of wealth and heroic sons, A. V. 14, 2, 73 says ‘May the pitṛṣ who throng round the bride to see her grant her happiness endowed with progeny.’\textsuperscript{779} In the Vāj. S. II. 33 occurs\textsuperscript{780} the well-known mantra ‘Oh pitṛṣ! deposit (in this wife) an

\textsuperscript{777} यथार्यस्मायुद्वप्वाणिः न मायुः। यथैव यज्ञोपगति देवस्य कर्मणि करसति।

\textsuperscript{778} परा यतं वित्त आ च यताय यो च भगवान अस्मीयो भवः वर्धे च न। सर्वकौंसिलं द्वाय। अथवते 18. 3.14.

\textsuperscript{779} ते सिद्धं भुज्यं इति वहसुभागम्। ते अर्थे वही सप्तायं यज्ञविध्यं वर्धयम्॥

\textsuperscript{780} अन्यं विसर्गं गर्भं कुमारं युक्तयेव सन्तं। योधं पुश्चोत्सनम्॥ व्रजं सं ॥ II. 33.

\textsuperscript{777} यथार्यस्मायुद्वप्वाणिः न मायुः। यथैव यज्ञोपगति देवस्य कर्मणि करसति।

\textsuperscript{778} परा यतं वित्त आ च यताय यो च भगवान अस्मीयो भवः वर्धे च न। सर्वकौंसिलं द्वाय। अथवते 18. 3.14.

\textsuperscript{779} ते सिद्धं भुज्यं इति वहसुभागम्। ते अर्थे वही सप्तायं यज्ञविध्यं वर्धयम्॥

\textsuperscript{780} अन्यं विसर्गं गर्भं कुमारं युक्तयेव सन्तं। योधं पुश्चोत्सनम्॥ व्रजं सं ॥ II. 33.

The Vāj. S. III. 5, 30 provides ‘सध्यम गर्भं युक्तम पुश्चोत्सनम्। योधं पुश्चोत्सनम्॥ व्रजं सं ॥ II. 33. The Aśvins are called yudhvayda and so in yudhvayd the idea is that the son may be long-lived and handsome. वर्धवोabdत् अस्ति. ते अवस्थास्मात् यज्ञविधे वर्धे च न। सर्वकौंसिलं द्वाय। अथवते 18. 3.14. The Aśvins are called yudhvayda and so in yudhvayd the idea is that the son may be long-lived and handsome. वर्धवोabdत् अस्ति. ते अवस्थास्मात् यज्ञविधे वर्धे च न। सर्वकौंसिलं द्वाय। अथवते 18. 3.14.
embryo, a child that (will wear later) a garland of lotuses so that he may become a grown-up male‘ repeated when the
wife of the performer of the śrāddha eats the middle one out
of the three pīṇḍas. It should not be, however, supposed
that the element of fear of the pīṭras is altogether wanting.\textsuperscript{780a}
For example, Rg. X. 15. 6 prays ‘whatever fault we may commit
in reference to you through our being (erring) men do not
injure us for that.’ In Rg. III. 55. 2 we read ‘May the gods and
the ancient pīṭras who know the place (of the cows or the path )
not harm us here.’ In Rg. X. 66. 14 it is said ‘the Vāsiṣṭhas
praising the gods fashioned speech (hymns) like pīṭras
and like sages.’ Here pīṭras and rṣis are separate groups and
Vāsiṣṭhas are compared to both.\textsuperscript{780b}

In many passages of the Vedic Literature the word
pīṭaraḥ is applied to the three immediate deceased male
ancestors of a man. ‘Therefore up to three generations they
specify (the ancestors) by name; for so many are the ones
to whom sacrifice is offered’ (vide n. 772 above). The Sat.
Br. II. 4. 2. 19\textsuperscript{781} mentions the presentation formulas of the
cakes to the father, grand-father and great-grand-father and

\textsuperscript{780a} Compare Vulliamy’s ‘Immortal man’ (pp. 24–25) for fear and
affection as the elements of the attitude towards the dead among primitive
as well as civilized men.

\textsuperscript{780b} देवा: सोमस्मु कालाः अपवत्ती द्विपीपिजः। देवास्ते पितरः सवें
देवाच्यं तन्त्राद्वं तन्त्राद्वं लोकवत्सा: स्म्यः। पित्र पितामहस्य तथा यः
पितामहस्य। ब्रह्महृद्यन्ती 11. 28. 70–71; अनुस्मरण कस्यं कश्चित् महास्मिच्छः। एते
कुसङ्कुशं कर्माधिकृताः स्वतः। एते स्ववर्ध्य राजस्तेष्य आदिदिपिषः। परः। वेदस्तु सूत्रः
सम्भवासुवस्त्रम् तेन कर्मणा। अतः 92. 21–22. This last shows that ancient
sages like अंस्तित्व, कृतः and केतरण are पित्रः to whom water is offered (and no
विद्यः), while pīṇḍas are offered to one’s immediate deceased ancestors.

\textsuperscript{781} स दृष्टवित। असवित्त इर्लेन्द्र वज्रमात्रय रिः ये च लामनित्रह हैकै आमन्त्रय स्वयम
संयुक्त स्वयम् वे तेन महाकुला सर्वादिवेदेतां इर्लेन्द्र वज्रमात्रय पित्रस्त असवित्तवे
इति पितामहासारवेतां इति पितामहासारवेतां। तेषव्यधितवती सत्तुहु द्वारन पराशः पिताः।
शाल्यो 11. 8. 4. 2. The ते. सं. 1. 8. 5. 1 यस: सोमाय पितुमसं पुरुसां यज्ञवतियन्ति
निवर्तित पितुमसं वाहिनियां यज्ञवतियां वाहिनियां यज्ञवतियां। वेदस्तु ते तत् ये च
वामान एतन ते पितामह पितामह स्वयम्ये च लामन्त्र अच्छ पिताः यथासम्बन्धेन सम्बल्यो।
Again in ते. सं. III. 2. 5. 5 occurs the passage ‘एतस्ते तत्...स्म्यादभवत्। This is carried on
to later times as in अनु. 92. 15 ‘सोमायेत्य च बध्यस्तः तथा विप्रेन्तत्त्वं च। Vide also
अवध्ये 18. 4. 71–77 ‘अर्यम कपियान्तां स्वस्था नाम:। सोमाय पितुमस्त्व स्वस्था नाम:।
पितुमसं विप्रास्ता स्वस्था नाम:। सम्भव पितुमस्त्व स्वस्था नाम:। एतस्ते प्रतागमस्त्व स्वस्था च
वामान एतस्ते प्रतागमस्त्व बुधवारान्तः। अनु. 91. 2. 3. कालेन तत् विप्रेन्तत्त्वै
लोकस्त। एतस्ते प्रतागमस्त्व च वामान एतस्ते प्रतागमस्त्व। एतस्ते प्रतागमस्त्व
तत् मात्यक्तृत्वं तत् मात्यक्तृत्वं।’ In Rg. IX 11. 2. 3 कालेन
tतला निस्कृत: तत् मात्यक्तृत्वं। पीताः (=पीत) and प्राणपात्म (पीत) occur in
Rg. VIII. 17. 13.
then states that the performer mutters the words "here, O fathers! regale yourselves, like bulls come here each to his own share" (Vāj. S. II, 31 first half). Some (such as Tai. S. I, 8, 5.1) repeated the formula "this here (ball of rice) is for thee and (for those) that come after thee." But the Śat. Br. emphatically says that he should not offer with this formula, but rather with the formula 'this here is for thee.' In Śat. Br. XII, 8.1, 7 the three immediate paternal ancestors are said to be svadhā-loving. Relying on these Vedic passages and on the fact that Manu (III, 221) and Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (21.3, 75.4) prescribe the invocation of pīṭras after mentioning their gotra and names that the Śrāddhaprakāśa (p. 13) concludes that it is really the father and the other ancestors that are the deities of śrāddha and not Vasu, Rudra and Aditya, since these latter have no gotra and that the description of the father and others as Vasu, Rudra and Aditya is meant only for contemplation (on them as identical with Vasus &c.). On a passage of the Brahmapurāṇa 782 prescribing that the performer should say to the invited brāhmaṇas that he would call the pīṭras to the rites and that when the brāhmaṇas give permission to call them he should do so, the Śr. P. (p. 204) remarks that the pīṭras here meant are the divine ones viz. Vasus, Rudras and Adityas and also the human ones viz. the performer's father and the rest. The Vāyupurāṇa (56.65–66) Brahmāṇḍa and Anu. distinguish between pīṭras who are above and pīṭras who are lāulkā, viz. father, grand-father and great-grand-father. Vide also Vāyu 70.34 for pīṭras that are like gods.

In the post-Vedic Literature, particularly in the Purāṇas, a great deal is said about the origin and classes of pīṭras. For example, the Vāyupurāṇa 56.18 speaks of three classes of pīṭras viz. 'kāvyāḥ, barhisadāḥ and agnisvāttāḥ', while the same Purāṇa, chap. 73, Varāha 13.16 ff, Padma (Śrṣṭi 9.2–4) and Brahmāṇḍa III, 10.1 speak of the origin of pīṭras of seven classes that dwell in heaven, four of which have a form (mūrtimat) and three of which are without form (amūrta). The Śatātapa-smṛti (6.5–6) speaks of 12 pīṭras viz. pindabhājaḥ, lepabhājaḥ, nandimukhāḥ and aśrumukhāḥ. All such descriptions have to be passed over from considerations of space.

782. ज्ञातुपुरे स्विनुगानपामिति नवयुक्ता समाहित: आश्वस्यमेव गौरेन्द्रलापुराणयोजनामनविवेकः विद्यते: वस्वमाधवः: माधवः: नमःस्वर: विनयादः: आ. म. प. 204.
Promulgators of śrāddha rites

From the sūtra period (about 600 B.C.) to the most modern among medieval Dharmāṣṭra works the authors wax eloquent over the praises or the importance or benefits of the institution of śrāddhas. One of the earliest works among these, viz. the Āp. Dh. S. gives the following interesting information:

"Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. The gods went to heaven owing to sacrifices (i.e. as a reward of sacrifices that they performed), but men remained behind. Those among men who perform sacrifices in the same way as the gods did, dwell in the other world (i.e. heaven) with the gods and Brahman. Then (seeing that men lagged behind) Manu promulgated the rite which is designated by the word 'śrāddha' and which tends to the salvation (or happiness) of mankind. In this rite the Manes (pitarāḥ) are the deities but the brāhmaṇas (that are fed) are in the place of the āhavaniya fire (in which in sacrifices to gods obligations are offered)." On account of this last sūtra Haradatta (com. of Āp. Dh. S.) and others hold that feeding the brahmaṇas is the principal act at a śrāddha. The Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Upodghātapāda 9, 15, and 10, 99) speaks of Manu as the promulgator of śrāddha rites and Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 1. 30, Vāyu 44. 38 and Bhāgavata III. 1. 22 designate Manu as Śrāddha-deva. Similarly, in the Śāntiparva 345.784 14-21 and the Viṣṇu-dharmottara 1.139.14-16 it is stated that the institution of śrāddha was established in the Boar incarnation by Viṣṇu and that Viṣṇu should be regarded as dwelling in the three pīdās offered to the father, grand-father and great-grandfather.

From this and from the passage of the Āp. Dh. S. cited above we may infer that it was believed even several centuries before Christ that the institution of śrāddhas had a hoary antiquity behind it and that it was as old as Manu, the father of mankind according to the Rgveda (VIII.63.1, VIII. 30. 3.). It is, however, very remarkable that the word 'śrāddha' itself does not occur in any undoubtedly authentic and ancient Vedic passage, though the rite called Pīṇḍapitr-yajña785 (performed on the amāvāsyā of each month by an

---

783. सह देवमुक्त्य अमेंद्रादिके पुरा वेदुः। अथ देवस्य कर्मभविन्यं जगतुद्विगत्व महुः॥

784. पिता पितामहश्च यथैव पितामहं। अहमेवत्र विज्ञेयति विषेषं सत्यं॥

785. तत् शिक्षानियुक्तः किं तद् प्रायाः। अहमेवत्र विज्ञेयति विषेषं सत्यं॥

784. पिता पितामहश्च यथैव पितामहं। अहमेवत्र विज्ञेयति विषेषं सत्यं॥

785. तत् शिक्षानियुक्तः किं तद् प्रायाः। अहमेवत्र विज्ञेयति विषेषं सत्यं॥
Ahitāgni), the Mahāpiṭryajña (performed in the Cāturnśavya called Sākamedha) and the rites called Aṣṭakās were known to the early Vedic literature. The word śrāddha occurs in the Kaṭhopaniṣad (I. 3. 17) ‘whoever proclaims this highly esoteric doctrine in an assembly of brāhmaṇas or at the time of śrāddha tends to secure immortality.’ The other early occurrences of the word śrāddha known to me are confined to the sūtra literature. The most reasonable and probable inference to be drawn from these facts is this that only a few rites (mentioned just above) were known as related to the pīṭras and that therefore no need arose for a generic term in very ancient times to comprehend several rites for the pīṭras. But when the number of rites in honour of pīṭras increased, the generic term ‘śrāddha’ was hit upon.

A few samples of the panegyrics on śrāddha may be set out here. The Baud. Dh. S. states that rites for the Fathers confer long life, heaven, fame and prosperity. The Harivamśa 788 says ‘the world derives support from śrāddha and Yoga (i.e. Mokṣa) springs from it.’ Sumantu 789 quoted in the Śṛṛṭicandrikā (śrāddha p. 333) states ‘nothing else is declared to be more beneficial than śrāddha.’ The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 14. 1-4) avers that if a man performs śrāddha with faith he thereby propitiates Brahmā, Indra, Rudra and the other gods, sages, birds, men, beasts, creeping animals, hosts of pīṭras and whatever else is styled a being and the whole world. Yaj. I. 270 790 promising long life and several other benefits arising from gratifying pīṭras has already been quoted above (p. 337). Yama has a similar verse. It is said in a passage of the Viṣṇudharmottara 791 quoted by the Śrāddhasāra (p. 6) and Śrāddhaprakāśa (pp. 11-12) that the pīṭda offered to the

---

786. य इति परम्पराय स्वरूप आचरणां श्रवणार्थकारिते। प्रयत्न: आज्ञाकारि वा पद्धातिन्य विस्तारते। कठ । I. 3. 17.

787. विषयपारम्पर्य स्वरूप यज्ञश्रवण पीठाम्रतम्। वै ध. सू. II. 8 1.

788. आज्ञाय सति हिष्ठो। आज्ञाय योगम्। प्रयत्नं। हरिवंडः। I. 21. 1.

789. आज्ञापत्तर नायुष्यलोकस्थवर्जयतः। तस्यस्यस्यपत्तर आज्ञाय कृत्यमिहः। हुमानुर्गु. य. विस्तित्र। (आय.)। p. 333.

790. आज्ञा। पुजय यज्ञः। सत्तश्रवण कृत्यम्। प्रयत्नं। पशुि हिष्ठो। यज्ञोऽत्र मायं ज्ञात्वनाति। यम्। विस्तित्र। (आय. p. 333)। आज्ञारयं। प. 5। सिमकीर्यम् वी. I. 270 (= Markandeyapurāṇa 32.38) श्रवणः। 1433.

791. भूजितते विषययमानिष्ठो चतुर्थामम। विषयविद्यामान:। निष्ठावेत:। माय:। दिखलबाहस्य च। ज्ञात्वनाति। आज्ञाय:। निष्ठावेत:। निष्ठावेत:। कठ। विषयपारम्पर्य I. 139.20-22, क. य. आज्ञारयं। प. 6। आज्ञाय। pp. 11-12.
great-grandfather is declared to be god Vásudeva himself, the one to the grandfather is designated Sankarsana, that to the father is known as Pradyumna and the offerer of the piṅḍas is himself in the position of Aniruddha. In Śantiparva 345. 21 it is stated that Viṣṇu should be looked upon as staying in the three piṅḍas. In the Kūrmapurāṇa it is stated ‘on the day of Amāvāsyā the pitṛs assuming an aerial form come to the door of their former haunt and mark whether śrāddha is being performed by men of their family. This they do till sunset. When the sun sets, being oppressed by hunger and thirst, they become full of despair and feel sorrow, breathe heavily for a long time and go away condemning their descendants. The pitṛs of him who does not offer śrāddha on amāvāsyā, even with water or vegetables, go away after cursing him’.

It is necessary to say a few words about the derivation of the word ‘śrāddha’. That the word is derived from śrāddhā is quite clear. In the definition quoted above from the Brahmapurāṇa and the definition 792 given by Marici and Brhaspati the connection of śrāddha with śrāddhā is emphasized. In śrāddha one entertains the firm faith or conviction that what is given up to the brāhmaṇas for the benefit of the departed man or the Fathers will reach him or them in some way. The Skandapurāṇa VI. 218.3 says that śrāddha is so called because śrāddhā is the root (or main spring) of that rite. This means that there is not only the conviction stated above but that there is a firm belief that a person is under an obligation to offer it. Śrāddhā is deified and addressed as a deity in Rg. 293 X. 151. 1–5, the first verse of which is explained in the Nirukta (IX. 31). The word also occurs in Rg. II. 26. 3, VII. 32. 14, VIII. 1. 31, IX. 113. 4. In some verses the two components of the word ‘śrāddhā’ (viz. ‘śrat’ and ‘dhā’) are separated without any change in the meaning. For example, in Rg. II. 12. 5 (= A. V. 20. 34. 5) it is said ‘Have faith in him; O people! he is Indra’. In Rg. X. 147. 1, addressed to Indra, we have ‘I have faith in that high wrath of yours &c.’ (śratte daḍhāmi.

792. अतन्ते विनिद्यतस्तिक्षि निदिश्य भोजवे निरण्यमातमः। अद्वैता दीप्ते यज्ञ त् भाभुखां पदि कीैसञ्चसं। सनिद्धिस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रूद्यस्त्रू�
prathamāya manyave). In the Tai, S. VII, 4. 1. 1. it is said "Bṛhaspati desired 'may the gods put faith in me, may I reach the position of being their priest'". Vide also Ṛg. I, 103. 5. śrāt and śraddhā are both mentioned in the Nighantu (III, 10) as meaning 'satya'. In the Vaij. S. 19.77 we are told that Prajāpati put Śraddhā in truth and aśraddhā in falsehood, while in Vaij. S. 19.30, it is said that truth is obtained by āśraddhā.

In the post-vedic Literature, Pāṇini explains the forms 'śrāddhin' and 'śrāddhika' in V. 2, 85, in the sense of 'one who has eaten a śraddhā dinner.' The word 'śrāddhā' may be derived from śraddhā according to Pāṇi. V. 1, 109 śraddhā is variously defined. In the bhūṣya on Yogäsutra I, 20, 'śraddhā' is defined as the composura of the mind (or mental approval), Devala defines śraddhā: 'confidence (in the efficacy) of religious acts is called śraddhā; one who has no faith has no reason (or motive) for engaging in religious acts.' The Śraddhāsūtra of Katyāyana prescribes 'one endowed with śraddhā should offer śraddhā even with vegetables (if nothing else is available).'. Vide Manu III, 275 which emphasizes śraddhā for the gratification of pitrs. The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (29, 27) emphasizes the relation of śraddhā to śraddhā and states that what is offered at śraddhā becomes transformed into that kind of food for the use of the pitrs who require food in the new bodies they might have assumed according to the doctrine of karma and punarjanna and it also remarks that śraddhā offered with wealth acquired in an improper or unjust way is a means of gratification to the pitrs that are born as caṇḍālas, pukkasas and similar very low grades of people.

---

794. ब्रह्मस्तिकाम्यत्र अनं देवा कृपीस्त्र गच्छोप पुस्यामिनि। नै. सं. VII, 4. 1.1.
795. ब्रह्मस्तिकाम्यत्र। पृ. V. 1. 109; तत्स्ये नाम। सिं क्रि०; सर्वा प्रयोजनं (कारण) अस्त्र इति भाष्यं।
796. अनं देवा चेतस: संसाराद्वार। सा ति जननीय काल्याणी योगिनं पाति। योगधर्माभवं। I. 20.
797. प्रयोजनम्। ब्रह्मस्तिकाम्यत्र। तथा अद्यर्भवं। नाति ब्रह्मस्तिकाम्यं धर्माभवं योगधर्माभवं। देवत q. by कृपीस्त्र प्रयोजनम्। आदेशवत p. 16 and आदेशवत p. 189.
798. अनं देवा चेतस: संसाराद्वार। सा ति जननीय काल्याणी योगिनं पाति। योगधर्माभवं। P. 152.
799. अनं देवा चेतस: संसाराद्वार। सा ति जननीय काल्याणी योगिनं पाति। योगधर्माभवं। P. 152.
It has already been stated above (pp. 349–350) that in very ancient times there were only three rites for departed ancestors, viz. Piṇḍa-pitr-yajña (offered by those who had consecrated the śrauta fires) or monthly śrāddha in the case of those who had not done so (vide e.g. Āśv. Gr. II. 5.10, Hir. Gr. II. 10.1, Āp. Gr. VIII. 21.1, Viśnupurāṇa III. 14.3 &c.), the Mahāpitr-yajña and the Aśṭakā śrāddhas. The first two have been already described in vol. II, (as said above), but the Aśṭakā śrāddhas have not been described at all so far. Therefore some remarks will be offered here about them. They are of special importance, but the authorities present great variations on almost all points such as the number of days and the months in which they were to be performed, the deities to be worshipped, the offerings to be made and the procedure to be followed.

Gaut., (VIII.19) mentions ‘Aśṭakā’ rite as the first among the seven kinds of pākayajñās and as one of the forty saṁskāras. Aśṭakā appears to have meant the 8th tīthi in any month after the Full Moon day (vide Śat. Br. VI.4.2.10). The Śat. Br. states 800 ‘On the 8th day (after full moon) he (the performer of agnicayana) collects the materials for the fire pan, for sacred to Prajāpati is the 8th day (after full moon) and sacred to Prajāpati is this rite viz. the firepan.’ Śabara in his Bhāṣya on Jai. 801 I.3.2 cites a verse occurring in the A. V. III. 10.2 and in the Āp. M. P. II. 20.37 as a mantra indicative of Aśṭakā. The mantra is ‘May that (Aśṭakā) night be very auspicious for us, whom people welcome like a cow coming towards a person and which is the wife of the Year.’ In the A. V. III. 10.8 the Ekaśṭakā is said to have the year (Saṁvatsara) as husband. The Tai, S. VII. 4.8.1, provides 802 ‘Men about to take dikṣā (consecration) for a Saṁvatsarasattra should undergo dikṣā on the Ekaśṭakā; what is called Ekaśṭakā is the wife of the year.’ Jai. (VI.5.32–37) explains that Ekaśṭakā is the 8th tithi after the Full Moon of Māgha. The Āp. Gr. (quoted by Haradatta

---

800. अष्टकागुणां सम्भवति। माणापाल्ले तद्भवं भवति, माणापाल्ले कर्म करते। ज्ञानपथ्य. VI.2.2.23.

801. अष्टकार्विनि प्रवृत्ता वै ज्ञानां वृद्धिः। माणार्यावर्तिं भवति। ज्ञानपथ्य व. I. 3.2. The verse as read by Āśv. on Br. VI. 5.35 is:... ज्ञा वृद्धिः। राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति राज्येन्द्रमिति

802. संस्कारो तीनित्रयमाण एकाकारां बीकोरेष्ठाः वै संस्कारो तीनित्रय पत्नी बीकोरकाह्दाः

---

H. D. 45
on Gaut. 8. 19) says 803 the same, but adds that on it (the 8th tithi) the moon is in Jyeṣṭha constellation. This means that if the 8th tithi is spread over two days, then that day on which the moon is in Jyeṣṭha would be called Ekāṣṭakā. 804 The Hir. Gr. (II. 15. 9) also says that Ekāṣṭakā is called the wife of the year. 805

According to the Āsv. Gr. II. 4. 1 the Aṣṭakā days (and rites) were four, viz. the 8th tithis of the dark halves of the four months of the two seasons of hemanta and śīṣira (i.e. of Mārgaśīrṣa, Pauṣa, Māgha and Phālguna). Most of the Grhyaśūtras viz. Mānava Gr. II. 8, Śān. Gr. III. 12. 1, Khādīra Gr. III. 3. 27, Kāṭhaka Gr. 61. 1, Kauṭṭakī Gr. III. 15. 1 and Pār. Gr. III. 3 say that there are only three Aṣṭakā rites viz. on the 8th after the Full Moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa (called āgrahāyaṇi) i.e. in the dark halves of Mārgaśīrṣa, Pauṣa (or Taiṣa) and Māgha. The Gobhila Gr. III. 10. 48 mentions that the Aṣṭakās are four according to Kautsa and in all flesh is to be offered, but that Gautama, Audgāhamāni and Vārkhakhāṇḍi prescribe only three and Gobhila follows these latter. The Baud. Gr. II. 11. 1 provides that the three Aṣṭakā homas are performed in the months of Taiṣa, Māgha and Phālguna. Āsv. Gr. II. 4. 2 refers to an option that Aṣṭakā rites were performed only on one Aṣṭami (and not on three or four). The Baud. Gr. provides that 836 the rite may be compressed into the three days (7th, 8th and 9th) of the dark half of Māgha or even in one day (i.e. 8th of the dark half of Māgha). The Hir. Gr. (II. 14. 2)

---

803. या भाषा: पौराणिकायुपरितात्न व्यवस्था तथायतं अस्पष्टं समझते तत्रिणायेने... आय. श्रा. VIII. 21. 10: अक्ष्यां व्याख्यातम:। माध्यम: पौराणिकायु पौरवो-पालस्यार्थमेवार्थकोपतया च। हिर. श्रा. II. 14. 1-2. दोन्ह अनुसारान्त तत्वर्थद्वारा व्यवस्था सृजनात.

804 According to a Vārtika on Pāṇ. VII. 3. 45 the word Aṣṭakā is formed from 'aṣṭa.' आय. किं तास्कासि VII. 3. 45 teaches that from आषा we get Aṣṭakā as meaning a rite in which the pitṛs are the deities and Aṣṭakā in any other sense (such as अष्टी a Śāstra).

805 The Full Moon night of Māgha is said to be the mouth of the year i.e. the year began on that day in ancient times. The Aṣṭakā day after the Full Moon day was the first and most important festival after the Full Moon and it was younger than the beginning of the year. It is probable that because of this it was spoken of as the wife of the year.

806. अध्यात्मार्थ:। ये तथाप्रकाशस्वरूपं किये। एवं यथे एवं कालां विषयं। यथा वे समस्त उपपथाद्वायां पौराणिकायु अवप्रकाश सर्वस्रवणं नक्षयमिति किर्ते तृतीय सहस्राशये। श्रा. श्रा. II. 11. 1-4.
describes only one Aṣṭakā rite viz. the Ekāṣṭakā in the dark half of Māgha. The Bhāradvāja Grihya II. 15 also speaks of only Ekāṣṭakā but adds that the 8th of the dark half of Māgha on which the moon is in Jyeṣṭha is called Ekāṣṭakā. According to Hir. Gr. II. 14 and 15 the one Aṣṭakā extended over three days viz. 8th, 9th (on which a cow was sacrificed for the pitar) and 10th (which was the Anvaṣṭakā). The Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra (ed. by Caland) IV. 8 says that Aṣṭakā is to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of Māgha and Bhādrapada or on the 7th, 9th or 10th tithi.

There is divergence in the offerings also. The Kāṭhaka Gr. (61. 3), Jaimini Gr. 2. 3 and Śān. Gr. (III. 12. 2) provide that on the three different Aṣṭakās the offerings are of cooked vegetables, flesh and apūpas (cakes), while the Par. Gr. III. 3 and Khādīra Gr. III. 3. 29-30 put apūpas for the first Aṣṭakā (and hence Gobhila Gr. III. 10. 9 designates it apūpāṣṭakā) and boiled vegetables on the last. According to Khādīra Gr. III. 4. 1 a cow is sacrificed. According to Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 7-10, Gobhila Gr. IV. 1. 18-22, Kauśika 138. 2, Baud. Gr. II. 11, 51-61, on the 8th day very many options are given, viz. either to sacrifice a cow or a ram or a goat; or to offer some jungle flesh that may be available or flesh mixed with sesame and honey, or flesh of the rhinoceros, deer, buffalo, ram, boar, spotted deer, hare, Rohita deer, pigeons, sāranga and other birds, or an old red goat; fishes or rice cooked in milk so as to form thin gruel, or gifts only of uncooked corn or fruits and roots, or gold may be offered or only grass for cows or oxen or one may burn some thickets in a forest or present jars for holding water to those deeply learned in the Veda or should recite the mantras relating to śrāddhas, saying ‘this is the Aṣṭakā I offer,’ but one should not remain without observing the Aṣṭakā day in some such manner as the above.807

It is remarkable that although the Vārtika quoted above, and the Kāṭhakagrīhyā 61. 1 state that the word ‘Aṣṭakā’ is

807. अध वाष गां न लभते मेंमव्य वा लभते। आर्य्यन वा मार्त्यं स्तोपांतोन्ते। वाषसमवासोस्वस्तहस्तास्यर्भास्यतिराक्षिततकास्यतिराक्षितकारीस्यार्थात्मकां सांसारिकै तत्समस्यात। तस्मिन्नमुर्गस्तं यथार्थसंस्कृतम्। तथा मल्लसस्य नातत: (ि) कृपायेन वा उसीयेन न वा। वेद्या महर्ष्यवं सुमृतम्। हिर्यस्य वा महामास्य। अथ वा महामास्यान्तः। अथ्युच्यायेर्येश्वरं उद्धुम्नकोपीष्टः। अथ वा आचार्याणि वा। अथ शर्यङ्गैः कांगिस्येवेदं मेत्येवेदं। न स्वयाम्तं स्वयाम्तं। श्रावण्यं। धृ. II. 11, 51-61: अद्वितीयंवेदंमर्यक्षमा नहंस्यं। तथा रंग्यं चानाम्। तथा श्रावण्यं। श्रावण्यं। धृ. II. 11, 168.1-2. For श्रावण्यं, vide note (951) below.
applied to a rite in which the *pitr* are the deities worshipped, the greatest divergence prevails as to the *devatā* of the Aṣṭakās. The Āsv. Gr. (II. 4, 3 and II. 5, 3–5) provides that on the 7th of the dark half the offerings are made to the *pitr* and on the 9th also, but Āsv. II. 4, 13 refers to the eight options as regards the deity of the 8th day, viz. *Viśve-devatā* (all the gods), Agni, Sūrya, Prajāpāti, Rātri (night), Nakṣatras (constellations), the seasons, the *Pitr*, Paśus (cattle). The Gobhila Gr. III. 10. 1 starts by saying that Night is the *devatā* of Aṣṭakā, but adds that there are other views about the devatā being Agni, the *Pitr*, Prajāpāti, Ritus (seasons) or all Gods.

The procedure of Aṣṭakā comprises three parts, viz. *homa*, inviting brāhmaṇas for dinner (up to seeing them go away after dinner) and the rite called Anvaṣṭakya or Anvaṣṭakā. When the Aṣṭakās were deemed to be three or four performed in the several months noted above, all these were gone through at each Aṣṭakā. When the Aṣṭakā rite was performed only in one month i. e. after the Full moon in Māgha, the above parts were performed on three days, 7th, 8th and 9th of the dark half. When compressed in one day only, they must have been performed one after another on the same day.

Many of the Grhyasūtras, such as those of Āśvalāyana, Kaśika, Gobhila, Hiranyakesiṇ and Baudhāyana describe a very elaborate procedure in the case of Aṣṭakās. One of the shortest being that contained in Āp. Gr. (VIII. 21 and 22) is given here by way of sample.

After defining Ekāṣṭakā (in VIII. 21, 10) Āp. proceeds: ‘He (the performer of the Aṣṭakā rite) should perform subsidiary (or preparatory) rites in the evening of the previous day (i.e. on the 7th of the dark half). He cooks (or bakes) a cake from rice taken up (from a heap) in four cups; according to some teachers the cake is prepared on eight potsherds (like a purodāsa). After the actions up to the

---

808. अष्टकाराविवेचता। धृष्टिकर्म। अवहेती प्रयत्नया वा भाजयापत्रयुक्तेः प्रदेशेऽति
वेचताविवचारः। गोमन्तराद्वन. III. 10.1-3.

808 a. या मात्रायं।...प्रावचेत। तरया। सामप्रनुपायवः। अर्थाद्व चतुष्कारः अस्तेत्।
अष्टकारत बहुवेदे। पत्रयुक्तद्वाषात्तदेवदेवाश्च प्रदेशेऽति। सिद्ध। छोपिनिधित्वादि
कुला भाग्येन उपदेश। भोजुते द्वैपर भाग्याविशेषेऽति। पितृमयेतितितितितितितितितितितिति।
पञ्जावि-पुधीकरत तवेदय अप्रविन्यायिणिः प्रभुवित्तिः यथा तदात्मादानेन वा विद्याधिकारिः
उपदेश्यति। जमशदुरावविधानिः। पिवायपुनयति। आप्यायत्वतेः। सिद्धवृद्धधर्मः समस्यादि
विशेषतिसमादु। अवदयायापक्षे। पिवायपुनयतिः प्राप्तिः। अपेक्षार्थ दुष्प्रायत्वितिति
उपदेश्यति। अत तथा यथावेदुस्ति। सिद्धती। योक्तेनरुपः। तरया। मातिराज्येऽनि कल्पी
व्याख्या।। आप. श्र. VIII. 21.10—VIII. 22.12.
Procedure of Āṣṭakā

'Ājyabhāgas' have been performed in the same way as at the Amāvāsyā and Full Moon sacrifices he makes with his joined hands oblations of the cakes with the next verse. The rest of the cake that is already baked is divided by him into eight parts and offered to the brāhmaṇas. On the following day he prepares the cow for immolation by touching her with a darbha with the words 'I make thee that are agreeable to the Fathers ready for sacrifice'. Having silently (i.e., without uttering the word svāhā) offered five oblations of clarified butter, having cooked the omentum of that (cow) and having spread under (the cooked omentum) and sprinkled over it clarified butter he offers it with a palāta leaf from the middle or the end of the stalk with the next verse (i.e., Āp. M. P. II, 20, 28). He offers boiled rice together with the flesh (of the cow) with the next verses (seven from Āp. M. P. II, 20, 29–35). He offers the food of flour cooked (in milk) with the next verse (Āp. M. P. II, 21, 1 'Ukthyaścātīrātraśca'). Then (he offers) the oblations of clarified butter with the following (eight) verses (Āp. M. P. II, 21, 2–9). The rites from Śvīṣṭakṛt down to the placing of the pindaṇas are the same as at the monthly śrāddha (described in Āp. Gr. VIII.21, 1–9). Some teachers prescribe that the pindaṇas are to be offered the day after the Āṣṭakā (i.e., on the 9th of the dark half). Here follows another method (of celebrating the Āṣṭakā rite). He sacrifices curds with his joined hands in the same way as he offers the cake. Having left over from the meat (of the cow) as much as may be required, he performs on the day following

809. For Ājyabhāgas, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1059, 1060.

810. The Āp. Gr. S. here and elsewhere refers to the collection of Mantras called Āpastamba-mantra-pātha (edited by Dr. Winternitz). The verse meant here is Āp. M. P. (II. 20, 27), quoted above in n 801 (Yām janāh &c.).

811. The words 'siddhāḥ sesah' are explained by the Anākula (of Haradatta) as meaning 'the rest of the rites are the usual ones without alterations'.

812. As no devatā is expressly named, the offerings must be taken to be made to Prajāpati.

813. Āp. M. P. II. 20, 28 is the mantra 'vaha vapām' (carry the omentum to the Fathers, O Jātavedas), which is Vāj. S. 35, 20 and is prescribed for this rite in Āiv. Gr. II. 4,13, Śān. Gr. III. 13,3 and elsewhere.

814. The Mantra 'Ukthyaścātīrātraśca' occurs also in Śān. Gr. III. 14, 2.

815. For 'Śvīṣṭakṛt' vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 208 and 1257.
(the Aṣṭakā day) the Anvāṣṭakā rite. Its procedure is explained by the description of the monthly śrāddha.

Though Āp. Gr. (II. 5. 3) and Śān. Gr. III. 13. 7 state that the Anvāṣṭakya rite follows the procedure of Pindapitryajña, some Gṛhyaśuṭras (such as Khādira III. 5, Gobhila IV. 2-3) give very elaborate descriptions of that rite. The Āśv. Gr. and Viṣṇudharmasūtra 74 follow a middle course. The description in Āśv. Gr. is comparatively brief and it is set out below. It may be noted that some Gṛhya-sūtras state that the Anvāṣṭakya rite is performed on the 9th or 10th of the dark half (e.g. Khādira Gr. III. 5. 1 'navamim daśamim vānvaṣṭakyaṁ'). Further, it may be stated that though most Gṛhyaśuṭras call the rite Anvāṣṭakya still it is also called Anvāṣṭakā by Pār. Gr. III. 3. 10, Manu IV. 150, Viṣṇudharmasūtra 74. 1 and 76. 1. The most notable peculiarity of this rite is that therein female ancestors are invoked and offerings are made to them of which liquor (sūtra), scum of boiled rice, collyrium, salves and garlands form part. Though some sūtras (like Āśv. Gr. II. 5) declare that the Aṣṭakā and Anvāṣṭakya are modelled on the monthly śrāddha or Pindapitryajña, others (like the Baud. Gr. III. 12. 1, Gobhila Gr. IV. 4, Khādira III. 5. 35) say that the Aṣṭakā or Anvāṣṭakya is the norm which is followed in the Pindapitryajña and all the śrāddhas. The Kāṭhaka. Gr. (66. 1, 67. 1, 68. 1, 69. 1) avers that the first śrāddha, the other śrāddhas (such as sapindikaranā), Paśuśraddha (in which the flesh of an animal is offered) and the śrāddha performed every month follow the procedure of Aṣṭakā. The Pindapitryajña could be offered on amāvasyā only by one who was āhitāgni (i.e. had kept the sacred vedic fires). It is impossible to believe that everyone became āhitāgni. The case was probably the reverse i.e. only a few became āhitāgnis and the rest had only the grhya fire or many of the rest were without even the grhya fire. It appears possible that all were required to offer śrāddha on amāvasyā on the analogy of pindapitryajña. As the latter became rare, the requirement of offering śrāddha on amāvasyā remained and in the sūtras and smṛtis all the details were mentioned under māsiśrāddha and in the case of the other śrāddhas the sūtras and smṛtis pointed out only what was to be omitted. It is owing to this that the māsiśrāddha came to be called the prakṛti and the other śrāddhas were called viṣṇaśrāddha.

816. ब्रुपताल on कालकृत्य 66.1. says अटकाविकारणे हि सर्वेऽधानि. The श्र. यृ III. 12. 1 states ‘अटकाडुविंतिमासिकेन कतपूरसातृ व्याख्या०’
or variations of the māsiśraddha. Most of the details of the pindapitravyajña were required in māsiśraddha and a few (such as giving arghya, gandha, dīpa) were added and more elaborate rules evolved.

The Anvāśṭakya⁸¹⁷ is described in the Āsv. Gr. (II. 5. 2-15) as follows:—Having prepared a portion of the same meat,⁸¹⁸ having established the fire on a surface sloping towards the south, having fenced it in and made a door on the north side of the enclosed shed, having strewn round the fire three times sacrificial grass with its roots without touching it, turning the left side (of one's body) towards the fire, he should place down the things to be offered, boiled rice, boiled rice mixed with sesamum, rice cooked in milk, meal pap with curds and meal pap with honey. The ceremony should follow the ritual of the Pindapitravyajña (vide Āsv. Śr. II. 6). Having sacrificed (part of the foods specified except meal-pap) with honey let him offer portions of those substances to the pītr̥s and to their wives with the addition of liquor and the scum of boiled rice. Some place the portion to be offered into pits, which may be two or six. In those situated to the east he should present the offerings to the pītr̥s; in those to the west, to the wives. Thereby the ceremony celebrated in the rainy season on the Māgha day in the dark fortnight after the full moon of Prausthapada (i.e. Bhādrapada) has been declared. And thus he should offer (a festival like the Anvāśṭakā) to the pītr̥s every month, observing uneven⁸¹⁹ numbers. He should give food at least to nine (brāhmaṇas) or to any un-even number of brāhmaṇas. (Food should be given) to an even number on auspicious occasions.⁸²⁰

---

⁸¹⁷. अन्‌वास्तक्य is explained by हद्दस्यन्त्र on साविदश्य III. 5. as ‘अधिकासम् किमेकं ईर्ववन्ध् कार्य एत्यादि शर्मकामनानाथर कालिष्ठाम्’ and by द्वेष्यांद्र on कालिष्ठाम 65.1 as ‘अधिकासम् अनु पद्धार्थमद्वमव-परिष्ठविगमिकं संज्ञानवर्गविशिष्टं। एतम् केवलविवेक- कायम अयुय सम्बन्धिते वैभवित्तस्य विकारस्य कालिष्ठाम।’

⁸¹⁸. The meat is that of the animal killed on the Aṣṭaka day (Āsv. Gr. II. 4. 13).

⁸¹⁹. That is, selecting an uneven number of brāhmaṇas or on uneven tītis.

⁸²⁰. ‘Vṛddhi’ or ‘Abhyadayika’ (referring to prosperity or good luck) Sraddha is performed on such occasions as the birth of a son, the marriage of a son or daughter, the pītr̥s in the Vṛddhi-sraddha being designated Nāṇidimukha. Pītra means charitable works such as construction of wells and tanks, building of temples, dedication of parks. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 844 n. 1992 and Yāj. I. 250, Sān. Gr. IV. 4. 1 ff.
or on the performance of meritorious deeds; to an uneven number (on other occasions). The rite is performed from left to right. Barley grains are said to be used instead of sesame.

The Anvaṣṭakya rite was performed after each of the three or four Āstakās and if only one Āstakā in Māgha were performed, then after the 8th of the dark half.

There are two views about the rite called Māghyāvaraśa in Āsv. Gr. II. 5. 9. Acc. to Nārāyaṇa, the rite is performed in the dark half of Bhādrapada for three days on 7th, 8th and 9th. The other view is that it is a rite like the Āstakās but performed on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada, when generally the moon is in the Maghā nakṣatra. There is doubt about the very name of the rite, as the ms. present various forms (vide Oldenberg’s note in S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 103 on Śān. Gr. III. 13. 1). The real name appears to be Māghyāvaraśa or Maghāvaraśa (meaning ‘a śrāddha in the rainy season when the moon is in the Maghā nakṣatra’). The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 76. 1 mentions the following times for offering śrāddha viz. (twelve) Amāvāsyās (in a year), the three Āstakās, the three Anvaṣṭakās, the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada when the moon is in the Maghā asterism, the seasons of śarat and vasanta. In Viṣṇu Dh. S. (78. 52–53) also a śrāddha on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada is highly eulogised. Manu III. 273 also states that whatever food mixed with honey is offered on the 13th day in the rainy season when the moon is in Maghā procures endless satisfaction. To the same effect are Vas. XI. 40 (in the rainy season and on Maghā), Yāj. I. 26 and Varahapurāṇa. In the

821. The word māhāyar (as an attribute of Karma or Śrāddha) may be derived from māhā (Mahāyāna: क्षिप्र निस्पगित: ) or māhā (or māhā meaning मध्य चे वर्षाची मात). In the latter case the words are transposed on the analogy of jātaka (Pa. II. 2.31). Ṣaṅhata on अमाहाय in Pa. explains ‘मध्य चे वर्षाची मात्रितम् भवति तत्र ज्योतिर्याय’ and then quotes Pa. I. 261.

822. In the यज्ञविलास of नागाराजन आचार्य it is stated ‘अधारकालिकतात्वम् माहायावाच तत्र अत्यधिरायस्य सत्यार्थिन्वित्वा विण्डु: अवाकालिकम् सर्वे कुन्यांति कारिका’. इवदर्शान भारतविद्यायत्वे मध्याचा जयावायायाम् माहायावाचार्यायाम् भारतसंहिताया’ folio 155 b (of the ms in the BBRAŚ). Vide Cat. No 680 p. 215.

823. अनावस्यान्तित्राजातितोत्तरकारोन्त्रकार मात्र मध्याच्छेदनः क्षण्टुतेजस्वधिवर्गाय च। विण्डु: ज् 76. 1 मात्री is to be connected with क्षण्टुतेजस्वधिवर्गाय च।”

824. चिन्तित गणान्त ज्ञातान्त्यस्यायाम्। तथा क्षण्टृश्रेयसन भारतश्र-चिन्तितिः। या. I. 261; गपान्ति चेतकृत्वम् क्षण्टु उ च ब्रह्माकेतुकठाङ्गः पूर्णः। गपान्तिनवती दुभोविन्यो लोकस्थापनं दृष्टि तत्त्वातिपिते। क्षण्टृश्रेयसन 13. 47; correct grammar requires वार्षाय-भुवितृ।
Hir. Gr. II. 13, 3-4 (edited by Kirste) the name appears to be Mādhyāvaraśa \[825\] and it is provided that meat is obligatory in it, but that if meat cannot be had then vegetables may be offered. In Pār. \[826\] Gr. (III. 3) the name (as printed) is madhyāvaraśa which is said to be a 4th Aṣṭakā in which only vegetables are offered. Aparārka (p. 422) also appears to call the rite 'madhyāvaraśa.' In the Bhavisyapurāṇa \[827\] (Brahma-parva), chap. 183. 4 also this rite is referred to but it is said that therein meat is to be offered. It appears probable that this ancient rite on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada is a precursor of the Mahālayaśrāddha of later times.

If Āśvalāyana's view, viz. that there are four Aṣṭakās in Hemanta and Śāfra, were followed and if the Mādhyāvaraśa-śrāddha were to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of Bhādrapada as Nārāyaṇa holds, then there would be five Aṣṭakās in all. Bhaṭṭoji in his Caturvīmśatimātasaṅgraha says so.\[828\]

Considerations of space forbid the comparison of the above procedure from Āp. Gr. and Āśv. Gr. with the procedure described in the other Grhyaśūtras. It should be noted that several of the śūtras often employ the same mantras in the various stages of the rite (as pointed out above in notes 813-814).

It must be said that the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas gradually fell into oblivion and are not performed now.

The foregoing discussion establishes that the monthly śrāddha on Amāvāsyā was the model śrāddha (prakṛti) of

\[825\] माद्यार्वस on ह्रीय, suggests माद्यार्वस: माद्यार्वस माद्यार्वस माद्यार्वस. I. e. he derives the name from माद्य and अर्व (year), the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada being almost the middle of the year (when the year begins with कृष्ण).

\[826\] मध्यार्वस कतुरी अकालका. पार. 'म. III. 3 (last śūtra) in the Gujarathi Press edition.

\[827\] तिरुक्कारातु कतुरी मध्यार्वस (मध्यार्वस?) जनतिङ्का। मध्यार्वसपुरुस्तु मालिन सु चतुर्भिः। मध्यार्वस (I. 183, 4).

\[828\] एवं भाद्रपदशुद्यस्फाद्यका सोह्मा। तथा एवं परशुराचे-अविद्धाविद्ध- कुमाराय भुण्डनाय विजया सागर: उनकर्मकारताय: भाद्रपदशुद्यस्फाद्यकाकालसंविकृताः। मध्यार्वसका चुम: विष्युळीके मन्यतानि। आदुरार्यवाक् निर्णयमध्यमकमकालसंविकृताः। इति। तथेष्व प्रदेशाका देवाऴप्रयत्नमे भिन्न:। तदानि भाद्रपदः निर्णये। भाद्रपदः on बाह. ‘म. p. 122. पर- पुराण (द्वितियां) chap. 9. 28-29 are: मध्यार्वसका चूम:...सिद्ध मध्यार्वसका। इत्यादि on भाद्र p. 185 says ‘एवं पूर्वापरेऽत्वेऽपि मध्यार्वसका तत्वावधे- विघ्नार्थककालाये: मांसवा भिन्नते पत्तुः’ and then he quotes eight verses from the प्रा of which मध्यार्वसका is the last.

H. D. 46
which the Āṣṭākṣas and other śrāddhas were copies (vikritis) with suitable modifications, though a few dissident texts reverse the position.

In the Gobhillagṛhya (IV. 4. 3 ff) another śrāddha called 'Avāhārya' is prescribed after the Pīṇḍapitryajña on the same day. The Śān. Gr. IV. 1. 13 appears also to describe the monthly śrāddha as distinct from the Pīṇḍapitryajña. Manu (III.122-23) states: 'After performing the Pīṇḍapitryajña (i.e. pīṇḍapitryajña) a brāhmaṇa who keeps sacred fires shall offer every month on the amāvasyā day the funeral sacrifice Pīṇḍānvāhāryaka. The wise call the monthly offering to the Manes Anvāhārya and that must be carefully performed with the approved kinds of flesh mentioned below.' From this it appears that one who has consecrated the śrauta fires (i.e. an āhitāgni) was to perform the pīṇḍapitryajña in the śrauta fires and also perform the same day another śrāddha after the pīṇḍapitryajña, while those who had not consecrated śrauta fires were to perform on amāvasyā a śrāddha in the gṛhya fire, which was called pīṇḍānvāhāryaka or simply anvāhārya and also to offer pīṇḍapitryajña in śmaṭa fire (vide Sat. Śrauta II. 7. 64 'gṛhyaṅgau anāhitānghoḥ'). From inquiries made I learn that nowadays most Agnihotris (at least in the Deccan) do not perform Pīṇḍapitryajña at all or perform it only once a year and that no one performs the Pīṇḍānvāhāryaka śrāddha. It is further to be noted that in śmaṭa yajña no one now sacrifices an animal but employs instead māsa grain and there are āhitāgni who do not offer meat in śrauta sacrifices also, but only piśṭa-panu (an effigy of an animal made of flour).

The literature on śrāddha is enormous in extent. From the Vedic Śamhitās several thousand years ago up to medieval and modern commentaries and digests the various matters connected with śrāddha have been dealt with in more or less detail. The Purāṇas contain thousands of verses on śrāddha. An

829. श्राणितिः on मुद्र III. 122 explains: 'विद्यानामयु पद्धारायते जलाविनं तद्विद्यानाहार्यकां अर्थत', while संस्कृतमार्ग explains 'विद्यात्मिश्लिता सत्तोष्याय आयुर्विलय अभ्यं स्वदेशो वेदयम्ये हर्षि विद्यानाहारेण'. These derivations are supported respectively by the पद्धारायण, सूत्र 9.88-89 'पद्धारण्यं ह विद्रस्यं रोणवधुवं ह सर्पिलम्' 'विद्यात्मिश्लिता वर्तु ह आधुनिकाः में तंत्र (कुशीनामार्यिष्कुर्यते तत्) 'अन्त्याशयं पद्मयमतः तस्मान- ज्ञाताः'. The पद्धारण (सूत्र 9.119) further says 'विद्यात्मिश्लिता मोक्षरायायं च पञ्चयं'. The श्राणितिः (on आयु मुद्र 10) explains मुद्र III. 122: 'विद्यात्मिश्लिता विद्यात्मिश्लिता'.
adequate and thorough treatment of all this vast mass would fill a separate volume, but considerations of space forbid such an attempt here. All that can be attempted here at the most (and that too not in all cases) is to present matters chronologically i.e. describe how śrāddha was dealt with in the Samhitās and Brāhmaṇa texts, then in the comparatively older Grhya and Dharma śutras, then in such early smṛtis as those of Manu and Yāj., then in some representative Purāṇas, then in the early commentaries of Medhatithi, Vijñānesvara and Aparārka, and then in the medieval digestes. Even in this way only a skeleton of the ceremonies described in some representative work of each class can be exhibited. Many differences of detail which arose owing to lapse of time, the locality, the śākhā and usages of each writer, his individual inclination and his ability, will have to be passed over altogether. In the days of the Purāṇas the differences in detail in the several śākhās have been adverted to. Apart from the smṛtis and passages of the Mahābhārata (such as Anuśāsana chap. 87–92) and commentaries on the Sūtras, on Manu, Yāj. and other smṛtis, the digestes on śrāddha are legion. Only the following digestes (arranged in chronological order) have been laid under contribution in this volume: Kalpataru on śrāddha; the Kāraṇa and Pitṛdayī of Aniruddha; the Śṛtyarthasāra; the Śṛtyucaṅḍikā; the Caturvargacintāmaṇi (section on śrāddha) of Hemādri (which in the B. I. edition covers 1716 pages); the Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara; the Madanapārijāta; the Śrāddhasāra (a part of Nṛsiṁhaprapāda); Śrāddhaśakti-kaumudi of Govindānanda; the Śrāddhatattva of Raghunandana; the Śrāddhasaṅkhyā (part of Toḍarānanda); the Śrāddhabalatā of Vinayaka aśams Nandapandita; the Nṛṇayasingha; the Śrāddhamayukha of Nīlakaṇṭha; the Śrāddhaprakāśa (part of Viramitrodaya); the Śrāddhaśaṅkhyā of Divakarabhaṭṭa; the Śṛtyucaṅḍikā (or śrāddha) Dharmasindhu; the Bālambhiti, a commentary on the Mitakṣarā. While presenting this exhaustive and heterogeneous material, some generalisations, when called for, will be made here and there. It will be seen later on how several minor matters such as whether food should be offered to gods before śrāddha, definitions of words like parivitti, vṛṣalpati increased the extent of treatises on śrāddha.

829 a. The स्त्राण्युराण (नागरक्षण chap. 215. 24–25) says: हरवते पहने नेवारः बिहानां आधुनकामः आदरण पहने नेवारः सातामेवश्चन्द्रशिवः ||
We should now turn to the several matters relating to śrāddhas.

First comes the question as to who are entitled to offer śrāddha (śrāddhādhikārīn). This matter has been already dealt with in the H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 739 ff., and on page 763 and on pp. 256–261 (notes 581–588) above. It would be noticed that some (like the Viśnudharmasūtra) prescribe that whoever takes the wealth of the deceased should offer pindaṣ (i. e. perform śrāddha for him), while others said that whoever was preferable as entitled to offer pindaṣ to the deceased propositus was to take the wealth. A few matters not mentioned there may be added here. In the Śāntiparva 65. 13–21 it is narrated that emperor Māndhātṛ was told by Indra how Yavanas, Kirātas and similar non-Aryan peoples (that are styled Dasyus in the Epic) are to be made to conduct themselves and it is stated that all dasyus may perform Pitṛyajñās (in which they should feed men of their own kind and make monetary gifts to them) and offer money to brāhmaṇas also. The Vāyupurāṇa (83. 112) also speaks of the Mlecchas as persons that offer oblations to Pītrs. The general rule is stated by the Gobhila-smṛti that the husband should not offer pinda to his wife even if she dies sonless, nor a father to his son nor an elder brother to a younger brother. The moral of the story of Nini who performed śrāddha for his predeceased son and repented for having done so as it was dharmasāṅkara is the same. Vide Anuśāsanaparva 91. Aparārka (p. 538) quotes a verse from Śatārimśa-mata that a father should not perform the śrāddha of his son nor an elder brother of a younger one. But Brhat-parāśara (p. 153) appears to state that even this general rule may have to be set aside sometimes. Baudhāyana and Vṛddhaśātātapya (q. by Sm. C. on śrāddha p. 337) allow a śrāddha (except sapindikarana) to be performed by any one for any

830. पवनः किराता गण्यारूढः: श्रवणस्यः: शुकात्सुवरः फुर्सुमस्य मुद्रा:॥...कर्ण यथिऽतविधियति सर्वेऽविवासिनः। माहिन्द्रश्रेष्ठ कर्णो श्यामवः सर्वेऽविवासिनः॥...माहिन्द्रश्रेष्ठ कर्णो श्यामवः सर्वेऽविवासिनः॥...पितुप्रजातमधुऽ माहिन्द्रः सर्वेऽविवासिनः॥...पितुप्रजातमधुऽ माहिन्द्रः सर्वेऽविवासिनः॥...पितुप्रजातमधुऽ माहिन्द्रः सर्वेऽविवासिनः॥...पितुप्रजातमधुऽ माहिन्द्रः सर्वेऽविवासिनः॥...पितुप्रजातमधुऽ माहिन्द्रः सर्वेऽविवासिनः॥...पितुप्रजातमधुऽ माहिन्द्रः सर्वेऽविवासिनः॥...शर्मिन्द्रां 65. 13–21; on this the शुक्कासांकार (p. 55) remarks 'हितं प्रेमेकारीणाः भक्तिविश्वार्थं तत्वस्य सज्जायेऽभास्यं भक्तिविश्वार्थं'।

831. न रेचनः पवित्रोपदेशा अयो कावित्। न दुःश्रय पिता बृंदो नामुर्दकलो तथाज्ञा॥ गोविन्दसुलिखि III. 70 and also II. 104; but see बृहदभाष्य V (p. 153) 'अम्बू पति वाणी साहवाणिवं अ rogāt; सत्यायति हि तथा कारणविस्तरं हि सा। वै गोविन्दे न तथा उपसनिति ध्यायिविद्यम्॥। अपाराः प. 538 quotes पिता भगवन् न कस्यं धृत्रं धृत्रीं च कं चयनं च वाहिनियते।
relative through affection, particularly at Gayā. It is emphasized that he alone deserves to be called putra, who, while the father is alive, obeys his words, and gives plenty of food to brāhmaṇas every year (after his father's death) and who offers pindas (to his ancestors) at Gayā. The general rule laid down was that a child, whose upanayana has not been performed, is like a śūdra and lacks authority to utter Vedic passages (vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 15. 19, Gaut. II. 4–5, Vas. II. 6, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 40, Manu II. 172). But an exception was recognized by almost all these authorities that a son, though his upanayana may not have been performed, can repeat the Vedic mantras required in funeral rites. Medhātithi on Manu II. 172 explains that a minor son, even though not initiated into Vedic study by upanayana, can offer water to his father, perform the navaśrāddhas (mentioned above in n. 593) and repeat such mantras as 'sundhantām pitarah' required in these rites, but since he has no śrauta or ghṛhya fire of his own he can not perform such śrāddhas as the pārvāra. The Smṛtyarthasaśāra (p. 56) provides that boys whose upanayana has not been performed, women and śūdras should get śrāddhas performed through a priest or they may themselves perform them without mantras but only mention the name and gotra of the deceased or with the two mantras 'devabhya namaḥ' and 'pitṛbhyaḥ svadhā namaḥ'. The above discussion shows that men and women, adults as well as children, those who are upanita as well as those that are amupanita are under an obligation to perform śrāddha.

Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1, Tai. Br. I. 6. 9 (which will be quoted later on) show that śrāddha was offered to three immediate ancestors, father, grand-father, great-grand-father. The Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 118–115) states that there is a group of seven persons closely knit together that is called avibhāktaśāya sapindaḥ viz. great-grand-father, grand-father, father, the man himself (who

---

832 जीवनो भास्यकारणानुः परम्पराः दूरिणोजनातः। गर्भाय विज्ञायनाथ तिमि: पुत्रवियुक्ता॥ श्रीसत द्वारा॥ quoted by जिसकोसिदुः p. 319.

833 नीलेश्वराङ्गेऽभास्त्र स्वाधिष्ठानितयमहत्। पुत्रवि सः समवधार्थवेदि न जातवः। गर्भो II. 172; on this स्वाधिष्ठानितयां प्रतिपूर्वः कल्पितमन्यक्षःश्च। अवधा निर्यं भास्त्र समवधार्थवेदिः। तत्त्वाद्येऽति तत्त्वाद्येऽति विपुलादि: विभास्त्रविद्वेदि स्वाधिष्ठानितयमहत्। अनुपांपितोज्ज्वलनसब्बाद्वद्रिः पितुः

। कर्तव्रतगत्वसुविद्येऽविद्येऽ। पार्श्वानार्याविहृताय लघुभ्रमणायानिविश्वारः। विन्यासार्थवेदसववेदवेदिः। एव आनुपांपितोज्ज्वलनसब्बाद्वद्रिः।।

In the ब्रह्माण्डः श्रीतुः। 9.10 we read ‘उचितस्मातः श्रवणम्: श्रुतां श्राृतिः।। इति कि: पत्रस्य वेदिङ्ग्यः परिव्रव्य: परिवर्तिः।।'
offers pīṇḍas to the preceding three), his full brothers, his son from a wife of the same caste, the grandson and great-grandson; that sakulayas are those that are called ‘vibhaktadāyādas’, that the wealth of the deceased descends to those who are born of the body of the deceased 834. Manu IX. 137 (= Vās. 17.5 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15. 46) solemnly 835 affirms: ‘by (the birth of) a son a man wins the worlds (heaven &c.), he secures immortality by a grandson and by the grandson of a son he reaches the abode of the Sun’. This verse shows that all the three descendants of a person confer equally great spiritual benefit on him. Yāj. also (in I. 78) lumps the three together (without making any distinction between them) when he says ‘since a man secures perpetuation of lineage and heaven by means of son, grand-son and great-grand-son’. Therefore when Manu (IX. 106) says that by the birth of a son a man discharges his debt to his progenitors the Dāyabhāga (XI. 34) explains that the word putra stands for the three descendants up to the great-grandson, since all the three are entitled to perform the pārvaṇa-śraddhā and equally benefit the ancestors by the pīṇḍas they offer, and that the word putra is not to be taken literally but only as illustrative in order to include the great-grandson, since one may with difficulty find a text expressly mentioning the adhikāra of the grandson (as a performer of śraddhā and taker of wealth) but there is no text expressly mentioning the great-grandson separately (as the taker of wealth and giver of pīṇḍa) 836. On Yāj. II. 50 which lays down that when the father dies or has gone to a distant country or is overwhelmed by calamities (incurable diseases or the like) his debts should be paid by the sons or grandsons, the Mit. adds that even when a son or grandson receives no ancestral property the father’s debts must be paid, the only difference being that the son has to pay the principal as well as the interest, while the grandson

834. अपि च प्रविष्टताम् पिताम् पिता स्वर्ग सोपुर्वोऽभावेत् सप्तांग: पुत्र: प्रोज्ज्वलनिष्ठकालापन्धाः संप्रविष्टावरोह: सप्तांगसाक्षी: • सर्वप्रतापः तु वर्षो द्वारष्ट्र भवति भ: ध. २.५.१५११३-११५, quoted by भृगुभाष्य XI. 37 and explained in 38 and by भृगुभाष्य p. 189. The text printed in the भृगुभाष्य collection of सूत्रसिद्धान्त is slightly different.

835. प्येक्ष सोपुर्वायु द्विःप्रविष्टं पिताम्हनस्यसहस्त्रेषु। अर्थ प्रविष्ट प्रविष्टेऽप्रमानसिद्धमेव भिष्मो भृगुभाष्य IX. 137. भृ. धु २.७.७ reads the last pada as नाकमेवानिवृत्ति.

836. अन्त एव प्रविष्टो शोषणान्तरं स्तव्यत्तानांशो परमविविधान विष्णुवर्तवाकार-कल्याणिविविधानु । अर्थ क्राक्ष शारिरवामवृत्तप्र: पौराणिककालार्पण वचनं कयों विष्णुवर्तवाकार-परमविविधान महोदय न न प्रविष्टोपितामहो भृगुभाष्य XI. 34-36.
has to return only the principal and has to pay no interest and the Mit. quotes a verse of Brhaspati 837 where all the three descendants are mentioned in one breath and the Mit. adds that the great-grandson has not to pay even the principal if he has received no ancestral property. This last remark implies that the Mit. regarded that the great-grandson was also included in the extended sense of ‘putra’. Yaj. II. 51 begins by saying that whoever takes the wealth of a deceased person has to pay the latter’s debts, so the great-grandson would have to pay the great-grand-father’s debts if he received the assets of the grand-father. Therefore the Mit. on II. 50 expressly mentions that a great-grandson need not pay his great-grand-father’s debts if he received no assets, because, otherwise being included in the extended meaning of putra, he would have had to pay. There was no necessity to bring in or mention the praputra under II. 50 if the Mit. did not include the praputra in the word putra. Again on Yaj. II. 51 (‘putrāhānasā riktvihitāḥ’) the Mit. included even praputra under the word putra. This shows that the Mit. is quite conscious that the three descendants of a man form one group and succeed to his estate and liabilities and putra includes three descendants wherever the context so requires. If the word ‘putra’ is not to be taken as only illustrative and as including both grandson and great-grandson, serious difficulties will arise even in the interpretation of Yaj. on which the Mit. comments. For example, in Yaj. II. 135-136 it is said that when a sonless man dies his wife, daughters and other heirs (named there) succeed one after another. If ‘putra’ is taken to mean only ‘son’ and no one else, then on the death of a man without a son his wife or daughter (whoever is alive) will take the wealth even if a son’s son exists. But that would be absurd and is not stated by any one. Therefore the word putra has to be interpreted in a wider sense in a proper context. Many works such as the Vyavahāramayukha, the Vraimitrodaya, the Dattakamānśā interpret the word ‘putra’ as including three generations. Therefore, though the Mit. in its remarks on inheritance and succession expressly names the son and grand-

837. राजामातिवसितेन ब्रेयं इवविविहितम्। वेरामदत्त समं वेयमदत्तं सत्तंतरं स ||
हति प्रवसितस्मानं।।: समं वेयमदत्तं सत्तंतरं ब्रेयं न हुक्तः।तत्तंतरं मात्रप्राचारः
प्रवसितस्मानं। मित्रा. on या. II. 50: पुनर्जन्मन्वित्तम् प्रवसितस्मानं मात्रप्राचारः।
प्रवसितस्मानं। मित्रा. on या. II. 51.
son only (lit. it should have mentioned only the son) it must be taken as including the great-grandson also, particularly in view of the fact that it refers to the great-grandson in its comment on Yāj. I. 50 and 51 as taking the riktha which the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 114) interprets as apratibanda dāya. Baud., Manu, Yājñavalkya speak of the three descendants and Śāṅkhalikhita, Vas. XI. 39 and Yama employ 838 only the word putra or suta in relation to the three ancestors. Therefore, the remark of Dr. Kapadia in 'Hindu Kinship' on p. 162 'Vijñānēśvara understands by the word putra sons and grandsons only' is unjustified. It is impossible to hold with Dr. Kapadia that the Mit. ran counter to the express dicta of renowned Smṛtis such as those of Manu, Śāṅkha-Likhita and Purāṇas like the Viṣṇu-purāṇa III. 13,30 (quoted above in note 582) and that in its remarks on succession it forgot its own interpretation of putra on Yāj. II. 51. He has also not correctly understood the words of the Mit. introducing Yāj. II. 137: 'sons and grandsons take the wealth; in their absence, the wife and others; thus it is said (by me)'. This is wrong for several reasons. 'Wife and others take the wealth' is said by Yāj. (in II. 135-36). The following words are 'now (the author) declares an exception to both.' This clearly refers to Yāj. (II. 137) and not to Vijñānēśvara and so 'uktam' also must refer to Yāj. and not to Vijñānēśvara. Therefore, according to the Mit. the great-grandson is included in the extended meaning of the word 'putra', is entitled just like a son or a grandson to offer śrāddha (in default of a son or grandson) and to take the wealth and pay the debts of the ancestor. In the matter of payment of debts there is, on account of the difference in the period that elapses, a difference between all the three descendants if no ancestral wealth is left by the ancestor, viz. the son pays the debt with interest, the grandson only the principal lent but without interest and the great-grandson nothing at all. This shows that even between the son and the grandson that are expressly mentioned by Yāj. II. 50 as to the payment of debts there is a difference and that as the great-grandson had to pay nothing when no ancestral property existed he was not mentioned at all in Yāj. II. 50.

838. तथा शास्त्रविद्वानः। विष्णु पितामहावेश भगवान् महात्मा। आत्मां युध्यो महाशिवल।

पिण्डं उडः सन्त्यो इति। विष्णुपितामहवहान्तु युध्यो महाशिवल।

अतिश्रुतेन भगवान्तस्यसर्वस्तगतां तुस्ती विपन्नवर्यात्।

विष्णुप्रभुः III. 18 and कहलस ।

p. 20; विष्णुविष्णु...उपासने दुर्गाः शाकुन्ता इति विप्लवम्। वसिष्ट XI. 39. वसिष्ट XI. 40

is quoted by कहलस p. 20.
Just as the king is an ultimate heir and also the guardian of all minors, so he is like the son of a person (who has no relatives left) for performing śrāddhas.

The next question is about the times when śrāddha is to be performed. It has been seen above (vide H. of Dh., vol. II, p. 696 ff) that long before the time of the Śat. Br. five daily observances (called Mahāyajñas) were prescribed for each house-holder, viz. the sacrifice to beings, that to men, that to the Fathers, that to the gods and that to Veda. The Śat. Br. and the Tai, Ā. (II, 10) say further that this daily rite in which one offers svadhā (food) to the Fathers even up to water was called pītrajāna. Manu III. 70 defines pītrajāna as tarpana (satiating ancestors with the offerings of water). Manu III, 82 provides that an householder should daily perform a śrāddha with food or with water or with milk, roots and fruits and thus please the Fathers. Śrāddha originally meant a sacrifice performed for the Fathers on Amāvāsyā (vide Gaut. 15. 1-2). By applying that word to the daily offering of water to the Manes what is intended to be conveyed is that the special characteristics of śrāddha in the strict sense are to be extended to this daily rite so far as possible. Amāvāsyā is of two kinds, Sinivālā and Kuhā. Those who keep śrāuta fires should perform śrāddha on the former, while those who have not kept śrāuta fires and śūdras should offer śrāddha on the latter.

Śrāddhas are divided into three classes, nitya, naimittika and kāmya. An observance is called nitya when it is laid down that it must be performed on a certain or fixed occasion (such as every day, on an amāvāsyā, or on Aṣṭakā day). What is laid down for being done on an occasion which is uncertain is called naimittika (such as the birth of a son). What is ordained to be done in case one desires a certain reward or fruit is called kāmya (e.g. the performance of a śrāddha on Kṛttikā or Rohini by one who desires heaven or progeny). The five daily yajñas including pītr-yajña are nitya i.e. they must be performed without any eye to any reward therefrom and the

838 a, अथ आध्यात्मिकतिः आमावासयं नित्यो द्वादशी। नी. 15. 1-2. दशवन्यां सिनिंहानी नन्दन्यां कुट्टसथापित सापक्रिकीय: सापक्रिकीयाः। तथा वैवधे। दशवन्यां सिनिंहानी कारपदो लिंगलिंग सापक्रिकीय:। नन्दन्यां कुट्टसथा कारपदो लिंगलिंग सापक्रिकीय:। अन्वर्यां च, 417, सुतिन्तिः। (आ. p. 344). The śrāvastī (VI. 216. 83) gives the following etymology of śrāvastī अन्वर्यां नाम देवमन्तुस्मात्मन्तु सिंहमति। तन्नित्वस्ति येन नन्दन्यामावासयं तत: स्तुतिः। The बाबुरुण (56. 42) states अन्वर्यां नाम देवमन्तुस्मात्मन्तु सिंहमति। तन्नित्वस्ति येन नन्दन्यामावासयं तत: स्तुतिः। अन्वर्यां नाम means तह ऋक्तम्।
non-performance thereof will lead to sinfulness. Passages mentioning the rewards that follow from the performance of obligatory (nitya) rites are only laudatory, they only convey that such performances make a man pure, but it is not meant that they are not obligatory and may be performed only if a person desires the rewards or results promised (i.e. such performances are not kāmya). Āp. Db. S. (II. 7. 16. 4–7) provides certain times for the performance of śrāddha viz. that it must be performed in the latter half of every month, that the afternoon is preferable for it, that the last days of the latter half of each month are preferable to the first days of the latter half. Gaut. 15. 3 and Vas. XI. 16 say that śrāddha may be performed on any day of the dark half of a month after the 4th day and Gaut. 15. 5 adds that if particularly appropriate materials or particularly holy brāhmaṇas are available or the performer is near a very sacred place (such as Gayā) a śrāddha may be performed on any day. Kūrma (II. 20. 23) says the same thing. The Agnipurāṇa 115. 8 says that at Gayā a śrāddha may be performed on any day (na kālādi Gayāśirthe dadyat pīḍāṁśeca nityaṇaḥ). Manu (III. 276–278) provides that the days of the dark half of the month beginning with the 10th but excepting the 14th are recommended for śrāddha, that one performing a śrāddha on even lunar days (i.e. on the 10th, 13th) and on the even nakṣatras (i.e. on Bharant, Rohinī &c.) gains the fulfillment of all his desires, that one who worships the Manes on uneven days (11th, 13th &c.) and on uneven constellations (Kṛttikā, Mrgāśīra &c.) obtains prosperous offspring and that just as the latter half of a month is

838 b. About the 14th of the dark half. I. 264 says ‘पतितेन्द्रवृद्धिवेकः एवैरिच्चिन चतुर्वेदियोऽस्मिन्। तत्रौवस्त्रम हास न वै वेदस्त्रम महीपतेः।’; compare मनु III. 276; and नवश्री स्थापितस्य नाम्पदास्यक्तिगताः। चतुर्वेदिस्य क्रिया कार्यं अनैषाम तु निमाहितं। q. by सुद्धीर. (AB.) p. 367, भट्टाचार्य p. 191. वामणार्थिन् here means वामण- नामवादोपासात्तति। This only means that śrāddha should not be performed for anyone on the 14th of the dark half except for those who were killed by poison or by beasts, snakes, lower animals or brāhmaṇas or in battle. But a śrāddha may be performed on any tithi of the dark half for those killed in battle or by poison &c. It should be noted that Manu prescribes (III. 282) that an āhūtāgni should not perform a śrāddha except on darśa, from which it follows that only others (who had no śrauta fires) could offer śrāddha on any day of the dark half. Vide श्रावण्तुर्विवर्त VI. 204, 24–27 and VI. 219.19–21 for the proposition that śrāddha should be performed on the 14th tithi of the dark half of Bhādrapada for those who met a violent death by poisoning or fire or were killed by animals having fangs or horns or who committed suicide,
preferable to the first half so the afternoon is preferable to the forenoon for the performance of a śrāddha. Amiśānaparva 87. 18 is the same as Manu III.276. Yāj. (I. 217–218), the Kurma (II 20. 2–8), Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 20 ff) and Varāhapurāṇa 13. 33–35 sum up in one place the times for performing śrāddhas as follows: Amāvāsyā, the Aṣṭāka days, lucky days (such as the birth of a son), dark half of a month, the two ayanas (the two days on which the sun appears to start towards the south or north i.e. solstices), possession of sufficient materials (such as rice and pulse or meat), the arrival of a worthy brāhmaṇa, the equinoctial points (visuvat, i.e. the sun’s apparent entrance into Aries and Balance), the days on which the sun passes into one rāsi from another, the astrological conjunctions called Vyatiptā (q386c), Gajacchāyā, eclipses of the sun and the moon, when the performer has an intense desire to perform śrāddha—these are times for performing śrāddha. The Mārkaṇ-

\[\text{g38c. अपराके p.426 quotes } \text{इत्यादि for defining वनपत्र अध्ययनपत्रिकाधिकार-} \text{नात्रेतत्तवमाहा। विद्यामे मन्त्रपत्रिकाधिकार-} \text{ना: उपस्थे।}} \text{ Vide अणिः. 209. 13 for the same verse with slight variations (due probably to not reading the mss. correctly). When Amāvāsyā occurs on a Sunday and the moon is on that day either in Śrāvaṇa nakṣatra or in Aśvinī, Dhanisthā, Ādṛā or the first quarter of Āśeṣa, that is a conjunction called वनपत्र; some explain वस्त्रक as meaning द्रुशिलोक्षणः. Bāṇa mentions Vyatiptā in his वनपत्रिकाधिकार। वनपत्रिकाधिकार is also defined in another way with reference to Rāsiś. Ājñānaśayi इत्यादि नाथे ने पर वाग्यावं नुसनी। न्यासाधारणानि करतन नुसनी तिलमात्रीससमाधान इत्या रेखी लिखिता। q. by भा. \\text{क. ल. pp. 18–19}. When on the 12th of the bright half the moon is in Hasta nakṣatra, the sun in Mesā (Aries) and Jupiter and Mars in Lion, then the conjunction is called वनपत्री. ज्युस्क्याय is a conjunction that occurs when the moon is in Magha nakṣatra and the sun is in Hasta and the titthi is 13th in the rainy season. विभन्तक on या. II 218 quotes: यदि व्याप्तमासः \text{चित्रे के चौं बिवाक्षर:। वर्षो च योगोदयों सा बहाय ज्युस्क्याय हृ॥, अर्थाके उक्ताके काठकुदाल:। एतद्वितीयों च चार्याय प्रदृष्टिक्षणाय॥}}. Both the sūtra and the aprakā quotes a काठकुदाल:। एतद्वितीयों च चार्याय प्रदृष्टिक्षणाय॥. \text{Both the sūtra and the aprakā have a similar verse. The काठकुदाल (आ.)/p. 9 और काठवस्तीकार p.319 quote व्याप्तमास:। योगो योजोदयों ज्युस्क्याय प्रदृष्टिक्षणाय॥ द्वेषवायाः सर्वेः च स्विन्धे करे सिखे।। The स्रीरुपा (51.31–32) puts it as ‘भाद्याके योगोदयानि स्वाधे नान्दे:। करे सिखे।। The स्रीरुपा (VI 220.42–44) explains हस्यवाय in several ways. The अणिः (165.3–4) explains हस्यवाय in two ways. Some take करे:। करे सिखे literally and say that śrāddha should be performed in the shadow of an elephant. The Vanaparva 200.121 averts that such a śrāddha in which the ears of the elephant serve as a fan gives gratification for thousands of kṣapya. अपराके p. 477 quotes a verse from the मन्त्रपत्रिका about भाद्याके वनपत्रिकाधिकार करे:। करे।। The Vanaparva 200.121 averts that such a śrāddha in which the ears of the elephant serve as a fan gives gratification for thousands of kṣapya. अपराके p. 477 quotes a verse from the मन्त्रपत्रिका about भाद्याके वनपत्रिकाधिकार करे:। करे।।
deya 838 d (chap. 28. 22–23), adds that sraddha should be performed when a man dreams an evil dream and when evil planets affect the nakṣatra of his birth. In an eclipse the appropriate time for sraddha is what is called Sparśaka Kāla 839 (i.e. when the eclipse begins), as stated in a verse of Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha. The Brahmāpurāṇa (220. 51–54) contains all the times specified by Yāj. and a few more. Vide also Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 30–32, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 14. 4–6, Padma (ṛṣṭi 9. 128–129). Acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 76. 1–3, Amāvāsyā, the three Asṭakās and the three Anvaṭakās, the 13th day of the dark half of Bhadrapada on which the moon is in Maghā, Śarad and Vasanta are obligatory (nitya) times for sraddha and that if a person does not perform sraddha on these days he goes to Hell. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (77.1–7) states that the day of the sun’s passage from one sign of the zodiac to another, the two equinoctial days, particularly the solstitial days, Vyātipāta, the constellation on which the performer is born, a time of rejoicing (son’s birth or the like)—these are kāmya times and a sraddha performed on these occasions gives infinite pleasure (to the Manes). The Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 16. 6–8) says that sraddhas called kāmya are commended on eclipses, solstice days, equinoctial days and on Vyātipāta and they give infinite pleasure (to the Manes) and sraddha performed on Saṅkrānti (sun’s passage from one sign of the zodiac to another) is inexhaustible and so also on days of birth and on the several nakṣatras sraddhas should be performed. Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 16. 8–22, Anuṣāsana 87, Vāyu 89. 10–19, Yaś. I. 262–263, Brahmāpurāṇa 220. 15–21, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 78. 36–50, Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 20. 17–22), Brahmāṇḍa III. 17. 10–22 state what rewards a man gets if he performs sraddhas on each of the days from the first to the 15th of the dark half. These lists do not completely agree with each other. That of Āp, being probably the most ancient, is set out here:—Sraddha performed on each of the 15 days of the dark half respectively yields the following results in order, viz. progeny chiefly consisting of females (on 1st tithi

838 d. आपाधारणपूर्णसिद्धां सन्तय प्रविठविद्धिः। नस्तवेत्येव कृत्तिः पीलथयम्। नारदेश्य 28,22. A man can perform a sraddha on any tithi of the dark half of a month, but he should not perform it on a tithi when the moon is in the nakṣatra on which he was born or in Purvā-bhadrapadā or in Uttarābhadrapadā or Kṛttikā, Ārdrā, Āḍāśa or Mūla or in a nakṣatra, which is 5th, 14th or 23rd from the nakṣatra of his birth.

839. भव्यमायर्यत: तथातिं विस्तारकालो ग्राहस्यं। विवेकः विस्तारकाले तु रस्ताया। रस्तां रस्ताकाले तु मेघकाले। इति कृष्णसिद्धांशरानं। महोजि on p. 124; वृंिर (आ) p. 342 quotes the verse.
of dark half, sons that will be thieves, sons that will be possessed of Vedic learning and the performance of Veda-vratas, sons that will own small domestic animals, many sons that will be distinguished (by their learning) and the performer will not die childless, a great traveller and gambler (on the 6th), success in agriculture (on 7th), prosperity (on 8th), one-hoofed animals (on 9th), success in trade (10th day), black iron and tin and lead (on 11th), son possessed of cattle (on 12th), many sons and many friends and handsome children which will die young (13th tithi), success in arms (14th), prosperity (on 15th i.e. Amāvāsyā). Gārgya (q. by Par. M. I. 2 p. 324) provides that one should not perform śrāddha on Nandā, on Friday, on 13th of the dark half and on the nakṣatras of birth and the preceding and the following nakṣatras for fear of losing one's sons and wealth. The Nandā tithis are 1st, 6th and 11th. The Anuśāsana-parva (87. 16) provides that he who performs śrāddha on the 13th tithi attains pre-eminence among his agnates, but then the young men in his house die as a consequence.

The śrāddhas performed on the days mentioned in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 77. 1–6 are naimittika and those performed on certain tithis and days of the week for securing certain rewards would be kāmya śrāddhas. According to Par. M. I. 1 p. 63 the performance of obligatory (nitya) actions is saṃskāraka (i.e. effects a purifying change in the mind making it fit for higher things), while in some cases it may also produce the desire to know the Reality behind the appearances (i.e. it is 'vividīṣājanaka' as indicated by the Gītā 9. 27). Jaimini (VI. 3. 1–7) establishes the proposition that the nitya acts (such as Agnihotra, Darśa-pūrpaṇa-yaṇa) must be performed even though the performer is unable to perform a subsidiary part of the rite; while Jai. VI. 3. 8–10 provide that every part of kāmya actions must be performed and if the performer thinks that he would be unable to perform all he should not undertake to perform a kāmya rite at all. 839a

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (78. 1–7) states that one performing śrāddha on Sunday secures everlasting freedom from disease and those who perform śrāddha on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday (Jaiva), Friday and Saturday respec-

---

839a. This position is stated by the पर. म. I part 1 p. 173: 'यद्य ज्ञातमात्रामपतिकिल्लवं कार्यविधेयं, ' The विद्वानपुराण (III. 14.4–8) sets out the times for कार्यविधिकार्य. The two propositions of jaimini are often spoken of as व्यासाणिकम्य and व्यासाणिकम्य.
tively secure happiness (or admiration by people), victory in battle, all desires, such learning as he desires, wealth and long life. The Kūrma (II. 20, 16-17) also expatiates on the rewards for śraddhas on the several days of the week.

The Viṣṇu-Dharmasūtra (78. 8-15) mentions what rewards follow from performance of śraddhas on the 28 naksatras from Krūtikā to Bharani (including Abhijit which is placed after Uttarāśāḍhā and before Śrāvana). Yaj. I. 265-268, Vāyu chap. 82, Mārkandeya-purāṇa 30. 8-16, Kūrma (II. 20. 9-15), Brahmapurāṇa 220. 33-42, Brahmāṇḍa (Upodgāthapāda 18.1 ff) also deal with the same topic, but all these works do not present complete agreement. For example, Viṣṇu Dh. S. and Yaj. agree that śraddha performed on Krūtikā, Rohiṇī, Āśvini and Bharani yield as rewards heaven, offspring, horses and longevity, but they disagree in several others e.g. while Viṣṇu says that prosperity, beauty (or happiness) and all desires are obtained by performing śraddha on the Pusya, Āśleṣa and Magha naksatras respectively, Yaj. provides that a śraddha on these three yields strength, son and eminence. The Anuśasanapurava 89 and Vayupurāṇa 82 set out the rewards of śraddhas on the several naksatras from Krūtikā as declared by Yama to Śaśabindu.

It is stated in the Agnipurāṇa 840 that śraddhas performed at a holy place and on days that are called Yugādi and Manvādi yield inexhaustible gratification (to the pātās). The Viṣṇupurāṇa 841, Matsyapurāṇa (17. 4-5), Padma V. 9, 130-131, Varahapurāṇa and Prajāpati-smṛti verse 22 and Skanda VII. 1. 205. 33-34 state that the third tithi of Vaiśākh (bright half), the 9th of the bright half of Kārtika, the 13th of the dark half of Bhadrapada and 15th tithi of the dark half of Māgha are called Yugādi tithis (i.e. the first days of the four Yugas from Kṛta).

840. तीन दुष्क्रताति नामद्वादि वतस्प्यत्वस्य। अद्वैतसार 117.61. दुष्क्रताः च कर्तरथ पत्निष्ठे स्यक तत्त्वातिकोऽपि च। दृष्ट्वर्त्ताः 5.3 (p. 149).

841. वैशालिकमासिः त्रैयोमौ नवमिद नक्षत्रहं कालिकाद्वयस्योऽस्मस्य। नमस्ष्टपञ्चमन्त्र मन्त्रायं वे श्रेष्ठः। एवं दुष्क्रताः कालिका। दुष्क्रताः। दृष्ट्वर्त्ताः 13.14, 12-13 q. by स्वयंम्। I. pp. 58-59, कुमकराणवल p. 542, महा। पा। p. 538. अपवर्त्ताः (p. 425) quotes the वैशालिकमासिः differently. The महाराष्ट्राः (17. 4) and त्रैयोमौ नवमिद नक्षत्रहं पिल्ला पिल्ला पिल्ला। एवं दुष्क्रताः। कालिकाः। कालिकाः कर्तरथैह। कर्तरथैह। कुमकराणवल p. 542. अपवर्त्ताः (p. 425) gives a different order: दुष्क्रताः। वैशालिकै। एवं दुष्क्रताः। कालिकाः। कालिकाः। कुर्ण्यह। कर्तरथैह। कर्तरथैह। कुमकराणवल (13. 40-41) contains the verse वैशालिकमासिः। प्रजापितस्वतिः (22) has a similar verse for दुष्क्रताः days.
Matsya 17. 6-8, Agnipurāṇa 117. 61-64 and 209. 16-18, Saurapurāṇa 51. 33-36, Padmapurāṇa (Sṛṣṭi 9. 132-135) mention the first tithis of the 14 Manus (or Manvantaras) as follows: 9th of the bright half of Āśvina, 12th of the bright half of Kṛśṭika, the third of the bright half of Caitra and of Bhādrapada, the anāvāśya of Fālguna, the 11th of the bright half of Pauṣa, 10th of bright half of Āsāḍha and the 7th of the bright half of Māgha, the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, the Full Moon of Āsāḍha, Kṛśṭika, Fālguna, Caitra and Jyeṣṭha. The Matsyapurāṇa list is quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 58, Kṛṣṭyaratnamara p. 543, Par. M. I. p. 156 and I. 2 p. 311, and the Madanaparījāta p. 541. The orders in the Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 205. 36-39 and the Smṛtyarthasāstra (p. 9) are slightly different. In the Skandapurāṇa (Nāgarakahanda) the first tithis of thirty kalpas from Śveta onwards are specified as fit for śrāddha, but are passed over here.

Ap. Dh. S. II. 842 7. 17. 23-25, Manu III. 280, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 77. 8-9, Kūrma (II. 16. 3-4), Brahmāṇḍa III. 14. 3, Bhavisya I. 185. 1 forbid the performance of śrāddha at night or at twilight or when the sun has just risen except in the case of an eclipse of the moon. Ap. adds that when once a śrāddha is begun in the afternoon and owing to some cause there is delay and the sun sets then the performer should perform the remaining rites the next day and he should observe a fast till the placing of the pindas on the darbhas. Viṣṇu Dh. S. declares that śrāddha performed during an eclipse satisfies the Manes as long as the moon and stars exist and brings to the performer all advantages and the satisfaction of all his desires, while the Kūrmapurāṇa threatens that he who would not perform a śrāddha in an eclipse sinks (incurs sins or becomes ruined) as a cow in mud. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 217 is careful to point out that though there is a prohibition against eating during the progress of an eclipse of the sun or moon, that prohibition would only affect the eater (the brähmana who eats śrāddha repast in an eclipse) but not the giver who will secure happiness (or good results) thereby. 843

842. 7 जयं यज्ञं भ्रातुं कुर्वद्य। आरये वापरवनम समापनात। अन्वयं शास्त्रार्थसंदर्शित। अद्वयं दुर्गश्वरं वर्णेत समाप्तम्। अद्वयं यज्ञम् भ्रातृभुज्येन। 843. चतुर्वद्यमं भवाय। तत्र श्रामादेशमेकधार्मिको भोजनं ब्रह्मणं भक्तिसिद्धां निःसर्गविश्वस्तु।
Very learned disquisitions are held in Aparāṅka p. 465 ff, Hemāḍri p. 313 ff and other writers and digestes as to the meaning of aparāṅna which is the time for śrāddha prescribed by Manu (III. 278). There are several views. Some hold that the part of the day after noon is 'afternoon.' The word 'pūrṇāṅna' occurs in Rg. X. 34. 11. Others relying on a śruti text 'The forenoon is for gods, mid-day for men and afternoon for pītṛ' hold that the third part of the day divided into three parts is 'aparāṅna.' A third view is that aparāṅna is the 4th part of the day divided into five parts and they rely on Śat. Br. II. 2. 3. 9. The five parts are called prātah, saṅgava, madhyāṅna (or madhyāṅna), aparāṅna and sāyāṅna (or sāyam or astagamana). The first three are expressly mentioned even in the Rgveda V. 76. 3. Prajāpati-smṛti (verses 156–157) says that each of these five parts extends over three muhūrtas (the day being divided into fifteen muhūrtas). It further states that kutapa is the 8th muhūrtasa from sunrise and that śrāddha should be begun in kutapa and should not last beyond Rauhina muhūrtasa and that five muhūrtas (from 8th to 12th) are the maximum time for śrāddha. The word kutapa has eight meanings as noted by the Sm. C. (śrāddha) p. 433 and Hemāḍri on śrāddha p. 320. The word is derived from 'ku' meaning 'condemned' (i.e., sin) and 'taḍa' means 'what burns.' The eight meanings of 'kutapa' are 'midday, a vessel of rhinoceros horn, woolen seat or blanket

844. पूर्वार्को वै क्रेशानां मध्यभूतिः मध्यानंस्तप्ताः: बिन्दुपाः। स्तम्भपरपाः दक्षिणः।
845. आपराङ्कस्तेन सर्वं सम्मुखः। पूर्वक्रेशानां समस्तीं मद्यमोऽस्मी श्राद्ध यदा
846. आर्यभूति कुतपां कुतपांमोऽधिशिष्यं यु न लक्षष्येऽः। अपराङ्कपरस्तेन: आर्यभूति
847. मध्याङ्क: लक्षणां च तथा न्यायार्थकः:। सर्वं विशेषार्थं गानो वीणिरिक्षः।

844. पूर्वार्को वै क्रेशानां मध्यभूतिः मध्यानंस्तप्ताः: बिन्दुपाः। स्तम्भपरपाः दक्षिणः।
845. आपराङ्कस्तेन सर्वं सम्मुखः। पूर्वक्रेशानां समस्तीं मद्यमोऽस्मी श्राद्ध यदा
846. आर्यभूति कुतपां कुतपांमोऽधिशिष्यं यु न लक्षष्येऽः। अपराङ्कपरस्तेन: आर्यभूति
847. मध्याङ्क: लक्षणां च तथा न्यायार्थकः:। सर्वं विशेषार्थं गानो वीणिरिक्षः।
from Nepal, silver, darbhas, sesame, cows and daughter's son.

The general rule is that śrāddhas are performed in the afternoon (but this applies to śrāddha on New moon, Mahālaya, Aṣṭakā and Anvaṣṭakā śrāddhas), while Vṛddhīśrāddha and śrāddha in which only corn is offered (Āmaśrāddha) are performed in the morning. Medhatithi on Manu III. 245 quotes a smṛti text on this. The Tripāṇḍamaṇḍana (II. 150, 162) provides that when it is not possible to perform a religious rite at the time prescribed for it as appropriate, it should be performed at some other time thereafter and that, between the proper time of a rite and the means, the former is to be preferred and one should not wait for a time later than the proper one with the desire of being able to collect all the principal materials.

A few words must be said about the proper places for the performance of a śrāddha. Manu (III. 206–207) lays down that the performer should make efforts to secure a spot sloping to the south and smear it with cowdung, a spot that is pure and unfrequented (by many persons) and that the Fathers are pleased by śrāddha at naturally clean spots or the banks of rivers and spots that are unfrequented. Yaj. I. 227 very briefly puts the requirements by saying that the place of śrāddha should be covered on all sides, should be pure and sloping to the south. Śankha says: "one should not perform śrāddha on the backs of bulls, elephants and horses, nor on raised earth platforms nor on land owned by others." The Kūrmapurāṇa states "Forests, sacred mountains, holy places, temples—these have no (definite) owner and they cannot be private property (of any one). Yama provides "if one offers śrāddha to his pitar in spots
belonging to others, that śrāddha rite is destroyed by the pītris of the owner of those spots. Therefore, a man should perform śrāddha on holy spots, on river banks, in sacred places and particularly in land belonging to himself, in bowers near hills and on mountain tops.' The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra chap. 85 mentions numerous holy places and then adds 'in these and other tirthas, big rivers, on all natural sandy banks, near streams, on mountains, in bowers, forests, groves and spots that look charming because of being smeared with cow dung (śrāddha may be performed.).' Śaṅkha (14. 27–29) states 'whatever is given in holy Gayā, in Prabhāsa, Puṣkara, Prayāga, in the Naimiṣa forest (on the Sarasvatī), on the banks of the Ganges, Yamunā, Payoṣṭi, on Amarakāntaka, on Narmadā, in Benares, in Kurukṣetra, Bhṛgutūnga, on the Himālaya, on Sapta–Veṇi, on Ṛṣikūpa—all that becomes inexhaustible.' The Brahmāpurāṇa (220. 5–7) also specifies river banks, lakes, mountain tops, sacred spots like Puṣkara as the proper places for śrāddha. The Vāyupurāṇa, chap. 77 and Mataya 22 contain long lists of sacred places, countries, mountains in relation to śrāddhas. The Kalpataru (śrāddha p. 40) and Śr. P. p. 147 state that special characteristics of the tirthas in the several countries that are declared to be fit places for śrāddha should be understood from the inhabitants of those various countries.

Sacred places will be dealt with in a separate section (on tirthas).

The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra 852 (chap. 84) prescribes that śrāddha should not be performed in Mleccha country, nor should one go to a Mleccha country and then defines a Mleccha country as one in which the system of the four varṇas is not established and states that Āryāvarta is beyond that. The Vāyu-purāṇa provides 853 that the country of Triśaṅku which is

852. न स्त्रेष्ठविश्वे भूमिः कुप्पल। न मण्डलेष्वत्विश्वम्। प्रतिविश्ववेवः वीला वसामयज्ञविश्वतीति। चापर्वेश्वरवर्तानं वर्तिष्ठान्वे न विध्यते। स स्त्रेष्ठविश्वो विष्णु अर्थरत्सलतः परः। विष्णुवर्मन्त्र 84. 1–4.

853. विष्णुवर्मन्त्रे सर्वं द्वार्पयोजनम्। उवरेण महानं द्रव्यायेन तु केषकर्तु। वेष्टविश्वेषे नाम भूतिकर्मणि वाजितः। कार्तिके: कृष्णान्त विष्णोईसरोवयेऽ॥। मण्डला-अभिप्राणवे दृष्टा वहयः। प्रतिवेदः। वायुपराण 78. 21–23, महाश्रव, उपोषयत्वाद् 14. 31–33, quoted by हेमाति (श्र. p. 162), and भूद्रम, p. 147 and अपराक p. 472 (as from महाश्रव). Vide also विष्णुवर्मन्त्र I. 141. 2–4.
twelve yojanas in extent and which is to the north of the river Mahānadi and to the south of Kīkaṭa (i.e. Magadha) is not fit for śrāddha; similarly the countries called Karaskara, Kaliṅga, the country to the north of the river Sindhu and all countries where the system of varṇas and āśramas is not in existence should be sedulously avoided for śrāddhas. The Brahmapurāṇa (220.8-10) makes the somewhat startling remark that the following countries should be avoided for śrāddhas viz. the Kirāta country, Kaliṅga, Koṅkāpa, Krimi (Krivi?), Daśārṇa, Kumārya (Cape Comorin), Taṅgaṇa, Kratha, the northern banks of the Sindhu river and the south bank of Narmada and the east of the Karatoya.

The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa prescribes that for a śrāddha a place (ground) that is full of insects, that is arid, or is burnt by fire, from which proceed sounds that are painful to the ear, that is terrific in its aspect, that emits fetid smell should be avoided.

It was also provided from very early times that certain persons and animals are to be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed and are not to be allowed to pollute the śrāddha rite by looking at it or by disturbing it in various other ways. Gaut. (15.25-28) provides that food seen by dogs, cāndālas and those guilty of mahāpātakas becomes unclean (and so unfit); therefore one should offer śrāddha in a covered (or screened) place; or he should strew round about the place sesame or a worthy brāhmaṇa who purifies a row of diners by his presence should perform a śānti for removing the taint caused (by a dog or cāndāla seeing the food &c). Āp. Dh. S. prescribes that the learned condemn the seeing of a śrāddha by dogs and those who (being patita) are excommunicated and that a leper, a bald man, one having sexual intercourse with another's wife, the son of a brāhmaṇa who follows the profession of arms, the son of a brāhmaṇa woman from a śūdra man—if these eat śrāddha food they pollute the diners sitting to eat in a row. Manu (III.239-242) states: ‘a cāndāla, a village pig or cock, a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, an impotent person—these should not be allowed to see brāhmaṇas engaged in taking dinner. Whatever is seen by these at a homa

854. बर्बर्य जन्मस्ती स्वर्ग शिति: वृद्ध तथाकिर्ण। अनिष्टवक्ष्योभ्य दुर्गन्ध्या भावकर्मणि। मार्कण्डे पुरुषारण 29.19 q. by आदर्श p. 139.
(agnihotra), at a gift (of cows and gold), when brāhmaṇas are being fed, or at a religious rite (like the Darśa-Purṇamāsā sacrifice) or at a śrāddha becomes fruitless. A pig taints food (offered to gods or Manes) by merely smelling it, a cock by setting in motion the air with its wings, a dog by casting a glance and a man of low caste by touch. If a servant of even the person who offers śrāddha is lame or squint-eyed or has a limb less or more (i.e. having eleven or nine fingers &c.), he should be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed. It is provided by the Anuśāasanaparva (127, 13) that śrāddha food should not be seen by a woman in her monthly illness or by a soulless woman or by one suffering from white leprosy. Viṣṇuparva (82, 3 ff.) contains a long list of about 30 persons who are not to be allowed near a śrāddha. The Kürnapuraṇa (II. 22, 34–35) states that one devoid of a limb, a pātita, a leper, one suffering from an open ulcer, an atheist, a cock, a pig, a dog, should be kept far away from a śrāddha; one should also avoid one that has a disgusting appearance, an impure person, one who is naked, a mad man, a gambler, a woman in her monthly course, those that wear indigo-coloured or yellow-red garments and those who follow heretical views. The Mārkandeya 32. 20–24, Vāyu 78. 26–40, Viṣṇupuraṇa III. 16. 12–14 and Anuśāsanaparva 91. 43–44 also contain long lists which are passed over here. The Skanda-puraṇa VI. 217. 43 also speaks about a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, a pātita and a hog not being allowed to see the śrāddha rite.

The classification of Śrāddhas.

Śrāddhas have been variously classified. One classification, viz. into nitya, naimittika and kāmya has already been described above (p. 369). Another classification is that into Ekoddista and Pārvapaṇa. The first is offered to one deceased person alone, while the latter is performed on the amavasya of a month or in the dark half of Bhadrapada or on sanskranti and in it the three paternal ancestors are principally invoked. Brhas-

855. Vide H. of Dh, vol. III, p. 737, note 1425 for explanation of these two. अनावरणं पदन तथाविभागादन्ति। करिस्ते वा परिचितं वस्तुविभागादन्ति॥ अविभागुपवाण 1. 183. 15 q. by कलसत c. p. 7, अन्तर्यास c. p. 192, व. वि. of क्रांति, वि. क्रि. कौ. p. 6 (which explains ‘परिचितं अनावरक्तम् स्वाभाविकपौर्णांमयः’). The पर. मा. I. 2. p. 199 says दुष्क्रियमुद्गित्वं करिस्ते तत्वन्तरं। एकादशोदयो वैक्षेत्रिने तथोऽद्वितिद्यद्। Venk. ed. of अविभाग reads दुस्सं वा करिस्ते पदन्।
Classification of śrāddhas

pati quoted in the Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara mentions five classes of śrāddhas as declared by Manu viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, Vrddhi and Pārvana. The Śrāddhaviveka remarks that the sixteen pretāḥ-śrāddhas (to be described later on) are included under naimittika and that such śrāddhas as Gosthi-śrāddha enumerated in other smṛitis are included in Pārvana. The Kürmapurāṇa (II. 20. 26) similarly speaks of the five śrāddhas as enumerated by Manu. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 217 states that there are five śrāddhas, viz. 'ahar-ahaḥ-śrāddha, pārvana, vrddhiśrāddha, ekoddīṣata and sapindikaraṇa. The daily śrāddha is described by Manu III. 82 (= Śankha 13.16 and Matsya 16.4) as one that is performed every day with food (cooked rice, yavas &c.) or with water or with milk, fruits and roots. Two verses of Viśvāmitra quoted by several works speak of twelve kinds of śrāddhas, viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, vrddhi-śrāddha (performed on the birth of a son, marriage or similar incident of good luck), sapindana (sapindikaraṇa), pārvana, goṣṭhiśrāddha, śudhīśrāddha, karmāṅga, daivika, yātraśrāddha, pustiśrāddha. Explanations of all these are quoted from the Bhavisyapurāṇa by the same works. Sapindana and Pārvana will be described below. Some of the rest not already defined may be briefly explained as follows: The Gosthi-śrāddha is one which is performed when a man be-

856. नियतं नैमित्तिकं कार्यं हस्ववां शास्त्रामण्डल तथ च। पार्यं चेति महोत्यां आद्यं प्रवाहिनं प्राकृताणं ।

857. कर्मवृद्धेऽपि सर्वं कर्मवृद्धेऽपि पुनः। दुःखान्तिमयुं आद्यं पार्यं वर्णं स्वरूपं।

858. नियतं नैमित्तिकं कार्यं हस्ववां सपीणां तथा। पार्यं चेति विजेयं गोष्ठीं हस्ववां श्रृवत्तमालेष्वरं।

859. कार्यं नवं गोष्ठीं विजेयं गोष्ठीं तुढवते। बूढानं बूढाणं संपत्तिभावं निदित्तमयं।
comes enthusiastic owing to a talk about śrāddha or when many
learned men gather together at a sacred place and, finding it
impossible to have separate cooking arrangements for each,
pool their resources for collecting śrāddha materials and
perform simultaneously śrāddha for the pleasure it affords to
themselves and for the gratification of pitras. The Śuddhi-
śrāddha is one where brāhmaṇas are fed when a person under-
goes śuddhi (purification) after being guilty of some sin or
transgression (it is a subsidiary act in a prāyascītā). That
śrāddha is called 'karmāṅga' which is performed at the time of
the Garbhāṅgha rite or at the performance of a soma sacrifice,
or at stūmantonnayana, pumāsavana (it is like Vydhīśrāddha).
That is called daivika śrāddha which is intended to propitiate
gods (it is like niṣyaśrāddha and is performed on the 7th or
12th tīthi or the like with sacrificial food). When a man going
to a distant country on a pilgrimage or the like performs a
śrāddha in which clarified butter is served (to brāhmaṇas) in
abundance or when he comes back to his house, that is yatra-
śrāddha. That is called puṣṭīśrāddha which is performed for the
health (or fattening) of the body (when taking some medicine
for the purpose) or for the increase of one's wealth. Out of
these twelve the principal ones are pārvana, ekoddīṣṭa, uvṛddhi
and sapindana. There are works called Sa-navati śrāddhas such
as those of Śivabhaṭṭa, son of Govinda, and of Raghunātha. The
96 śrāddhās to be performed in a year are briefly enumerated
in a verse quoted in the note. They are: 12 śrāddhas on

860. 860. गोविङ्ग गतिगतये आवस्त गोविङ्गाओ तुलिये। धर्मान्हि बिभिन्न सप्तगुणार्थिको गन्तुपये। किर्तिे वर्णे खुद्र कालाणि तु भोजन्य। कालाणिभिमति तत्स्वरूपे वेधसौ गमिष्यातः॥ गृधायतायात् सीमाया च लोकार्थायात् तथा। गुप्तस्य पुरस्ते चेतां आवस्त कालाणिकृये च। देवशीलदित्य चहृद्ध तुथि गृहस्तुपये:। उद्विषिण विभिन्न समपदाविदुः पल्लवन्यान। गरम्वेजीन्तर्य एव आवस्त तु प्रत्याह च परिष्ठ:॥ पारायन्यिभिमति तत्स्वरूपे च न संस्कर:॥ परिवर्धयनं आद्याग्याशयया तथा या। पुप्तस्यतिर्दर्ज्ञिनीप्रेरणाकाश्च एव पारिवर्तनानां इत्तथादिनानां। भविष्यत:। 1. 183. 15-19, q. by सूतिलकः (का.) p. 334, आ. क. त. p. 7, निर्यासितः p. 374.

There are some variations here that are not noted. The printed text (Venk. ed.) presents different readings, such as सोमस्व किर्तिे आवस्त and किर्तिे ब्लैकस्थिर सम्प्रदायिको पल्लवन्यान। These 12 आवस्त are defined in सम्प्रवृत्ति VIII. 1. 205. 43-50 also. On तिकं ब्लैकस्थिर the दोषार्कः (आद्याग्याकृत्री folio 4 b) remarks 'तत्त्वया प्रकाशात आद्याग्याभिमति वेदवेदाद्यक्षम सिद्धान्तोऽपि अन्यो तथां आद्याग्याभिमति वेदवेदाद्यक्षम सिद्धान्तोऽपि अन्यो तथां।'

861. अथ गुप्तस्य तिर्दर्ज्ञिनीप्रेरणात्मकामानां:। आद्याग्यां च पूर्वेऽः वण्णः: यथावतः॥ वर्णवतः:। verse 5 of वण्णवतः of सिद्धान्त (Ms. in Bhadakamkar collection)

(Continued on the next page)
the 12 amāvāsyās in the year, the four śrāddhas on the Yugādi
days (note 841 above), the fourteen śrāddhas on the Manvantarādi
days (p. 375 above), the śrāddhas on 12 saṅkrāntis (i.e., the sun’s apparent motion from one sign of the
Zodiac to another), the 13 śrāddhas on the Yoga called Dṛṣṭi
(i.e., Vaidhṛti) and the 13 śrāddhas on the Vyatipāta yoga, the
16 Mahālaya śrāddhas, the four Anvāstakā days (according to
Āśv. as noted on pp. 359–360), the four Aṣṭakā days and the four
days (i.e., 7th of dark half of the months of Hemanta and Śīśira)
of the day previous (to the Aṣṭakā). These classifications and
enumerations of śrāddhas will afford an idea how the doctrine
of śrāddhas was carried to an exaggerated extent in the course
of centuries. It goes without saying that only a few people
could have indulged in the luxury of so many śrāddhas a year
and most people were content with the performance of only one
Mahālayaśrāddha and one or two more. It may be noted that
Manu (III. 122) first prescribed that on the amāvāsyā of each
month an elaborate śrāddha should be performed, but knowing
that this was almost impossible Manu recommends to all (III.
281) that an elaborate śrāddha should be performed on three
amāvāsyās in one year 862 (viz. in Hemanta, Grīṣma and Varsā)
and one should perform everyday the śrāddha which is one of
the five daily sacrifices (III. 82–83). Devala went further and
recommended that an elaborate śrāddha may be performed only
once a year.

The next important question is about the qualifications of
the brāhmaṇas that were invited to dinner on a śrāddha day.
Only brāhmaṇas were and are entitled to be invited for śrāddha

(Continued from the last page)

The Mahāyānas are 16 as stated by śrāvetra and śrāvetra q. by Bhāṣa.Sa. I. 2 p. 319
and by śrī. śrī. (Bhāṣa.) p. 745: नारस्रापुरणे पदे लिप्योऽषांके द्रोद \\ कन्नारशाहरि
विशिष्टं चतुरं विनास कालं धर्मकरणम् (Bhāṣa.) अहोऽषांके पदे वधकरणिव्रिया सह विमी
क्षरविलिचित्रण साधूं वर्तारस्तिका स्वता। (Bhāṣa.). Generally there are 13 व्यतिपातय
and 13 vyatipāta yogas in a year, though sometimes there may be 14 of each.
There are in a month 27 yogas beginning from विज्ञकम. The ज्ञानभा. (VI. 4.
2. 10) speaks of 12 अक्सा द्रास्तावर्णे द्रास्तावर्णरा द्रास्तासाधारयः.

862. एते वदिचिन्म भारस्य कुपासंस्थरं सकुल। विमीदम यथार्थ्य वासे वासे विने
हिने। वेलत्र q. by वधस्विच. (Bhāṣa.) p. 497 which explains: एते वदिचिन्म पर्वतालिचिन्म
पतेलस्थवर्गकारण विमीदमेष्ठ वासेपावस्त स्विच वा. कल्यते p. 22 (Bhāṣa.) quotes
the verse.
dinner whoever may be the performer of the śrāddha. In this connection many works contain high eulogies of brahmānas, but they are passed over here, as the eulogy of brahmānas has been already dealt with at some length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 37–38, 135–138. It may be noted that the grhyasūtras contain a few requirements, but as we proceed the smṛtis and purāṇas go on adding qualifications and enlarging the lists of those that should not be invoked. For example, the Āśv. Gr. 862a IV. 7. 2, Śaṅ.-Gr. IV. 1. 2. Āp. Gr. VIII. 21. 2, Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 4, Hir. Gr. II. 10. 2, Baud. Gr. II. 10. 5–6 and II. 8. 2–3, Gaut. 15.9 provide that the brahmānas to be invited should be possessed of Vedic learning, should be of excellent character (free from anger and passion and possessed of control of mind and senses) and of meritorious conduct, pure, not deficient in a limb or not having an excessive limb (e.g. having six fingers). The Āp. Dh. S. states that he who has studied the three Vedic verses in which the word ‘madhu’ occurs (Rg. I. 90. 6–8, Vai. S. 13. 27–29, Tai. S. IV. 2. 9. 3), he who has studied the Trisuparṇa, one who is a Triṇāciketa, one who has studied the mantras required for the four sacrifices (Āśvamedha, Puruṣamedha, Sarvamedha and Pitṛmedha) or who has performed these four sacrifices, one who keeps the five fires, he who knows the Śāman called Jyestha, he who carries out the duty of daily Vedic study, the son of one

862a. भज्ञानां तु महत्त्वमेतिसामयोन्निः कथा वा। आभ. सू. IV. 7. 2; भज्ञानां
धातुद्धार च: समस्तं आरोपयेद:। योपिनया महाविन्यास। नायनीत्यो नस्यन्यतो।
विर. सू. II. 10. 2; विस्मृतसुभूतिस्वप्नविभावकत्वादतथावेगः पराविवेच्यात्मानो वेदाध्याय
शराहतु: तु: भोजिन:। राज्यसर्वना वयंन्ति। अभ. सू. II. 7. 17–22.
विस्मृतिः it is the name applied, according to Haradatta, to the three anuvākas beginning with शुद्धेत् गान्त (ते. आभ. X. 48–50) or to the verse itself. —
सिद्धांश्च तु:हेतुः पूर्वाः: in ते. आभ. I. 2. 1. 27 or Rg. X. 114. 3–5. विज्ञानविभेद: is explained in different ways viz. (1) one who knows the Nāciketa fire, (2) a person who has thrice kindled the Nāciketa fire, (3) a person who has studied the Anuvāka called Virajas. For the Nāciketa fire, vide Kathopanisad I. 1. 16–18. The word ‘Triṇāciketaḥ’ occurs in Kaṭha Up. I. 1.17 and is explained by श्रेष्ठ as विज्ञानविभेदिताः विचारितौ तस्मां ज्ञानविभेदतालाञ्ज्ञानस्तथावेगः तथा। Tai. Br. (III. 11. 7–8) describes the नाचिकेतात fire and the story of Nāciketas. The five fires are Gārhaṇa, Abhāvani, Daksināṇi, Ávasathiya (or aupāsana) and Sabhya. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p 679 Vide ibid. II. p. 767 note 1838a for explanations of विज्ञानविभेद, वा अभवनिक and the other words explained above. ब्रह्मण defines श्रेष्ठ as ‘वचना श्रेष्ठानि
संकल्पवर्त वा बुद्धिमयार्थियः वा। ब्रह्मणस्ति सम: भोजितो नस्यन्यतो।’ q. by आभ. म. p. 59. Pāṇini (V. 2.84) derives श्रेष्ठ as श्रवणशुष्कगतोमिति. ब्रह्मण—refers
to वजनयाननामनाध्यापनमतिविधवानान्तिः.
who has studied the Veda and is able to teach the whole Veda with its aṅgas, a śrotṛiya—these persons sanctify the company if they eat at a funeral repast. Gaut. 15. 28, Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.2, Manu III. 183–186, Yāj. I. 219, Varāhāpurāṇa 14.2 contain almost the same words about those who sanctify the company of diners (i.e. who are paṁkti-pāvana). The Anuśāsanaparva (90. 25–31), Kūrmapurāṇa II. 21. 1–14, Matsya 16. 7–13, Brahmapurāṇa 220. 101–104, Vāyu 79. 56–59 and 83. 52–55, Skanda VI. 217. 21–25 give long lists of paṁkti-pāvana brāhmaṇas. The Hir. Gr. II. 10.2, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 7, Kūrma (II. 21. 14) and others say that a performer of śraddha should invite one who is not a relative connected by marriage (such as a maternal uncle) nor one who is of the same gotra, nor one who is connected with the performer by Veda study (i.e. is his teacher or pupil), nor a friend nor one who expects monetary help from the performer. Manu (III. 138–139) provides that one should not invite at a śraddha a dinner a personal friend, that one may gain a friend by making valuable gifts to him (on other occasions), that one should feed at a śraddha a brāhmaṇa whom he does not deem either his friend or foe and that he who performs śraddhas and offerings to gods chiefly to gain friends reaps no reward after death by those śraddhas or offerings. But Manu III. 144 (= Kūrma II. 21–22) provides that one may invite even a friend but not a foe though the latter may be learned. Manu (III. 135–137 and 145–147) lays down that the main or best rule to be followed is to present śraddha food to those who are devoted to spiritual knowledge, that between a man who has studied one whole recension of the Veda but whose father was not a śrotṛiya and one who is himself not a śrotṛiya but whose father had studied a whole recension of the Veda (i.e. whose father was a śrotṛiya) the latter is the more worthy of the two, that one should strive to feed at a śraddha an adherent of the Rgveda who has studied one entire recension of that Veda or a follower of the Yajurveda who has studied one Śākha thereof or a singer of sāmans who has finished one recension of the Sāmaveda and that if one of these preceding three is honoured and dines at a śraddha, the ancestors of the performer will be gratified up to the seventh generation for a very long time. Hārīta (q. by Hemādri on śraddha p. 392 and Kalpataru on śr. pp. 66–67) describes the qualifications of those who are paṁkteya brāhmaṇas viz. they must be born in a high family (possessing four characteristics), must be endowed with learning (of six kinds) and śila
(character of 13 kinds) and good conduct (of 16 kinds). Śāṅkhā-Likhita give a long list of pāṅkti (fit to be associated with in a pāṅkti i.e. row of diners) brāhmaṇas, viz. he who knows the Veda and the Vedāṅgas (viz. phonetics, kalpa or śrauta ritual, grammar, Nirukta, metrics and astronomy); one who keeps the five fires; one who has studied the Veda with its aṅgas; one who knows Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Upaniṣads and Dharmaśāstra; a śrotiśya, a triṇāciketa, trimadhu, trisuparnaṇaka and one that has studied Jyeṣṭhasāman; one who has studied Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Upaniṣads and Dharmaśāstra; who is devoted to Veda; who always keeps sacred fires; who is obedient to his parents and devoted to Dharmaśāstra. Similar rules are laid down by Viṣṇu Dh. S. 83, Brhad-Parāśara p. 150, Vṛddha-Gautama p. 581, Prajāpati verses 70–72, Laghu-Śatātapa verses 99–100, Aṣṭānasamṛti (Jiv. vol. I, pp. 523–524). As Medhatithi on Manu III. 147 says the gist of all these passages is that a learned brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda, whose conduct is good, whose family is famous, who is the son of a śrotiśya father and who is not related to the performer must be invited and all the rest is mere arthavāda (by way of eulogy). Manu (III. 128) laid down two propositions viz. all food offered as sacrifice to the gods and manes must be given only to a brāhmaṇa who studies the Veda and that whatever is presented to the most worthy brāhmaṇa (among brāhmaṇas studying the Veda) brings in the greatest rewards. Then Manu (III. 183) declares that pāṅktipāvana brāhmaṇas are those that sanctify a row of diners among whom sit some who are tainted by (latent) blemishes that make them unfit to be among the diners. Then Manu (III. 184–186) gives examples of pāṅktipāvana brāhmaṇas viz. those who are the foremost among students of all the Vedas or their expository works and who are born in a family of unbroken descent of Vedic students, who are Triṇāciketa &c. Hemāḍri (on śr. pp. 391–335) and Kalpataru (śr. pp. 64–65) quote numerous verses from Yama on pāṅktipāvana. 

Manu III. 147 asserts that the best course is to invite a brāhmaṇa who fulfils the conditions laid down in Manu III.

863. [notes on the text]

864. [notes on the text]
132–146, but adds that if it is not possible to secure such a brāhmaṇa then the next best course (anukalpa) may be followed, viz. the performer may invite his own maternal grandfather, his maternal uncle, sister’s son, father-in-law, his teacher of the Veda, daughter’s son, son-in-law, a bandhu (such as mother’s sister’s son), wife’s brother or a sagoṭra, or his family priest, or his pupil. Similar provisions occur in Yāj. I. 220, Kūrma (Uttarārdha 21. 20), Varāhāpurāṇa 14. 3, Matsya 16. 10–11, Viśnupurāṇa III. 15. 2–4 (anukalpaśyanantarān). But Manu is careful to point out in a later chapter that one who is able to observe the best course, but observes the second best does not reap other-worldly rewards by his actions. Even Āp. Dh. S. expressly says that if strangers do not possess the requisite qualifications, then even one’s full brother possessed of all the qualifications (as to Vedic learning, good conduct &c.) and pupils may be fed at a śraiddha. Baud. Dh. S. also allows even a sapiṇḍa to be fed. Gaut. 15. 20 appears to be of the view that even pupils and sagoṭras may be invited when they are possessed of excellent qualities and strangers with good qualifications are not available. Even in these times very learned brāhmaṇas are unwilling to be fed at a śraiddha, particularly within a few years (three or five) from the death of the person for whose benefit the śraiddha is to be performed. Smṛtis attach a certain stigma to the fact of being the recipient of a śraiddha dinner and prāyaścittas are prescribed. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 289 quotes several verses of Bhāradvāja, one of which says ‘If a brāhmaṇa dines at a pārvana śraiddha he has to perform six prāṇāyāmas (as expiation), if he dines at a śraiddha from the third month after a person’s death to one year, he has to undergo a fast; if he dines at a vṛddhiśraiddha, he has to perform three prāṇāyāmas, and a fast for a day and night if he dines at a sapiṇḍana śraiddha.’ The Mit. further quotes a

865. सुहयामवे शेषेन धरतिविन्यायेन सोतुद्वलय उच्चयेत्। नेध. on मधु III. 147. The अनस्तकोह says मुहय: स्वात्ममः कलपोज्जल्ल्य तोऽथमः।

866. मधु मधुमकलंय शोतुद्वलय वलते। न साम्भविष्यं तर्पु दुस्तिविशेषते फलम्॥ मधु XI. 30 (= भारतद स 165.17) q in तत्त्वाचार्य p. 191, where the 2nd half is स नागपैल फल तर्प्पन्तवेत् विचारितम्॥

867. सुहयामवे शेषेन सुतुद्वलय सोद्भवापि भौतिकविश्च। एतेनासेवासिनो भावातः। आप. भ. ख. II. 17.15–6.

868. तत्त्वाचार्यपिं धरतिविन्यायाः। यो. भ. II. 8. 5, The आ. क. त. p. 40 explains एकाशिं एस शुक्लवत्।.
verse from Dhaumya which prescribes Cāndrāyāna for dining at a śrāddha on the birth of a son or at simantonnayana, in a navaśrāddha etc. Vide also Nīrṇayaisindhu III. pp. 467–468 for pṛyāascittas on eating śrāddha dinners. The Varahapurāṇa (189.12–13) provides that if a brāhmaṇa dies while the food offered to a preta is still in his stomach he dwells for a kalpa in a horrible hell, becomes a rākṣasa and then becomes free from the sin.

According to Gaut. 15.10 young persons with the requisite qualifications are to be preferred to older ones, while, according to some, young men were to be invited at a śrāddha for one’s deceased father and old men for a śrāddha for one’s grandfather. On the other hand, Āp. Dh. S. says among brāhmaṇas possessing the same qualifications, the older ones are to be preferred and among those that are old are to be preferred the poor that are anxious to earn money.

Some of the works lay special emphasis on inviting ascetics or yogins at a śrāddha dinner. The Vīṣṇu Dh. S. states that yogins are particularly panktipāvasa and quotes a stanza as recited by the pitṛs ‘May (a descendant) be born in our family who feeds a brāhmaṇa yogin at a śrāddha by which we are ourselves satisfied.’ The Varahapurāṇa 14.50 says that a yogin is superior to 100 brāhmaṇas. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa provides ‘a wise man should always feed yogins at a śrāddha since the pitṛs rely for support on Yoga; if a yogin is fed by being seated as the first among thousands of brāhmaṇas he saves the performer and the other dinners as a boat saves men in water.’ Then it quotes stanzas sung by the pitṛs (29.32–34) to king Aila. The Saurapurāṇa, after mentioning the qualifications (in 19.2–3), winds up by stating that even one may suffice provided he be a single-minded devotee of Śiva (verse 6).

868 a. तुत्त्वप्रयोगः बयोइंजः: भेयापनः व्रज्यक्षेपणस्यः। अवल. प. II 7.17.10.

869. विहिष्कार च योगिनः। अस विहिष्कारात् गायते न। अर्थात् राजकुटेश्वरांकोणेश्वरां कोणेश्वरां कोणेश्वरां। विंय भ्रात्र पत्रदेव वेव नुमायम ववस्त्री विन्युः॥ भूतुः। भ्र. 83.19–20.

870. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa III. 9.70 is यहर्मयानां सहेक्षण समस्तचतुः च। ब्रह्मचरितमेव योग एव विसिद्धिकारण ॥। योगिनयोऽस भ्रात्र भोजनस्याया पिन्नया। योगसमस्त च विन्युः। योगिनत्वं समस्त समस्तसारसाश्च च। तात्क्षणस्य सा सामस्तसारसाश्च च। तात्क्षणस्य सा सामस्तसारसाश्च च। तात्क्षणस्य सा सामस्तसारसाश्च च। तात्क्षणस्य सा सामस्तसारसाश्च च। तात्क्षणस्य सा सामस्तसारसाश्च च। तात्क्षणस्य सा सामस्तसारसाश्च च।

These and other verses occur in Bhāgavata Purāṇa 220, 112–115. Markandeya 29.29–30 are Bhāgavata 220, 110–112 q. by हेमाधर p. 411 and भ्र. p. 72–73. The important विन्युमेवा are कदाच। समस्तसारसाश्च कथाविसिद्धिकारण ॥ यो योगिनत्वाधिकारो विन्युः। ममात्मायां निष्ठ्ये कषणसांस्यसमस्तसारसाश्च च। तबस्ते दृढः स्म। भ्र. 220, 113–115 and Markandeya 29.33–34.
The Matsyapurāṇa (16. 11-12) recommends ‘He who expounds (the meaning of) texts; he who enters upon the discussion of śrauta sacrifices and he who knows the rules about the accents of sāmans is a purifier of panktipānas; one proficient in the Sāmaveda, a Vedic student, one endowed with knowledge of the Veda or of Brahma —where these are fed in a śrāddha it yields the highest benefit.’

Though in the above passages the greatest emphasis was laid on the possession of Vedic learning by the brāhmaṇas to be fed, one had also to see whether they were men of good character and observers of the rules of proper conduct, as provided by Āsv. Gr. IV. 7. 2 (note 862), Gaut. 15.9 and Mānu II. 118 who says “a brāhmaṇa knowing only the sacred Gāyatrī but living a well-regulated life is to be preferred and not one who knows the three Vedas but who is not well-regulated in conduct and who eats anything (even forbidden food) and who is a vendor of everything.’

The Skandapurāṇa VI. 217. 27 recommends that one should make every effort to know the family of the brāhmaṇas, then their character (śīla), then their age and then the facts about whom they marry or to whom they give their daughters in marriage. The Brahmāṇḍa (Upodghāta, chap. 15) says that there should be no scrutiny of a brāhmaṇa about whom nothing is known because siddhas (yogins) roam about on the earth in the form of brāhmaṇas. But if faults in a brāhmaṇa are easily seen or if one knows his disqualifications on account of one’s dwelling near him, he should not be invited (verses 5–6). The same Purāṇa (Upodghāta 15. 24–26) arranges the orders of preference as follows: first yati (ascetic), then a brāhmaṇa who knows the four Vedas and itihāsa, then one who knows three Vedas, then one who knows two, then one who knows one Veda, then one who is an upādhyāya. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 443) quotes the Agni-purāṇa as follows: ‘what is the use of (birth in a) famous
family if the man is himself devoid of good conduct? Are not insects found in fragrant flowers? Jātukarnya says 'one should not honour even with a word (much less with food &c.) in rites for gods and Manes. bad brāhmaṇas void of good conduct, even though they be endowed with learning and be born in a good family.' This insistence on worth was due to the conception that pitṛs an aerial form enter brāhmaṇas at the time of śrāddha. Vide Brahmāṇḍapūrāṇa (Upodgḥatapāda 11. 49).

These requirements of learning, character and good conduct would naturally make it incumbent on the performer of a śrāddha to inquire into the antecedents, qualities and defects of the brāhmaṇas to be invited. Manu and others lay down several rules about the testing of the brāhmaṇas to be invited. Manu III. 149, Viṣṇu Dh.874 S. 82.1–2. provide 'at an offering to the gods let a man not enquire into (the qualities of) a brāhmaṇa (when he wants to invite), but at a śrāddha offering to the Manes close inquiry (into qualities) is declared to be proper and just.' Manu III. 130 says that even if a brāhmaṇa be master of the Veda, one should enquire far (into his ancestry). The Vāyu-pūrāṇa875 appears to provide that inquiry into (the qualifications of) brāhmaṇas should not be always undertaken when gifts are to be made, but enquiry is declared (necessary) in the case of rites for gods and Manes. The Anuśāsanaparva provides876 that in rites meant for gods a kṣatriya knowing the rules about gifts should not (closely) inquire into the qualifications of brāhmaṇas, but in rites for the gods and Manes such inquiry is quite proper. Vṛddha-Manu and the Matsya-pūrāṇa877 lay down that a brāhmaṇa's character is to be inquired into at the place where he resides for a long time, his purity by his acts and transactions with other people, his intelligence by discussion with him: with these three one should inquire whether the brāhmaṇa (to be invited) is a worthy person.

874. त्रावें कर्मण्य ब्राह्मण न परिष्केत। मयःनारायिणे परिष्केत। सिष्युप्र. स 82. 1–2.

875. न ब्राह्मणपरिष्केत सर्व त्रावे तु मानन। त्रावें कर्मण्य सिष्ये तु द्वृक्षे ते परिष्करण। बायु 83. 51 q. by हेमाधि p. 511 (ṛeade त्रावे तु).

876. ब्राह्मणस परिष्केत करिवयो वानस्मिति। त्रावें कर्मण्य सिष्ये तु न्यात्यमाण: परिष्करण। अखुतानां 90. 2 q. by हेमाधि p. 511.

877. परिष्कर्षाक्षरं हुःस्नमलम्पुराणेऽविदित। श्रीसंवर्षनास्यो श्रीवं सर्व-विद्याव। मः संवर्षनास्यो जिमें पावे परिष्केत। हेमाधि p. 513, अह. म. p. 102.
The Nrsimhapurāṇa forbids close inquiry into the character and learning of one who comes by chance as a guest at the time of śrāddha. That inquiry was allowed as to brāhmaṇas who were invited and not as to those who came by chance uninvited as atithis. There are no doubt certain passages particularly in the Purāṇas where scrutiny into a brāhmaṇa’s qualifications is condemned. For example, the Skandapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 455) and Kalpataru (on śr. p. 102) states ‘The Vedic revelation is that śrāddha is to be offered (to a brāhmaṇa) after inquiry (into his learning and character), but straightforward action is better than scrutiny. When one offers śrāddha straightforwardly without inquiry his pitras are gratified and also gods’. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (q. by Bālambhaṭṭi) states ‘it is my view also that one should not test (the qualifications of) brāhmaṇas; one should only consider their caste and not their virtues’. Such passages are explained away as referring to a śrāddha at sacred places or as applicable to gifts or to atithis (vide Hemāḍri on śrāddha p. 513, and Bālambhaṭṭi on ācāra p. 494).

Brāhmaṇas were declared to be apāṅkteya (not fit to sit in the row of brāhmaṇa diners or as defiling a row of diners at śrāddha) on various grounds, such as bodily and mental defects and diseases, pursuit of certain avocations, moral lapses, being guilty of crimes, being followers of unorthodox systems, being inhabitants of certain countries. A distinction has to be made between brāhmaṇas who should not be invited and brāhmaṇas that are apāṅkteya or pāṅktidūṣaka. For example, one should not ordinarily invite a friend or a saṅgita brāhmaṇa even

---

878. न परस्वेन चातिष्ठं न विद्या न कुलेत् तथा। न कीष्ठे न च वैभाज्यनिविधिसमजः

879 a. तत्र वैविष्क्रिय निपतितसन्दिष्टकालि ततः अद्वैतसाधनपरापि निन्दिपावः परापि वा तीर्थाद्वैतपरापि आतिस्वाभावार्थी। बालस्वार्थी ओन आचार, p. 494.

879. नेनालिप्ति ओन मत III, 167 explains अपाङ्केयम् (derived from पक्ष्य) as follows: अपाङ्केयाः; पक्ष्य नाथिति। भाष्यं एव कार्याः। अनहतथम् पुलवधवमन्नमेन मतौ।

अनीतामांगः साधू मोहायां नाहिति। तत एव पक्ष्युपकारमुप्चारसे। ते: साधूपविद्या अपेक्षजीरः

पा. IV.1.20 यथा जीताः
though learned, but these are not apāṅkteya. The Ap.880 Dh. S. states that one suffering from white leprosy, a bald man, the violator of another man’s bed, the son of a brāhmaṇa who was a soldier by profession, the son of (brāhmaṇa who had become like) a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman—these defile the company if they are invited at a śrāddha repast. Vas. Dh. S. XI, 19 also gives a brief list viz. ‘one should avoid naked (ascetics), those suffering from white leprosy, impotent men, blind men, those who have black teeth, those afflicted with black leprosy and those who have deformed nails.’ Very long lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śrāddha are given by Gaut. XV. 16–19, Manu III. 150–166, Yāj. I. 222–224, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 82, 3–29, Atri (verses 345–359 and 385–388), Brhad-Yama III. 34–38, Bṛhat-Parāśara pp.149–150, Vṛdhdha-Gautama pp. 580–581, the Vāyu-purāṇa 83.61–70, Anuśāsana-parva 90.6–11, Matsyapurāṇa 16.14–17, Kurma (II. 21, 23–47), Skanda VII. 1.205.58–72, VI. 217.11–20, Varāhāpurāṇa 14.4–6, Brahmapurāṇa 220. 127–135, Brahmapadapurāṇa (Upodghaṭa 15.39–44 and 19.30–41), Markandeya 28.26–30, Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 15.5–8), Nāradapurāṇa (pūrvārdha 28.11–18), Saurapurāṇa (19.7–9) and several other works. The list in the Manusmṛti is one of the longest and that is set out here. One should not invite a brāhmaṇa that is (1) a thief, (2) an outcaste, (3) an impotent man, (4) an atheist, (5) one who wears his hair in braids (a student yet learning Veda); (6) one who does not study the Veda, (7) one who is afflicted with a skin disease, (8) a gambler, (9) one officiating as a priest for a multitude of men, (10) a physician, (11) temple priest (who worships images for money), (12) vendor of meat, (13) one who makes his livelihood as shopkeeper, (14 and 15) a paid servant of a village or of a

880. विन्द्रित सिनिष्कक: परतयाित्वयापीपुष्प: द्वियंत्यन्त्य बाह्यप्राप्तिहेतु आक्षे
\[\text{सुधार: परंपरा: नवमित: आपे णे: चु. सु. II. 7.17.21.}\] As the son of a śūdra male from a brāhmaṇa woman was treated as a cāndāla in many smṛtis and therefore could not possibly have been intended to be invited at a śrāddha. Kapardin explained the words सुधार: as meaning ‘born of a brāhmaṇa male that had become practically a śūdra by first marrying a śūdra woman, then a brāhmaṇa woman and procreating a son on that śūdra wife and then on the brāhmaṇa wife.’ This latter (as the son of a शुद्धसम्बाह्यं is ‘अनात्रं:’, द्वियंत्यन्त्य बाह्यप्राप्तिहेतु आक्षे:\[\text{सुधार: परंपरा: नवमित: आपे णे: चु. सु. II. 7.17.21.}\] महात्मार्य शुद्धसम्बाह्यंत्वयाप्तिः इति कपार्भ: कल्पन: (भ. p. 90.), ananda follows अनात्रं (भ. p. 496) omits all reference to marrying a śūdra wife first and explains ‘भो विन्द्रितसनिष्कको अस्त्रार्यिकासिद्धि बाह्यप्राप्तिः द्वियंत्यन्त्य: बाह्यप्राप्तिः,’.\


king, (16) one with deformed nails, (17) one whose teeth are black (naturally), (18) one who opposes his guru, (19) one who has forsaken his sacred fire (śrauta or smārta) without a proper cause, (20) a usurer, (21) one suffering from consumption, (22) one who subsists by tending cattle (though not in distress), (23 and 24) a younger brother who marries or kindles sacred fires before his elder brother, (25) one who neglects the five (daily) sacrifices, (26) an enemy of brāhmaṇas or of Veda, (27 and 28) an elder brother who marries or kindles sacred fires after his young brother, (29) one who is a member of a guild or corporation, (30) an actor or singer, (31) one who has broken the vow of student-hood by unchastity, (32) one whose (only or first wife) is a śūdrā female, (33) the son of a remarried woman, (34) a squint-eyed or one-eyed man, (35) one in whose house a paramour of his wife resides, (36) one who teaches for hire, (37) one who is taught by a hired teacher, (38) one whose teacher is a śūdrā, (39) one who instructs śūdrā pupils, (40) one whose speech is harsh and untrue, (41) the son of an adulteress, (42) the son of a widow, (43) one who forsakes his mother, father or teacher without (adequate) cause, (44) one who has contracted an alliance with paditas either through the Veda (i.e. as teacher or pupil) or through marriage, (45) an incendiary, (46) one who undertakes sea-voyages, (47) a bard, (48) an oil-man, (49) a false witness (or forger of documents or counterfeiter of coins), (50) one who has a dispute with his father in a law court, (51) one who induces others to gamble, (52) one who drinks wine, (53) one afflicted with a disease (in punishment for crimes in former lives), (54) one accused of a grave sin, (55) a hypocrite, (56) a vendor of substances used for flavouring food (such as sugar-cane juice or molasses), (57) a manufacturer of bows and arrows, (58) one who is the husband of a woman married before her elder sister, (59) the betrayer of a friend, (60) the keeper of a gambling house, (61) one who learns (the Veda) from his own son, (62) an epileptic man, (63) one who has scrofulous swellings of the glands, (64) one afflicted with white leprosy, (65) an informer, (66) a lunatic, (67) a blind man, (68) a caviller of the Veda, (69) a trainer of elephants, horses, oxen or camels, (70) one subsisting by the practice of astrology, (71) a bird-fancier, (72) one who gives instructions in the use of weapons, (73) one who diverts watercourses, (74) one engaged in obstructing watercourses, (75) one subsisting by teaching or practising architecture, (76) a messenger, (77) one who plants trees
for money, (78) a breeder of sporting dogs, (79) a falconer, (80) a defiler of a maiden (or who ascribes falsely fault to a maiden), (81) one given to injuring living beings, (82) one who gains his livelihood from śudras, (83) one who officiates at a sacrifice on behalf of guilds, (84) one who does not follow the ordinary rules of conduct (as welcoming a guest &c.), (85) one who has no energy for religious acts, (86) one who constantly begs for gifts, (87) one who subsists by agriculture (carried on personally), (88) one who suffers from elephantiasis, (89) one who is condemned by good men, (90) a shepherd, (91) a keeper of buffaloes, (92) the husband of a remarried woman, (93) a carrier of dead bodies (for money). [Manu III. 167 says that a brāhmaṇa who knows the sacred laws should avoid or shun at both (sacrifices to Gods and to Manes) the worst of brāhmaṇas enumerated above whose conduct is reprehensible and who are unworthy of sitting in a row of brāhmaṇa.]

881. There is some divergence of views among the commentators about the meanings of certain words occurring in Manu III, 150-166. For reasons of space that matter is not discussed here in detail. A few points alone are noted here. निवाक्ति: is explained in two ways viz. (i) one who does not perform the daily five Mahāyajñās, (2) one who after learning the Veda forgets it. The evil diseases are said by Devala to be eight 'उनम्मे- कर्म व्रतां राजयमां नातसो मुनीयों भविष्यते महोरसिंहत्वयलाप पपरोगा: ', q. by Āparaksī p. 451, समुचष. (व्र. ) p. 401. दुर्बलता is explained in various ways by Skanda- purāṇa VII. 1. 205. 77-80 as meaning a śidra woman, as one who abandoning her husband cohabits with another, as a girl who is not married though she has reached the age of puberty, as a prostitute, as one who is sterile, or one all whose children are dead. अविचित्तपति: —When a younger sister gets married before her elder sister the former is called अविचित्तपति while the latter is called वित्तपति. देवेन says 'दुर्बलता प्रयत्नां कर्म व्रतां अपरानां शुभान्तरुक्ताः । सा चादिहितिपूर्यापूर्या नवस्वरूपाः ' q. by Āparaksī p. 451, समुचष. on व्र. III. 265. अविचित्तपति: is taken by समावेशितिः as equal to विचित्तपति: अविचित्तपति: and विचित्तपति: The latter means, according to the Amarakośa, the husband of a remarried woman, while the former means 'one who is the first husband of a remarried woman' एवन्द्रविचित्तपतिः हितस्वरूपा विचित्तपति: पति: । स न हितस्वरूपा विचित्तपति: वै वरण कुद्रवित्ति: अमरकोशः. q. by हरिकृष्ण on व्र. 15. 15. मह. III 173 explains विचित्तपति as one who lasciviously dallies with the widow of his deceased brother, though she be appointed (to bear a son by him) according to the sacred law. The स्तूतिः is said that the brother appointed should cohabit as an act of duty and not through passion for the widow. Hemazāpī p. 485 gives another meaning of अविचित्तपति: जीयरस्ताव: आर्यान्यमन्तरात्रिको विचित्तपति: । वर्णित I. 18 includes both अविचित्तपति: and विचित्तपति: among those who are called एवन्द्रविचित्तपतिः. Even the व्र. III. 28. 12 mentions अविचित्तपति: as a sinner and अव. ध. त्र. (II. 5. 12. 22) mentions both.
indulge in pointing out how feeding such unworthy brāhmaṇas results in the loss of the gratification of pitṛs and state that the food eaten by such unworthy persons becomes or is to be deemed as equal to foul things. The Kūrmapurāṇa forbids inviting at śrauddha Baudha ascetics, Nirgranthas (devotees who have withdrawn from the world and wander about naked or as beggars), those that follow the Pañcarātra and Pāsupata doctrines, those that are kāpālikas (devotees of Śiva of the left hand order) and other similar heretical people. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 18. 70 ff) narrates how a king after a bath in a holy place talked with a heretic and had to pass in consequence through the bodies of a dog, a jackal, wolf, vulture, a crow, a crane and peacock and ultimately became freed from the taint by a bath at the āvaśṭha in an Āśvamedha sacrifice. The same Purāṇa provides (III. 18. 97) that one should avoid talking with or touching heretics, particularly at the time of a religious rite or when one has consecrated for a solemn sacrifice. The Vāyupurāṇa provides that people who are ‘nagna’ should not be allowed to see a śrāddha and then defines ‘nagna’ people as follows: ‘the three Vedas are declared to be a protective covering for all beings and therefore those who foolishly abandon the Vedas are called ‘nagna’; those who vainly keep matted hair, those who shave their heads for no purpose, those who are nagna (naked) without any cause, those who engage in certain observances and mutter certain words aimlessly are called nagna.’ Just as certain countries were declared unfit for the performance of śrāddhas (vide note 853 above), so certain brāhmaṇas hailing from certain countries were declared in some


883. व्रतारत्विद्वैजी व्रतारत्विद्वैजी सुरूतप्रत्येके जना:।
कार्यकाला: प्रायुष्मा: पार्षदा वे च
व्रतन् (उत्स्नाम)।

The 8.26 and 31, q. by Śrīmad. (Aṣṭ. ) p. 520 (the first verse from Vaiṣṇavapurāṇa). The व्रतन् (Aṣṭ. ) p. 411 reads व्रतारत्विद्वैजी सुरूतप्रत्येके for व्रतारत्विद्वैजी सुरूतप्रत्येके and ascribes that verse to the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. Bṛhadāraṇyaka (Upaniṣadapad 14.35–41) has these verses. व्रतारत्विद्वैजी. 473 ascribes verse सर्वारत्विद्वैजी to व्रतारत्विद्वैजी, which is found in Upaniṣadapad 14.35.
works as not fit to be invited at a śraiddha.\textsuperscript{884} For example, the Matsayapurāṇa states that brāhmaṇas that are ungrateful, that are atheists, that stay in Mleccha countries or the countries of Trisanku, Karavtra, Andhra, Cina, Dravida and Koṅkaṇa should be carefully avoided at the time of śraiddha. Hemādri (on śraiddha p. 505) quotes from the Saurapurāṇa the following: ‘Brāhmaṇas hailing from the countries of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinda, Saurastra, (Kāthiawar), Gujara, Ābhira, Koṅkaṇa, Dravida, Dakṣināpatha, Avanti and Magadha should be avoided at śraiddhas. It will be noticed that putting the above two passages together, brāhmaṇas from half of modern India would have been ineligible for being invited at śraiddhas if these passages were literally followed. This was probably a counsel of perfection prompted by the false pride and prejudices of the authors of those works. The Śraiddhaviveka of Rudradhara (pp. 39-41) contains one of the longest lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śraiddha.

The following reason is advanced by the Varāhapurāṇa\textsuperscript{885} and others for honouring a guest who comes by chance at the time when a śraiddha rite is in progress: “Yogins wander over the earth assuming different forms that prevent recognition, but doing good to people; therefore a wise man should honour a guest who arrives at the time of the performance of a śraiddha”. The Bhavisya-purāṇa\textsuperscript{886} similarly says that an atīthi (guest) at a śraiddha is one who comes when least thought of and not one who had arrived before the śraiddha rite started. The Mārkaṇḍeya (26. 30) provides that one should not ask such an atīthi about his gotra or caraṇa or his Vedic study nor should one consider whether he has a fine appearance. Hemādri (on śraiddha pp. 430-433) quotes verses from the Śivadharmottara,

\textsuperscript{884} कुप्पकान्तावलक्ष्णस्यस्यन्तरप्रकृतिविद्वाक्ष्यानां। विभुक्तक्रमस्यप्राप्तिविद्वाक्ष्यानां। (विभुक्तक्रमस्यप्राप्तिविद्वाक्ष्यानां)। वर्णविनियमः। सर्वसां आदित्याते विशेषः। मलय 16। 16-17 q. by भेदांशः (आ.) p. 505, कल्पत्र (आ.) p. 94.

\textsuperscript{885} योगिनो विविधा स्वविनीसामान्यकारिणी। अमगति पृथ्विभीत्तमविज्ञातत्कारिणी। तस्मात् धमेव ग्रार्ते अधकारकार्तमद्वृत्त:। अधकारकार्तमद्वृत्त: हस्ति विलेयते ग्रार्ते हस्ति।। पराट 14। 15-19, विज्ञातराग 15। 23-4; compare व् युपराग 79। 7-8 (सिंहा वे विद्वृत्त: चाराति पृथ्वीनिविद्वृत्तः।। तस्मात् विज्ञातमापतनमायीचर्चयेतुः ज्ञातातिः।।

\textsuperscript{886} अधिवृद्धोत्पत्तिः यस्मात् स्मार्थदिशिनक्षयस्य। अविद्यते तं विज्ञानाधिनेन।। यस्मात् महामर्यादाः। विज्ञाति I. 184। 9-10 q. by भेदांशः p. 427; न पुष्पिज्ञानार्थ विज्ञातिः।। अविद्यते वे विद्वृत्तः। भेदांशः 26। 30-31.
Visṇudharmottara and Vāyu (71.74–75) Purāṇas that gods, siddhas and yogins wander over the earth in the form of brāhmaṇa atithis in order to favour people and to see how śrāddhas are being performed. About the definition of an atithi and the necessity and mode of honouring a guest in general, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 749–756.

Hemādri (Śrāddha-kānda, pp. 380–385) holds an interesting discussion as to whether a performer of śrāddha belonging to one recension of a Veda must restrict himself to inviting brāhmaṇas that are students of the same recension of the Veda or whether he can invite any brāhmaṇa that may have studied any of the three Vedas. Some people relying on a maxim (‘as in the case of a bride so in the case of an offering’) invite only brāhmaṇas of their own śākhā possessed of the qualifications above set forth. Hemādri replies that this is a wrong notion, relies on Āp. Dh. S. II. 6.15.9 ‘one should feed in all (religious) acts brāhmaṇas that are pure (in their conduct) and that have studied the Veda,’ and asserts that no smṛti, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Grhyasūtra nor Kalpasūtra contains the restriction of inviting only brāhmaṇas of the performer’s own śākhā. He further says that in such texts as ‘trīnāciketas-trimadhuḥ’ (quoted in note 862a above) the rule laid down is to invite brāhmaṇas that have studied different śākhās and Vedas. He rejects the idea about any restriction as to selecting a bridegroom of the same śākhā as the bride’s father and remarks that if some people are not prepared to give their daughters in marriage to young men belonging to other śākhās, that is due to ignorance about the families and is also due to pride and vanity. He winds up by saying that in Āryavarta countries it is found on all sides that marriage connections are entered into with persons studying different śākhās but living in the same district, (such connections) not being condemned, while persons who study the same śākhā of the Veda but do not know each other do not enter into marital connections. As a contrast to this commonsense view it should be

887. छुटीदर सन्मतः कर्त्तव्यं ओजोनेत्। आप. ध. सू. इ. 6.15.9, on which हरद्वर explains 'मन्त्रवते: अणिततदाचरः।' कर्त्तव्यं ओजोनेत्। च समेतवर्तमानं च कर्त्तव्यं ओजोनेत्।

888. अथ केवलं कर्म तथा हृदयति कर्माधारयेऽहितं विध्वंसितं विध्वंसितं समयमानं। विध्वंसितं विध्वंसितं विध्वंसितं 'मर्यमानं' 'विध्वंसितं'। 'तवसद' श्रुतिविहारं।

(Continued on the next page)
noted that the author of the Bālabhaṭṭi recommends that
'Mahāraṣṭra brāhmaṇas should not invite brāhmaṇas of other
castes (of brāhmaṇas) and particularly the Konkana brāhmaṇas
should be avoided and it goes so far as to say that
a person belonging to one's own caste not possessed of good
qualities and of a blemished character (provided he is not
guilty of mahāpātakas or the like) should be preferred to one
belonging to another sub-caste even if endowed with good
qualities.

The Vas. Dh. S. provides 889 that the performer should
invite ascetics, house-holders, well conducted men, who are not
very old &c. The Kūrmapurāṇa states 890 'that man whose offer-

**History of Dharmaśāstra** [ Vol.

---

889. **Puruṣaśāstra** 2nd chapter 17: 889 sq. The Vas. Dh. S. quotes this verse and the half verse also. The words *yathā* 'as it is' also figures in the half verse. 890. **Bhāgavata Purāṇa** 17: 890 sq. The Vas. Dh. S. quotes this verse and the half verse also.
Yati preferred as an invitee

ing (of food) is eaten by a yati that knows the truth about prakṛti (primordial matter) and the guṇas (sattva, rajas and tamas) reaps the reward (merit) of feeding a thousand (other brāhmaṇas). Therefore one should feed in offerings to gods and manes an excellent yogin who is intent on true knowledge of God and others only if such a one is not available.’ Similar verses about ascetics and yogins occur in Varāhāpurāṇa 14, 50, Skanda (VI, 217. 7 ff) and Vāyu-purāṇa891 chap. 71. 65–73, chap. 76. 28 &c. Brhaspati provides892 a special rule that, if a person cannot afford to feed at a śrādha more than one brāhmaṇa, then he should feed one who has studied the Sāmaveda, since in him all the three viz. Rks, the Yajus and Śāmans co-exist, that the father is pleased by Rks (i.e. by the feeding of a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Rgveda), the grand-father by Yajus, the great-grand-father by a Śāman and a chandoga (a chanter of the whole of Sāmaveda) is superior. A verse of Śatātapa is893 quoted to the effect that if a student of the Atharvaveda is fed in a rite for the gods or manes, that yields endless and inexhaustible rewards.

Some of the smṛtis were very strict in laying down the qualifications of brāhmaṇas to be invited at a śrādha. Aūśanasa (chap. 4) asserts: ‘that brāhmaṇa891 is called durbrāhmaṇa and should never be invited at a śrādha in whose family Veda study and Vedī (i.e. the performance of Śrauta sacrifices) have been stopped for three generations’. The same

891. स्वहस्तान्न सहवेद सामान्यस्थाप्तेन च। ब्रह्मचारिषहस्तेन चोरी लेको विहितार्थे न। वायूपराण 71.69 q. by हेमाति p. 413, आ. प. p. 73; it occurs also in ब्रजाध्य (उपोद्भासपात) 9.70. पर्वाशु सर्वविद्वानां सर्वभावस्मृतः। ज्ञातिप्रजातानि वेदाचार्यः । पर्वा निष्क्रियः साग्निकां विन्दश्च।। प्रेक्षोणकयात्मनः।। एकत्रिताः पाण्डः वायूपराण 79.53–55 q by हेमाति (p. 419). The printed वायु reads सर्ववेदमः वायु उत्साहः; almost the same verses occur in ब्रजाध्य (उपोद्भासपात 15.24–26).

892. वयंकं भोजनाच्छेदे छवींगं तत्र भोजनेत। नाऊवं नागानि सागानि चयं तत्र तु निवान।। क्षचा तु हुच्चापि विविधम वायुतात्मासह।। विविधमानसर्वस्तम्भ विविधतुतिस्वताः।। एकत्रिताः पाण्डः वायूपराणायामी ततः परेण।। वायूपराण 79.53–55 q by हेमाति (p. 419). The printed ब्रजाध्य reads सर्ववेदमां ततः उत्साहः; almost the same verses occur in ब्रजाध्य (उपोद्भासपात 15.24–26).

893. भोजनाच्छेदः नाऊवं पैदेयो च कन्याः।। अन्नसमां चीत्व फूट तथेऽति कृत्व।। शालानाथ q. by हेमाति p. 385, सुरित्वा p. 765, कल्पमान भोजात (आ. प. p. 58).

894. वयं वेदाध्य वेदी च विनिविद्येत निर्दिष्टः।। स दृष्टं दृष्टं च।। आकाशरो न कन्याः।। औपनिस्तंस्तुतिः (Jiv. I. p. 524), सौ ।। परिभाषातः।। I. 10. 6 (which reads तत्र वेदाध्य च।। चौथीमानिः।।) q. by अवस्मान p. 285 and p. 449 and हेमाति p. 357, as आकाशवे तिकायासनम् I. 134–135 for similar definitions.
author further says that six persons are merely *brahma-bandhus* (i.e. brahmapas by birth or caste alone) viz. one who is hired by a śūdra or a king as a servant, who has a śūdra woman as his wife, who is a village priest and he who subsists by killing (animals) or by catching them. So early as the Mahābhāṣya it was stated that austerities (leading a life of restraint and strict observances), Vedic learning and birth (from brāhmaṇa parents) are the causes of (a man being called) a brāhmaṇa and that he who is devoid of the first two is a mere brāhmaṇa by caste (but not a real brāhmaṇa). It is curious to note that Yama stated that, if brāhmaṇas that do not declare (or point out) the auspicious naksatra or *līthi* or day or muhūrta and other auspicious matters, eat (śrāddha) food it becomes inexhaustible.

But the requisite qualifications were so exacting that it must have been found almost impossible to secure for a śrāddha brāhmaṇas altogether free from any of the blemishes set out above from Manu. Gautama (15, 15–18) contains long lists of over 50 kinds of brahmapas that were not to be invited at a śrāddha dinner or at a sacrifice for gods, but Gaut adds that according to some only those beginning with *duryāla* (Gaut. in 15, 18) were to be shunned at a śrāddha (but could be invited at a sacrifice for the gods). The persons so to be shunned, according to some who flourished before Gautama (i.e. at least before 600 B.C.) are: a bald man, a man who has deformed nails or has black teeth (naturally), one suffering from white

---

895. छूटेको चूले राजा बुजली श्रामायण:। वधभोक्पेरपरी च निषेते ज्ञातर्गत:। अष्टादश (Jīv. I.) p. 525, q. by एपरके p. 449. ब्राह्मण is a contemptuous term for one who is a ब्राह्मण in name only (and has not studied the Veda).

896. तपः शुद्ध च धोतिकेयेन ब्राह्मणकारकरूपः। तपः कुतार्यां याहि दीर्घे जातिव्रतम्

897. कुष्ठाधी-सोमविनिवर्तमानार्धिः पद्माकारिणी-गणेशभागाय मादि-हिंसा-परिधितिः

Worwords joined by *sandhi* rules have not been separated by a hyphen.
leprosy, the son of a re-married woman, a gambler, one who neglects japa (the recitation of Vedic mantras), a servant of the king, one who uses false weights and measures, one whose (only) wife is a śudra female, one who does not perform the daily five sacrifices, one who suffers from a virulent skin disease, a usurer, one who lives by trade or by handicrafts, one who makes his living by (manufacturing) bows (and arrows) or by playing on musical instruments or by keeping time (when another is singing), or by dancing or singing. Vas. quotes a verse 898 as follows: If a brāhmaṇa knowing the Vedas is afflicted with physical defects which (ordinarily) exclude a person from a row of diners, Yama declares that he is irreproachable and that he does sanctify the row of diners. But it must be said that even in modern times emphasis is laid on inviting learned and well-conducted brāhmaṇas for śrāddha. The idea (expressed by Manu III. 189 and the Padmapurāṇa) persists that the pitṛs enter into and hover round the invited brāhmaṇas and that the latter are to be looked upon as representing the pitṛs. 899 The Garudapurāṇa states that Yama allows the departed souls and the pitṛs to visit the world of men at the time of śrāddha from the nether regions.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (79. 19–21) prescribes that the performer should avoid wrath, should not shed tears and should not do things in a hurry. The Varāhapurāṇa 900 provides that the performer should not employ twigs for brushing the teeth (but should rinse his mouth twelve times with water), should remain chaste and pure. Āp. Dh. S. prescribes 901 that the performer should not eat food from the commencement (from the time he goes out to invite) up to the end of the śrāddha rite. The

898. अधाय्यद्वारपित्रसि। अथ चेयमक्ष्यविषुः। शारीरि: पांजुश्रवणि। अन्नकवयं संय:।
संस्कारमें र्तव:॥ सत्त्ववर्मिक्षुः। XI. 20, q. by नेयाल्ख्यो में महा III. 168. The verse is also अति 350–51 and लुकुश्म 22.

899. निम्नास्तिथिं नितयं उपासिष्टि तत्वं विधिज्ञ। भारद्वज्ज निर्मीक्षिति तत्वश्रीलक्षम्\nपारस्ते॥ गहुडुरण (सत्त्ववर्मिक्षुः 9. 85–86). Vide note 759 above. आवृत्तकाव्य मर्यादा में निर्माणिति वियवेचि पमालक्षि। विसर्ज्ञति माधवे निर्माणप्रतिक्य काल्पय॥ गहुडुरण, मेरुपुरुण, नेतवण्ड कप. X. 28–29.

900. वराहपुराणे। बंस्त्रकां च वियवेचि भारद्वज्ज श्रवणिं पाणिविविशिष्टति। q. by कल्पयकः (भा. p. 104), मह. म. p. 112.

901. आरते च महोज्जनमासमापनात। आप. भ. व. II. 7.17.24.

H. D. 51
Kūrma (uttarārdha 22, 8) states that if a person first invites a brāhmaṇa and then foolishly invites another (passing over the first) then he becomes a greater sinner (than the brāhmaṇa who after accepting one invitation promises to dine at another śrāddha) and is born as a worm in human faeces. The Bhaviṣyapuraṇa 902 provides that honouring gods, pitrs and men and feeding (brāhmaṇas) should not be done without wearing an upper garment; otherwise the rite will bear no fruit.

About the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited at a śrāddha there were several options and several views. The Āsv. Gr. S. states 903 that at the Pārvaṇa—śrāddha (performed on a parvan day i.e. on Amāvāsyā), the Ābyudayika śrāddha, the Ekodistha or Kāmya, the larger the number of brāhmaṇas the greater is the reward, that in no case should a person invite only one brāhmaṇa at a śrāddha meant for all pitrs or he may optionally invite only one brāhmaṇa except at the first śrāddha, that he may invite one, two or three brāhmaṇas for each of the three paternal ancestors. The Śāṇ. Gr. (IV. 1.2) and Kausitaki Gr. III. 14. 1–2 prescribe that one should 904 invite an uneven number of brāhmaṇas, at least three, to sit down as (representing the) fathers. Gaut, requires 905 'He shall feed an uneven number

902. वित्तवेशमनुसराणै पूजनं भोजनं तथा। नोसदर्यं विना कार्यं कुरु स्पापिभवति। यत्। II भाष्यम् 1.185.23।

903. भगवाणण मृतशस्त्रसमस्मानेकं वा कार्यं ज्ञात्यत्तम ख्यात्यत्तम कुरुवची वचने—
चालवाहकाणां वित्तवेशकाणेकं कलायं विभक्तनानं। विविष्यन विविष्यन विविष्यन विविष्यन।
कामकाश व। अभ्यु. G. S. IV. 7. 2-3. वित्तवि विविष्यन विविष्यन विविष्यन विविष्यन विविष्यन।
The words नोसदर्यं सिेवग्याध्याय अभ्यु. III. 125. नारायण gives several meanings of अनाये, viz. अनाय refers to भाष्यमनुसार which is the first of the śrāddhas for a deceased person in which three ancestors are invoked; अनाय may refer to ज्ञात्तम which is mentioned first by भाष्यम. G. S. VI. 3; or अनाय means अभिज्ञ and so refers to भाष्यमनुसार or ज्ञात्तम; or अनाय means त्योभाय. The words नोसदर्यं सिेवग्याध्याय अभ्यु. III. 5.11-12 नारायण भोजनं अपूर्ण।

904. अत भाष्यम् भाष्यम् वित्तवि ब्राह्मणम् वित्तवि । भाष्यमनुसारविविष्यनम् वित्तवि । भाष्यमनुसारनां प्राप्तिं श्रीमद्व ब्राह्मणम्। तीतकालकक्ष। III. 14.1-2।

905. अभ्यु. भाष्यम् वित्तवि । भाष्यमनुसारविविष्यनम् वित्तवि। भाष्यमनुसारनां प्राप्तिं श्रीमद्व ब्राह्मणम्। तीतकालकक्ष। III. 14.1-2।

906. अभ्यु. भाष्यम् वित्तवि । भाष्यमनुसारविविष्यनम् वित्तवि। भाष्यमनुसारनां प्राप्तिं श्रीमद्व ब्राह्मणम्। तीतकालकक्ष। III. 14.1-2।
of brāhmaṇas, at least nine or as many as he is able (to feed) and that they should be learned in the Veda and endowed with polished speech, good appearance, mature age and good character'. If five were invited two would be for gods and three for pītris; if seven, then four for gods and three for pītris and so on. Vas. XI. 27 (= Manu III. 125 = Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 29), Yaj. I. 228, Matsya 17. 13–14, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15.14 provide that one must feed two brāhmaṇas at the rite for the gods and three for the manes or one only for each of the two purposes and even a rich man should not go in for a large company. The Padmapurāṇa (Srṣṭi 9.98 and 141) says the same thing. So the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited did not depend so much upon the means of the inviter, but upon the point whether the inviter would be able to honour them all properly and with ease. The idea was that at the same time when śrāddha was to be performed two brāhmaṇas should be fed for gods and three for the pītris. When only one brāhmaṇa could be invited or was available, Vas. (XI. 30–31) provides that portions of the several foods cooked should be put in a vessel and should be placed at the place where Vaiṣṇavēdevika brāhmaṇa would have been seated, then served in a plate and the vīte devāh be invoked and should be contemplated as present and then the food should be thrown into the fire or offered to a Vedic student (as alms) and then śrāddha rite should be continued. Śāṅkha $^{906}$ 14.10 provides a similar rule. The result is that if a man can afford to invite only one brāhmaṇa or can secure only one, then that brāhmaṇa is meant for the rite in honour of pītris and the offering for the gods is to be cast into fire. Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.30, Manu III. 126, Vas. XI. 28, Kūrma (uttarārthadha 22.28) contain the same verse which emphatically states 'A large company destroys these five desiderata, viz. the respectful treatment (of those invited), the securing of a proper place (such as one sloping to the south) and time, purity and (the

---

$^{906}$ The translation in S. B. E. vol. 14 of श्रद्धात्मने in Vas. XI.31 (at p. 54) is wrong.
choice of) meritorious brāhmaṇas; therefore one should not desire a large company.” 907. The Kūrmapurāṇa (uttarārddha 22.32) insists that an aṭṭhī must be fed at a śrāddha or otherwise the śrāddha is not praiseworthy. Though these ancient works insisted upon the avoidance of large preparations and expenses for śrāddhas in honour of a deceased person, there were other smṛtis that favoured lavish distribution of wealth in śrāddhas. For example, Bṛhaspati lays down: ‘(An heir) should lay aside half of the wealth that comes to him (by inheritance) for the benefit of the deceased owner and should expend it in the monthly, six-monthly and yearly śrāddhas’. The Dāyabhāga XI. 12 approves 908 of this and also quotes Ap. Dh. S. II. 6.13.3 ‘On the failure of a sapinda the teacher of the Veda takes the wealth of the deceased, on failure of the teacher, the pupil takes it and having inherited it he should employ it in the performance of works of charity for the benefit of the deceased’ (or he himself may enjoy it). These passages show to what lengths the cult of benefit to the soul of the deceased was carried in India by certain writers. More practical authors such as Haradatta did not relish these extreme views. In several purāṇas such as the Vāyu 908a and Viṣṇu there are express directions that when a śrāddha is performed at Gayā, it should be on a profuse scale and no stinginess 909 (lit. cheating in money matters) in spending wealth should be shown there; otherwise the performer would not reap the benefit of the performance of śrāddha at that holy place. The Padmapurāṇa appears to inculcate profuse

907. सतिक्रिया ईशाकाली च शीतेच शारणसम्मः। प्रवेदार्थ विषयसि हन्ति तस्मात्स्थितं विस्तरय॥ मघु. III. 126.

908. धम्मान्तरश्रि प्रयोजनन्तः भोगार्थं दानाधीनाय च, तत्त्वार्थसम्ब तस्मात सुतवादास्ते भोगालभास्ते जायते विस्तरुहः। अतहि व्रहस्वतिः। सत्वत्वान्तः तत्त्वार्थ सम्बं च प्रमाणमः। कामसाधारकमपि आदेशं गर्भिकं च प्रमाणमः। वृहतम् XI.13. आपत्तिनाथ-धम्मकृत्व। II. 6.13.3 ईस: तदमर्त्या आचार्यं आचार्यसारमात्रात्कामसारसम्बं सुतं तवपेयं धर्मसुपर्वतं विपिनायेयस्यौ।’; इत्यत्र विश्वासं सपूज्यते ।

908a. विषालमणं कुरुणं गपायासः सत्त्वार्थाः। विषालमणं तु कुरुणं गपायासः सपिन्षस्वतेः। वायु 52.19. This is quoted from another Purāṇa by the Manusāstra. (आदेश) p. 388, which adds ‘अतो विषालमणस्य शारणसारसारस्य च गपायाः आदेशं कार्यम्।’

909. सतितं नामावलिकम् ईशारेश्वरस्य च वक्त्रिणां॥ गौरीश्चतुर्यमांसम्य भोगानि शारणसारसारस्य च। द्राक्षाविष्टं विष्णुबोधितम्; पितृविष्णु च विषालमणं सहितं; पितृविष्णु; मीयि-भाषाः। प्रवेदार्थः; सृष्टिसङ्ग 9.179-181.
expenditure of wealth in all śrāddhas. The Vāyupurāṇa\textsuperscript{910} (82. 26–28) further says that the brāhmaṇas of Gayā are supermen, that when they are gratified (at a śrāddha) the gods together with pitṛs become gratified, that no question should be raised about the family, the character, the learning and the austerities (of the Gayā brāhmaṇas), that by honouring them a man attains liberation, that a man after honouring the brāhmaṇas should proceed according to his resources and strength to the performance of śrāddha; thereby he secures all heavenly desires and obtains the means of Mokṣa. The Skanda- purāṇa goes so far as to say that Gayā brāhmaṇas even if they are deprived in their conduct and are backward deserve to be invited at śrāddha and are superior to brāhmaṇas who have mastered the Veda and Vedāṅgas. The Nirṛayasindhu (III, p. 401) notes that, according to the Tristhalisetu of his grandfather, this provision holds good only in the case of the śrāddha at the Akṣayya Vaṭa in Gayā and nowhere else. In modern times the brāhmaṇas at Gayā used to require the performer of śrāddha while he was in the sacred Phalgu river to make a declaration about his wealth and demanded fees accordingly, thereby carrying to the letter the words of the Vāyupurāṇa. Many people returned from Gayā thoroughly disillusioned and disgusted with the conduct of the brāhmaṇas at Gayā. In the Varāhapurāṇa\textsuperscript{911} it is said that two verses were sung by the pitṛs viz. ‘Would such a blessed and intelligent man be born in our family who will offer pīṇḍas (i.e. śrāddha) to us without being stingy about wealth and who would bestow on brāhmaṇas with reference to us (i.e. for our benefit) jewels, clothes, land, costly vehicles and all other kinds of wealth including water, when he has riches enough?’ Here lavish expenditure on all śrāddhas (not only at Gayā-śrāddha) appears to be strongly recommended.

\textsuperscript{910} अमाल्यते विषयं (अमाल्या गयातिस्य?) बार्त्तिवा (ब्रह्माण)॥ वा देवता: \\ न विचारे कुट्यं कांतं किर्त्यं स तथा यात्रं \\ गुणजित्वात् सिद्धां यात्राणां च। \\ तत: विचारे प्राप्तं वथासूत्रित्वादेवभुवान् \\ कामसंयं वहते विशरा \\ मनोक्षापणं च विश्वति॥ वायु 82. 26–28. The first two verses are quoted from another (unnamed) purāṇa by श्रीस्वामी (आ.) pp. 388–389; ‘अथाचारयिनिद्रा: आज्ञायां एव नस्तात्। \\ ब्रजसंयंसनसुन्दरी ज्ञातीयो भवि लष्ट्रे। \\ किमैत्येव दुःभिभवमेवदु: दाः दुः: \\ सक्षरुषाण व्युष वी. 222. 23.

\textsuperscript{911} अपि च धर्म: कुले ज्यायुसंकारस्त्र्यं सत्त्वमानम् नर:। \\ अकुरुस्वं विचारायं यान्त: पिण्डादिः \textsuperscript{reads वाहकहुष्ठ विचारायं यान्त: पिण्डादिः} \\ नरन्तः नस्ताति वलिभय: अकबुधविद्या दवारति॥ \\ वराहुर्णाण 13. 50–51, विवेकवर्णम् III. 14. 22–23 (reads वाहकहुष्ठ विचारायं यान्त: पिण्डादिः).
vides that on the days of śrāvita sacrifices, of the celebration of charitable acts, of śrāddhas on the anniversary of death or on amāvāsyā, on lucky occasions (vrddhi), on Aṣṭakā days, one should never give a frugal or poor dinner to the worthy brāhmaṇas invited for dinner.

If no brāhmaṇa is available, then the Śrāddhaviveka, Śrāddhatattva and other digests say that effigies of brāhmaṇas made with seven or nine darbhás (except in the case of a performer following the Śāmaveda who is not restricted as to the number of darbhás) should be got ready and śrāddha should be performed and afterwards the fee and other materials may be given later on to other brāhmaṇas.

Rules were laid from very ancient times about the method of inviting brāhmaṇas. The Āp. Dh. S. states that the performer should make a request to the brāhmaṇas on the previous day, that on the day of the śrāddha he should request a second time (saying ‘today is the śrāddha day’) and then he should address them a third time (with the words ‘food is ready, come’). Haradatta on the first of the three sūtras explains that the request should be ‘tomorrow there is a śrāddha, you should do me the favour of being in the place of the Ahavanīya fire’ i.e., you should partake of the food that will be prepared. Manu III. 187 also says that the invitation should be on the previous day or on the day of the śrāddha.

---

911 a. ॥ श्रापरानुविदः पर द्विवेदप्रवेशस्वः ॥ पाठेयम्यवेश्च वेदः नेत्र कुवोजनम् ॥
ब्रह्मकृत्वां प्रसः भृत्य (स.) p. 410.

912. ॥ ब्राह्माणसमस्ती कुदात्मकद्वारे ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणवेशः ॥
वर्त्तमानसाध्याः ब्राह्मणवेशः ॥
हृद्या वर्त्मानसाध्य्यः पत्रादिधिः ब्राह्मणवेशः ॥
हृद्या तमाशा वायुक्तसाध्याः काश्चिद्वर्त्तमानसाध्याः ॥
आदत्ताः p. 194 and again at p. 199 ‘एव ब्राह्माणसमस्ती कुदात्मकद्वारे वर्त्तमानसाध्यः पत्रादिधिः ब्राह्मणवेशः’.
The three प्रकार are द्वारिकृत्वा, विन्दु and मातामहः.

912 a. ॥ ब्राह्मणवेशादत्तामे अपरं भविष्यति ॥ पुरुषयासम्बलनम् ॥
आदृतं द्वारिकृत्वा विन्दुः काश्चिद्वर्त्तमानसाध्यः ॥
अदृतं द्वारिकृत्वा मातामहः ॥
हृद्या तमाशा वायुक्तसाध्य वायुक्तसाध्यः पत्रादिधिः ब्राह्मणवेशः ॥
कृत्वा ततः कर्मणु विन्दुः काश्चिद्वर्त्तमानसाध्यः ॥
The exact procedure would be पुरुषयासम्बलनम् गत्वा अदृतानितियुक्तः पालितम्
द्वारिकृत्वाः पाठेयम्यवेशे वेदः प्रसः भृत्य (स.) p. 410.

---

11-13: हस्तम् explains ‘श्रापरानुविदः भविष्यति तत्र भग्नात्मकानाम् पराशुः कार्तिके इति’. The exact procedure would be पुरुषयासम्बलनम् गत्वा अदृतानितियुक्तः पालितम् द्वारिकृत्वाः पाठेयम्यवेशे वेदः प्रसः भृत्य (स.) p. 410.

For पुरुषयासम्बलनम् the difference will be पालितसाध्याः
द्वारिकृत्वाः पाठेयम्यवेशे वेदः प्रसः भृत्य &c.
itself. The Matsyapurāṇa\(^{913}\) and Padma (Śrṣṭi-khaṇḍa 9, 85–88) provide that the person intending to perform a śrāddha should in a humble manner invite the brāhmaṇas on the previous day or (in the morning of) the day of śrāddha, that he should touch the right knee (of the brāhmaṇa to be invited) with the words ‘you are given this invitation by me’ and repeat in their hearing the following observance ‘you should be free from anger, should be intent on purity (of body and mind) and should abstain from sexual intercourse and I, the performer of śrāddha, shall also act in the same way and that the pītṛs in an aerial form wait upon the invited brāhmaṇas.’ The Brhan-nāradīya-purāṇa states that the invitation should be in the words ‘O best men! You should do me a favour and accept the invitation for śrāddha.’ It is noteworthy that the Prajāpati-smṛti (63) prescribes that one should invite brāhmaṇas for a śrāddha or sacrifice for gods in the evening of the previous day after uttering the verse ‘akrodhahāṁ &c.’\(^{914}\) The Skandapurāṇa VI. 217. 37 says that the performer should address the brāhmaṇa as follows: ‘my father (is or will enter) into this your body and so will my grand-father; let him (the grand-father) come with his father and you should strictly observe the vrata’ (the rules). The invitation to the brāhmaṇas representing pītṛs is to be given with the sacred thread in the praśīvīta form and to those for Vaiśvadevi in the yajñopavīta form. On the question whether the Vaiśvadevi brāhmaṇas were to be invited first or the brāhmaṇas for pītṛs were to be invited first
there is a conflict among śrīmitis and the medieval digestes propose
an option (vide Hemādri on śrīddha pp. 1154–1157). Manu
III. 205 appears to lay down that the daiva brāhmaṇa should be
invited first (daivādyantam tad-īheta). Yama quoted by
several digestes 915 says that the performer should request in the
evening of the previous day brāhmaṇas with the words ‘You
should all be free from exertions and should avoid passion and
anger for the śrāddha in my house which is to be performed
tomorrow,’ that the brāhmaṇas should reply ‘let it be so if the
night passes happily and without any mishap to us.’ The
digests (e. g. Śrāddhakriyākaumudi p. 81, Śrāddhatattva p. 194
and Nrīnayasindhu III. p. 804) say that the verse ‘sarvāyasa
&c.’ may be repeated when the invitation is given on the day
previous to the day of śrāddha and the verse ‘akrodhanaiḥ’
when the invitation is given on the morning of the śrāddha day.
The words of invitation differ according to different authorities.
For example, according to the Mit. on Yāj. I. 225 the words are
śrāddhe kaśapaḥ kriyatām.’ Vide Śr. Pr. p. 106 also. Manu
III. 187 and 191 show that the words ‘nimantraṇa’ and
‘āmantraṇa’ are used as synonyms. In the Śrāddhasūtra 916 of
Kātyāyana the word ‘āmantraṇa’ is used. But Pāṇini 917 (III.
3. 161) apparently makes a difference between the meanings of
the two words and the Mahābhāṣya explains that invitation is
called ‘nimantraṇa’ which if rejected (without proper cause)
involves a fault or sin, while that invitation which one is free
to reject (without incurring blame) is called ‘āmantraṇa.’ There-
fore, it must be held that the few writers such as Kātyāyana
who employ āmantraṇa use it in a secondary sense. The
invitation should be given by a performer himself or by his son,

915. भधिषिल प्रदीशि हस्तवार्षश श्रण्यायर्म द्वितीय ॥ सर्वायासस्विदिकैः कामकृपा-
विचिन्ताति। सविद्धिभिविभिधा नाः हस्तौत्र आश्वामाणि ॥ ते तं तुष्टविद्वन्ते चाति चेतनानी
सुखम्। यथायद्र शरितेर्चन्द्र आश्वामालयक्रियते ॥ यम प. ७५। श्र. क्रि. कृ। प. ८०। श्राद-
तत्। प. १९४, मध. पा. ५८४ (from अधिक)।

916. अतिक्रियः आश्वामाणि च चातुर्यः यथः सम्पत्ति तदवाश्वायाससम्भूत
प्रेयस्य। श्राद्वत्। (of कात्यायन)।

917. चिन्तिन्त्रस्माणाभिमल्लम्बस्मान्तज्ञाधिनेन तिर्था। पाणिनि III. 3. 161. The
महाभाष्य explains (Kielhorn, vol. II. p. 165) : यथाविशेषतः कात्यायिनि तभिनस्माद
किं पुनरं। हर्ष्यः कर्थः च। श्राद्वेण सत्तुः सत्तुः स्वयंसस्विदिकैः चेतनामध्ये
आश्वामाणि कात्यायिनि। श्र. क्रि. कृ। प. ८२, देवरामेन्द्र (आश्वामाणि फोलिया ५१) और श्राद्वत्।
p. 192 refer to this distinction between the two words.
brother or a pupil or a brāhmaṇa, but it should not be given through a person of another varṇa \(^{918}\) or a woman or a child or person belonging to another gotra nor from a distance (Prajaṭapati 64). Pracetās provides that a brāhmaṇa performer of śrāddha when giving an invitation should touch the right knee, a kṣatriya inviter the left knee of the invitee, a Vaiśya inviter should hold both feet of the invitee and a śūdra should prostrate himself at the feet of the invitee (vide Śr. Pr. p. 106 and S. K. L. p. 47). The Mārkandeya (28. 35) states an exception that if, when a śrāddha rite is going on, brāhmaṇas or Vedic students or ascetics come by chance begging for food, the performer should make them pleased by falling at their feet and feed them (i. e. no formal invitation is necessary in these cases). Vide Vaiśṇavopāraṇa III. 15. 12 for feeding uninvited ascetics. It is provided by Bṛhma quoted by Hemādri that the brāhmaṇas on accepting the invitation should pronounce the finely-worded and comprehensive Vedic benediction quoted below.\(^{919}\)

Uṣanas \(^{919a}\) provides that the performer should wash the floor of his house with water, cowdung it and cleanse the vessels on the day previous to the śrāddha and then give an invitation to the brāhmaṇas with the words ‘tomorrow I am going to perform śrāddha’. The Varahapurāṇa and the Kūrma also provide for this and for the washing of the clothes. Mānu III. 206 also requires that the spot where śrāddha is to be performed should be clean, secluded, cowdunged and should slope to the south.

The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana \(^{920}\) prescribes that a brāhmaṇa...

---

918. अमेवं ब्राह्मणस्य प्रकारः स्वभाविकस्मिनस्मिन्ति:। सक्तृत्व VII. 1. 206. 4.

919. आ ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणवर्त्तिः जातिवासिनः राजष्ठ जीवनः ूर्विमहार्यो

919a. तत्र । कोक्सेडी भूमिस्थितं भवन्धर्दृढ़ं सुः कर्ममुक्ति

920. अन्तर्देशेनामस्ति नायकान्दे सर्वप्रकारं न गतियिश्वाति। आद्वारप्र (I) q. by आद्वारप्र p. 189 (as सोमिन).
maṇa who has been invited (to a śrāddha dinner) by a faultless performer should not refuse the invitation nor should he, after being invited (and having accepted the invitation), accept a gift of even (uncooked) food from another person. Manu III. 190 and Kurūmapurāṇa provide that if a brāhmaṇa after receiving an invitation for a sacrifice to gods or manes according to śāstra directions and after having accepted it violates the appointment, he incurs sin and becomes a hog\textsuperscript{921} (in his next birth). This does not apply where he is unable to go on account of illness or other valid reason.

The smṛtis laid down some strict and elaborate rules which were to be observed by the brāhmaṇas invited for śrāddha and by the performer himself. Many of the rules are applicable to both. Gaut. prescribes\textsuperscript{922} that the brāhmaṇa who has partaken of śrāddha dinner should remain chaste (i.e. shun sexual intercourse) that whole day, and if he has intercourse with a wife of the śūdra caste, he thereby makes his own pīters stay in the ordure of that wife. Vas. XI. 37 makes this rule applicable both to the performer and the invited brāhmaṇa and as regards wives of all varṇas. Manu III. 188 provides that the brāhmaṇa invited to dine at a sacrifice in honour of pīters and the performer of the śrāddha should remain controlled (i.e. chaste and free from anger and passion) and should not study the Veda (except japa). Yāj. I. 225 (latter half) briefly puts the matter by saying "they should be controlled as to their bodies, speech and thoughts". The Matsyapurāṇa\textsuperscript{923} prescribes that both the performer of śrāddha and the brāhmaṇa invited to dine at it should avoid dining again (after the śrāddha dinner), journey, going in a conveyance, exertions, sexual intercourse, study of the Veda, quarrel and sleeping by day. Similar rules to observe continence are laid down for both on the day of śrāddha if invitation be given on the morning of the day of

\textsuperscript{921} अभमिन्द्रितो ब्राह्मणो वै योग्याः कुश्चन्ते अवर्गः। स याति नरक घोरे दुःसर्वं प्रवति च। कूर्म, उत्तरप्य २२ ७ q. by भा. म. p. 110.

\textsuperscript{922} सया: भाद्री शृवतन्त्रात्मकांद्रुश्रृवतन्त्रां मात्र नयति पितृतु। नमोऽहस्याद्रवर्षा च सत्। श्री. १५. २३-२४; on भाद्री हर्षवत् explains "भाद्रनेन सुकुमिति, अत इतिनैः". This is पर. V. २. ८५ "भाद्रनेन शृवतन्त्रां मात्र नयति पितृतु। This explains the two forms भाद्रिन and भाद्रिन.

\textsuperscript{923} तृणभूतमधुग्राहणं योग्यां योग्यां योग्यां। भाद्रकुशकुशकुशृवतन्त्रां समेतात्मकांद्रवर्षा। सत्यार्थम् कल्याणे च विवासम् च सत्यार्थम्। मर्यादा १६. २७-२८ q. by भा. क्रि. को. p. ९८ (which reads योग्यां) ९. १२३-१२४.
Śrāddha and also on the previous day if invitation be given on the day previous to the Śrāddha day. Vide Viśnu Dh. S. 69. 2–4. The Mit on Yāj. I. 79 appears to strike a dissenting note about sexual intercourse with one’s wife during the days from the 5th to the 16th; while most other medieval writers such as Hemādri (śr. pp. 10.6–7) and Śr. P. p. 111 are opposed to this view. The Śrāddhasūtra 924 of Kātyāyana provides that the performer should, from the time of giving invitation to the time when the brāhmaṇas sip water (i.e. perform ācamana after Śrāddha dinner), remain pure, free from anger, hurry, negligence, should speak the truth and should shun a journey, sexual intercourse, hard work and study of the Veda and control speech (should remain mostly silent) and the brāhmaṇas invited should observe the same rules. Auśanas (Jiv. vol. I pp. 526–527) contains verses very similar in import to Kātyāyana. The Brahmapurāṇa (220, 106–108), Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 31–33) and Anuśāsana 125.24 have identical verses 925 and Vāyu 79, 60–61 are very similar in import. Laghu-Śaṅkha 29, Laghu-Hārīta 75 and Likhita 60 have the same verse requiring the invited brāhmaṇas to avoid eight matters, viz. dining again, journey, carrying loads, Vedic study, sexual intercourse, making gifts, accepting gifts, performing homa, while Prajāpati 92 substitutes the brushing of the teeth (with a twig), tāmbūla, bath after applying oil to the body, and fast for the first four of the above eight. The Anuśāsanaparva (90, 12–13) and Padma (Pātalakhaṇḍa 101. 94–95) also contain a list of actions that should be avoided. Briefly put, the following were the observances for both invitee and invitee, viz. avoidance of sexual intercourse, dining again, falsehood, hurry, vedic study, heavy work, gambling, carrying burdens, giving gifts and acceptance of gifts, theft, journey, sleep by day, quarrels; the performer alone was to abstain from eating tāmbūla, shaving, applying oil to the body, brushing the teeth with a twig; while the brāhmaṇas...
mana invited was (alone) to observe the following, viz. not absenting oneself after accepting an invitation, making no delay when called for dinner (vide Śrāddhakalika folio 4b and 5a and Pitṛ-bhakti on śrāddha²⁹⁶).

Elaborate provisions are made from ancient times about the substances and utensils proper for being used at śrāddha and about those that should not be used therein. Ap. Dh.²⁹⁷ S. remarks: 'the materials in śrāddha are sesamum, māsas, rice, yavas (barley), water, roots and fruits; but the pitras are extremely gratified by food that is mixed with clarified butter and for a very long time; so also they are gratified by wealth that is obtained lawfully and is bestowed on worthy persons'. Manu III, 267 (=Vāyu 83, 3) is to the same effect as Ap. Dh. S. Yaj. I. 258 is content to say that food which is fit to be offered in sacrifices (haviṣya) should be served. Manu III, 257 explains that food eaten by hermits in the forest, (cow’s) milk, soma juice, meat that is not prepared with spices (or that is free from a bad smell), rock salt are by their very nature havis (sacrificial food). According to Gaut. 27. 11 the sacrificial food (havis) comprises boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley (after being baked or fried), grain separated from husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water.²⁹⁸ Other smṛtis and digests very much elaborated these brief indications in the early works. The three kinds of wealth (viz. śukla, tabala and krṣṇa) and the several lawful or uncondemned means of acquiring wealth have been described already in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 130 ff. The Mārkaṇḍeya (29, 14–15) condemns the use in śrāddhas of wealth that is obtained by taking bribes or from a patita (one guilty of a grave sin), that springs from bride-price or that is declared to be unlawful or is obtained by saying to another 'give me for the sake of a śrāddha to be offered to my father' (q. by Sm. C. on

²⁹⁶ निमित्ततः आद्यकर्तः च द्वामात्राः सर्भिः हिंसा स्वरी ममात् परोक्षहि न्द्रमां च कलाहि शास्त्रास्ति च वज्जेऽयूँ। खुबिः सत्यार्थी कष्टी महाबाधाय च स्रावोऽस्मिन् पितृदेहकानि अकेषुः।

²⁹⁷ सत्यार्थी कितिमाशा कीर्तिवित्ता आपेष मूलकाजानि। स्तेषाचर्के नेनाशरे स्त्रीगुमा मितिविसमङ्गले च चालके। तथा बमान्नेन द्रश्येः सत्यार्थीमितिविसमङ्गः। आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 16. 22–24।

²⁹⁸ ययः पाकश्चक्राकात्मकपरोक्षायिचित्तोपपुन्नोद्देशकानि दातिविपरीतोऽपि पदातीन। मित्र. 27. 11. On आद्यकर्तः सू. I. 9. 6 नारायण quotes a verse of similar import 'वर्षो यथा यवास्य सार्थोऽन्तहुः। महो गांव तथा तैद्यम्यस्यानि द्वाश्रेष्ठुः।'
Materials to be employed

śrāddha p. 412). The Skandapurāṇa emphasizes that at a śrāddha purity (śuddhi) must be specially secured in seven matters viz. the body (of the performer), the materials, the wife, the place (where śrāddha is to be performed), the mind, the mantras and brāhmaṇas.929 Manu III. 235 (=Vas. 11.35) states: three are the sanctifying things in a śrāddha, viz. a daughter's son, a Nepal blanket and sesamum grains and three are commended in śrāddha viz. cleanliness, freedom from anger and absence of hurry.929a Pracetas mentions several kinds of corn that are commended as food in śrāddha. Manu III. 255 summarises that in śrāddha the riches (i. e. the most important matters) are afternoon, darbhas, proper cleansing of the place (or house) for śrāddha, sesame, generous expense (on food &c.), seasoning food, eminent brāhmaṇas.

The Mārkandeyapurāṇa says that several kinds of corn-yielding plants (some due to tillage in villages and some growing wild) were produced by Brahmā when he milked the earth for famished people, while Brahmavaivarta (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 537) affirms that when a few particles fell down on the earth while Indra drank Soma, from them arose such corn as śyāmāka, wheat, yava, mudga and red paddy and as they were produced from soma they were like nectar to the pitṛs and food prepared from these should be offered to pitṛs. The Mārkandeyapurāṇa speaks of seven kinds of grāmya corn and seven kinds of wild (āranya) corn. Prajāpati 119 recommends the use of eight kinds of corn, viz. nivāra, māsa, mudga, wheat, paddy, yava, grain and sesamum. The Matsya (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 538) narrates that when the Sun drank nectar some drops fell down from which arose the several kinds of

929. सरीराधारायणमोन्मोहप्रशातमन्। श्रुतिः सत्य मिश्रेता आद्वाकाते विशेषं।
क्रमः VII. 1. 205. 17.

929 a. श्रीणि आद्वे पवित्रपुणि दृष्टिः कुतपसिद्धः। श्रीणि चावा पवित्रपुणि श्रीवत क्रोधमलसम्।
सर्वा III. 235, वसिद्यमभ्राहि XI. 35. This very verse (the first half) is quoted in several Purāṇas as in विज्ञवरण III. 15. 52. भाविन्त 1. 185. 20, मार्कण्डे 28. 64, स्त्रमन्वरणः (चम्मसरदः 105. 13). The प्रशातम (दृष्टिकृत 47. 278-279) has the whole verse but reads आद्वे श्रीणिः दृष्टिः and सत्यमकोपसिद्धसमा।
It appears clear from the preceding verse that in Manu at least दृष्टिः means daughter's son. But in the क्रमः (चम्मसरदः 205 14 ff) several meanings of दृष्टिः are given such as 'a vessel made of the horn on the nose of the rhinoceros' or 'clarified butter made from the milk of a cow of variegated colour.' The word क्रमः also has nine meanings acc. to a Smṛti text quoted by Aparāṅka p. 474 'क्रमः क्रमपर्यं गतः शुचिप्रितिसिद्ध च। तिला वर्षायो कालयान
निर्देशु कुलसं रस्तः कुलसः ॥' vide note 847 for क्रमः.
paddy, mudga, sugarcane and that therefore sugar is sacred and may be employed in sacrifices to gods and manes. The Markandeya mentions several kinds of corn that may be employed for śraiddha food. The Brahma-purāṇa 220. 154–155, Vāyu 82. 3, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 16. 5–6, Viṣṇu, Dh. S., Brahmanda II. 7, 143–152 and III. 14, contain similar lists of different kinds of corn that may be used in śraiddhas. The Vāyu-purāṇa (80. 42–48) mentions various desirable eatables prepared from corn of various kinds, sugar and clarified butter and milk.

Certain kinds of corn and cereals were forbidden. For example, the Matsya-purāṇa and Padma (Srṣṭikhandha, chap. 9. 62–66) declare that masūra, linsseed, nispāva, rājamāśa, kusumbhika, kodrava, udāra, gram, kapitha, madhūka and linsseed are forbidden. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79. 18 provides that the performer should avoid the bean called rājamāśa, masūra, stale food and salt manufactured from seawater. The Śat-trimśānātta forbids the use in śraiddha of all kinds of cereals covered with dark husk except sesamum, mudga and māṣa.
From considerations of space this matter cannot be pursued further. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 240 puts together a long list of allowed and of condemned kinds of grains and other articles.

What milk should be ordinarily partaken of and what should be avoided has been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 782-783. A few words are added here. Manu III. 271 and Yāj. I. 258 provide that if cow’s milk or rice cooked therein (called pāyasa) is offered in śrāddha the pitrīs are satisfied for one year. Vāyu 78. 17, Brahma 320.169, Mārkaṇḍeya 32.17-19, Viṣṇupurāṇa III.16.11 forbid the use in śrāddha of the milk of a she-buffalo, of a camari or female deer, of sheep or ewes, of she camels, of human females and of all animals with one hoof and the use of the curds and clarified butter prepared from such milk. But ghee prepared from buffalo milk was allowed by Sumantu and Devala (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 572).

The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 936 (29.15-17), Vāyu (78.16) and Viṣṇupurāṇa (III.16.10) lay down that the water to be employed in śrāddha must not have a bad smell, must not be foamy, or taken from a puddle or a small reservoir which cannot slake the thirst of a cow, must not have been brought overnight, must not be taken from a reservoir not dedicated to all or from a trough or the like meant for beasts.

Several rules are laid down about the fruits, roots and vegetables recommended or condemned for use in śrāddha. For example, the Brahma-purāṇa (220.156-158) enumerates several kinds of fruits such as mangoes, bīr, pomegranate, cocoanut, dates, grapes, as fit to be given in śrāddha. Vide Śaṅkha 14.22-23 also. Vāyu (78.11-15) states936a that garlic, leeks and onions, other things that are of bad odour or taste

935 माहिषस चारसर मर्यादानन्तरकम्कोसीदे। तीणोमृददारिंहि च (भ्रमजाबीकं?) विष्णुमीतिकत्वं भविष्यदि (भम.भविष्यदि) p. 573.

936. शुभस्वतये यथासभीये स्त्राणीप्रमाणतये। न नव्याक्षर वैकृपायं वनसं विनयाच्यये।
   विष्णुमीतिकत्वं भविष्यदि (भक्तिप्रमाणतये) तत्राद्वै नलगी विनयाच्यये।
   सत्यस्वपन्न यथाभविष्यदि। विष्णुमीतिकत्वं भविष्यदि (भक्तिप्रमाणतये) 29. 15-17. Vide also भक्तिसंग्रह (उपंधादिनाष्टू 14. 26).

936a. तदन्त्यं यथासभीये वर्त्तमानसं विनयाच्यये। क्रियानिविश्वसं हरिनामिनि रसविश्वसं।...अविश्वसं हरिनामिनि लक्ष्मणायापदार्थाय संभवित्तमिष्कत। भविष्यदि (भक्तिप्रमाणतये) p. 416. The स्वतिसं. (भम.भविष्यदि p. 415) quotes a verse and a half from Suṣruta for ten varieties of पत्राः.
and all exudation from trees not permitted by the Veda and salt gathered from saltish earth, should be avoided in šrāddha. The Viśuddharmasūtra 937 (79.17) contains a long list of fruits, bulbs and vegetables that were not to be employed in šrāddha. The Rāmāyana states 938 that Rāma when an exile in the Daṇḍakā forest gratified his pīṭras by offering the fruits of inguda, badara, and bilva trees and generalises that deities are offered that food which is partaken of by a person (who is a devotee of that deity). From considerations of space detailed references to the smṛtis and purāṇas are passed over. The Smṛtyarthaśāra pp. 52–53, Śrāddhaviveka (pp. 43–47) of Rudradhara and other digests collect in one place the foods, vegetables, fruits and roots that are allowed to be offered in śrāddha and that are condemned in śrāddha. Manufactured salt was forbidden, but natural salt from a lake (called saṁdhava) was allowed. Salt was not to be served directly (as Viśuddharmasūtra 79.12 says) but when put in while cooking vegetables it was not prohibited. There was a difference of opinion about the employment of asafoetida (vide Hemādri on Śrāddha p. 565). The Viśuddharmasūtra (79.5–6) provides that flowers having a strong (or nasty) odour or no odour at all, the blossoms of thorny plants and red flowers should not be given, but one may give white and sweet-smelling flowers even though they are taken from thorny plants and flowers though red in colour may be taken from aquatic plants. Saṅkha (14.15–16) is to the same effect (q. by Hemādri p. 684). Vāyu (75.33–35) is to the same effect and adds that the flowers called Japā, Bhandī, Rūpikā (of arka plant), Kuraptā should be avoided in śrāddha. The Brahmapurāṇa (220.162–165) specifies the several kinds of flowers that may be offered in śrāddha such as jāti, campaka, mallikā, mango blossom, tulasī, tagara, ketaki and various kinds of lotuses (white, blue and red &c.). The Smṛtyarthaśāra includes tulasī among things to be avoided in śrāddha. The Sm. C. notes this and remarks

937. विन्यासी-सुकुट्टक-लुस्तुरन्-सिंहु-सरंग-हरसा-सरंज-सुभरत-कुष्माण्ड-अलाप- बालारूढ-लुस्तुरन्-उपेक्षा-विन्यासी-सुकुट्टक-कुष्माण्ड-विन्यासी-सरंज-सरंज- सुभरत-कुष्माण्ड, 79.17.

938. विन्यासी-सुकुट्टक-लुस्तुरन्-सिंहु-सरंग-हरसा-सरंज-सुभरत-कुष्माण्ड-अलाप- बालारूढ-लुस्तुरन्-उपेक्षा-विन्यासी-सुकुट्टक-कुष्माण्ड-विन्यासी-सरंज-सरंज- सुभरत-कुष्माण्ड, 79.17.
Kuṣas to be used in śrāddha

that it is not clear on what this dictum prohibiting tulasi is based 938a.

Kuṣas are required in śrāddha. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 657 for general remarks on kuṣas. A few words may be added here. The Śat. Br. VII. 2. 3. 2 states that the waters that loathed Vṛtra went out to waterless deserts and became bushes of darbhās 939. Similarly, Āśv. Gr. III. 2. 2 summarizes a Brāhmaṇa text stating that darbhās are the essence of waters and herbs (apam và esa cādhnirām raso yad-darbhāḥ). Prajāpāti (verse 98) 939a provides that darbhās should be gathered from a pure spot in the morning by a brāhmaṇa, should have mantras repeated over them, should be greenish in colour, should be as long as a cow’s ear and then they are holy. The Gobhila gr. (I. 5. 16–17) states ‘the barhis consists of kuṣa grass cut off at the points at which the blades diverge from the main stalk and that the blades should be cut off near the roots at the rites meant for the Fathers’. Dakṣa (II. 33 and 35) provides that the second part of the day (divided into eight parts) is the proper time for collecting fuelsticks, flowers and kuṣas. The Gobhillasmṛti (I. 20–21) says 940 that the darbhās used in sacrifices are greenish, those to be used in Pāskyajñās should be yellowish, those in rites for the pitaris must be taken out from the roots and those that are to be used in Vaiśvadeva should be dark-pale, and that

938 a. उपयोगी—तुलसी—त्वमात्र लियेरियास्फलप्रपकाश—कुषासप्रपकाश—ब्रजन्यानि: क्रिया क्रियात्मा: प्रश्नमिति। (सर्जनी)।।

939. The Śatapatha Brahmāṇa has the following legend about darbha and derives the word from तुलसी ‘अपाम वेठा अवकाश यथा वृक्षान्तिर पदार्थसमानां अपेक्षा हनमय उत्तरस्य वर्गेन अवस्थर युतेन तत्र ज्ञाता: छूट नेत्रविभागी आपे। तुलसिक्ष्रिकमाहित। यद्यक्षमन्येनमेवतावेन नीतानि। VII. 2.3.2.

939 a. सर्जनसारस्वतः: पार्थिवसारस्वतः। नन्दन्यात्मा वर्गम्: स: परिवर्त:।

940. हस्तित प्रवृत्ता: वर्गम्: वाण्वित्यम्:। सर्जन: स्वरुपविवेका: करणस:।

940a. विराज्यमः सर्जनसारस्वातः। नन्दन्यात्मा वर्गम्: वाण्वित्यम्:। सर्जन: स्वरुपविवेका: करणस:।
greenish darbhas together with ends uncut, that are smooth and well nourished, one aratni in length and touched with that part of the hand called pittirtha are pure. The Padmapurāṇa (Śtīṣṭikhaṇḍa 11.92) and Skanda VII.1. 205.16 state that kuśas and black sesamum spring from the body of Viṣṇu and the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 139.12 says that tilas and darbhas sprang from the perspiration and hair of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation. The Matsya (22.89) says the same.

The Garuda 941 (Pretakhaṇḍa 2.21-23) states that all the three gods dwell in kuṣa grass viz. Brahmā at its root, Viṣṇu in the middle and Śaṅkara at the end and that brāhmaṇas, mantras, kuṣas, fire, tulasī leaf—these do not become mūrya (stale and so unfit to be used again) even when the same are employed again and again. But an exception is made by Gobhila 942 that those darbhas which are spread on the ground for placing pindas on them or that are used in tarpāṇa and those that are held in the hand while a man is answering the calls of nature should be given up (and not used again). The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79.2 and Vāyu 75.41 provide that if kuṣas are not available, kāsa grass or Dārvā may be substituted. The Skandapurāṇa VII (Prabhāsakhaṇḍa) part I.206.17 says that straight darbhas are used in giving gifts, at baths, in japa, homa, dinner and worship of gods, but they are double-folded when used in rites for pītṛs. The Skanda VII. 1. 205.16 provides that the top of darbhas is for divine rites, while darbha with the root and tip is meant for pāityka rites. This is based on the Śat. Br. II. 4. 2.17 which states that the top of the darbha belongs to gods, the middle to men and the root part to the fathers.

Great importance was attached to the use of tila (sesamum) in śrāddha. The Jāminigṛhya II.1 states that the whole house should have sesame grains scattered about in it. Baudh. Dh. S. II. 8.8 provides that when the invited brāhmaṇas come they should be given water mixed with sesame. The Baudh. gr. II. 11.64 provides that sesame grains are holy in śrāddha for making gifts of them or as part of food or for being mixed in

941. विषम नवका कुषा गहिरतला (काष्ठावर) नै निर्मातरायणी यायथ निर्मातामणि: पुनः: इति। गोपाल (भालोपाल 2. 22).

942. भिन्नरं वेद स्तुतरं सत्यवेदं (कर्मसहर्षणं) सत्यवेदं: पूजः कगो: कहीमले तत्यतस्वार्थं निर्माणेऽि: भागिनिवृत्तिः 1. 22, q. by मायायः p. 453, श्रेणिः p. 640, भाषानि की. p. 49.
water. The Prajñapatisāstra speaks\(^{943}\) of four kinds of tilas viz. white; black, very black and jartilas and states that each succeeding one gives greater gratification to the pītas than each preceding one. The Tai. S. V., 4.3.2 refers to jartilas and Jai. X. 8.1 holds a discussion thereon. The Nāradapurāṇa (pūrvarādhya 28.36)\(^{944}\) provides that the performer of śrāddha should scatter tilas in the midst of the brāhmaṇas invited and at the doors with the mantra 'apahatā' (may the asuras and evil spirits that sit on the altar be struck and run away). Yaj. I. 234 also recommends this mantra (which is Yaj. S. II. 29). The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 23.18) states that sesame should be scattered all round and a goat should be tied near the spot, since śrāddha polluted by asuras becomes purified by sesame and a goat. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 16.14) prescribes that by tilas scattered on the ground one should ward off evil spirits (Yātudhāna).

The Garudapurāṇa\(^{945}\) (Pretakhanda 3.16) makes Śrīkṛṣṇa say 'tilas have sprung from the perspiration on my body and are holy; asuras, dānakas and daityas run away on account of tilas.' The Amrāśaṇa-parvā (90.22) says that yātudhānas and goblins snatch away the kūtis when the śrāddha is offered without tilas. The Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 540): quotes a verse as follows: 'he who applies as unguent tilas, who bathes with water in which tilas are mixed, offers tilas into fire, makes gifts of tilas, eats tilas and who grows tilas—these six never sink (i. e., are not unlucky nor in trouble)

A great deal is said about the vessels to be used in offering arghya (water for honouring the invited brāhmaṇas and pīndas), for cooking śrāddha food, for dining and for serving. The Śrāddhaśūtra of Kātyāyana\(^{946}\) provides that the arghya water

\(^{943}\) जानन्तरहस्तिः। जानान्त: जानान्त:। जानान्त: जानान्तः। जानान्त: जानान्तः।

\(^{944}\) जानान्तरहस्तिः। जानान्त: जानान्त:। जानान्त: जानान्तः। जानान्त: जानान्तः।

\(^{945}\) जानान्तरहस्तिः। जानान्त: जानान्त:। जानान्त: जानान्तः। जानान्त: जानान्तः।

\(^{946}\) जानान्तरहस्तिः। जानान्त: जानान्त:। जानान्त: जानान्तः। जानान्त: जानान्तः।
should be taken in camasas (cups) made of sacrificial trees (such as palāśa, aśvattha, udumbara) or in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn, precious stones whichever may be available, or in a vessel made of leaves. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (79. 14-15) provides that the performer should employ metallic vessels, particularly vessels made of silver. The Mārkaṇḍeyā (31.65) and Vāyu (74.3) state that in a vessel of silver the (ancient) pitṛs milked svadhā and hence a silver vessel is highly desired by pitṛs and brings delight to them. Yāj. I. 237 also specially recommends silver vessels. The Vāyu (74.1-2), Matsya (17. 19-22), Brahmāṇḍ (Upodghāta 11. 1-2) and Padma (Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 9. 147-150) state that vessels of gold, silver or copper are the (proper) ones for pitṛs; that even the talk about silver or the sight or gift of silver gives inexhaustible results to pitṛs in heaven, that vessels to be used for arghya, for pīṇḍa and for the food to be offered should be preferably of silver and that in rites for gods a silver vessel is not auspicious. Atri (q. by Sm. C. II. p. 464) says that in rites for the gods and pitṛs, vessels of gold and silver should be respectively employed and in default of these vessels of other metals (such as copper, bell-metal) should be used (as stated by Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79.22 and 24). The Padma provides that the vessels may be of sacrificial wood or of palāśa or of silver or made from a sea product (such as conch shell) and that since silver was produced from the eye of Śiva, it is a great favourite with pitṛs. Prajāpati (111) provides that the three pīṇḍas should be cast in a vessel of gold or silver or copper or bell-metal or of rhinoceros horn but not in earthenware or a wooden vessel, that (verse 112) the cooking vessels should be of copper or of any metal, but an earthen vessel baked in fire and immersed in water is the best (for cooking), that food cooked in an iron vessel is like crow’s flesh, that (115) the vessels to be used for taking food by the brahmaṇḍas should be made of gold, silver or of an alloy of five metals or they may take their food in patrāvali (i.e. leaves stitched together); vide also Matsya

947. पार्श्व ब्रम्हाण्डस्य तथा पृथ्वीथिरं तुप: राजतं का गृहित्त तथा समस्तमभवस || सौत्रं राजतं पार्श्व पीण्डः पार्श्वनिबोधे ।...नामिनि अ मधुया व्रतमहायोगकाले । अवर्गीयो विजयविष्णु पितृङ्गां राजतं स्नातः ।...सिद्धान्तकृत्यं यत्माधितसतिर्युगभवस । पदा (कृत्तिकां 9. 147-151): सात्यायिण्येकोपायी पितृङ्गां राजतं स्नातः । शिक्षान्तः यत्माधित। अवर्गीयो तथमेव श्रवन्यं ब्रह्मण्यं बनेतस्त ॥ सत्य 17. 22-23.
17. 19-20. The use of plantain leaves for bhojana is forbidden by some. Brāhmaṇas should not take ācamana from a vessel made of bell-metal, kharpasa, śukra, stone, clay, fruit or iron. Ācamana should be performed with water from a copper vessel. Atri (153) prescribes that no food should be served from an iron vessel; if so served the food is like ordure to the diner and the server goes to hell. The vessels for cooking śrāddha food are to be made of gold, silver, copper or bell-metal or even of clay provided the last are new ones and strong (well baked) but never of iron. Vide Sr. Pr. p. 155 for details. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (79. 24) quotes a verse which says that food offered in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or of phalgu wood becomes inexhaustible.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79. 11 provides that for unguents (anulepana) to be applied to the bodies of the invited brāhmaṇas, sandalwood, saffron, camphor, aguru, padmakā may be used. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 165-166) mentions kuṣṭha, jata-mānasī, nutmeg, uṣira, mustā and some others as proper perfumed articles to be used at śrāddhas.

It has already been seen at pp. 413-14 what kinds of food were recommended or condemned for śrāddha. The Matsyapurāṇa states that food containing milk and curds and clarified butter from cow’s milk mixed with sugar gives satisfaction to all pitaś for one month and that whatever food, whether cow’s milk or ghee or rice cooked in milk, is mixed with honey, yields inexhaustible results. The Brahmapurāṇa also (220. 182-184) provides that such eatables as are sweet and oily and are slightly sour and pungent should be served in śrāddha and one should shun eatables that are very sour or very saltish or very pungent, since they are āsura (fit for asuras). Great emphasis was laid on serving preparations of food made from māsa

---

947 a. वच्चान्तसतसतः 'न जातिकुष्माणि न कधीपत्रः' हि त कधीपत्रः भोजनार्थिते पावया यासैं निषिद्धेन। स्रवितं. (तत्) p. 434. Others said that there is an option as to कधीपत्र, as certain śṛṃtis (e.g. तवामत्सत 23. 42) allowed plantain leaves. वाज्याण (उपोद्भवायदु 21. 35-40) mentions that the leaves of रोमस, अमस, उड़ुम्बर, विक्ष्रु, काँडमय, लावर्ग, प्रक, त्यमन्त्रण, चित्र may be used for taking food in and that vessels made of Phalgu wood, of Bilva wood and bamboo are allowed and yield certain good rewards.

948. अत्र सर्वाधिकं गोपि गर्भहस्तिनिपत्तं। गाई भीषणति के सर्वादि निपुष्टियाह केताहः। ...चित्रभुतम्भम थोर्मं गंधर्वी दृष्टापस्यः। दृष्टापनार्थविषयः विषयः पूवप्रतिविवः हि सलेय 17. 30-36, the first being q. by स्रवितं. (तत्) p. 431.
beans. The Ausanasa **smrti** pronounces the threat that the brāhmaṇa, who, when dining at śrāddha, does not eat māsa food, becomes a beast for twenty-one births after death. The SM. C. quotes a smrti text saying that a śrāddha in which no māsa preparation is offered is as good as not performed.

The greatest divergence has prevailed about the employment of flesh at śrāddhas among writers from the earliest times. The subject of flesh-eating in general has been discussed at great length in the History of Dharmasāstra, vol. II, pp. 772–782. A few remarks about flesh in relation to śrāddha will not be out of place here. The Āp. Dh. S. prescribes that the obligatory śrāddha (to be performed every month) must contain food mixed with fat, the best course (for supplying fat) is to employ clarified butter and flesh; on failure of these two, sesameum oil and vegetables may be employed. The same sūtra also provides that the pītar are gratified for a year by the offering of cow’s flesh in a śrāddha, that by the flesh of a buffalo the gratification of pītar extends to more than a year, that this rule extends to the flesh of wild animals (like hares) and village (or domesticated) animals (like goats) that are declared to be fit for being sacrificed, that the gratification of pītar extends to endless time if the flesh of a rhinoceros is offered to brāhmaṇas seated on rhinoceros skin, so also by the flesh of the

---

949. यी नादनाति हिषाज मथाण निधुकः पितुकमणि।। असेव पञ्चां द्रव्य समालनेकः

950. भैरविकृंतु भाषां स्वाहास्वर शुद्धाः।

951. संस्कर्षं भोजन पार्श्वं। सूचासरम् मातिषेष। असेव ब्राह्मणस्य रप्तानि माण्डः

---

The Mit. on p. 431 quotes a slightly different verse: विशेषतिमिति विनिर्दितां द्राम्य समालनेकां। वार्ताण्यं द्व म वयूपालका। अनारक्षं p. 552 cites this verse as a दिनमुख्यः. Several forms are met with in printed works viz. द्राम्यम् or द्राम्यस्य or द्राम्यम्. The कृपाकारिता gives the two explanations of वार्ताण्य (this is the reading of the printed work) as a white goat and as a bird.
fish called 'śatabali' and the flesh of a Vṛddhrīghara. Vas. XL 34 contains the following remarkable verse: 'an ascetic, when invited in a rite for the gods or pitrs, who avoids (does not partake of) flesh, dwells in Hell for as many years as the number of hair (on the body of the animal whose flesh he avoids)._ Even the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa (I, 140, 49-50) emphatically asserts that he who does not partake of flesh-food in a row of diners at a śrāddha which has been properly employed goes to hell. Manu V, 35 and Kūrma II, 17, 40 contain a similar verse applicable to all those who are invited as brāhmaṇas at a śrāddha. The Kūrmapurāṇa II, 22, 75 provides that the brāhmaṇa who is employed for the performance of a śrāddha and does not eat flesh offered therein becomes a beast for 21 births. Manu III, 257 states that the following are said to be proper offerings in a śrāddha by their very nature viz. food (prepared from niśvara grain and the like) fit for a forest hermit, milk, soma juice, flesh that does not emit foul smell and unmanufactured salt. An ascetic was ordinarily required not to partake of flesh; but, Vasishtha insisted on his partaking of it when invited at a śrāddha.

Manu III, 267-272, Yāj. I, 258-260, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 80, 1 ff, Anuśāsanaparva chap. 88, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kṣandikās, 7-8), Kūrmapurāṇa II, 20, 40-42, 29, 2-8, Vāyu 83, 3-9, Matsya 17, 31-35, Viṣṇupurāṇa III, 161-3, Padmapurāṇa (Śrṣṭi 9, 158-164), Brahmapurāṇa 220, 23-29, Viṣṇudharmottara I, 141, 42-47 state at length the periods of time for which pitrs are gratified by the flesh of certain animals being served at a śrāddha. The verses of Yāj. being the shortest in all these works are given below. Yāj. 952 states: Pitrs are gratified by the serving of sacrificial food (such as rice, fruits, roots & c.) for a month, for a year by (cows's milk or) rice cooked in cow's milk, for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 months respectively by the flesh of fishes (pāṭhīna), of (red coloured) deer, of a ram, of a bird (such as a titlīrī), of a goat, of a spotted deer, of a dark-coloured deer, of a runu deer, of a wild boar, of a hare; the offering of rhinoceros flesh, of a fish called Mahāsalka, of

952. भित्तिस्वरोध वै महासलके नासायते। भित्तिस्वरोधानि भित्तिस्वरोध वै कृत्तिके नासायते। मतत्त्वानिविद्याप्रत्येकम् कुत्सायते।

The passage above explains the use of the term 'kāḷakṣara' in the context of the śrāddha ceremony.
honey, of food fit for hermits (wild corn such as nīvūra), the
flesh of a red goat, of Mahāśāka (i.e. Kālaśāka), and the flesh
of Vārdhrināsā—these secure inexhaustible fruit. There is some
divergence of views among the several works. For example,
Manu III. 267 and 271, Kātyāyana (in śrāddhāsūtra 7) appear
to hold that by offering food prepared from village corn
(such as rice, māsa & c.) or wild eatables (such as nīvūra or
fruits and roots) the gratification is only for one month
and the flesh of Vārdhrināsā produces gratification for twelve
years only (and not for all time). Viśnu Dh. S. 80,10 and
Manu III. 270 bring in buffalo flesh and tortoise flesh
as giving gratification for ten and eleven month respec-
tively. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 590)953 is careful to point
out that these words about the duration of time are not to be
taken literally but what is really intended is to convey
greater and greater gratification of the pitṛs according to
the kind of flesh offered. Pulastya quoted by the Mit. and
Aparārka p. 555 provides that a brāhmaṇa should generally or
mainly offer at a śrāddha hermit’s food, a kṣatriya or a vaisya
should offer flesh, a sūdra should offer honey and all varṇas
may offer anything else (except these three) which is not
forbidden.954 Whoever may be the offerer, the eater at a
śrāddha dinner was to be a brāhmaṇa alone and so it follows
that brāhmaṇas invited to a śrāddha by a kṣatriya or vaisya
had to eat flesh. Yet it is remarkable that even the Mitākṣarā
and the Kalpataru written about 1100–1120 A. D. do not
expressly say that in the Kali age flesh-eating at śrāddha is
totally prohibited at least for brāhmaṇas. It has been shown
already (H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 775–776) that even when animal
sacrifices were the order of the day in the Rgveda and the
Brāhmaṇas there was an undercurrent of thought that the
offerings of fuel-sticks or of boiled rice when made with heart-
felt devotion to the gods were as good as flesh offerings for

953. इस स्त्रिया भोज्निति मथि विशिष्टः। न दू यथास्व एव कालः। तथा स्ति भवसा-
वर्षंयर्थं सिद्धं तत्स्वरुपायं भ्रास्ताकारणं साते सति न भीतिष्येत यथाकाम्य। हियेत्तेऽन्त्यं
विद्धवपति इति निषिद्धाय। हेमाद्रि (०. प. 590).  

954. अब यथाच वर्णपालनमहावर्णोद परवर्णांक भस्मादन्त भाद्रो नोकीहि दुस्तर-
ीणि तपस्या पुनः प्रयोगोन्या घरस्वास्त्रुष्टीया। वर्णन्य भाद्राग्निर्यथे सांस क्षत्रियेकेन्द्रया। । मन्तर-
मम्भनं दुर्भर्त सर्वं जातिभावे यद। गौर्ण । य या. १. २६०; तथा च भञ्जनस्य एडवाड़ी ये
यथाभावं यथबंधुं तु सामसाष्टिकं तदं-इति। तथा ग्रामसिद्धं तथा भाद्रं इति कलिताश्रयमयमा-
मध्यय वेदायाय। परिवीतात्ववेदनायेत।। अन्यथा पलिन्क्रेयः सर्वधर्मशह्यतः मुँ
इति तत्त्वसाहित्यसवलालाः। पुराणं यो १ भाद्र (folio 416) quoting नारद श्च श्लोकः।
securing their favour. In course of time that conception grew stronger and stronger, so much so that Manu (V. 27-44 and V. 46-47) and Vasistha appear to be in two minds (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 778-780). Gradually the offering of flesh in Madhuparka and in śrāddhas came to be totally condemned in works of the 12th and 13th centuries and onwards as a matter prohibited in the Kali age (Varātithiptṛbhyaśca paśūpākaranaśrīśriyā). (Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 945-946 and p. 964). Now except among the brahmaṇas (in Northern India) who have no objection to include fish in diet as permissible to them no brahmaṇa offers flesh in śrāddha. The usage of Northern India would be in accordance with the view set out in Brāhmaṇaradiya-pūrṇa that one should offer honey, flesh and other things according to the usage of the country, as explained by the Prthvičandrodaya.

Manu (V.11-18) contains long lists of animals, birds and fishes whose flesh was not to be eaten even by those who were flesh-eaters.

If a person is destitute, some of the Purāṇas such as the Viṣṇu (III. 4.24-30) and the Varāha (13.53-58) mercifully provide in identical verses that instead of entertaining brahmaṇas with a sumptuous dinner or flesh the poor man may offer only uncooked corn, or some vegetables growing wildly or some slight daksīṇā if he cannot offer even uncooked food or vegetables, or he may offer a few grains of sesamum (7 or 8) to a brahmaṇa with water in his folded hands, or grass to a cow enough for one day and if he cannot afford even any one of these, then he may repair to a thicket of trees, raise his arms so that his armpits are exposed and loudly address the guardians of the worlds such as the Sun in the following words: ‘I have neither wealth nor money nor anything else fit to be offered by way of śrāddha; I bow to my pitṛs; may the pitṛs be satisfied by my devotion; I have stretched these arms in space!’ (lit. the path of the wind).

955. असमर्थोऽवहनं प्राणम् मानं स्थापितं: | सर्वामावेव सघ्व गंवच कस्मवेदांकरं: ||

यमन्त्रवित्तोऽवहनं मानं स्थापितं: | न भवेन्ति विन्दुः न धर्मं न वायुव्राहारम् योगं

स्त्रीवेदांकरंश्च: ||

तुम्पन्तु भवत्व सितस्य समस्थो श्रुवन्ति ततो स्वेतर्म महकाता: ||

वर्षाण पुरा. 13. 57-58 = विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 29-30, q. by मनु. पा. pp. 515-16 from विष्णु and by निश्चितस्य III. p. 467 from both. This passage explains the origin and the present meaning of the Marathi phrase स्वाका वर वर्षाण वर्षारावस (chap. 5 p. 152) has similar provisions. The पुरा (folio 56 b.) notes ‘प्राणम् मानवेदनकारं स्थापितं वर्षाण मात्रायं पाटः’; in the printed विष्णुपुराण the reading is not प्राणम् मात्रे, but the निश्चितस्य had these words and it appears that the text was tampered with in modern times.

H. D. 54
It is now time to describe the procedure of the Pārvana-sraddha\(^{955}\) which is the pattern or norm (prakṛti) of the other sraddhas\(^{956}\) (even including the Aṣṭakās). Here one meets with great divergences of views even from the times of the sūtras up to modern times. Though the main items and stages in the rite of sraddha are generally the same, there is variation in the mantras, the details and sometimes in the order of the several items. Kātyāyana lays down that every man has to follow his own sūtra as to the use of the word ‘svāhā’ or the words ‘svadhā namaḥ’, as to wearing the sacred thread in the yajñopavita or prācināvīta way and as to the number of āhutis\(^{957}\).

It would be very interesting first to find out the vestiges of the sacrifice to the fathers in the most ancient Vedic texts. The Tai. S. (I. 8. 5. 1–2) deals\(^{958}\) with the Mahāpitṛyajñā per-

---

955 a. Terms already explained such as ‘Pārvana’ and ‘Ekoddīṣṭa’ are not explained again. Vide n. 855 above for those two words. Sraddha on amāvāsyā is obligatory (nityā) as laid down by Gaut. 15.1 q. in note 935 above, while the sraddhas performed on the other tithis of the dark half of a month are kāmya.

956. The anākula of hṛdaya on apa. ś. 21.1 states ‘पुन: पाय वैज्ञानिकवाचः’

957. तथा का तात्पर्यः। साधा सधा नमः सस्मालोकम् चैव च। आक्षोभीतः हु च ज यास्या सम्बन्धम् वृद्धज्ञ

958. सामान्य पिनुस्ते हुलासा बृहत्तुपातं निषेष्टति पिनुस्ते परित्यागो धान्या: पिनुस्ते विश्वविद्यायो विश्वविद्या युः मन्येतस्ते वते च तामसस्ते पितामस्ते पपलामास ये च तामसस्ते मन्येतस्ते मन्येतस्ते मन्येतस्ते मन्येतस्ते मन्येतस्ते मन्येतस्ते मन्येतस्ते मन्येतस्ते। ये दूर: पूर्वमयुः

959. अर्थात् यथा गोविन्दो ङ्ग बिष्णु: पिनुस्ते परित्याग: पिनुस्ते परित्याग: पिनुस्ते परित्याग: पिनुस्ते परित्याग: पिनुस्ते परित्याग: पिनुस्ते परित्याग: पिनुस्ते परित्याग: पिनुस्ते परित्याग: पिनुस्ते परित्याग:
formed in Sakamedha, the third of the four Caiturmāyas:

“He offers to Soma accompanied by the pitṛs a cake baked on six potsherds, to the pitṛs Barhiṣadāḥ (sitting on darbha grass or in a yajña) friad grains, for the pitṛs called Agnisvātta he milks a drink from a cow which has to be won over (to another calf). This for thee, O father and for those who come after thee (i.e. for thy descendants); this for thee, O grandfather, great-grandfather and for those who come after thee; do, ye Pitṛs rejoice in your portions. May we gladden thee, O Indra, that castest thy glance at us, come forth now with full chariot seat; being praised (by us) thou goest to places desired by you. Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. They (pitaraḥ) have eaten, they have rejoiced, the dear ones have dispelled (evil); the radiant sages have been praised with newest hymn, Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. The pitṛs have eaten, the pitṛs have rejoiced, the pitṛs have been glad, the pitṛs have purified themselves. Go away, O Pitṛs, that art soma-loving by your majestic ancient paths. Then reach ye the pitṛs that well know you (or everything) and that revel in the company of Yama.”

In the Tai, Br. I. 2.10 the Pindapitryajña is dealt with at some length. In the note below the important passages are set forth leaving out the legends, repetitions and matters not relevant to our purpose: “Therefore the rite (called pindapitryajña) is performed the day previous (to the Dārśeṣṭi).

959. татамхварну: पूर्वेः: कियते...सोमाय दिनुमाय स्वसा नम हुःसह ।...अथ श्रवणनाय स्वसा नम हुःसह । एव दिनुमाय स्वसा नम हुःसह । 

The words नम हुःसह are written in the margin, but are not part of the text as printed in the main body of the volume. The note refers to a specific point in the ancient text, indicating that the rite of Pindapitryajña is performed the day before the Dārśeṣṭi ceremony.
He says 'to Soma drunk by the pitṛs, svadhā! Adoration!' He says 'to Agni, the carrier of kavya, svadhā! Adoration!' (Thereby) he pleases the fire that pertains to the pitṛs. He offers (into fire) three oblations; he puts down (on the darbhas spread on the ground) three pīṇḍas. (These) thus come to six in number. Six indeed are the seasons. He (thereby) pleases the seasons. The seasons are indeed the shining (or divine) pitṛs...... The darbha grass is cut with one stroke; the pitṛs have as it were (passed away) once for ever. He puts down thrice (the pīṇḍas). The pitṛs are indeed in the third world from here. He (thereby) pleases them. He (the performer) turns his face away (to the north from the south), for the Fathers are shy. He remains with his face turned away till the steam (of the boiled rice of the pīṇḍas) ceases to rise, for the Fathers have the steam of rice as their share; he should simply smell (the pīṇḍas). That as if does not amount to eating or non-eating. The pitṛs when departing (from the śrāddha rite) take away or grant a valiant son. He cuts off the fringe (of a garment to place it on the pīṇḍas), for the share of Fathers is taking away (what is offered). He (thereby) allots their proper share to the pitṛs (and dismisses them). When (the performer) is in the latter part of life (i.e., over 50 years of age) he cuts off hair (from his chest instead of presenting a daśa). At that time he is nearer to the pitṛs (when above 50 years of age). He offers adoration, because adoration (nāmaskāra) is dear to the pitṛs. Adoration to you, O Fathers, for vigour; adoration to you, O fathers, for life; adoration to you, O fathers, for svadhā; adoration to you, O fathers, for ardour; adoration, O fathers, for the terrible! O fathers! here is adoration to you. This (pīṇḍapitṛyājā) is indeed a sacrifice of men (i.e., sacrifice to departed men) and other sacrifices belong to the gods." In the Tai, Br. I. 4. 10 the Pitṛyajña performed in sūkāme.īha is praised (in 2) and further on it is said that Ritus (seasons) are pitṛs and they offered pitṛyajña to Prajāpati, their father. This passage supports the provision made in Manu and some of the digests that the Ritus are to be identified with pitṛs and obeisance is to be made to them.963

---

960. तस्मात्साक्रावर्तकोऽज्ञान: इत्याप्सर्वश्रीमा स्वतिष्ठान्यश्च इत्याशाहसीतः। यदित्युपश्रेष्ठं वज्जते इत्यपेतश्च इत्याश्च महाविश्वसीतः। 2...अःपत्तेः: वितरः: भयापति: पितरः: पितुपश्रेष्ठाः: यस्मातः। तत्व योगतात्तथा स्वतिष्ठानः। यदित्युपश्रेष्ठं वज्जते इत्यपेतश्च इत्याश्च महाविश्वसीतः। अतुपर्याप्तं इत्यपेतं इत्याश्च महाविश्वसीतः। तत्व योगतात्तथा स्वतिष्ठानः। भाष. I. 4.10.8. The word पितुपश्रेष्ठ here and in n. सं. III. 2.2.3, म. सं. I.10.17 (वितराः पितुपश्रेष्ठाः भोजनं वितराःप्रभावीत: पीता महतः) means a sacrifice (Continued on the next page)
The Sat. Br. (II. 4. 2) contains the following somewhat fuller account of the Piṇḍa-pitrāyajña, omitting legendary or other irrelevant matters:—When the moon is not seen either in the east or in the west, then he (the performer of the Darśa sacrifice) presents food to the Fathers in each month .... He presents it in the afternoon. The forenoon indeed belongs to the gods; the midday to men; and the afternoon to the Fathers; therefore he presents (food to the Fathers) in the afternoon. While seated behind the Gārhapatya fire with his face turned towards the south and the sacred thread on his right shoulder he takes that material (for the offering from the cart). Thereupon he rises from thence and threshes the rice while standing north of the Dakṣiṇa fire and facing the south. Only once does he clean the rice, for it is once for all that the fathers have passed away. He then boils it. While it stands on (the Dakṣiṇa fire) he pours some clarified butter on it. After removing it (from the fire) he offers to the gods two oblations in the fire ...... Here he is engaged in a sacrifice to the Fathers; hence he thereby propitiates the gods and being permitted by the gods, he presents that food to the Fathers. He offers to both Agni and Soma ... He offers with the formula ‘To Agni, the carrier of kavya (what is offered to the Manes), svāhā!’; ‘To Soma accompanied by the Fathers, svāhā!’ (Vāj. S. II 29). He then puts the pot-ladle (mekṣaṇa) on the fire, that being in lieu of the Śviṣṭakṛt. Thereafter he draws (with the sphyā, the wooden sword) one line south of the Dakṣiṇa fire, that being in lieu of the altar. He then lays down a firebrand at the further (south) end of the line. For, were he to present that food to the Fathers without having laid down a firebrand, the Asuras and Rākṣasas would certainly tamper with it. ... He lays it down with the text ‘whatsoever Asuras roam about being attracted by the svadhā (offering to Fathers), assuming various shapes, be they large-bodied or small-bodied, may Agni expel them from this world (Vāj. S. II. 30) ... He then takes the water jar and makes the Fathers wash (their hands) merely saying ‘N. N., wash thyself’ (naming) the sacrificer’s father; ‘N. N. wash thyself (naming the sacrificer’s) grandfather; ‘N. N., wash thyself

(Continued from the last page)

offered to the manes, while it is doubtful whether in Rg X. 16. 10 the word विदुषक means the same thing. But as the verse that immediately follows (Rg. X. 16.11) mentions pīṭras in the plural, it looks as if the meaning of विदुषक being well known was used in a secondary sense in Rg. X. 16.10.
(naming) the sacrificer's great-grandfather. As one would pour out water (for a guest) when he is about to take food, so in this case. Now those (stalks of sacrificial grass) are severed with one stroke and cut off near the root; the top belongs to the gods, the middle part to men and the root part (of darbhas) to the fathers. Therefore they are cut off near the roots .... He spreads them along with the line with their tops towards the south. Thereon he presents (to the fathers the three round cakes of rice). He presents thus:— for the gods they offer thus: for men they ladle out; and in the case of the fathers they do in this very way; therefore he presents (the cakes to the fathers) thus. With 'N. N., this for thee!' he presents one cake to the sacrificer's father. Some add 'for those that come after thee', but let him not say this, since he himself is one of those to whom it would be offered in common. Let him therefore merely say 'N. N., this for thee!' as to the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., this for thee' as to his grandfather; 'N. N., this for thee' as to his great-grandfather... He then mutters 'Here, O fathers, regale yourselves; like bulls come hither each to his own share!' (Vāj. S. II. 31). Whereby he says 'Eat each his own share'. He then turns round to the left so as to face the opposite (north) side; for the fathers are far away from men; and thereby he also is far away (from the fathers). 'Let him remain (standing with bated breath) until his breath fail' say some; 'for thus far extends the vital energy'. However, having remained so far a moment—he again turns round (to the right) and mutters 'the Fathers have regaled themselves; like bulls they have come each to his own share' (Vāj. S. II. 31); whereby what he says is 'they have eaten each his own share'. Thereupon he takes the water jar and makes them wash themselves (by pouring water on the pipdās), merely saying 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N. wash thyself' (naming) his grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) his paternal great-grandfather. Even as one would pour out (water for a guest). When he has taken his meal, so it is here. He then pulls down the tuck (of the sacrificer's garment) and performs obeisance. The tuck is sacred to the Fathers; therefore he performs obeisance to them after pulling down the tuck. ... Six times he performs obeisance, for there are six seasons and the fathers are the seasons. He mutters 'Give us houses, O fathers', for the fathers are the rulers of houses; and this is the prayer for blessing at this sacrificial performance. After the
Conceptions of Pārvatārādhāna

pipāsas have been put back (in a dish) the sacrificer smells at (the rice); this (smelling) being the sacrificer's share. The stalks of darbha cut with one stroke he puts on the fire; and he also throws away the firebrand on to the fire. 960a

It will be noticed that many of the fundamental conceptions of a pārvatārādhāna are very clearly brought out in the Sat. Br. Wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder, afternoon as the proper time, cleansing the paddy only once, boiling the rice on the Dakṣinā fire, offering into the same fire two oblations to the gods first, the two formulas of presentation to Agni Kavyavāhana and to Soma Pitṛmat, drawing a line or
furrow to the south of the Dakṣīna fire, laying down a firebrand, making the three paternal ancestors wash (avanejana),
darbha grass severed from near the root, spreading the darbhas on the
line or furrow and offering three pīṇḍas to the three ancestors
to regale themselves, turning away from the pīṇḍas for a
moment and then resuming his position and saying that the
ancestors have regaled themselves, offering water for washing
(pratayavanejana), pulling down the tuck and performing obeisance
six times (and identifying the Fathers with seasons) and
praying to the Fathers to bestow houses, smelling the boiled
rice, throwing the darbhas and firebrand into the fire—these are
the principal matters even now in the Pārvapa-śrāddha per-
formed by students of the Śukla Yajurveda, although several
other details (such as the introduction of the mother's paternal
ancestors) and some mantras are added. The Kātyāyana Sr.
IV. 1, closely follows the Śat. Br., but adds certain details viz.
his hands and repeats the six mantras (Vāj. S. II, 32
‘namo vah pitāro rasāya’ &c.) throwing three threads on each
pīṇḍa with the mantra ‘etadvah’ (Vāj. S. II, 32) or the woolen
fringe of a garment or hair from the chest of the sacrificer
when he is beyond fifty years of age, sprinkling water on the
pīṇḍas or on the ground near them with (Vāj. S. II, 34) 962.

The other samhitās also contain identical mantras. For
example, the Vāj. S. II, 29–34 963 are mantras most of which are

961. On 'wash thyself' the com. on कायम. ओ. च. IV. 1. 10 says
'अस्तरस्य यथा रसो रससरसस प्रतितिधिवसदित्वन्ते यथा रससरससरस
उपवाससदित्वन्ते अस्तरस्य सरससरससरससरससरससरससरससरससरससरस
अस्तरस्य सरससरससरससरससरससरससरससरससरससरससरससरससरस'
Some other sūtra-
kāras provide अद्यक्षायो गल्ल substantiate for अद्यक्षायो.

962. About the use of the words 'those that come after thee' vide n.
781 for the Tai. S. passage where those words are employed and also notes
1040, 1052, 1053. 'He presents them thus'—When the pīṇḍa is to be
offered to the Fathers it is done with the pīṭṛīthta (the part of the hand
between the thumb and forefinger). This is indicated by the teacher by
means of a gesture. 'He then pulls down the tuck—' The sacrificer
(or adhvaryu) puts on an upper garment when the rite commences, the daśā
or unwoven edge of which he tucks under the waistband. This he loosens or
pulls out at this stage. It will have been noticed that the Sat. Br. in dealing
with Pindaśrayaṇa employs Vāj. S. II. 29 (except 'apahata asura
raksānśi vediṣādah'), 30, 31.

963. आर्ये कल्पवाणापि साहा सोमस्य विनिमये स्त्राहः. अशर्ता अनुभा नक्षित्र
वेदित्वाष्ट्र: ये कल्पना...प्राक्कल्पयानां अर्थ पितरो मातुरवः...पुत्रान्नमेते नन्मेण: कः
विनिमया सम्यो व: पितर: पितर: सम्यो व: दुःशास्य: पितरो इति सतो
(Continued on the next page)
employed in the Pindapityajña in Sākamedha. Similarly,
in the Maitrāyani Samhitā I. 10.3, 10–21 these are mantras for
the pithyajña employed in Sākamedha many of which are the
same as in Vāj. S. or Tai. Br. M. S. I. 10. 3.11 is the same as
Vāj. S. III 52 and M. S. I. 10. 3. 17–20 are the same as Vāj. S.
32 and Tai. I. 3. 10. 8.

Coming to the sūtra literature, it is best to begin with the
procedure of pārvanastrāddha as described in the Āsv. gr. IV.
7–8. It is stated by the Anākula on Āp. gr. 21.1 that the

(Continued from the last page)

V: pitaro deśita-tat: pitaro vaśa ādhyatma: ādhyatma...

(Continued on the next page)
monthly śrāddha (māsi-śrāddha) is the prakṛti of Aṣṭakā and other śrāddhas in which three ancestors are to be invoked. It is as follows: Now then at a Pārvaṇa-śrāddha, or at a śrāddha celebrated for securing some desired object, or at an Ābhyudayika-śrāddha or at an Ekoddīṭaśrāddha, the performer causes to sit down brāhmaṇas who are endowed with learning, moral character and proper conduct or who are endowed with (at least) one (of these three characteristics), who have been invited already in proper time, who have taken a bath, whose feet are washed (by the performer) and who have sipped water (taken ācamana), as representatives of (or equal to) the Fathers, with their faces turned to the north, one for each of the Fathers, or two for each or three for each. The larger the number of brahmaṇas invited the greater is the fruit or reward. But in no case (should he invite) only one for all (the Fathers); or he may invite only one brahmaṇa except at the first śrāddha 967. By the exposition of the Piṇḍapitriyaajña the rules for the pārvaṇa-śrāddha have been declared. Having given water (into the hands of the invited brahmaṇa or brahmaṇas after they sit down) and double-folded darbha blades as a seat (on which the darbhas are to be kept), having again given water to them and having poured water into three vessels of metal (silver &c.), of stone and of earthenware or into three vessels made of the same substance (out of these three) which are covered over with darbha blades and having recited (over the water in the vessels) the verse ‘śanno &c.’ (Ṛg. X. 9.4) 968 the performer puts sesamum grains into the water with the mantra “Sesamum art thou, Soma is thy deity, at the Gosava” 969

(Continued from the last page)

967. Vide n. 903 above for the several meanings of ‘anādye’.

968. The verse is हृ नो ब्रेमिष्ठिर्भ आपो भवस्व पितवे या। पारणि भवस्व न। Ṭ। X 9.4. This भवस्व is recited only once.

969. For the Gosava sacrifice, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1213 n 2644. The mantra about sesamum is repeated over each of the three vessels.
sacrifice thou hast been created by the gods, thou hast been offered by persons who are like ancient ones; through the svadāḥ mayst thou make the Fathers and these worlds pleased with us! svadāḥ! Adoration!” The different items of the rite are performed from the right to the left 970. With the part of the other hand (i.e., left) between the thumb 971 (and forefinger) since he wears the sacred thread over the left shoulder, or with the right which he seizes with the left, (he offers the Arghya water) to Fathers with the words ‘Father, this is the arghya for thee; Grand-father, this is the arghya for thee; Great-grandfather, this is the arghya for thee; after first offering (ordinary) water to the Fathers. When about to induce the brāh-

970. The rules about Pindapitryaūja have been set forth in Āṣv. Sr. S. II. 6. Nārāyaṇa notes (on Āṣv. gr. IV. 7.2) that Āsavāyana treats of only the procedure relating to the rite for pitṛs and that he does not at all refer to the dinner given to daiva or Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas at the time of śrāddha. It is therefore possible that feeding daiva brāhmaṇas was added to the ancient ritual, though it must be said that Manu III. 125, Yāj. I. 224–28 and Vas. XI. 27 prescribe such feeding. Dr. Caland (in ‘Ahnencult’ p. 161) asserts that he can prove that the detail of feeding daiva brāhmaṇas spread from the Śrāddhaśūtra of Kātyāyana to the other sūtras and he relies on the fact that Kātyāyana (in Kandikā 2) prescribes that the viśve devāḥ should be invoked with the verse ‘Viśve devāṣa āgata’ and the performer should mutter the verse ‘viśve devāḥ śrutamam’ which are respectively Yāj. S. VII. 34 and XXXIII. 53. But Dr. Caland tries to prove too much. The first verse occurs twice in the Rg. (II. 41. 13 and VI. 52.7) and the second occurs in Rg. VI. 52.13, Tai. S. II. 4.14. 5. They are not found only in the Yāj. S. as Dr. Caland seems to have thought. It is possible that other works took over those mantras from the Rgveda or the Tai. S. It may also be noted that Yāj. I. 229 mentions only ‘Viśve devāṣa’ and specifies that it is a rūkṣa (and not a mantra or yajus). So Yāj, at least does not appear to have borrowed the prescriptions of Kātyāyana. It is not necessary to examine the other arguments.

971. The part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger is called śvīsīmē and water is offered by that part of the hand for the pitṛs; vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 316 note 652. भारतपाणि explains इतरपञ्चकुटार in two ways as follows: ‘चेव पाणिन कर्म कोरित बुक्षयेन वा सचेयन वा तालिकासे पंडोपयीते सिथे भारसेरक्ती भवति ततोद्यतिसमसे सिथे उद्धीती भवति. अथ तुपदोतितत्त्ता चर्चिनीतितिलिन्दुकुस्वरथम् सत्यपदोतितालीमें उत्तद्भन्दवस्मि्। अथवा सत्यपाणि स्विद्भागिताद्वारसिंह पाणि सत्यपाणि शुर्कतात सब्बिन्दौ भार्मोहथ्यायेवायायेवाय प्रभुरश्च।’ The कठपुत्र (in श्र. p.148) explains: मानसेन वालीन हस्तेन। तदपरि तेन केकड़ वामोक्त अष्टि देत हर्षतुम्यावलोक्तेन इतरसं दुष्यायनयो पाणिो अद्याक्षर्कत्वित्रोषायम्। तैवरुक्तेन भवति। वामोलम अस्वपूर्ण ऋतु बुक्ष्यमहस्तेन द्रिक्षिन्य संस्कृत्य भवा महारस्यायेतु नाह धृति तत् भ्रात्रिति। अर्थ is respectful offering of water or water with husked rice grains, flowers etc. to gods or venerable persons.
manas to accept the arghya water he should once only (for each brāhmaṇa or group of brāhmaṇas for each of the Fathers) say to them 'svadhā! these are arghya waters' and then over the waters that are poured out he recites the verse (separately for each brāhmaṇa) 'The heavenly waters which have been produced on the earth, in the aerial regions and the waters that are terrestrial, that are golden-hued, and fit for sacrifice—may these waters bring us welfare and be favourable to us'. Pouring together (in the first vessel) what has been left in the vessels (for holding arghya water) he anoints his face with that water if he (the performer) desires that a son be born to him. 'He should not remove the first vessel into which the arghya water for the Fathers has been poured (till the end of the rite). The Fathers dwell therein concealed; thus did Śaunaka say' 972. Just at that time the gifts of sandalwood paste, flowers, incense, lamp, and clothes are to be offered (to the brāhmaṇas). 973 Having taken some food (from the Sthālipāka prepared for Pīṇḍapitryajña) and smeared it with ghee he asks the brāhmaṇas' permission in the words 'I shall offer it in the fire' or in the words 'let me offer in the fire'. The permission is given (by the brāhmaṇas) in the words 'Let it be done' or in the words 'do it'. He then sacrifices in the fire as stated before 974 or (if the brāhmaṇas give permission) in the hands of the brāhmaṇas; since the Brāhmaṇa text says 'fire is verily the mouth of the Fathers'. If he offers in the hands of the brā-

972. 'He should not remove etc.' नासायण gives two explanations of this verse of Saunaka 'दूसरिंशन पृष्ठेः प्रामताः सत्राश्यानिशतिः। अये दू सत्रात् दूसरिंशन सस्त्री।। अत्यन्तितं प्रथमं पांचैं स्थापितं कुर्यादि तथा नासायणं सस्त्राश्यानिमित्तिः।' अभ्य. सू. IV. 8. 14.

973. Gifts of gṛha etc.—नासायण notes on अभ्य. सू. IV. 7. 10 that from अन्त्यानि up to (excluding) the gift of the five articles gṛha etc. the performer is वज्रोपासीति (i.e. wears the sacred thread on the left shoulder and under the right arm). When giving these he becomes वज्रोपासीति (i.e. wears the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left arm).

974. दशरथुं द्रवलस्ति। The reference is to अभ्य. शृ. II. 6. 12 which reads: दशरथुं द्रवलस्ति दशरथुं दास्ति अद्यान्ति कर्मविविधः दास्ति। दशरथुं विविधात स्थापनं नायकं नायकं सवर्गश्च।।7 The word अद्यान्ति in अभ्य. सू. IV. 8. 4 indicates that all the items of the तिथिविविधः upto दौम्य (i.e. excluding it) are performed before this stage is reached. If the performer has no sacred fire and offers into the hands of the brāhmaṇas the same mantras are employed. The अभ्य. शृ., II. 6.13 allows an option viz. the word ववास्य may be used but then the order of सवर्गश्च will be अद्यान्ति कर्मविविधः सवर्गश्च, सवर्गश्च विविधात सवर्गश्च and he will be वज्रोपासीति.
mapās, then he assigns other food to them after they have sipped water and the food (that remains) is mixed with the food that is served to the brāhmaṇas, since it is said ‘what is abandoned and given to (brāhmaṇas) brings prosperity’. When he sees that the brāhmaṇas are satiated (with the food served at the dinner) he (the performer) should recite to the brāhmaṇas the verses containing the word ‘madhu’ (Rg. I. 90, 6–8) and also the verse ‘they have eaten, they have enjoyed themselves’ (Rg. I. 82.2). Having asked the brāhmaṇas ‘was the dinner perfect?’ (they should reply that it was) and then having taken (portions of) the different foods that were enjoyed by the brāhmaṇas together with the sthālpāka food in order to make lumps (piṇḍas) thereof he should present all (the rest of the food) to the brāhmaṇas. After the brāhmaṇas have either accepted (the rest of the food) or given him permission (to use it for his family and friends), and after they have finished eating he should, before they have sipped water (performed ācamana after finishing their dinner), put down the lumps (piṇḍas) for the Fathers. According to some teachers (piṇḍas are put down) after the brāhmaṇas have sipped water (on getting up from the dinner). Having strewn the food on the ground (near the remnants of food) and wearing the sacred thread on his left shoulder he should (after turning the first vessel with top upside and after giving dakṣinā to the brāhmaṇas) bid adieu to the brāhmaṇas saying ‘utter Om!

975. ‘If in the hands.’ Mund III. 212 provides that if a man has no Śārīra fire, he should offer in the hand the brāhmaṇa only. Śúrah is explained by hṛdaya and nāma in āsya as mātram.

976. On IV. 8. 7. Nārāyaṇ remarks: अपरमयमत्र विभाविभिदिति मन्यते। ततात्त्र कला भोजनेऽहृ भोजनार्थस्य सत्यमवेदिती ददातेकथे।। यदि पाणिभोजः कृतस्वव्याप्तिः कृतस्वव्याप्तस्य अन्यतुः वद्विदितप्रस्थः।।

977. Rgveda I. 90. 6–8 (Mundāla Jñāyate etc.) are called Mūnsī verses because each contains the word Mund several times.

978. On ‘स्थानीपालकः सह’ Nārāyaṇ observes ‘स्थानीपालकः सहेति मन्यते। स्थानीपालकः विभिन्नतः तेन मुक्तसिद्धि तेन श्रुतान्वेषन च। विभिन्नतेः विभिन्नतेः।। तत् तु स्थानीपालकविभिन्नतेः तत् तु: श्रुतान्वेषन: केवलेन निपरण: मन्यते।।।’. In some Brāhmaṇas such as the Kāśyapa, Śrīvaṁśi, Aśvaghoṣa, Adinātha and Aṅgali there is no स्थानीपालक.

979. ‘He should put down the lumps’. Here आन्वेयतत्त्व appears to differ from Mund III. 253, 260.

980. The word ‘उपर्युच्छ’ shows that till then the performer was śāriṇīपालक.
Svadhā' or he should say 'Om! Svadhā!' (and they should reply 'Om! Svadhā!').

From considerations of space it is impossible to set out all the differences among the grhyasūtras of the Rigveda, of the Taittirīya sākhā (viz. Baudhāyana, Āp., Hir., Bharadvāj and Vaikhānasa), of the Vajasaneyi/sākhā (such as Śraddhasūtra of Kātyāyana), of the Śāmaveda (such as Gobhila and Khādīra) and of the Atharvaveda (being Kaũśika sūtra). A few matters may be set out by way of illustration. The Āp. gr. (21. 3–4) states that (after the brāhmaṇa are invited for śrāddha dinner) from the food prepared for the dinner a portion is taken out in a vessel and therefrom seven āhūtis are cast into the fire with the seven mantras beginning with 'yaṁ mē mātā' (in Āp. M. P. II. 19. 1-7), the first two for the father, the next two for the grand-father, next two for the great-grand-father and the 7th to pītṛs in general with svāhā (but without naming any one) and then six oblations of clarified butter are offered with the six formulas beginning with 'svāhā pītre' (Āp. M. P. II. 19. 8–13). Thus the agnakarana in Āp. consists of two parts viz. āhūtis of food and of clarified butter, while in Āśv. it is made only with food. Then the performer should touch all food (cooked food and the remainder of what is employed for offering into fire) with the three mantras 'esa te tata madhumāṇ' (Āp. M. P. II. 19. 14–16), he should make the brāhmaṇa touch the food served to each with the Yajus formula 'the earth is thy vessel' (Āp. M. P. 2. 20. 1) quoted in n. 992 below.

Āp. gr. prescribes the mantra 'putrān pautrān' (Āp. M. P. II. 20. 24) for moistening the pīṇḍas, while Baud. gr. and Vaikhānasa gr. (IV. 6) employ the mantra 'urjam vaḥantir' (Vāj. S. II. 34) for the same purpose. It may be noted that

---

980 a. It will be noticed that Āśv. omits several details viz. (1) he does not say that the brāhmaṇas for all the gods are to be seated, facing the east; (2) he mentions no mantra such as 'ye agnidadhā &c.;' (3) nothing is said about dakṣinā or about the performer following the brāhmaṇas a few paces and then returning with their permission.

981. The Āap. p. 20. 9 sets down the whole procedure very succinctly after the brāhmaṇas have taken the dinner as follows: सुत्तत्रस्तुसृव न्यक्षिष्ठिकृतय द्वेषेऽविन्दमाद्य द्वारणसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियसंसारियs. The mantras referred to here occur in Āap. M. P. II. 19. to II. 20. 26.
these sūtras which belong to the Taittirīya śākha employ a verse from another recension viz. the Śukla Yajurveda.

The Hir. Gr. (II. 10–13) is more elaborate than the Āp. Gr. and not only sets out at length many of the mantras in Āp. M. P. II. 19–20, but adds some more. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (1–3) sets out the procedure of the monthly śrāddha almost in the same way as the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (which is set out below). It states that in the monthly śrāddha first come the daiva rites and then the various items occur as in the Piḍa-pitṛyajña ‘piṇḍapitṛyajña-vad-upacāraḥ’ (first sūtra of the 2nd kaṇḍikā). Some details which it contains (and Yāj. does not expressly mention) may be set out here. It gives in full the mantras ‘tīlosi’, ‘ya divyā’ (both of which occur in Aśv. gr.), ‘prthivī to pātram’ (which is Āp. M. P. II. 20.1). It prescribes that in addition to the Gāyatrī and the Madhumati verses the word ‘madhu’ should be repeated thrice. The holy texts to be repeated while the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating according to Kātyāyana are the Gāyatrī (once or thrice), the five Rakṣoghnī verses (Rg. IV. 4. 1–5, Vāj. S. XIII. 9–13, Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 1–2), Puruṣasūkta, the Apratiratha hymn (Rg. X. 103. 1–13 = Vāj. S. 17. 33–34, 46 = Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 1–4) and others. It expressly states that the svadhāvācana (Yāj. I. 244) relates to both paternal and maternal ancestors. Besides the blessing contained in Yāj. I. 246, Kātyāyana provides that the performer is to pray for and the brāhmaṇas are to pronounce two more viz. ‘May the pīṭra be kind (lit. not dreadful) to us’ and ‘May our family prosper’. Dr. Caland in his learned work ‘Altindischer Ahnencult’ (pp. 150–152) appears inclined to hold that when a sūtrakāra has not actually said anything on certain items in the śrāddha ritual, one has no right to anticipate, on the authority of later authors, that those items existed in the times of that sūtrakāra. I demur to this conclusion. Dr. Caland has attached no weight to the fact that Jaimini (as stated in H. of Dh. vol. III p. 870) laid down the principle that one may include certain items from another śākha. Jaimini’s sūtras cannot be supposed to have laid down those propositions for the first time. Jaimini’s sūtras are at least as old as some of the extant śruta sūtras such as that of Kātyāyana. Therefore hardly any chronological conclusions can be drawn with certainty from the silence of a sūtrakāra as to a certain item in the śrāddha ritual.

We shall now turn to the metrical smṛtis. Manu treats of the procedure of śrāddha at some length in III. 208–265. But
as the procedure prescribed by the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (I. 226–249) is more compact and at the same time more lucid it is set out here. "When the invited brāhmaṇas come in the afternoon the performer having a pavitra 982 in his hand should seat them on seats and make them sip water. The brāhmaṇas invited should be even in number (2, 4 &c.) according to the performer's resources at the daiva rite (i.e. the Vaiśvadewīka brāhmaṇas should be two, four &c.) and uneven (three or five &c.) at a (pārvaṇa) śrāddha for the pitṛs; the brāhmaṇas should be seated in a pure (cow dunged) plot screened on all sides and sloping towards the south. At the daiva (part of pārvaṇa-śrāddha when Viśve-devāḥ are to be invoked) two brāhmaṇas facing the east should sit down and three brāhmaṇas facing the north should be seated in the rite for the pitṛs or only one may be seated for each (i.e. in daiva and in pitṛya). The same rule applies to a śrāddha for maternal ancestors. In both (pitṛśrāddha and mātāmahaśrāddha) the worship of Viśve-devas may be performed separately or simultaneously 983. Then having poured water on the hands of the brāhmaṇas (meant for the rite in honour of viśve-devāḥ) and having given kuśa blades for a seat 984 (towards their right side on the seat already

982. For the meaning of pavitra see H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 657 notes 1553–54. It is a ring-like loop of darbhas to be worn in the right hand or in both hands on the finger next to the little finger. The Mit, supplies that the invited brāhmaṇas also should have a pavitra. The मोनिलस्वरूपः I, 28 defines it and is quoted by उपस्माक pp. 43 and 480.

983. On Yāj. I. 228 'तत्त्र या', the विनय remarks यदा तत्र हुष्ठ वायुण्यां सामथ्यम् तथावकं वेद्यस्य नित्यसमारम्. यथास वाचिताः. Vide p. 403 above for Vas, 11. 30–31 which the विनय quotes. The विन्युपाय III. 15. 16 says: तथा मातामहायां वैवैदेवसमारम्। कुलीनं मातामहायां तत्र तत् तथा वैवैदेवसमारम्। तत्त्र तथा वैवैदेवसमारम् जै. XVI. 1.1 explains 'यद सहस्तान्तर्क बृहस्पतिधर्मस्मृतितत् तन्त्र यथा यहृत्यं वायुण्यां सत्यते कुरु: पदपीयः'. Yāj. I. 228 contains several options about the number of brāhmaṇas. तत्त्र या—If the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors are to be invoked in one śrāddha one may separately invite two वैवैदेवसमारम् for pitṛya and two वैवैदेवसमारम् for मातामहाय; or only two brāhmaṇas may do वैवैदेवसमारम् for both pitṛya and मातामहाय. Or even one may do as वैवैदेवसमारम् for both.

984. For विन्य (in या. I. 229), a seat made with 25 darbhas, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 543 n. 1259. The विनय says that in addition to the vedic verse, a śāṁśa verse should be recited for invoking the विन्येव: viz. 'आत्मदक्षिणो दानवथायितम् विन्येव मातामहाय. ये वच विन्यित: आत्मो सामथ्यानं व्यवहारम्'. This verse is स्कूटपुराण VII. 1. 217. 32–33 and मद्यपुराण I. 218. 7. On p. 478 उपाय attributes this स्मार्तम् to बृहस्पति and to the ब्रह्मपुराण on p. 481. The (Continued on next page)
occupied), he should, with the permission of the invited brahmans, invoke the Viśvedevā with the verse ‘O! all the gods come!’ (Rg. II. 41. 13 or VI. 52. 7; Vāj. S. VII. 34). Having scattered on the ground (near the brahmans representing Viśve-devaḥ) barley grains and then having cast into a vessel (of metal &c.) covered with a pavitra water with the verse ‘san no devīr’ (Rg. X. 9. 4, Vāj. S. 36.12, Tai. Ār. IV. 42.4) and barley grains with the mantra ‘Yavosi’ (Vāj. S. V. 26, Tai. S. I. 3. 1. 1) and (also sandalwood paste and flowers) he should place in the hands (of the brahmans) the arghya985 water with the verse ‘yā divya’ (those heavenly waters &c., Tai. Br. II. 7. 15. 4). Then he should pour water into the hand (of the Vaiśva-deva brahmaṇa or brahmans) for washing the hand and give to them perfumes, flowers, incense, lamp986 and garment. Then wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder987 and

(Continued from last page)

985. ‘Arghya water’—The śiśita states ‘विषवेषेत्र इव यो अर्थसिद्धमयंवविक्षयितत’ The arghya is to be offered to each brahmaṇ separately as required by गौतमसुत्र III. 74 ‘अर्जुनधर्मे सैन विषवेषेत्रविविक्षयिता’ etc. The printed śiśita reads the सन्म as यवोसि धार्मिकान् etc. which is not found in the Vaiśja or other samhitās. Similarly, the śiśita reads the सन्म as ‘या दिनया आप् पवास’ for ‘अर्जुन’, which is probably Rg. VII. 49.2 with the order of words changed. अपराधक (p. 479) states that if there are two विषवेषेत्रविविक्षयिता then water and yavas should be put in two vessels and the सन्म is to be repeated each time when putting water, putting यवा and at each अर्जुन. हैतिम (on Rg. p. 1229) defines: ‘अर्जुनया नामादेवीणां, पुरसं समानांयो भवत्वयात्मकोऽधारणां।’

986. ‘दृष्टेष्व विशेषः वर्णस्तुलितोत्तपि स वृषभ: वात्सदेवेश्वरे दृष्टेष्व पवेषेत्र विविक्षयितु।’ śiśita: on I. 231. The विषवेषेत्र has the verse पुष्य (I. 141.12).

987. वार. I. 232—अपराधक तत्रः. The Mit. quotes इत्यादित्यादि that from hence the performer should face the south ‘विषवेषेत्रविविक्षयिता देवार्त्तमपि विविक्षयिताः।’ महायात पाठये सर्वे देवोत्तपिस्थिताः। ‘Double-folded kuśas’—compare Āṣv, (Continued on next page)
under the left arm (i.e. being prācināviti) the performer should offer to the pītṛs (i.e. to the three brāhmaṇas representing them) double-folded kūsas (with water) for a seat on the left (i.e. on the seats already occupied kūsas should be placed on the left side for a viśāra), he should then invoke the pītṛs after taking the permission of the brāhmaṇas with the r̥k ‘uṣantas-tvā’ (Rg. X. 16. 12, Vāj. S. 19, 70, Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 1), and should then recite in a low voice the mantra (āyantu naḥ pītaraḥ) ‘may the pītṛs come to us’ (Vāj. S. 19. 58). The performer, having scattered sesamum seeds all round (the brāhmaṇas) with the mantra ‘Apahata’ (Vāj. S. II. 29), should employ sesamum for all purposes where yavas were employed (in the daiva part of the ceremony) and should perform all the items such as giving arghya (water for worship) for the pītṛs as before (for the daiva rite). After offering arghya water, he should collect the drops of the arghya water fallen from the hands (or fingers) of the brāhmaṇas in one vessel (the pītṛ vessel), them turn it upside

(Continued from last page)
down on the ground (over a bunch of kuṣas with ends turned towards the south) with the mantra “thou art a place for the pitṛs.’ Then, being about to perform ‘agnaukaraṇa’ (offering in sacrifice), he takes the food mixed with clarified butter and asks the brāhmaṇas (in the words ‘I shall offer into the sacred fire’) and when permitted by them with the words ‘do so’, he offers into the fire (two portions cut off from the food mixed with ghee) with a mēkṣaṇa according to the

989. The नित्ता remarks that on the vessel turned upside down the paviṭras covering the three vessels should be placed and unguents, flowers, incense, lamp and garment should be offered to the brāhmaṇas with the words ‘विद्वतेऽतेम्’ etc.

990. पूर्वेष्व—The नित्ता very briefly sets forth how the items are to be repeated for पैविट्रासम्: ‘जयादाविदु पालेवु विद्वतेऽते मभृत्युष्णविनिन्तिमख्वालविष्यु 'स नौ वेदी:’ इति सत्यमपि: नित्ता ‘तित्ता विद्वतेऽते सत्यमपि:’ नित्ता। सत्यमपि: च किश्रुण विद्वतेऽते:। इति ब्रह्मानां पुनःसत्यविनिन्तिमख्वालविष्यु य विद्वतेऽते: इति सत्यमपि: नित्ता। विद्वतेऽते। इति सत्यमपि: नित्ता। अस्मय पवित्रासम् ते अस्ख्युṃजनमपैविट्रासम् ते अस्मय मनोजनमपैविट्रासम् ते अस्मय मनोजनमपैविट्रासम् ते अस्मय मनोजनमपैविट्रासम् ते अस्मय मनोजनमपैविट्रासम् ते।’ Vide आभ. वृ. in note 966 above for स्त्रृस्त्वी: नित्ता। विद्वतेऽते:। तम. लि:। इति। इति: ‘अस्मय मनोजनमपैविट्रासम्’ (तात. वृ. II. 29)। The ब्रह्मानंददर्शिन्द्र, अर्हर्म (P 484) वृ. and others say that the name and gotra of the ancestors should be mentioned in offering पालेवु, अवर्म, गक्षु etc. Therefore the अस्मय will be offered in the form ‘अस्मय मनोजनमपैविट्रासम् ते’। हलाद्युथ (folio 18a on आभ. वृ.) notes that in the case of ब्रह्मानंददर्शिन्द्र the last words are एवेवेष्वे:

991. भैष्ण्व is a rod of Āsvattha wood one aratni long having at one end a square board four aṅgulas in length (to be used like a mixing spoon). Two offerings are made with the words अस्मय क्षथापिनाय क्षणमनस्ते, सोमाय पित्ते सत्यमपि: (दात. वृ. II. 29 where the same formula occurs with सत्यमपि for क्षणमनस्ते:). Acc. to Baudh. Dh. S II. 8, 8-11 the offerings are three viz. to सोमाय पित्ते सत्यमपि:। जनाविनायुवेत्वे, अस्मय क्षथापिनाय क्षणमनस्ते। Acc. to मह. पा. p. 590 this is peculiar to Baudhāyaniyās. The ब्रह्मानंददर्शिन्द्र q. by मह. पा. (p. 591) speaks of आभ. वृ. and so does Brahmanda (apudghāta, 11.93-94). If the performer is आभ. वृ. and has observed सत्यमपि: method he offers into विद्वतेऽते: if he is not आभ. वृ. or has followed आभ. वृ. method he offers into gṛhya or āvasathya fire and if he has neither the śrauta nor gṛhya fire he offers into the hand of the brāhmaṇa. For the procedure of विद्वतेऽते: (which varies from one धार्मिक and sitra to another) vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1085-1090 and मह. III. 212 for पालेवुम. The food offered on the hand has to be mixed with the food served in the plate and then eaten. When there are several pitṛya brāhmaṇas invited the पालेवुम is to be made on the hand of the best of the brāhmaṇas acc. to the मह. पा. 585 and सत्यमपि: (आभ. p. 462), both of which quote गोभिंद II. 120 ‘तित्ता: ये: पालेवुस्त्रात्तब्य। गोभिंद II. 120 ‘तित्ता: ये: पालेवुस्त्रात्तब्य। हलाद्युथ holds that, since पा. (I. 237 हलाद्युथ मनोजनमपैविट्रासम् सत्यमपि:) employs the word ब्रह्मानंददर्शिन्द्र without any qualification, the remnants of the food for हलाद्युथ should be put in all plates including those for देवमानसम्। The सोन्दिराम (19.22) says: अवर्मभैष्ण्विन्त्रय पालेवु विद्वतेऽते:। सहायता दुसरी गोष्ठी वा अवर्मभैष्ण्विन्त्रय।
procedure laid down for Piṇḍapitryajña. He, being intent (only on performing śrāddha correctly), should serve the food that remains after (making the two offerings mentioned above) in plates (except earthen one) that he may be able to secure, and particularly silver ones (plates are meant for feeding pitrāya brāhmaṇas). After serving the food in the plates, he should invoke over the plates the mantra ‘the earth is thy support’, he should take hold of the thumb of the brāhmaṇas and put it on the food (served in the plates) with the mantra ‘idam Viṣṇur’ (‘Viṣṇu strode over this’ Rg. I. 22. 17, Vāj. S. V. 15, Tai S. I. 2. 13. 1). The performer should then mutter the Gāyatri verse (Rg. III. 62. 10, Vāj. S. III. 35, Tai S. I. 5. 6. 4) together with ‘Om’ and the ‘Vyaḥritis’ and the three verses beginning with ‘Madhu vātā’ (Rg. I. 90. 6–8, Vāj. S. 13. 27–29, Tai. S. IV. 2. 9. 3), he should say ‘partake (of the food) as you please’ and the brāhmaṇas also should eat the food silently. He should serve without anger or bustle food fit for being offered as havis (in a śrāddha) and liked by the brāhmaṇas till they are satiated (so that some food is left in their plates) and should repeat (while the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating) sacred texts and the texts for Japa (Gāyatri &c. already referred to in Yāj. I. 239 above). The sacred texts to be repeated according to the Mit. on Yāj. I. 240 are the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 1–16), the Pāvamāni verses (i.e. verses like ‘svādiṣṭhayā madiṣṭhayā’ from the 9th mandala of the Rigveda as stated by Medhatithi on Manu III. 86 and Haradatta on Gautama (19. 12). Manu III. 232 mentions other works for recitation such as the dharmasāstras, ākhyānas, itihāsa (Mahābhārata), purāṇas and khilas (like Śrīsūkta and Vidyāsūkta). There is great divergence of views about the sacred texts to be recited by the performer in a low voice, while the brāhmaṇas are engaged in partaking the food.

992. पा I. 238. The मन्त्र meant is: पुष्कर्नि ते पात्र चोरिषियान जन्मात्रस्त्वं हुसें उहोसि जन्माणां ता भण्यापणगृहोरेहितमसि मेंवा औरदा अहुज्ञावाचिनविकं। आप. म. पा. II. 20. 1. The मन्त्र is addressed to the remainder of the food used for अप्रायरण, पात्र means support. As stated in n. 783, in आद्य the आद्यनीय is the जन्माण invited for dinner. About अहुज्ञावस्तु, यह q. by काव्यवस्तु (आप. p. 183) says: अहुज्ञावस्तु भण्यावस्तु विश्रुत: पर्यवते महादेव। राजसानां परापारं को मेंवा प्रविध्यायती। तत्पाठ्याधिक्षेत्र सर्वेन स्कुचायक यथरात्म। These are quoted also by अपराधक p. 494, घटितिष्ठा (आप. p. 462 and by हेमाजिंड्र (आप. p. 1378.

993. यह q. by अपराधक p. 494 says ‘विण्यो हर्ष्यं च कर्ष्यं च ब्राह्मणक्षेत्रं च क्रमत।’ The मन्त्र quotes it as महसुस and says that in the विण्य rite the performer being प्राचीनविशिष्ट should say ‘विण्यो कर्ष्यं रक्ष।’
cooked for śrāddha. Vide note 1005 below. It may be that the japa of sacred texts is to be done by the performer wearing the sacred thread in the upavita way as stated by Hemādri p. 1070 and the Madana-parijāta p. 599, but the Śrāddhatattva (p. 231) is opposed to this and relies on Manu III. 279. Certain verses from the Purāṇas also are to be recited such as the verses from the Varāhapurāṇa (14. 26-31) and Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 15. 31-36, which are identical with the preceding) quoted by the Kalpātaru on śrāddha (p. 197), Aparārka (p. 502) and Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 109), the first and last of which are quoted in the note below 994. The Garuḍapurāṇa (Ācārakhanda 218.20 ff.) prescribes that while the brāhmaṇas are eating one may recite a eulogy of pitr̥s such as the ‘saptavāyāḍha’ verses 994 a. Then, after holding the food in his hands, the performer should ask the brāhmaṇas ‘are you satisfied’ (and after they reply that they are satisfied) he should tell them that there is food still left (and ask them what to do with it) and after taking their per-

994. The first and last verses are: सिता वितामहैव मना पालितामहः। मम तुलि मयात्मव विमुद्देहु सत्सिता:॥...पञ्चम्यो हर्षसमलक्ष्योक्तायताया हर्षिरस्योपच ॥
तस्मिन्निषिद्वानवयनस्य सचि स्वार्त्सेवकस्यर्थस्य सर्वस्य ॥.

994 a. The sarvanāth verses from the हरिवंश (I. 24. 20-21) and Gānḍāyucāṇ are: सत्वपात्य ब्रह्मणेण भुगा: कारके गिरी। चक्रवर्ती: सर्वत्रिपे हंसा: सरसी मात्रे ॥
तेघिनिता: कुळसेव ब्रह्मण चेतार्थम्। परिषिद्वान्युज्ञानं दूरे जिन्वसंगीतं ॥. On these the आदित्य (p. 231) says ‘अपहर्तुणांमृतसंसारत्वमात्रमकाहयतिप्रतिवार्त्यां सत्तमात्यां इति च पूजे।’. These very verses occur in the अदित्यायुण chap. 117. 56-57. The story is very clearly set out in हरिवंश-1, chapters 21-24 and the Matsyapurāṇa chap. 20-21. Seven pupils of Garga guarding their guru’s cow thought of eating that cow as they were famished. But the youngest said ‘let us make use of the cow’s flesh in śrāddha, so that we may be saved from sin’. Two of the brothers became daiva brāhmaṇas, three became pitr-brāhmaṇas, one became the giver and the 7th became a guest. They told the guru that the cow was eaten by a tiger. They passed through several births first as seven hunters, then deer in Kālaṇḍara hill and so on. Śrāddha ultimately saved them. The same story is narrated in Padma V. 10.49-125, and V. 47.282-304 (in which last the disciples are said to have been those of मस्त्रित). After becoming hamsas three of them became kings (a king and two ministers, acc. to मस्त्रित) and cared not for the other world. The four others knew the path to mokṣa, sent word to the three with these verses saying that they four had started on the long road to the other world (प्रशिक्षता...धार्म) and asking the other three not to be immersed in the mire of wordiness (चूँच...चूँच). The story also occurs in the श्रीपुराण (उपमासंहितां chap. 41.24 ff). It is interesting to note that in the Jaina Uttarādhiyayana-sūtra (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 56) the echoes of this story of the brothers are heard for illustrating the influence of karmāṇ.
mission (in the words 'partake of it along with your friends and relations'), he should spread (in front of the brāhmanas for pīṭras) the remaining food on (darbhas with their ends to the south placed over) the ground (with the mantra 'ye agni-dāgḍāhā', those that were cremated and those that were not cremated &c.) and he should pour water once for each into his hand (for rinsing the mouth). Collecting all the cooked food (i.e. portions from each food) with sesamum mixed with it, the performer facing the south should offer the pīṇadas near the remains of the food (eaten by the brāhmanas) according to the procedure of the pīṇapīṭrayajña. For maternal ancestors also the same procedure is to be followed (from invoking the Viśvedevāh to offering pīṇadas). Then he should give water to the brāhmanas for sipping. Then (he should say to the brāhmanas 'pronounce benediction'); after making the brāhmanas say 'svasti', he should offer water into their hands for saying 'let it be inexhaustible (after he requests them 'let it be inexhaustible'). Then after giving to the brāhmanas dakṣinā (fee or presents) according to the ability of the performer, he should say to the brāhmanas 'may I request you to repeat the word 'svadhā' and when they permit him in the words 'do request us', he should say 'let svadhā be pronounced for the persons concerned' (i.e. the pīṭras and maternal ancestors). Then the brāhmanas should say 'let there be svadhā'. On the brāhmanas saying so, he should sprinkle water on the ground and say 'let the Viśvedevāh be pleased' and when the brāhmanas have responded with 'let the Viśvedevāh be pleased' he should mutter the follow-


996. या. I. 244 दुष्यादा: तु दुष्यादा: इक्ष्यः—देवत prescribes that दुष्यादा was to be given to the विवयाधावार first and then to the वैद्येविकभाषावृक्ष 'दुष्यादा' विवृत्तियोऽविवृत्तिः दुष्यादाहुः तत्स्वयं। q. by सुतिच. (आ. p. 483). मलाइ. 17. 50–52, शास्त्र 75. 14–15 specify the various gifts. Vide n. 1008.
ing: 997 'May donors increase in our family, may the (study or teaching of) Vedas prosper and progeny increase (in our family); may our faith (in rites for pitṛs) not vanish and may there be plenty of things for us to make gifts.' 998. Having muttered this, having spoken pleasing words to the brāhmaṇas, 99 having fallen at their feet (after going round them) he being pleased in his heart should dismiss the brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'Vāje vāje' (Rg. VII. 38.8, Vāj. S. 21.11, Tai. S. I. 7.8.2), the sending them away being so arranged that the brāhmaṇas representing the pitṛs start first, 1000 (i.e. first goes the representative of the great-grandfather, then the one for the grandfather, then the one for the father and then the one representing the Viśvedevaḥ). The vessel in which the drops of arghya water from the hands of the brāhmaṇas had been collected before should be turned face upwards 1001 and then the brāhmaṇas should be dismissed. After following the departing brāhmaṇas (up to the boundary) and going round them, he (should return) and should eat the food that (remains in the

997. बालारो नो—या. I. 246. This very verse occurs in मत इII. 252, विष्णुपुराण 73.28, परशुराण (वृद्धिकाल 9.117), मत्स्य 16. 49-50, विष्णुपारम्पर इ 140.42.

998. The विष्णुपुराण 73.20, मत्स्य 16.50-51, परशुराण (वृद्धिकाल 9.118) add another verse to या. I. 246 vix. अस्मा च नो ब्रह्म भवेदित्वमुच्यते लभितासि। चाचितार्थ न: समु ना च चाचित्वमुअन्तं॥.

999. विष्णुप्रभुत्वाय निभाय सात्य:—या. I. 247. अपराक्ष प. 512 quotes from श्रीसांति two verses stating what should be said 'अयो मे सकार जगन भवायाभिषेक नात।।अयो मे वाञ्ज: सवं वृद्धियतुहार दिनकुव्य ॥ अय साकादिशापण वृद्धियतू समेभिः॥ तं ब्रह्मानां निविदेन विष्णुप्रभु दात्मत्मा ॥'।

1000. For विष्णुपुराण (या. I. 247), compare विष्णुपुराण III. 15.48 and विष्णूपारम्पर इ. 140.15 which say 'श्रीसांति दिनकुव्यां च दर्शन हस्तोवासव दिनकुव्य च निविदेन रत्न स्वयं यत्र: स्वयं॥।।॥ The लिंग adds, following the मात्रयुरुष 17.59, that before dismissal he should touch the brāhmaṇas with the tip of a darbha 'वाजे वाजे दित जपम् कुशारेण विष्णुपारम्पर'।

1001. The Mit. notices that the upturning of the vessel should be done (as the termination लं in कुश्म indicates) first before the mantra 'वाजे वाजे' (Vāj. I. 247) is recited and after the brāhmaṇas recite the benedictory mantras, and then the brāhmaṇas start. Compare Jai. IV. 3.37 for कुश्म denoting पुरुषस्वादत्व। संस्कर has two meanings, viz. (1) the drops of water fallen from the hands of the brāhmaṇas when arghya water was offered to them (Mit.), (2) the drops of water that remain in the arghya vessels. अर्थवस in his विभासि (D. C. Ms. 152 of 1892-95) says 'संस्कारस्वाद भार्याहरसकार जगुपरमिति निविद्धारः। कर्मानां तु अर्थायाय श्रियात्ं तुम जातवम्॥।॥॥॥' शेन शेन शेन शेन शेन "folio 25b."
house after) the brāhmaṇas representing the pītra have partaken of it. He and the brāhmaṇas that partook of the śrāddha dinner should abstain from sexual intercourse on the night of the śrāddha day.

Many of the Purāṇas contain detailed descriptions of the śrāddha to be performed on every amāvasyā; for example, Matsya 17. 12–60 (closely resembling Yaj. 225–259), Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15. 13–49, Mārkaṇḍeya 28. 37–60, Kūrma (II. 22. 20–62), Padma (srṣṭikhaṇḍa) 9. 140–186, Brahmāṇḍa (Upodghātāpāda, chap. 12), Skanda VI. 224. 3–51, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 6–44. The Agnipurāṇa chap. 163 verses 2–42 are the same (with very slight variations and the omission of 2½ verses) as Yaj. I. 227–270; while Agni chap. 117 contains many verses that closely follow the Āśv. Gr. and Yaj. Similarly the Garuda-purāṇa contains numerous verses that are identical with Yajñāvalkya’s. For example, compare Yaj. I. 229–239 with Garuḍa I. 99. 11–19. The Purāṇas closely follow the Grhya-sūtras, Manu and Yajñāvalkya and often employ the same mantras and formulas, though here and there they introduce some details. As remarked by the Varāhapurāṇa 14.51, the procedure for śrāddha is the same in all Purāṇas (i. e. the brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas invited to represent them) with a seat and with yava grains and flowers should fill two vessels with water and should place them on a paviṭra of darbbhas. The water should be offered with the verse ‘śam no devīr’ (Rg. X. 9.4) and the yava grains with ‘Yavosi’. They should be invoked with the verse ‘Viśve devāsah’ (Rg. II. 41.13) and yavas should be scattered about with the two verses ‘Viśve devāsah’ (Rg. II. 41.13–14) and he should scatter about yava grains with the verse ‘thou art yava, the king of grains &c.’ (quoted below). After decking the brāhmaṇas with sandalwood paste and flowers

1002. Ya I. 249, adds that by reason of the word ‘tu’ in Yaj. I. 249 the performer and the brāhmaṇas have to shun eight actions enumerated in n. 924 above.

1003. पत्रोज्ज्वली धार्मिकावलयः वाच्यं गुणमिति: निताः सत्वपायं पवित्रपूर्वेऽसि। सर्वात्तत्त्वः पद (श्रृं) 9.144. द्र. भ. सू. III. 6.5 is almost identical. The nītā on Ya. I. 231 refers to the phrase ‘पत्रोज्ज्वली धार्मिकावलयः’ which appears to be the same. अपराधे p. 479 speaks of ‘वनोज्ज्वले’ as a yajus.
he should honour them with water with the verse 1004 ‘yā divyā’ (vide n. 985). After taking leave of the Vaiśvādeva brāhmaṇas that have been honoured with arghyā he should begin the pitṛ yajña. He should prepare seats with darbhas on them, worship three vessels, place pavitraś on them and pour water in them with ‘sam no devir’ (Rg. X. 9.4), should cast sesamum grains in them with ‘tilosi’ and then put in them sandalwood and flowers. (Then verses 147–152 speak about the vessels to be employed). He then should announce the names and gotra of his ancestors and give darbhas in the hands of the brāhmaṇas. He should then request brāhmaṇas with the words ‘I shall invite the pitṛs’ and when they reply ‘let it be so’ he should invoke the pitṛs with the two verses ‘uṣantas tvā’ (Rg. X. 16.12) and ‘ā yantu’ (Vaj. S. 19.58). Then, having offered arghyā to the brāhmaṇas (representing the pitṛs) with ‘yā divyā’ (vide n. 985), having given them sandalwood paste and the other things including garment as the last, he should collect the remainder of the water (in the arghyā vessels) into the vessel meant for the father and should keep aside the latter to the north with its top turned downards with the words ‘thou art a seat of the pitṛs’. Then he should begin to serve various kinds of food after bringing the utensils in which the food was cooked and holding them with both hands. (Verses 157–165 speak of the various foods to be offered and the periods of gratification caused thereby to the pitṛs). While the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating he should recite the Vedic hymns 1005 referring to

1004. विश. on या. I. 231 refers to the सन्त्र ‘या दिग्विध अमेव पवनः’. The mantra in अप्रव. शृ. IV. 7,13 ‘या दिग्विध अमेव: पवनिषी’ has been translated above, as also the mantra ‘तिलो’ from अव. ग्र. IV. 7,8. How the offering of tilas water in the midst of mango trees serves two purposes is finely stated in the following verse: एको युतिस्ताः तमरस्यस्तैः वाक्ष्येतुर्म सधिः सदिः वेदादिः। आदातिः सिस्तिः: सितारं तुदं एका किंय इव विभेदेन वेदादिः॥ पदम (सादिकम् 11.77). बादु 111. 37, अंगिर 115. 40; compare सहार्यस् ‘आदातिः सिस्तिः: सितारं ग्रिधिता:’ 1 vol. I. p. 14.

1005. The verses of the पदम (सूति 9.165–169) about what is to be recited are quoted by सप्तराक p. 502, the first verse स्त्रायर्य एत. being महा III. 232. Compare सत्तराक (पुर्णिः 28.65–68) which among others mentions द्रोहात, वित्रम and तैतिक (Rg X. 15.1–13) सन्त्र, परस्पर, त्रिवेद, त्रिवेदिः. The सादिकम chapter, acc. to श्रेष्ठ (आ.) p. 1075, is वाजत्र स. 36.10 ff, which begins हे नो वात: पवनः. The महाभाग्य is what is called महाभाग्य contained in the वृष. द. II. 5 (beginning with इसे प्रविष्ट्वी सर्वेऽ पुत्रादिः मथ) and धातृवृत्त ती. 3 (beginning with अर्थशास्त्र वा आदातिः तैतिकम्). The महाबाग्य is an उपनिषदेण (vide Indische Studien III. p. 325). हेमद्रि (on आ.) p. 1075 says ‘पवित्रमेंतर्त तपस्वितयापि महाभाग्यम्’.

(Continued on the next page)
the Fathers, all the Purāṇas, various eulogies of Brahma, Viṣṇu, the Sun, Rudra and the Vedic hymns addressed to Indra, Rudra and Soma and the Pāramāṇi verses, the Sāmans called Brhat, Rathantara and Jyeṣṭha Śāman, the chapter on Śaṅti rites (propitiatory rites for removing evil events or prognostications), the Madhubrāhmaṇa, the Māndala Brāhmaṇa and whatever else gives pleasure to the brāhmaṇas and the performer; and the Mahābhārata also should be recited, as it is very dear to the pīṭhas. After the brāhmaṇas have finished their dinner the performer should collect together in a lump portions from all kinds of food, put water over them and spread it (on the ground over darbhas) in front of the plates of the dining brāhmaṇas and should say 1006 ‘May those persons in our

(Continued from the last page)

These verses of the वसूरण talking about what it is to be repeated occur in मन्त्र-पुराण also (17.37–39). The राजोलितम्बंक are five verses (Rg. IV. 4.1–5 = Vaj. S. XIII. 9–13 = Tai. S. V. I. 2.14). हेमद्री (A 1069–1073) first sets out the texts mentioned by मह, विक्रमवेशु and the वरुण, then gives the vedic texts to be repeated by the respective followers of the four Vedas (pp. 1073–1074), then deals with the Saptārśi mantra (vide note 1020). Ultimately Hemādri and Śr. P. say that if a man does not know much he should engage in पारम्परिक.

1006. The verse सार्वभौमभाष्यम्...विक्रमवेशु in प्रज्ञ (प्रज्ञ 9.170) is the same as वैमन III. 244, मन्त्र 17.41 and विक्रमवेशु 81.21.

1007. अतिश्रयभाष्यव जीवा नेपास्यका कृते मन. धृतो इत्यं द्वियया तुस्ता वानस परं गतिष्ठि। चेष्टा न भवति न विषय न विषय न चालयथा न तयाप्राप्ति। तत्रस्यावधिः उपज्यते इत्यं सरसात्यावधि योगाधि यतो यथो असाधारणोत्तरीतानि धर्मान्यकुलप्रदत्ताति। उपश्रद्धां चेष्टानां इत्यं विक्रमारतम्॥ प्रज्ञ॥ (प्रज्ञ 9.171–173). These verses occur in मन्त्र 17.42–44 which presents some various and better readings (viz. याबल्यु लोकेषु सुखमय तथू ज्ञात अवस्थितां); भ. श्र. II. 10.42 (वेदस्त्राध्य ज्ञाता जीवा वे व लब्धयां...गतिष्ठि।) is almost the same as the first verse. The verse असाधारणं is मन्त्र III. 245, विक्रमवेशु 81.22, and Skandapurāṇa VI. 218.10–11. कालप्रयास as quoted by अपस्कर. p. 505 reads ‘ये अतिश्रयव ये अवस्थितां जीवा ज्ञाता कृते मन। धृतो...वालयति।’ Halāyudha in his com. on Kātyāyana’s Śraddhasūtra holds that अवस्थिता is the proper reading and अवस्थिता is a bad reading and relies on a verse of the Brahmapurāṇa (folio 26b). धर्मान्य कुलप्रदत्तां in मन्त्र III. 245 and elsewhere is explained in different ways. The words may mean ‘of persons who abandoned wives descended from good families’ or ‘of women who forsok their families’ or ‘of those who committed suicide and of childless women.’ One can appreciate the kindly and noble sentiments underlying the above verses. In honouring the pindas, मन्त्र III. 217 (which speaks of salutation to the six seasons) is deemed to provide for salutation of the six seasons as identified with six ancestors mentioned in the words गौरक्षीश्चापोविलेभेषु...नामो न: विषयेऽराजस्य ज्ञातः ज्ञात:...विषयेऽराजस्य...Vide आदि (pp. 241–242).
family that were cremated or not cremated be gratified by the food offered on the ground and being gratified may they attain the highest world (or bliss)! May this food offered on the ground for the gratification of those that have neither father nor mother nor relative nor any other friend and have no food (offered by any one else in śrāddha) proceed for union with them wherever it may have to go! The remainder of the food cooked for śrāddha and food spread on the ground are the lot (or share) of those that died without the samskāras (caula, upanayana and the like) being performed on them, that abandoned their gurus and of (unmarried) women of the family. Finding that the brāhmaṇas are satisfied (by the dinner) he should give water once in the hand of each brāhmaṇa, should place on the ground smeared with cow’s dung and urine darbhas with their ends turned to the south and place on them pīṇḍas made from all kinds of foods (cooked for the śrāddha dinner) following the method employed in Pīndapitryajña after washing them with water. He should then utter the names and gotra (of the ancestors to whom the pīṇḍas are to be offered) and should offer flowers and the rest and should again wash them (pīṇḍas). He should perambulate the pīṇḍas thrice holding darbhas in his hand and he should light lamps and offer flowers for the pīṇḍas. When the brāhmaṇas sip water after eating the dinner, he should himself sip water and give water once to each of the brāhmaṇas and flowers and aksatas and then aksavyodaka with sesamum grains. He should then make according to his means presents (to the brāhmaṇas) of cows, 1008 land, gold, clothes, splendid beds and whatever else was liked by the brāhmaṇas or by the performer himself or his father. He should not be stingy in his presents. Then he should request the brāhmaṇas to say

1008. एव (मृति ९.१८०) इस: मोक्षपथरत्वसांस्ले सम्याति द्रव्यानि च। द्वाराधिष्टं विधापमात्मनं वितुति च ॥. There is epigraphic and other recorded evidence for gifts of land in śrāddhas. An inscription of Kārṇadeva, son of Gāṇgeyadeva of the Cedi year 793 (1042 A. D.) records the grant of a village (called Susi) to a brāhmaṇa on the occasion of the Sāṅvatsarika śrāddha of Gāṇgeyadeva at Prayāga. Vide I. A. vol. 16 pp. 204–207 for the grant of a village by the Chandella king Devavarmadeva in samvat 1107 (1050–51 A. D.) on the anniversary of his mother’s death and a grant in 1790 A. D. by Fattesing Bhoosl, prince of Akkalkot, to a learned brāhmaṇa of thirty bīgas of land on the 10th day of his father’s death (Bhārata-itiḥasa-samādhanamandala, vol. 29, parts 1 and 2, 1948 p. 41). In the Āśramaśikaparva 14.3–4 it is said to have made gifts of gold and jewels, slaves, blankets, villages and fields, elephants and horses with their trappings and of girls to Brahmā in śrāddhas for भीम, रेष्ण, दुर्योधन and others.
When they are told to offer the brāhmaṇas to pronounce the following benedictions and should receive them from them while he faces the east. They are ‘May the pitṛs be kind (not dreadful) to us’; the brāhmaṇas should say ‘let it be so’; ‘May our family increase!’; they should say ‘so be it’; ‘May donors in my family prosper and also (the study of) the Vedas and progeny and may these benedictions come out true!’; they should respond ‘let it be so’. He should then remove the pindas and request the brāhmaṇas to utter the word ‘svaasti’ and they should do so. The remains of the food eaten by the brāhmaṇas remain (unremoved or unwiped) till the brāhmaṇas are dismissed; then he should perform the (usual) daily rites Vaiśvadeva, balihoma. The remnants of food that lie on the ground are the share of the group of slaves that were straight-forward and not roguish (dishonest or shirkers). The performer holding a vessel full of water and muttering the verse ‘vāje vāje’ (Ṛg. VII. 38. 8, Vaiś. S. IX. 18, Tai. S. I. 7. 8. 2) should touch the brāhmaṇas with the tip of kuśas and dismiss them. He should follow them out of his house for eight paces, should circumambulate them, should then return with his relatives, sons and wife, should then perform the daily Vaiśvadeva and balihoma. Then after Vaiśvadeva he should together with his relatives, sons, guests and servants partake of the food that remains in the cooking pots after what was eaten by the brāhmaṇas.

It should be noticed how closely the Padmapurāṇa follows the procedure (including the mantras) contained in Yajñavalkya. What procedure the author of a Purāṇa follows depends upon his learning and the sāstras that he studied. For example, the Viṣṇudharmottara 1.140 appears to rely on the Āp. gr. and the Āp. M. P. (II. 19–20), since I. 140. 12 refers to Āp. M. P. II. 19. 1., I. 140. 29–30 to Āp. M. P. II. 19. 14–16, I. 140. 35 to Āp. M. P. II. 20. 1. Similarly, Skanda (VI. 224. 3–51) closely follows Āśv. gr and Yajñavalkya.

Owing to the difference in details of śrāddha in the several grhyasūtras, the smṛtis and the purāṇas, an important question arises whether a person should perform a śrāddha rite only in accordance with the grhyasūtra of his own Veda or Śakha or whether he may perform it after the inclusion (upasaṁhāra) of

---

1009. शष्क, नृविलष्ठ 9. 185–186 are the same as मक्ख 3. 265. 246 and Matsya 17. 56–57.
the several items found in other sūtras and smṛtis though not included in the kalpa or gṛhya sūtra of his own Śākha. This topic is discussed at great length by Hemādri (on śrāddha) pp. 748–759 and briefly by Medhatithi on Manu II, 29 and XI, 216, by the Mīt. on Yāj. III, 325, Aparārka p. 1053 and others. Those who are strictly following the details in one’s own sūtra alone argue as follows: If one were at liberty to include details other than those contained in one’s own sūtra, the order of the details (krama) given in one’s sūtra and the time specified for each detail would be interfered with. Besides, if the addition of details were permissible, one would be liable to the charge of giving up the usages of one’s own family handed down for generations. These objectors rely upon such passages as that of the Viṣṇudharmottara which states ‘He who violating (the dictates of) his own sūtra acts according to a sūtra meant for others, treats thereby his own sage (the author of his sūtra) as unauthoritative and incurs (the blame of) doing what is improper.’\textsuperscript{1010} The smṛtis that contain additional details may be meant for those men who have no kalpa or gṛhya sūtra of their own or they may be useful for śūdras.

Those who espouse the view that as far as possible all details found in several gṛhya sūtras and smṛtis on one rite should be included by every one rely mainly on Jaimini II, 4, 8–33 which is called ‘śākhāntarādhikaraṇanyāya’ or ‘sarvasākhāpratyayanyāya’. The principal sūtra is Jai. II, 4, 9.\textsuperscript{1011} It is established in this sūtra that the prayōṇa (purpose) or phala (reward to be secured) of the rite is the same in different sūtras and smṛtis. For example, the rewards of śrāddha are stated to be the same in all sūtras and smṛtis (vide notes 787–790 above); then the drayaga (materials) and the deity are the same (in Pārvata śrāddha the deities are the paternal ancestors and the materials,

\textsuperscript{1010} The sūtra states that the knowledge of the sūtras should be included by every one.

\textsuperscript{1011} The sūtra states that the knowledge of the sūtras should be included by every one.
viz. kuṣas, tilas, water, vessels, foods &c. are the same in all works). The effort that is enjoined (the vidhi) is the same and the name (Pārvaṇaṭrāddha, Ekoddhiṣṭa śrāddha &c.) is the same. Therefore, on account of these various signs one easily recognizes that the same rite is being dealt with by all sūtras, even if many of them differ in details. It cannot be said that smṛtis will be useful for those who have no sūtras of their own. Each man of the first three varṇas is attached to some sūtra or other by the tradition of his family or caste. Similarly, the smṛtis cannot be held to be meant for śūdras alone, since the smṛtis mainly deal with upanayana, the study of the Vedas, agnihoṭra and other matters with which a śūdra has no concern. Similarly, the objection that if details were allowed to be inserted from other sūtras and smṛtis the krama and kāla prescribed in one’s sūtra might have to be set aside, the reply is contained in Jai. I. 3, 5–7 (explained at great length in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 841–848).1012 The śrutī says ‘after getting ready a bundle of kuṣa grass he prepares the vedi (altar)’. Here a certain order of acts is laid down. If after a bundle of kuṣa is got ready, the man has a sneeze, he has to sip water (perform ṛcāmana) immediately as laid down by Manu V. 145 and Vas. III. 38 before he prepares the vedi. So the objector says the krama will be interfered with. The reply is that the sequence (krama) is only a characteristic of the items in the śrutī passage, that all that is meant is that the making of the altar follows the getting ready of a kuṣa bundle, but that it is not meant that the making of the vedi should follow immediately after the bundle is got ready. Therefore, the conclusion is that whatever detail is not in conflict with one’s own sākhā or sūtra may be included in the rite one is about to perform, but if there is a direct conflict, then one should stick to one’s own sūtra. As observed by Kātyāyana ‘whatever is declared, whether in great detail or in brief, in one’s own gṛhyaśūtra about a rite, if he performs that much, it may be taken that he has done all that is required of him; but what is not handed down in one’s sākhā (or sūtra) but is contained in another sākhā and is not in conflict with one’s own sākhā, should be performed by the learned, as in the case of

1012. अधि ‘या कार्यार्थेण मुखानि सतीये।’ जै. I. 3. 7. On this जैव observes: अवधारणा कार्योऽपि यथाप्राप्तिनि कार्यः ... इत्यवस्तुगणयायदद्वेषाः। किमकरमि सहितिन्द्रमयी न कार्यवित्त्वात् ततातिस्वाति कार्याणि चैत्यस्य ते संवेद्यायमेवदिन्यं संवित्त्वं कथ्यति तस्मातिवित्त्वमगीति। नैवैवेद्य। शास्त्रपरमितविषयं वि कस्म वाच्यस्य। कस्मस्य। वेदं इत्यदि वेदिं विद्वदीचास्माद्यथ: वेदं वेदिं चायद्विवादमात्तमनामहि। This pūrvapakṣa is refuted later on.
&gnihotra and the like'. The first verse of Kātyāyana may be explained as applying where one's śākhā or sūtra deals with a matter without requiring any addition or as the next best course where one is not able to supplement one's sūtra owing to some unseen cause or owing to human difficulties. The Sangraha says that where different items of the śrāddha rite are declared to be performed at different times and there is no agreement among the sages, one should follow one's gr̥hya-sūtra, but where one's gr̥hyasūtra is silent as to a certain item or as to the stage when it is to be performed, there is an option and one may follow the opinion of some sage as to that item.

It appears that even the ancient gr̥hya sūtras exhibit tendencies that led to the sarvaśākhā-pratyaya-nyāya e. g. Āṣva. gr. (q. in n. 966) employs several passages (such as 'Tilosi', 'Ya divyā', which do not occur in the Rgveda.)

It is owing to this maxim of 'sarvaśākhā-pratyayanyāya' that medieval digests go on heaping up details from all sūtras and purāṇas in their descriptions of the several śrāddhas, the procedures of which were not originally very extensive.

The Kūmārapāṇa provides that the performer should before noon time is past bring to his house the invited brāhmaṇas
who have shaved themselves and pared their nails, should offer them materials for brushing the teeth and request them to sit down on separate seats, then give them oil and water for bathing. It will be seen that here the purāṇa has added several details that were not provided for by the Āśv. gr. (n. 966), Manu (III. 208), Yāj. (I. 226) and even by some of the purāṇas such as the Varāha 14. 8, which begin the procedure with seating the brāhmaṇas in the afternoon on seats after welcoming them. Many more examples could be given, but that attempt is not made owing to considerations of space.

Before proceeding to give some idea as to how the pārvapā-srāddha was dealt with in medieval and modern times, observations must be made on several relevant matters, on which there is a difference of views or which are important in a general way.

When the invited brāhmaṇas come after noon, it is provided in some of the purāṇas that two mandalas should be made in front of the performer’s residence for receiving the brāhmaṇas. For example, the Nāradapurāṇa states1016 ‘the mandala for a brāhmaṇa performer should be square (four cornered) in size, for a kṣatriya triangular, circular for a vaiśya and for a śūdra mere sprinkling of the ground with water is enough.’ The mandalas should be made on ground smeared with cowdung and with water mixed with cow’s urine. Of the two mandalas one should be on the northern side sloping towards the north and the other on the southern side sloping towards the south. On the northern mandala kuśas with points towards the east should be placed along with aksata (unbroken or whole) grains and on southern one double-folded kuśas should be placed along with sesamum grains. The northern mandala should generally be two cubits on each side while the southern one should be four cubits on each side. The brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas that represent the Viśvedevāḥ should be honoured in the northern mandala first by the performer himself with water for washing their feet after bending his right knee and the brāhmaṇas representing the pitarś should be then honoured in the southern mandala with water for washing the feet (hence called pādyā) after bending his left knee. The mantra at the time of offering pādyā is ‘san

1016. अत्यतः समनुमातः कार्यादिवत्तकद्वितियस्ति। चतुर्दशेः वैष्णवस्य विशेषं श्रमिष्ठेऽति। वैसराज (पूर्णं 28. 32–33); शीर्ष पुराणं (19. 13–14) has almost the same verse as चतुर्दशे etc. Vide: अद्वैत (1955) p. 475 for सम्बल्ल.
After the mantra is recited he should give the water to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas and to the pīṭra brāhmaṇas as noted below (in n.1017). After the pāḍya water is offered the brāhmaṇas should come in front of the maṇḍalas and sip water (take ācamana).

The ancient sūtras and smṛtis like those of Manu and Yāj. (I. 229) say generally that the Viśvedevāṇā are to be invoked, but some of the later smṛtis (such as Prajāpati, verses 179–190) and purāṇas contain verses enumerating ten names of Viśvedevāṇā and assign two each (out of the ten) to five classes of śrāddhas. They say: “in śrāddha performed in an iṣṭi the Viśvedevāṇā are Kratu and Dakṣa, in a Nāndimukha śrāddha they are Vasu and Satya, in Kāmyaśrāddha Dhuri and Locana, in naimittika śrāddha Kāla and Kāma and in Pārvana-śrāddha Purūravas and Ādṛava.” According to the Sm. C. and Hemādri a seat (ūṣana) is to be given to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas and invocations are to be made in the several śrāddhas after taking the names enumerated above. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 229, Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1225) and other digests state that the mantras

1017. तद्व देवीति तन्न्य वहिला युग्मवर्गसंख्या बिनहेवेया हि व: पाधमिति वधायात्। एव पिपिचे माहयमापिण्यारिपी शब्दो देशीति मन्त्राने पितस्यकोणात्युक्तसारं विश्वकर्मां ते पाधमिति वधायात्। महा. प. p. 567.

1018. कुलवीनो वस्त्र: सर्व: कालं कामस्त्रैव च ! पुरावशोचनन्दन्वै तथा वै तुष्ण: तुष्ण:। आर्यवर्ध दुश्तमा ऐ विपदे देवार्क स्रीकर्तिताम्। वृद्धित्ति q. by अराकर्त p. 478, कलवत्त (श्र. p. 142), सूरतित्व (श्र. pp. 442–443); the words विपदे देवार्क are to be kept separate and not compounded. इति इति इति कुलवीनो सत्त्वे नान्तविस्मये वस्तु:। नैर्मितिक कालाकालापि कापे व दुर्लितमिति। गुरुस्तु आर्यवर्ध दृष्टे मया। ज्ञानाति p. by अराकर्त p. 478, श्र. p. 23, महा. p. (p. 573–574) which explains ‘इतिहासमाधानार्थ क्रियामण्यम्।। नैर्मितिक सप्तींकरणे। कालाकालापि गुरुस्तु अर्यवर्धात शाश्वासनम्।।’ इति इति इति is the कम्बास्त्रू, 9th among the 12 आराध्य quoted above from विनायित्र (in n. 858). The श्र. p. 23 notes the different readings of some of the names such as गुरुस्तु and आराध्य, some saying the first is गुरुस्तु and the second is माहय. The printed आराध्य p. 199 has माहय and so has कोटवन्य (आराध्योगिक शैली folio 57 a). आराध्य explains इति as इति and नैर्मितिक as अतोल्लित। The आ. क्र. को. (p. 56) reads गुरुस्तु: and माहय: कलवं (श्र. p. 142) reads माहयवर्ध दृष्टे तु:। The विनायित्र (III. 3; 30–31) enumerates the ten विनायित्र: somewhat differently. It reads ‘युग्मवर्ग सातृस्वो रोपयक्षे माहयान्तर्।।’ The विनायित्र (III. 12. 3 ff.) states that ten sons were born to शिवाह, one of the daughters of इति. When they performed severe tapas on a Himālaya peak Brahma gave them the boon they wanted (आराध्यस्मार्क कुलवीनो देशा नान्त्विस्मये महा. p. 58) and the pīṭras agreed. The pīṭras said (verse 13) ‘अर्जुन कारण युग्मवर्गस्मार्क दृष्टे तु:। विमंगलंभवस्मार्क पूर्व पथांबुद्धीस्तर्वक।।’ This legend is obviously an attempt to explain the usage about vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas at a आराध्य.
for invoking the Viśvedevas in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha are two viz.
Viśvedevaśa āgata (Rg. II. 41. 13) and āgacchantu mahābhāga
(q. above in note 984), while the Sm. C. (p. 444) prescribes an
additional mantra 'viśve devaḥ śrūṇuta' (Rg. VI. 52. 13).

The general rule is that the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas are to
be seated facing the east and the pitṛya brāhmaṇas facing the
north (Yāj. I. 228, Varāha I. 14. 11), but there were at least five
differing views about the directions which the brāhmaṇas were
to face as Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1200) points out. It is fur-
ther pointed out by Hemādri and others (like Yāj. I. 247) that
in all items in the procedure of śrāddha the Vaiśvadevika
brāhmaṇas have precedence except in the matter of washing the
hand smeared with the remains of food and the final
dismissal of the brāhmaṇas at the end of the śrāddha.1019 It may be noted
that in southern and western India brāhmaṇas invited at
 śrāddha are worshipped, while in Bengal it is the effigy made
with darbhas (darbhabatu) that is worshipped as shown by the
The Śrāddha-tattva (folio 3b) of Raghunandana provides for the
same: "pauruṣāvā-mādramasar viśeṣām devānaṃ pārvaṇa-śrāddham
kutamayabrāhmaṇe kariṣye iti prīchet."

In the Vaiṣṇupurāṇa1020 it is stated that the following mantra
should be repeated thrice at the beginning and end of a
śrāddha and at the time of offering piṇḍas; on repeating it
the pitṛs come quickly to the śrāddha and rākṣasas run away and
that the mantra saves the pitṛs in all the three worlds. The
mantra is 'Perpetual adoration to the gods, to pitṛs and to the
great Yogins, to svadha, to svāhā.' The Sm. C. (on śrāddha

1019. উন্মিতাকালিকলাভসাধন বিসর্জন চ বর্জনিতা সর্বঃ আদিপ্রথাপাত্মাঃ
শেষব্যবিষেককালে। হেমাদ্রি (আ. ) p. 1196. This is supported by বিশ্বযুগলক
I. 140. 15 'বায়ুগুণবিন্দুগানি চতুর্ম সাধারণায়। বিশেষেন চ নিদর্শে তেহু স্থা পাত:
শেষতা.'

1020. সন্ত বর্যায় তমসায়ুদ্ভব ব্যাখ্যালিকাঃ। বেদতাত্ত্বি বিজ্ঞপ্ত মহাযোগিন্য এব
চ। সম সাধীয় সাধারণে গ্রহনয় ভক্তি বৃদ্ধি বৃদ্ধি সাধারণে আচার্য বীরলত অপেক্ষা
বিশেষতাত্ত্বি চেষ্ট অপেক্ষাত্তাত্ত্বে। বিষয়ে নিবেদনায় বিশেষ সাধারণায়: মুভাবি
চ। বিশুদ্ধতাত্ত্বি। লেরেকে রাস্তায় তালিকায়। পারাপুরাণ 74. 15-18. These verses are সক্তঃ VII.
I. 206. 114-116, ভাষাগী শ. I. 17-18, বিশ্বযুগলক I. 140. 68-72 (with
slight variations). The śrut occurs in পারাপুরাণ (আ. ) p. 218. 6. কল্প
তথ (আ. ) p. 144 quotes these. In most other purāṇas the śrut ends 'নিকটে
কাশ না, হেমাদ্রি ( on আ. pp. 1079 and 1208) calls it সদাচরিত্ব and notes
that it occurs in seven purāṇas. It is stated in some works that the reading
ভক্তি is for followers of সামবেদে। অথ সত্বব্যবক্তিত্বসত্বাঃ নাত্মকনথশ্চর্ণাধিক্য: ত
সচিন্দ্র: শাখ্যাক্রমণ বা গমনির্দেশ:। আ. ম. p. 29.
p. 441) states that the mantra should be repeated after the brāhmaṇas come and sit down and before kuśas are placed on the seats of the brāhmaṇas. This mantra occurs also in Brahmapurāṇa 220.143, Brahmāṇḍa (Upodgūḍhāṇa 11.22), Viṣṇudharmottara I.140.68–70 and is styled ‘saptarciś’ by the last two and is said to be equal to Āṣvamedha.

A certain order of words about referring to the ancestors in offering a seat, offering kuśas on seat, and arghya is laid down by Brhaspati,1021 some of the purāṇas and the digests. As almost in every case there are different views here also. Brhaspati says: ‘when giving a seat, when offering arghya, or piṇḍas, in offering ablutions of water on piṇḍas, the performer has to declare his relation to each of the ancestors, the names and gotras of the ancestors and also the form in which each of the ancestors is to be contemplated (viz. as Vasu, Rudra, Āditya respectively). It is further laid down that the genitive is to be employed for the ancestor’s name in offering a seat (to the pitṛya brāhmaṇa) and aksayodaka, the objective in invoking the pīṭhas, the dative in offering food, the vocative in other cases.

It is laid down that the performer has to take ācamana (sip water) in śrāddha rite six times viz., at the commencement of śrāddha, when washing the feet of invited brāhmaṇas, in worshipping them, in making the vikāra, in offering piṇḍas and at the end of the śrāddha.1022

1021. आसने च महापाने च विन्दोवानेव जने। सप्तरसानमयोऽविने स्त्राहम्सयं
   कीयाते ॥ बृहसपति न. हृंगादश (on आ. p. 1257). The word आसन is only illustrative and is meant to include आवाहन and other विन्दा items. आर्ग्यसनोऽथ;
   वही विन्दोवानेव तथा। आवाहनेच महापाने च रघुविन्दा; समयं: स्त्राह: ॥ समयं पिश्चाच
   वृहसपतिः समानो तथैव। एव सनातनः। आभासितं दश कोलं सनातनः।
   आसने च महापाने च विन्दोवाने जने। सप्तरसानमयोऽविने स्त्राहम्सयं।

1022. स्त्राहम्सयं आनेन च विन्दोवानेव जने। विन्दोवाने विन्दोवाने च
   प्रेतु सनातने च रघुविन्दा। q. by वृहसपतिः (on आ. ) folio 62a.
An important question which exercised the minds of many medieval writers was 'who was the real recipient (sampradāṇa)\textsuperscript{1023} of the offerings made in śrāddha, whether the brähmanas or the pīṭras'. Relying on the words of the Āṣv. gr. IV. 8. 1 (quoted above in n. 966 'etasmin kāle ... dānam) and passages of the pūrāṇas such as the Varāha (13. 51) 'vibhave sati viprebyo āṣmān uddiśya dāsyati', the Mahābhāratapakāsa, Harihara and some others held that brähmanas were the recipients, while others like Śrīdatta, relying on indications furnished by śruti passages like Vāj. S. 19. 36 (aṅkṣan pīṭaraḥ amimadanta pīṭaraḥ) and such formulas as 'pīṭar-etat te arghyam' or 'etadvāḥ pīṭaro vāsah', held that the real recipients intended were the pīṭras, but, as the pīṭras had gone to another world and could not be bodily present to receive the gifts of such things as sandlewood paste, flowers and clothes, the latter were only handed over or assigned to the brähmanas who were for the moment contemplated as not different from the pīṭras.\textsuperscript{1023a} Vide Sm. C. (śrāddha pp. 447–449), Śr. Pr. pp. 30–31 for a discussion of these two viewpoints. It should, however, be noted that the water given to the brähmanas and the daṅṣṭi given to them were only meant for the brähmanas, the former for purification and the latter for the inexhaustible merit that daṅṣṭi to brähmanas conferred.

It is to be noted that in the invocation (āvāhana) of the pīṭras there is a divergence of views as to the mantras to be employed and also as to the stage when it is to be made. Hemāddri (śrāddha, pp. 1254–56) states that there were five different views on the latter point, the three most important of which were that āvāhana should come before giving darbhās as āsana on the left side of the seats of the pīṭra brähmanas or after giving such darbhās or after agnatiṣṭhāna. As regards the former (viz. the mantras), Vāj. (I. 232–233), the Brahmāṇḍapūrāṇa and several others say that the invocation mantra is 'uṣantās-tvā' (Ṛg. X. 16. 13, Vāj. S. 19. 70, Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 1) and after the āvāhana the performer should perform japa of the verse 'ā yantu naḥ' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra\textsuperscript{1024} (73. 10–12) states 'The performer after having received

\textsuperscript{1023} For the meaning of संवरण, vide p. I. 4. 32 'कर्मणा यथापियते स संवस्त्राद'.

\textsuperscript{1023a} Vide n. 911 for the viśeṣa-pramāṇa passage (III. 14. 22–23) which means 'that will give jewels & to brähmanas for our benefit'.

\textsuperscript{1024} ततो ब्रह्मणायामः विशेषार्थः अद्ययस्मिन्दृष्टिः तत्र विशेषार्थेऽपि ब्रह्मणानां विसेर्यणं कर्त्ता। एते विद्यः सर्वकालं या ते कस्मवर्तं विदितं ह्यप्रत्याये कर्त्ता...। विशे. (Continued on the next page)
permission from the brāhmaṇas should invite the Manes. Having driven away the Yatudhānas (demons) by strewing grains of sesamum and by reciting the two mantras (the first of which begins with ‘may the Asuras go away’) he should invite the Manes with the four mantras ‘come near, ye Manes!’ ‘conduct them here, O Agni!’ ‘May my (ancestors) come near’, ‘this is your (share), O Manes’. Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1260–1267) points out how the mantras differ according to different writers.

There is a great deal of discussion about agnaukarana mentioned in Yaj. I. 236–237. The Mit, points out that if a man has kept śrāuta fires by the sarvādhaṇa method then in the pārvaṇa-śrāddha that he offers after pindapitryajña he offers homa in the Daksināgni, as he has no aupāsana (i.e. grhya) fire and supports this by quoting a passage which occurs in the Visṣudharmacottara-purāṇa. But if a man consecrates the śrāuta fires by the ardhādhaṇa method, then he has to offer pārvaṇa homa in the aupāsana fire and one who is without śrāuta fires and has kept up only aupāsana fire has to offer homa in that fire. One who has neither the śrāuta fires nor the grhya fire offers it in the brāhmaṇa’s hand only. The Mit, relies on Manu III. 212 and on two verses from a grhya and comes to the conclusion that one who has consecrated śrāuta fires performs homa in daksinā fire in the case of Anvaṣṭakya śrāddha, the śrāddha on the day previous to Aṣṭakā, the śrāddha

(Continued from the last page)

(Continued from the last page)

धम्मश्रव्य 73. 10–12. The commentator notes that here it is the काटकार-आज्ञा-प्रयोग that is set out. Compare काटकार-सूत्र 63. 2–4, 10 for all these mantras except one ‘पित्राकारणविधेयाद्वारे. अपराधुस्त्वर इति हर्म्यं तत्त्व: सर्वसौरुकीर्ष्या। तत्र पित्र आवधय तित्त आ में पल्लवत्रथे परवत्सुपिति जापिला। ते मानकान: पित्र एवं: पित्रोपयं यज इति तिवादेः कान्तिका-भर्तवान्तः भुवातिं।’ Dr. Caland (the editor) notes that these are not found in the printed काटकार-सूत्र. The विश्वामित्र (I. 140. 9–10) corresponds with the विश्वामित्र (I. 19. 4). 1025. ग्राह्य मार्केयेव: आतिवासर्वस्तु अहुद्यावहःकागाम् समागत:। कान्तिका-भर्तवान्तः अपराधुस्त्रये निषेधयता बायम्। इति. on पा. I. 236. This is विश्वामित्र I. 140. 18, as हेमाद्रि says ‘तत्त्वापरे विश्वामित्रस्य मार्केयेव:’ (भाष. p. 1530). 1026. For सार्वपाठ and आर्याध्याय, vide above n. 991. यत: आतिवासर्वस्तु अहुद्यावहःकागाम्ये त्योगो लोकपकामी: देवत: किंतु किद्वमित्रमार्जयै च यहक एवं भवति। अति श्रृंखला ग्नयाविहि-होतिः। आतिवासर्वस्तु (on आज्ञा folio 24a). न द्वेषन विद्व आतिवासर्वस्तु-द्वेषनम्। भाषा III. 282, which कुलिक बलम्बस्य आविधम्। विपरयते.'

six with clarified butter. Two śhūtis only are mentioned by Āsv. Śrauta II. 6. 12 (quoted in note 974), Āsv. gr. IV. 7. 20, Śaṅkha-Likhita, Kāṭhaka-grhyya, Nārada-purāṇa (pūrva-r̥dha 38. 48) and Mārkandeya-purāṇa. Three śhūtis are mentioned by most of the smṛtis and purāṇas, such as Baudh. Dh. S. II. 14. 7, Śāni Śrauta IV. 3 and grhyya IV. 1. 13, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 12, Manu III. 211, Varāhāpurāṇa (Upodghatapāda 11. 93–94), Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 19. It is here that various combinations of the order of the deities and of the words ‘svāhā’ and ‘svadā’ occur. The texts of a few works are cited below for illustration. Some give the order as ‘Soma accompanied by the pītrs, Agni the carrier of kavya, Yama Angiras;’ while others give it as ‘Agni the carrier of kavya, Soma accompanied by the pītrs, Yama Vaivasvata &c.’ It is further provided that the śhūti to Agni is made to the southern side of the fire, to Soma on the northern part of it and in the middle of the two sides to Vaivasvata (Yama).

Various rules of etiquette about serving food, about the way brahmaṇas are to eat and related matters have been laid down from ancient times and are observed even now. The Sm. C. (p. 465–470), Hemādri (śrādha pp. 1367–1384), the Śr. Pr. pp. 116–123 and other digests contain elaborate rules on these matters. Yāj. I. 237 prescribes that what remains after offering homa should be served in the plates meant for the brahmaṇas representing the Fathers and the plates should preferably be

1030. धूपगतंव्यापृष्टं कालायतान-पुत्र-आयुक्ताय वृद्धिकालयोजिते परिसिकों 
उष्णग्रामे कष्ट-विहारयात् सामय वित्तूमते स्वाहिते। उष्णग्रामतिस्य q. y. हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1354), महाप. प. 589; अधिश ब्राह्मणीकृत। अग्नि परिसिकों सामय वित्तूमते वादा 
नमोऽख्ये कष्ट-विहारयात् वादा नम हर्षग्राम हृताः। कष्टकांश 63. 89; उपासनामृतमार्थस 
स्वयंधशेषिकन्विन्धानन्। सामय च वित्तूमते वादा नम हर्षग्राम ॥ अग्नि कष्ट-विहारयात् वादा नम 
इसीय हा ॥ सातानन्दनेष्य वा मात्रे उष्णग्रामतांधान तित्व नारदः (पूर्वप्रय 28. 48–49).

1031. अर्पियै लित आद्रेडहेन्तिष्य। सामय वित्तूमताय वादा नम: स्वाहा। सामया 
केशरले वित्तूमते वादा नम: स्वाहा। अर्थे कष्ट-विहारयात् दिव्यदृष्टे वादा नम: स्वाहिते। 
तेजोपि आद्रेडहेन्तिष्य सर्वदा वा मात्रे उष्णग्राम। ब्र. ओ. भ. व. II. 8. 8–12. It should be 
noted that ब्र. employs both वादा नम: and स्वाहा. अर्थे कष्ट-विहारयात् सामय 
सामय वित्तूमते स्वाहा यज्ञवापित्रस्ते वित्तूमते स्वाहिते। जातानांविषेष: IV. 4. 1.

1032. अर्थे कष्ट-विहारयात् शस्त्रिते। सामय वा वित्तूमते वादा तद्विषेषः। 
सैलान्य भैरवाः हृदये स्वयं देवेणे हृदये। अतिवाहु 14. 21–22; सामयादौ वित्तूमते कष्ट-विहारयात् 
चालये। सामय तेजोस्त्रिते हुला मययायस्ते। विष्णुपारंस्त्र I. 140. 19–20; मारके को (28.47–48) 
प्रेषितं अधूरति as अर्थे कष्ट-विहारयात् स्वाहा, सामय वित्तूमते स्वाहा, 
ः विष्णुपारंस्त्र I. 140. 19–20; मारके को (28.47–48) 
प्रेषितं अधूरति as अर्थे कष्ट-विहारयात् स्वाहा, सामय वित्तूमते स्वाहा, 
सामय तेजोस्त्रिते हुला ।

1033. वर्षिष्ठाणाः निर्य सामयेन्त्रत्वस्ति। एवपरंते निर्य उष्णग्राम विचारते। 
q. by क्षण (आ. p. 169).
of silver. Kātyāyana says that the performer who has no fire (either śrauta or śmārta) should offer the homa on the hand of the most eminent among the pitrya brāhmaṇas to the accompaniment of a mantra and should offer the remainder in the plates of the other pitrya brāhmaṇas. The Sm. C. notes that Yama and the Vāyupurāṇa say that the homa should be in the hand of the daṇḍa brāhmaṇa and that on account of this conflict there is an option. It is further provided that a portion of the food from which agnaukaraṇa was effected should be kept aside for making pīndas (Mārkandeya and Garuḍa). The food should be served by the performer himself wearing the sacred thread in the yajnopavīta form or by his wife of the same caste or by some attendant who is purified. Manu (III. 224–229, 231–233, 236–238) contains several rules.

Himself holding the vessels full of food with both hands the performer should slowly place them near the brāhmaṇas seated for dinner while thinking of his ancestors. That food, which is brought near the brāhmaṇas without the containing vessel being held in both hands, is snatched away by wicked asuras. The performer being himself pure and concentrating his mind (only on the serving of food) should place the vessels containing the

1034. विषयम्: पद्मलोमश्चतस्य पाणिाकल्याणाम्। हुःत्वा सन्त्रविदग्धेऽः सुग्र्हन्न पातेऽदुः निमित्ति। भोजित II. 120 q. by स्वतिव. II. p. 462.

1034 a. मन्त्र III. 225 is almost the same as Baudh. Dh. S. II. 8, 22 and Vas. XI. 25. मन्त्र III. 224 is याचनाम् तुष्णंगुया स्तवान्नर्द्र विश्वियम्। विपान्तिके विद्वा वताह्यामं ज्ञानेनिर्देशिता। अवरोपा is to be taken as असर्वेन and विदेह is to be understood after शविन्धा. The आद्यतंत्र (p. 229) explains: 'पात्रस्थानां आद्यतंत्र ययम् में वेचित्र विषयास्तित्वाभ्यां मांसगमीः किंतु स्तवान्नर्द्राणि पार्षदीयां पात्रस्थानां संस्थायं पठाधुतां याचनार्द्रोऽपि मांसगमिः पात्रान्तरितायां आद्यतंत्र परीक्षितं' and relies on मद्य 17. 28 'उपात्यथापि इतस्यादययात्य

मालय परीक्षितेत्'। ब्राह्मणम्—मन्त्र III. 231. ब्राह्मणां are such riddles, questions and answers as are found in Tai. S. VII. 4, 18. वाज. सं. 23. 9–12 (क: लिखेतानी चतुर्वैति इत्यत्) and 23. 45–52; Ait. Br. (तथ ब्राह्मणं वदन्यायत्तंपरिविशिष्टं हैक आहूः)। Or ब्राह्मण may mean, as explained by मेघा (ब्राह्मण वेदेऽ या उपले कवर्तने ता ब्राह्मणा:); the legends of the wars of gods and asuras, the slaughter of Vṛtra, the story of Saramā &c. Or ब्राह्मणः कथा: may mean 'talks relating to the exposition of Brahma' (the cause of the world), as Kullūka explains. विश्वामित्रसंहित 81, 19 is हृदियुक्ताभास्माणी एवौयोग युद्धशः: This is like Manu III. 236. मन्त्र III. 237 is the same as बलिनिर. XI. 32, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 81. 20, Aṅgiras verse 133, Brhad−Yama III. 27, Laghu−Sātāra 103, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140, 46. About the sacred texts and other verses to be recited by the performer (being upāvītita) while the brāhmaṇas are dining, vide above p. 445 and notes 994 and 994a. अत्यधिकताः says 'आत्मात्येव कर्तव्य सर्व आद्यतंत्रे विषयाः। वज्जितोऽज्जितेऽत्त्वोऽत्त्वो विषयाः च विसंजनं' q. by आद्यतंत्र of विसुधिच्च-folio 101a.
side dishes viz. broths, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee and honey on the ground (and not on a wooden stool or the like). The vessels placed on the ground should contain various kinds of food (such as sweetmeats, pāyasa), fruits and roots, delicious flesh, spiced or perfumed drinks. Having brought near the brāhmaṇas all the vessels containing food, he should serve it in the plates declaring the characteristic of each kind of food (saying 'this is sweet, this is sour' &c.). The performer while serving should not shed tears (remembering his ancestors), he should not become angry, should not utter falsehood, he should not touch the (vessel containing) food with his foot and should not serve food with a violent jerk. Whatever is liked by the brāhmaṇas should be served to them without any grumbling and he should talk about Brahma (or about Vedic riddles), because that is agreeable to the pītrās. The performer himself, being pleased, should (by his sweet speech) gladden the brāhmaṇas, should make them partake of food without hurry, and should urge them on frequently (to take more food) by declaring the good points of the various items of food. All food should be steaming hot and the brāhmaṇas should partake of it silently and should not themselves speak of the good points of the food even when questioned by the performer. When the food is hot, when the brāhmaṇas eat in silence and when the good qualities of the food are not declared by the brāhmaṇas, the Fathers partake of it. When a brāhmaṇa (at a śrāddha dinner) partakes of food, having his head covered with a garment (a turban &c) or facing the south or having his sandals on, evil spirits partake of the food (and not the Fathers).' As early as Gaut., it is provided that the food for the brāhmaṇas should be of the highest sort and should be enriched by condiments and flavoured.

Some of the other rules are: The Prajāpati-smṛti (verses 57–62) states who should cook the food for the śrāddha dinner. The wife, any fortunate (or handsome) woman of the performer's gotra whose husband is living and who has a son or brother and is devoted to waiting upon her elders, the performer's teacher's wife, his maternal uncle's wife, paternal or maternal aunt, his sister, his daughter or daughter-in-law, all of them having their husbands alive, should engage in the cooking of the food for śrāddha. Women of good family, who have a large progeny, whose husbands are alive and who are about 50 years old or these women if they have become widows, and the wife of one's paternal uncle or brother, one's mothers (natural or
step-mothers) and the mothers of one's father may cook the śrāddha food and also a woman of the same gotra who is mild by temper. In the Anuśāsana parva (92.15) it is stated that a woman belonging to a gotra other than that of the deceased should not be employed for cooking śrāddha food. One's brother, paternal uncle, brother's son, sister's son, one's son, pupil, one's daughter's son or daughter's husband may also engage in cooking the śrāddha food, but not a woman who wears a white and wet garment, who has let her hair loose, who does not wear a bodice, who is ill or who has bathed her head. Before the brāhmaṇas begin to eat, the food should be first served in the plates for the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas and then in those of the pitrya brāhmaṇas (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73, 13-14), but once the brāhmaṇas have begun to eat there is no such precedence; whatever each brāhmaṇa may be noted as requiring should be served to him (as indicated by Manusmṛti III. 231). The performer of the śrāddha when serving food to the brāhmaṇas (including pitrya) wears his sacred thread in the upavita form. Though it is said that the food should be hot, that does not apply to such eatables as curds, fruits and roots and flavoured drinks (as Śaṅkha XIV. 13 and Skandapurāṇa say). As Hemādri (śrāddha p. 1371) points out, the serving of food in a śrāddha rite should be done with the right hand supported by the left; besides, nothing should be served with the bare hand or with a single hand, but with a wooden ladle or other utensil (but not an iron one). All cooked food, all side dishes and ghee should be served with a ladle (and not with the bare hand) but not water or eatables like ladās. No salt was to be directly served (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 79, 12). In Katayana's Śrāddha-sūtra it is provided: 'The food that remains after agnaukarana should be served in the plates of the pitrya brāhmaṇas and the performer should touch

1035. उत्तमम् हिन्दुतित्या काद्वम् विनिच्छेदयेव। अष्टय फलपुत्रेऽस्म।: पार्वत्यन्त परिभता:। हस्ते वुष्यया वे सत्तेः। रुक्मिणीशोभानिः। यथा। अस्मेते च पात्रेषु व्यस्ते। सकांमि हुक्त्ये। स्वकारुकुर्वान् VII. 206. 37-39। सत्र (14. 12-13) has the first verse but with slight variations and also कूम II. 22. 64। शासित: पक्षेतुं द्राक्षसन्नाशितिविनिविश्य। मौ. 15. 6।

1036. विनयित्वः ज्ञातुः इवनेन वृत्तम पात्रामलय ज्ञाति प्रविशिः ते पात्र चैरिचिन्तन बाध्यवृत्तः हुसे अस्ते अस्ते इत्यदि स्विस्ति बैतानिकान्य युक्तज्ञानकोकालायहातः। ईव तताद्य वस्त्रामलय वीरदिकमान्य ज्ञातुः। कालः आद्यपुस्तक 3 quoted and explained by हेमाद्रि on शास्त्र p. 1374। The वैश्विनीकर्म is 'वैश्विनविचक्रम' (भ. I. 22. 17) and लेखनीयसे 'तिली० ह्यू में राज्यस्त्र' (भ. सं. I. 1. 3. 1. अव. सं. I. 4)। अवशेषात्-ि बाया। सं. II. 29।
each plate for those brāhmaṇas after repeating the mantra ‘the earth is thy vessel, the sky is the cover, I offer nectar in the brāhmaṇa’s nectar-like mouth; svāhā’. Then the performer plunges the (right) thumb of the pīṭṭa brāhmaṇa in the food (the remains of the homa in fire) with the rk or yajus addressed to Viśṇu; and after scattering sesamum grains all round the place where the dinner is to go on with the mantra ‘the asuras and rākṣasas) are struck and driven away’ he (the performer) should serve hot food very much liked (by the departed or by the brāhmaṇas)”. Yāj. I, 238 briefly refers (as translated above) to the mantras and the item of plunging the thumb of the brāhmaṇas in the food; and so does the Baud. Dh. S. also (II. 8, 15–16). The Kālikā-purāṇa prescribes that the thumb of the brāhmaṇa should be moved about in the food covered with ghee and honey with the mantra ‘the earth is thy vessel &c.’ because Viśṇu in the form of the thumb protects food meant for sacrifices to gods and manes. The Baud. Piṭṭmedhasūtra provides that while plunging the thumb of the brāhmaṇa in the food served it should be so arranged that the nail of the thumb is not smeared with food. Vasīṭha provides that the brāhmaṇas eating śrāddha food should always hold the plate from which they are eating with (the left) hand till the end of the dinner. Śāṅkha-Likhita provide that brāhmaṇas (eating śrāddha food) should not declare the good or bad points of the food served, should not say what is untrue, should not praise each other, nor should they say ‘there is plenty of food and drink (and so do not serve more food),

1037. धृतानुरुत्त विजानां तु आनिर्य्यमभुले। पृष्टिः इ त्वती समवेच्छ हत्यक्षे च रक्षेष्व। निष्कृतेऽविदवेष्यन ततं चारवर रक्षित। कालिकापुराण Q. by हेर्माद्य (भाग p.1378) अपीलाते बाहुल्यात्तपि उपायमिश्य वामनस्याद्वैतानकवेष्यात्तदिशतिः अनुमति उपायमिश्य्व। शै. पितुमस्व सुधी II, 9, 19 (Mysore ed.).

1038. तस्मादप्रुत्त (स्म?) हस्तस्य कूशाकरस्यास्तस्य। भोजनं (भाजनं?) सा समारवर तितितीलाच्छेष्यने दुमे॥ (तन्मेयोभाषणः हिङ्गः?)। वलिसे 11, 26 explained by हेर्माद्य (भाषा) p. 1024 as ‘तस्मादप्रुत्तास्तास्तस्य हस्तस्य तितितीलाच्छेष्यने दुमे॥ समारावरतिः कण्णारे ग्रामहस्तस्य भाजनं विचयं तितितः। कण्णारे ग्रामहस्तस्य भाजनं समारावरतिः कण्णारे ग्रामहस्तस्य भाजनं समारावरतिः कण्णारे ग्रामहस्तस्य भाजनं समारावरतिः।।। (भाग p. 119 reproduces this explanation verbatim.

1039. श्लोकिकारी! बाहुल्यात्तपि द्वोपं, नामविन्दुस्वरूपोऽविन्दुस्वरूपो न पदाति- पुरुषपणं न पदुयेति बुद्धरुपयो हस्तस्याध्य:। Q. by हेर्माद्य (भाषा) p. 1019, भाग p. 118, which says यथेक्य पदुयेति, अवश्रय परिव्रत्यमिति भृषुभिः। बुद्धरुपयो हस्तस्याध्ये।
except by signs made with the hand.' Whatever is offered in a brāhmaṇa's hand (by way of agnaukarana) and whatever food is placed in the plates should be mixed up and eaten. Hemaḍrī quotes passages from the Maitrāyaṇīya-sūtra and from the Skandapurāṇa setting out the mantras wherewith certain articles were to be served; e.g. the Skandapurāṇa says that pāyasa should be served with the verse ‘namo vaḥ pītarā’ (Vāj. S. II. 32. Tai. S. III. 2. 5. 5), clarified butter with the mantra ‘Tejosi śukram’, curds with the mantra ‘dadhikrāvno’ (Rg. IV. 39. 6, Vāj. S. 23. 32, Tai. S. 1. 5. 11. 4). Ap. Dh. S. (II. 8. 18. 11) provides that the leavings of a śrāddha dinner should not be given to one who is inferior to the invited brāhmaṇas in qualities and Manu III. 249 states that the man who after eating śrāddha dinner gives the leavings to a śūdra falls in the Kālaśūtra Hell.

The Mātsyapurāṇa and some other works provide that the brāhmaṇas should pronounce blessings on the performer (who faces the east) after they have sipped water and have been given water, flowers and akṣata grains. The performer prays ‘May our Fathers be not terrible (i.e. be kind) to us.’ The brāhmaṇas reply ‘let it be so’. The performer prays ‘May our family grow’, ‘May donors increase in our family and also food’, ‘May these blessings turn out to be true.’ To all these these the brāhmaṇas reply after each one of the prayers¹⁰⁴⁰ ‘May it be so’. There are rules about the time when the leavings or particles of food in the plates of the brāhmaṇas that ate the dinner should be removed or swept away. Vas. (XI. 21-22) and the Kūrma-purāṇa provide that the leavings of food should not be removed till the Sun sets, since streams of nectar flow from them, which are drunk by the (spirits of) those departed persons for whom no water was offered. Manu III, 265 (which is the same as Mātsya 17.56 and Padma, Srṣṭikhaṇḍa 9.185) provides another rule that the leavings of the food in the plates may remain where they are till the brāhmaṇas are dismissed and depart.

¹⁰⁴⁰. तत: स्वताविवर्णिनं बिविषेकेऽदु: चोदुः || दुर्गिः: पविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविवि
Hemādri (śrāddha, p. 1512)\textsuperscript{1041} therefore provides that if the
derformance has another house the leavings may not be removed till
sunset, but if he has only one house, they may be removed after
the brāhmaṇas have gone away (vide Yāj. I. 257, Matsya 17,56).
It is further provided by Brhaspati\textsuperscript{1042} that the plates should
not be removed before the brāhmaṇas pronounce the word
'svasti', and Jātukārṇya\textsuperscript{1043} and the Skandapurāṇa say that the
plates and the leavings should be removed by the performer
himself or by his pupil or son, but not by women nor by a child
nor by one who is not of the same caste. Manu III. 258 provides
that, after the brāhmaṇas have left, the performer should look at
the south and pray to the pitṛs for certain blessings contained
in Manu III. 259 which are the same as Yāj. I. 246 translated
The Āp. gr. 20.9 (q. in note 981), Āp. Dh. S. II. 7, 17, 16,
Manu III, 264, Yāj. I. 249 provide that the performer should
partake of the remainder of the food cooked for the śrāddha
along with his wife, paternal and maternal relatives after reciting
(according to Haradatta) the Yājusa mantra (Āp. M. P. II.
20,26) which means 'entering the life breath I offer nectar; my
soul is centred in Brahman for the sake of immortality.' The
Āp. gr. and Āp. Dh. S. provide\textsuperscript{1044} that the performer must eat
at least a morsel of the food left after serving to the brāhmaṇas.
Vyāsa and Devala prescribe that on the day of śrāddha the performer
must not observe a fast (even if he usually does so as on
Ekādaśī or Śivarātra). A way out was provided by the
Brahmavālantarapūraṇa by recommending that the performer
should merely smell the remnants of the śrāddha food. Vide

\textsuperscript{1041.} आदेश नोन्दसंगीयानु उत्सिद्दाण्या विनिष्ठ्यात | अव्योवले हि सुधाधरास्तः
पिष्चलन्तीतोव्रातः || बासिद XI. 21; नोन्दसंगीयानुविष्ठावर्धानी स्वतंत्रतामिति श्रवः || कूमुदुरण
II. 22, 85. कल्पन (आ. p. 227) remarks 'नोन्दसंगीयानुविष्ठावर्धानीष्टि वृष्टिकेशे
विष्णु || उपस्थित न महुष्यात् इति वृष्टिकेशे विष्णुज्ञानिकाः
विष्णु ||'.

\textsuperscript{1042.} भावमेत्य त लिङ्कु वर्त्तित कृतित के हि व्हा: || तद्रथमहसुरस्यं जलायोऽन्तः पिनिलिं
गि: || वृष्टिकेशे q. by स्वरतिनः. (आ. p. 482), हेमादि (आ. p. 1485).

\textsuperscript{1043.} पाण्डविण्यायायो द्वारा च स्वयं सिद्धव्रायं सुदुः || न सिद्धिन्य च बलेन नासिजया
कर्तवेत्य q. by स्वरतिनः. (आ. p. 482), हेमादि (आ. p. 1486; न सिद्धिन्य
च बलेन नासिजयं च संविदितः || आदेशे विष्णु च पार्श्व च सर्वत्रेत्यी मददेते
स्वरतिनः (नग्रव त्रयं) q. by हेमादि (आ. p. 1485).

\textsuperscript{1044.} सर्वस्वेद भ्रमित्वे स्वाते समग्रायेन निग्रेश्य उपादेशे वायुसे चार्मिशोकः || आप.
प. सू. II. 7, 17, 16. यथाभक्ति विना तस्मात्प्राप्ते अप्प्राप्ते चतुर्वत्स भद्भाणि मे आत्माप्राप्तय: || आप.
द. म. त. II 20, 26. This मन्म occurs also in हे. आ. X. 33.
Hemādri (śrāddha, pp. 1519–1521) for the discussion. Hemādri (p. 1485) refers to the practice (observed even now) that after the performer receives the blessings referred to above, his son, grandson and the like should offer adoration to the devatās in the form of pīṇḍas. The brāhmaṇas should praise the good characteristics of the food served at the end of the śrāddha ceremony. The brāhmaṇas should not get up from the dinner, carelessly leaving remnants of food in their plates, but they may leave in the plates a little food except milk, curds, honey or barley flour.

There were several views as to the exact stage at which the offerings of pīṇḍas were to be made. According to Śāṅk. Gr. IV. 1.9., Āsv. gr. IV. 8. 12, Šāṅkha 14. 11, Manu III. 260–261, Yāj. I. 242 and several other works, the performer offers the lumps of boiled rice after the brāhmaṇas have finished eating their dinner. The pīṇḍas are made with boiled rice mixed with sesame and are placed on darbhās on a clean spot and at a distance of about one aratni from the plates in which the brāhmaṇas ate and the performer faces the south. Here again there are two opinions, one being that pīṇḍas were to be offered before the brāhmaṇas sip water (perform acamana) after dinner (e. g. Āsv. gr. IV. 8. 12–13, Śrāddha-sūtra of Katyāyana, kaṇḍika 3), while others hold that they were to be offered after the brāhmaṇas have rinsed their mouth and taken acamana. Another view referred to as the view of some by Śāṅk. gr. IV. 1. 10 and Manu III. 261 was that pīṇḍas were to be offered to the ancestors first after honouring the invited brāhmaṇas or after agraukaraṇa and then the brāhmaṇas were to partake of the dinner. The

1045. आज्ञावसाने कार्यस्य विजीरणकृतस्यस्यस्यति:। हृदशसिद्ध q. by हेमार्द: (अ. p. 1019).

1046. तदाहस्य:। अभिर्जये तु न निःलोष्य कुर्याख्य: कार्यान्तः। अर्पण दुः: कृतादा श्रवणस्तुनयय एव च q. by हेमार्द: (अ. p. 1025). Acc. to मह. III. 245–46, विध्य 81, 22–23, मग्न 17, 56–57, the leavings of food in the plates of आज्ञाया and the विधिः were the lot of persons of the family dying young, while the leavings of food that fell or were left on the ground were the share of deceased slaves. ‘प्रासवसाधिकरणां सर्वविधानां सृजितं दासवर्धन’ हताध्यु: on कार्यान्तः आज्ञाया (folio 30a). Vide n. 1007 above for मह. III. 245.

1047. अभिर्जये तु न निःलोष्य कुर्याख्य:। विध्य अयात्स्ममपि सर्वविधानां। अभिर्जये के। अभ्यः पू. IV. 8, 12–13.

1048. संस्कृतेन तत्तोषेन विपिनायां सर्वेण दुष्क्रमं विन्योनिष्ठयते बयोधु द्वारस्तिप्रतिच्छिन्नमार्ज्जय्य सर्वविधानां महे वर्षे 28. 55. अटलिः is the hand from the wrist to the small finger,
Time of offering pindaş

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa empasilcally asserts that this is the correct position as stated by Brhaspati. The Vīṣṇu Dh. S. (73 15-24) provides that the pindaş are to be offered to the ancestors while the brāhmaṇas are actually eating. A fourth view is that of the Āp. gr. 24.9, Hir. gr. (II. 12.2-3) which state that the performer should, after the brāhmaṇas have eaten and gone away and he has followed and circumambulated them, offer pindaş. Owing to this conflict of views Hemādri (quoting smṛti) and the Madanapāriṇājata (p. 600) say that each one should follow the procedure laid down in his own śākha. Hemādri adds that those in whose grhyasūtra no special time is mentioned for pindaḍāna should follow the view that pindaş are to be offered after the brāhmaṇas have partaken of the dinner and sipped water. The Śr. P. (p. 247) endorses this view. The pindaş were to be deposited on bunches of (25) darbhas for each pinda. Aparārka on Yāj. I. 24 states that in all cases without exception pindaş were to be offered near the plates from which the brāhmaṇas took their meals, while Hemādri who relies on Kātyāyana’s word ‘uchchistāsannidhan’ says that where the performer is an añītāgni the pindaş were to be offered near his sacred fire, but when a performer had not kept the sacred fires pindaş were to be offered near the plates from which brāhmaṇas ate the śraddha food. The Śrāddhasāstra (p. 163) quotes Atri to the effect that pindaş should be offered at a distance of three aratnīs from where the brāhmaṇas ate the śraddha dinner and that in such śraddhas as Navaśrāddhas Vaśīvadeva is to be performed before pindaḍāna and that it is to be performed after

1049. पूजन चेतिनित्यां परमेश्वर नित्यां । वार्तारदृशः नेत्रवर्ताः ॥

1050. तथा च स्वतः । तथा च हिंदूमध्यस्थे विद्यार्थी ॥

1051. तथा च स्वतः । तथा च हिंदूमध्यस्थे विद्यार्थी ॥

ancestors. The Gobhilasmr̥ti provides\textsuperscript{1055} that six pīṇḍas should be offered except in the Anvāstakāśr̥ddha, the first śr̥ddha (on the 11th day), the sixteen śr̥ddhas and the yearly śr̥ddha for a deceased person. Dhaumya\textsuperscript{1056} prescribes that where the paternal ancestors are honoured (or fed) the maternal ancestors also should be certainly honoured without making any difference (between the two classes); if he makes a distinction the performer will go to Hell. The Viṣṇupurāṇa,\textsuperscript{1057} the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa and the Varāhapurāṇa say that some hold that a śr̥ddha for maternal ancestors is to be performed separately while other sages hold that one śr̥ddha is to be offered at the same time to the paternal and maternal ancestors. Brhaṇspati (q. by Kalpataru on śr̥ddha p. 204) prescribes\textsuperscript{1058} that one should offer pīṇḍas made from all food cooked for the śr̥ddha and mixed with honey and sesame grains for both paternal and maternal ancestors according to the rules of one's gṛhyasūtra. The Varāhapurāṇa (14. 40–41) says that pitrīya brāhmaṇas should be dismissed first and then the daiva brāhmaṇas together with those for the mother's ancestors and that separate pīṇḍas were to be offered to the mother's paternal ancestors (14.37). Some held the view that the offering of pīṇḍas to maternal ancestors was obligatory for the putrikā-putra\textsuperscript{1059} (son of the appointed daughter) or for a daughter's son that inherited the wealth of his maternal grandfather. Brhat-Parāśara (chap. V. p. 153) mentions several views on this point. It seems probable that when the appointment of a

\textsuperscript{1055} कर्षिसम्बन्धितः सह्यत्व तयादायायाभिधिसिद्धः I सयाविद्वेक्षेऽर्थो िष्णु: सः सहिति स्खलितः III. 73, कर्षिसम्बन्धितः is explained by निपपरस्थितः (III. p. 392) and देशायिः as सविधीक्षरण और by आ, जिः की p. 93 as खऽकालाभः.

\textsuperscript{1056} विश्व्यो य व तर्�三等奖 वाहन महवर्म अविशेषेण कर्षिसंबन्धितः विश्ववाहिके वाजेद् नीम्न g. by आ, ज. p. 14; स्वर्गीच: (आ. p. 337) quotes it as शूस्वयन्तर; the शूस्वयपातार p. 56 merely quotes it (without name) and आ, ज. की p. 93 quotes it from त्वारियायाख्वतः.

\textsuperscript{1057} पुष्कर्तिरः केरिवाहः: आदर्श कर्म चुरुए। एक्केषं यागुन वनांय सहस्यः III. 15. 17; निष्फलात्मानं ए केरिवाहिस्यतः अश्वं तीर्थ विष्फलात्मानं पुष्कर्तिः सादुर्वान, विष्फलनात्मकः ज्ञातः (उपोद्धातापि) 11. 61. The verse पुष्कर्तिः is also वाराहपुराण 14. 12.

\textsuperscript{1058} सर्वामातानात्तत्त्वानात्तत्त्वानात्तत्त्वानात्तत्त्वानात्तत्त्वानात्तत्त्वानात्त। पितुमातामहानीयं वनादान: विधानस: द्विपुष्कर्तिः q. by स्वर्गीच: (आ. p. 479), देशायिः (आ.) p. 1428. It may be noted that त्वा (I. 242) does not mention honey.

\textsuperscript{1059} Vide मह IX. 132 and H. of Dh, vol. III. pp. 647 and 657 (for पुष्कर्तिः).
daughter as a son became rare or went out of vogue the maternal ancestors came to be associated with the paternal ancestors in pārvaṇa-śrāddha.

The question when the wives of ancestors became associated with the male ancestors cannot be solved satisfactorily. The pitūmaḥi is not mentioned in the extant Vedic Literature. But it is certain that the wives of male ancestors had come to be associated with their husbands in the sūtra period. For example, the Hir. Gr. II. 10 associates the mother, the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother with their respective husbands in the monthly śrāddha performed in the dark half. Similarly, the Baud. gr. II. 11,34 not only associates in the Aṣṭakā śrāddha the male maternal ancestors with the male paternal ancestors, but also their respective wives. The Āp. M. P. 1060 has mantras referring to the three male paternal ancestors as well as their wives. The Śān. gr. (IV. 1.11) provides that behind the lumps for the paternal ancestors the performer places the lumps for their wives, putting something between the two sets of pīṇḍas and the commentator explains that dārbhas are placed between the two sets. The Kauśika sūtra (88.12) also provides for the offering of pīṇḍas to the wives of male ancestors to the south of the pīṇḍas for male ancestors. The Āśv. gr. (II. 5. 4–5), while speaking of the Anvāṣṭakya rite, refers to pīṇḍas to be offered to the wives of ancestors with the addition of rum and the scum of boiled rice. The Vaikhānasā-smārta-sūtra IV. 7 (after describing the Pīṇḍapitṛyajyā in IV. 5–6) notes that the difference between it and the ordinary monthly śrāddha is that in the latter pīṇḍas are offered to the wives of the pitṛs 1061. Dr. Caland (in ‘Ahnenkult’ p. 164) thinks that this inclusion of the women ancestors among those to whom pīṇḍas were to be offered was made by taking over from Anvāṣṭakya ceremonial described above. This conjecture does not look very probable. The Aṣṭakā rites existed from remote antiquity as shown above. If the offering of pīṇḍas to women ancestors were borrowed from the Anvāṣṭakya

1060. महाज्येश्वरां तद्विरि जार्ज्येश्वरां मृत पितामहां महाज्येश्वरां मृत पितामहां। जार्ज्येश्वरां मृत माता जार्ज्येश्वरां तद्विरि पितामहां महाज्येश्वरां मृत पितामहां। आय. म. प. I. II. 19. 2–7.

1061. अथ भार्त्तरां माति महावर्षकालादेशादेशादेशादेश वर्षानोगतयेश्वरां महाज्येश्वरां जार्ज्येश्वरां। तहयमययित्व विभागित्वे पाण्डवः सम्बन्धम् महाज्येश्वरां जार्ज्येश्वरां जार्ज्येश्वरां। तहयमययित्वे पितृविभागित्वे पितृविभागित्वे पितृविभागित्वे। वेदांनवसुदाम् 4. 7.
this item would have figured in all sūtras just as Aṣṭākā śrāddha does. It is rather more probable that the extension to women was a natural growth in course of time. Some of the śrutis emphasize the participation of the wives of paternal ancestors in the pārvanātṛāddha offerings. Śatātapa states\textsuperscript{1062}: 'In what is offered to the pitras after Sapinḍikaraṇa, the mother is a participant everywhere. A śrāddha may be separately offered to the mother in the Anvaṣṭakā rites, in Vṛddhi-śrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of the day of her death; but in other cases it is performed along with the husband'. It is stated by Bṛhaspati that the mother partakes of the śrāddha food along with her husband (i.e. the father of the performer); that the same rule applies to the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother\textsuperscript{1063}. The Kalpataru\textsuperscript{1064} and others held that the wives of the paternal ancestors were not devatās in the pārvana-śrāddha, but they only enjoyed the ethereal food which came to the pitras, while Hemādri and other southern writers held that the mother and other female ancestors were among the devatās of pārvana-śrāddha, but not the stepmother. There was a divergence of views whether the words 'mother', 'paternal grandmother' and 'paternal great-grandmother' included the co-wives (saptanī) of these. Hemādri (on śrāddha pp. 97–104) has a long disquisition on this question. According to one view the stepmother, the co-wife of the pitāmahi and the co-wife of the prapitāmahi would be included in

\textsuperscript{1062} śrutideśikānāma śrutideśikānāma kalpata mahāna bhāṣaḥ. \textit{Hemādripadāya dharmaśāstra...} ekasana bhavati brahmajñānārdhakāraṁ svarūpānāṁ vicitreṇa vicitrenāṁ śvetāni dveṣṭeṇāṁ mokṣaṁ tu visesāyataḥ pāṇiḥ:—haṁ. \textit{Gītāmolayā (Vaiṣṇavīkhyā)} folio 3a. \textit{The Aitāvata p. 190 similarly says 'udākṣharaśāntu viṣṇaśāntiḥ pravakṣaṁ nivādeta, \textit{Ati śrīvīcāre वेषाः एवं श्रीवीरुणुवेषाः नास्ति निश्चययति, तदमः न स्वयममहतिसाधित, \textit{P. G. śāstra p. 783 for the अवितर्यादाय विश्वासिताः}}\textit{II. 102 'न विधिवतः परमार्थनाधीनताः सम्बन्धितविषयकारकर्मविषयः स्यवेचा}}\textit{\textit{The कालवस्थे (\textit{Aitāvata p. 4}) says: नापि विचारः सप्ताहीकारण देवताल्यूः तथापि मान्यमात्रावातः \textit{Bhṛṣṭ न विष्णुविश्वासितविषयः परमार्थनाधीनताः स्यव्यक्तिकारकर्मविषयः \textit{सम्बन्धितविषयकारकर्मविषयः स्यवेचा इत्यति}}\textit{\textit{Kalpaśastrāḥ, \textit{p. 260.}}}}
the presentation formula (as quoted below), while according to Hemādri only the real mother, the real paternal grand-mother and the real paternal great-grandmother would ordinarily be included except on rare occasions such as a Mahālayaśrāddha or a śrāddha at Gayā. 1065

As regards the mantra to be recited when offering each of the pīṇḍas there is some divergence of views, which reaches far into antiquity. The pīṇḍa 1066 is offered to each ancestor after stating his gotra, his relationship to the performer and name (all in the vocative). According to several writers the form of the presentation of the pīṇḍa is 'this is for thee, O Father! N. N. (by name) and so and so by gotra.' In the Taḥ. S. I, 8,5,1, in the Āp. M.P. II. 20,13 and in some sūtras, the following is added 'and for those who follow thee' (ye ca tvām-anu). 1067 In the Gobhila-grhya IV. 3,6 and Khādiragṛhya the formula is still longer 'This pīṇḍa is thine, O Father! and of those who follow thee and of those whom thou followest.' 1068 To thee, Svadā!'. The Bhāratavaij 1069 gr. II. 12 introduces slight changes. It has been already noted above (n. 781) how the Sat. Br. disapproves of

1065. तदवस्मादविभूतं यहदुपत्तिकृति विषयाञ्चारणाद्वारा सर्वादिशसन्धानकालिकामाह्यात्

1066. अघोपासर्भु स्तुत्वेती विषयाप्रदो तथा वस्त्रो यो मञ्जरीमात्रामात्र यथा वाचयति.

1067. एवंश्राक्षो ये च लघुमुखे पितामहस्य ये च लघु, पितामहस्य ये च लघु । अयय. म. प. II. 20, 13. Vide note 781 for नैं. सं. passages and n. 1053 for अयय. भ. पारवती.

1068. असरुतवाचार्यानुसार सर्ववेद लघुभय च माहक्षरि तथां न श्रमिति । गोभिरशाह. III.

1069. वि च लघुस्थानस्य ये च लघुमुखे । भारवा ग्राह. II. 12.
the usage of the Tai. S. in this matter, the reason being that when the son offers a pinda to his father and employs the formula ‘this is thine and of those that follow thee’, he would be included among those that follow the father and be thus offering a pinda to himself, which is inauspicious. It is provided by Gobhila-grhya that if he does not know the names of his ancestors he should put down the first pinda with the formula ‘svadha to the Fathers dwelling on the earth’, (he should put down) the 2nd pinda with the formula ‘svadha to the fathers dwelling in the air’, the third with the formula ‘svadha to the Fathers dwelling in heaven’ and should recite in a low voice the words ‘Here, O Fathers, gladden yourselves, show your vigour each according to his own part.’ Yama quoted by Kalpataru (on Sr. p. 203), following Gobhila provides generally (whether the ancestors be known or not) that the first pinda should be offered to the father with the expression ‘prthivi’, the second to the grandfather in the aerial regions and the third to the paternal great-grandfather with the mantra ‘dyaur darv’. The Visnu Dh. S. (73.17–19) has similar provisions, the mantras respectively being ‘prthivi darvirakṣita’, ‘antarikṣam darvirakṣita’, ‘dyaur-darvirakṣita’. Medhātithi on Manu III, 194 says (following Aśv. Sr. and others) that if the names of the ancestors are not known he should simply say ‘O Father, Grandfather’ &c. If the gotra be not known then he should employ the gotra name Kaśyapa.

Certain matters pertaining to pindas must be stated in one place once for all. There is a good deal of discussion about the

1070. तत्तेतेत्तममञ्चमभिमिच्छानं भविष्यति । यतोद्वद्वितिवद्वानं ज्वालां: पुष्टादि: ये च लाभमु हि त्वनामं चेत्या च प्रत्ययां च संवेद्या तेन च प्रभावनं च सत्यमेव सह भविष्यति । अतत् शास्त्रसम्बन्ध एव विष्णुभवानं करोतितीति अतिभविष्यति । हेमादिति (सू. 606) p. 1437.

1071. यदि नामात्म न विश्वातु स्वात्र पितृश्रयः सृष्टिव्यवस्थानं हि त्वमेव पिन्धेन निवादि । सत्यता पित्रोपः तत्त्वास्मातिर्भवत्तत्वा द्वितीयाः स्वात्र पितृश्रयः स्वित्व च हि त्वमेव निवादि जागते अन्न पिताः मानवाः च व्यापारों प्रभावादि एवविभाषितं । हेमादिति (सू. 615) p. 1443 and शास्त्र. प्र. 260. Compare तै. S. I. 8. 5. 1 एवते तत्त... देवगिरिभां ये च ज्ञातयं पिताः पाभाग संवेद्या च च अन्नविश्वासं चालमनवम् च (प. 260) and ध. S. II. 31 ‘अन्न पिताः मानवाः च व्यापारों प्रभावादि एव विभाषितं’। The आदि. आदि. च. II. 6. 24 says ‘नामायतादिस्तपितायामहः प्रभावादि’.

1072. गोज्याज्यानेतरवा ध्यानप्रवशः—गोज्याज्याने कर्पये—गोज्याज्याने कर्पये। कर्पये समेतस्मिनः सर्वंदारश्चारणादात्। तथा च सुहृति । कर्पये सब्दः सवः मनः कार्पये हि। सुहृत्वच। (शास्त्र. प्र. 481); vide शास्त्र. प्र. 260 for a similar provision. The शृद्धालुसंहार p. 49 says: यथा च तस्मादस्तूः सवः मनः कार्पये हि। कर्पये श्रुताच्च यथावच आश्च एव तत्त्र। ‘सवः मनः कार्पये’—These words occur in सत्यचिदात्मानं VII 5. 1. 5.
size of the piñḍas. Marici (quoted by Aparārka p. 507) provides that in pārvana-śrāddha the piñḍa should be of the size of undried āmalaka fruit, of the size of a bita fruit in Ekoddīṣṭa, in navaśrāddhas the piñḍa should be bigger than in any one of the preceding when offered every day during the days of impurity on death. The Skandapurāṇa says that piñḍas should be of such a size as would enable a calf two years old to put it easily into its mouth. 1073 Āṅgiras (q. by Sm. C. p. 475 and Hemādri, śrāddha p. 1429) prescribes that the piñḍas may be of the size of kapittha or bita fruit or of the size of a hen’s egg or of an āmalaka or badara fruit. In the Maitrāyaṇiya-sūtra 1074 it is said that the piñḍa for the paternal grandfather should be bigger than that for the father and should be in the middle (of the three piñḍas), that the piñḍa for the great-grandfather should be the largest of all. The next point is from what materials the piñḍas were to be made. If piñḍas were offered before agnaukarana they were to be made from the boiled rice (caru) prepared for agnaukarana. If made after agnaukarana, the piñḍas were to be made from the cooked food (remaining after agnaukarana) mixed with sesamum (vide Yāj. I. 242). If piñḍas were to be offered after the brāhmaṇas took their dinner, the piñḍas were to be made from the remainder of the food cooked for the brāhmaṇas which was to be mixed with the boiled rice for agnaukarana as stated in Kātyāyana’s Śrāddha-sūtra. 1075 The piñḍas were to be placed according to the Matsya 1076 on darbhas spread on the ground cleaned with water mixed with cow’s dung and urine. There were others such as Devala, the Brahmapurāṇa and Bhavīṣyapurāṇa that prescribed that an altar, either circular or square, of sand was to be raised on ground 4 fingers in height and one cubit in extent near the plates from which brāhmaṇas were to eat and thereon darbhas.

1073. ब्रह्मार्क्षयम् सत्सर्व विस्तारे विचिन्तयात् विद्युत्सत्क तथा कुर्यां रस्माणनि विशुष्टर्थ व्यासव भाविः। सत्सर्व विचित्ययात् विद्युत्सत्क तथा कुर्यां रस्माणनि विशुष्टर्थ व्यासव भाविः। विद्युत्सत्क तथा कुर्यां रस्माणनि विशुष्टर्थ व्यासव भाविः।

1074. दृष्टाःपुरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुषव्रोधुस्वरुṣ

1075. तृतीयचतुर्विंद्यान्तः शेषमः शेषमः विविधत्वान्तः सर्वविविधत्वान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः

1076. उपायो निमित्ते समाधिनिर्देशः विद्युत्सत्क तथा कुर्यां रस्माणनि विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशु�्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः विशुष्टिन्यान्तः
were to be placed and then pinḍas. The Vāyupurāṇa provides
that a line should be drawn on the altar or the ground with the
root of a darbha to the accompaniment of the following mantras
viz. 'I destroy whatever is impure; I have killed all asuras,
dīnavaus, rākṣasas, yakṣas, piśācas (goblins), guhyakas and
yātudhānas' and the mantra 'struck down (are the asuras
and rākṣasas sitting on the Vedi'). In Āp. Śr. I, 10, 2, Manu
III. 217, Viśupu Dh. S. 73.17–19, Yama (q. by Hemādri p. 1440),
the Kalpataru (on Śr. p. 203), Mahārṇavaprakāśa (q. by
Hemādri), Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1440–42) and Śr. P. pp. 266–267
reference is made to adoration of the six seasons and the
obeisance (namaskāra) to the pitṛs in the words 'namo vaḥ
pitaro' (Vāj. S. I, 32) 1078 and the repetition of three mantras
when each of the three pinḍas is offered, some holding that the
seasons were to be deemed as identified with 'rasa', 'tosa' and
four other words (in Vāj. S. I, 32), while others held that the
adoration of the seasons is quite distinct from the namaskāras
to the pitṛs. In the Saunakātharvāṇaśrāddha-kalpa, the pinḍas
are offered in the reverse order i.e. first to the great-grand-
father, then to the grandfather and then to the father (Hemādri
on śrāddha p. 1442). Āp. Śr. I, 9. 4 refers to this method in
'pitāmahaprabhṛtān vā'.

1077. निश्चितं सर्वं यद्वेष्टथवज्ञेवतथा सर्वं शुद्धदान्ति मया। द्वाससि यक्षादिश्रविचार-
वहिता हता मया याहुधानाश्च सर्वं। अनेन मरणं छस्यताम पेदिः च सर्वं सकुर्देशेषेका
महानुरा न्यायम् क्रियत (आ. प. 214, 216, आ. म. प. 251). This is cited as
from महानुरा from अन्तरसि p. 478 (which reads सुभाषितसत्ताम संतान (विपोष्टमभुि
tva) विपोष्टमभुि). The verses are वाःमुनास 75. 45–46 and are mentioned as from
महानुरा in आ.म. उपन्यास p. 235. Both अन्तरसि and आ. म. add the vedaic mantra
अपहारता (बाज. सं. II. 29) here.

1078. पुरुषविवेकं मयक्षेत्रं दिन्यां पुष्पिक्षितं च। दिलागान्त्रये च वाप-
पेि च महतीमान्यां तत्ततिपरं हु निविज्ञेत। चोदिररिते मरणं श्रुतिश्रविश्वं सनातनीं
वम् क्रियत (आ. म. p. 203), हेमाद्रि (आ. म. p. 1440). उपक्रियान्वेकः दशक्षणादि
श्रविश्वं दहिन्ती दिविक्षितां इति विषयं निविज्ञात। अत्यर्थं दिलागान्त्रये इति द्विवेयं
विनिविधानं। चोदिररिते इति द्विवेयं महतीमान्यं। विस्मृत्यमवज्ञान 73. 17–19. आवर्यो-
क्षेत्रं परापुर्वन्तयेज्ञमन्त्रशुधु। पुरुषवश्वं मस्तर्वसं सीपवेत् उीवमयं च मन्त्रविवशं।
आ. म. III. 217. The मन्त्र is: पुरुषविवेकं दहिन्ते स्वाधुतपूजनं तां पुरुषविवेकं दिविक्षितं हुमवत् स्वाधुतपूजनं-
पद्वागात्रितविनिविधानं पुष्पिक्षितवेदिकां ये चतुं गान्त्रये न तथा। In the other two
mantras in honour of दिलागान्त्रये and महतीमान्य एद्यसिद्धं भवसहिण्यं च श्रवं
पुरुषविवेकं, शुद्धं और शुद्धं for अग्नि: wherever necessary. The meaning is 'the
earth is a laddle giving inexhaustible gratification' &c. The काठकृष्ण
(63. 14) provides 'पुरुषविवेकं दिविक्षितं कुपुष्पं' and the काठकृष्ण (88. 8–10)
also mentions the three mantras uttered at the time of offering the three
pinḍas (viz. शुद्धं, कुपुष्पं, दहिन्ते) filmed दिलागान्त्रये, येदिविक्षितं). Compare
काठकृष्णं संहिता IX. 23.
About the final disposal (pratipatti) of the pinda several views were entertained. We have already seen (note 780) that the Vâj. S. and several sûtras provided that the middle one of the three pindas for paternal ancestors was to be eaten by the wife of the performer of the śrâddha if she was desirous of a son. Manu (III. 262-263) provides that the dharmapati (i. e. a wife of the same varpa and married before any other wife) should eat the middle pinda with the mantra ‘adhatta pitaro garbham’ (q. in n. 780) and then she gives birth to a son who lives long, secures fame, is intelligent and obtains wealth and progeny and who is of a good and righteous turn of mind. The same rule is provided for by the Laghu-Āśvalāyaṇa 23.83, the Kûrma II. 2. 71, 76, Matsya 16.52, Vâyu 76.31, Viśudharmottara I. 171 8, 220, 149, Padma (ṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 9.121) and other purāṇas. As regards pindas in general, the Āsv. Šr. (II. 7. 14-17) says that the other two pindas (except the middle one) should be cast into water or in fire or they may be eaten by a brâhmaṇa who has suddenly developed a distaste for food or they may be partaken by one who has been suffering from a serious disease (such as tuberculosis or leprosy) and that in the latter case the man either recovers or dies. The Gobhila-gr. (IV. 3. 31-34) provides that the pindas should be thrown into water or in fire or should be given to a brâhmaṇa or a cow to eat. Manu (III. 260-261) says the same and adds that they may be given to a goat for eating and that some allow them to be devoured by birds. Yâj. I. 257, Matsya 16.52-53, and Padma 1079 mention the same five ways of disposal but the last adds one more viz. placing them near a mound of earth. The Varāhāpurāṇa 1080 (190.121) says that the performer may eat the first pinda himself, he should give the middle to his wife and the third he should cast into water. The Anuśāsanaparva (125.25,26) provides that the first and the third should be thrown into water or fire and the middle pinda should be eaten by the wife. It is provided by Bṛhaspati that if the wife is suffering from a disease or is already pregnant or is staying in some other

1079. पिष्कांद्रे गौजमिनां वायुपारा जले क्षिति था। याज्ञवल्क्यो वि-मकरणजीवित्रं नाध्येत् मया (छट्टि 9. 120); अवराक्षप् प. 550 और हेमाद्रि रेड़ रणवती और हेमाद्रि रेड़ (प. 1504). That birds should be allowed to eat the pindas is natural since it was believed as stated above (p. 339) that the pîtras wander about in the form of birds. Vide कृम्भ II. 22.83 for a similar verse.

1080. अध्ययनश्च वधान पिष्क वर्तने धृष्टे तु मस्यमधु। तुरीयमधुकरं वधानारः एवं लिच्छि; रूपः॥ १९०.१२१।
place, then an old bull or a goat may eat the middle pinda (quoted by Śm. C. on Śr. p. 486, Kalpataru on Śr. p. 224). The Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 141. 8) prescribes that when a śraddha is performed at a tirtha, the pindas should be cast into the sacred water. The Anuśāsanaparvā 125. 38–40 and some of the purāṇas such as Vāyu (76.32–34) and Brahma (220.150–152) provide that certain consequences follow from the disposal of pindas in one way or another viz. the best worlds by giving pindas to cows, intellect and fame from casting into water, long life from offering them to birds &c. Vide also Brahmāṇḍa (upodghāta, chap. 12. 31–35) which provides that if given to cows the result is best complexion, if to cocks then delicacy, long life if given crows. In this connection it should be noted that pindas of rice or of flour were not to be offered in all śraddhas. The Śraddha-kalpalatā (pp. 86–89) has a long discussion about the śraddhas in which the offering of pindas of food is forbidden. For example, it quotes Pulastya to the effect that in śraddhas performed on the two ayama days, on the two equinocial days, on any sankrānti, no pindas are to be offered, so also in śraddhas on Ekādaśī, Trayodaśī, on Magha and Kṛttikā nakṣatras, if a man desires to have sons and wealth.

On the question as to what is the principal item in the śraddha there are three views. Some, like Govindarāja,1081 hold that feeding of brāhmaṇas is the principal thing and they rely on Manu III. 129 which says ‘One may feed even a single learned brāhmaṇa in a rite for gods and manes and not many who do not know vedic mantras; by doing so he reaps abundant reward’. Here the reward or fruit is associated with feeding a learned brāhmaṇa. There is a maxim1082 of the Pūrvamimāṃsā that ‘whatever is mentioned in proximity with an action that has a reward or fruit but has no special reward of its own, is subsidiary (aṅga) to what is declared to have a reward.’ Besides, there is no pīṇḍadāna in certain śraddhas such as āmaśraddha, śraddha on the Yugādi days.1083

1081. भसानव । फलगणेतीर्थभिधानात् भाषणां भोजनन्तर पघान विष्णुवादाय लक्ष्मिमित्यवस्येत् । मोदिनिराज on मनú III. 129 (Mandlik’s ed.). खल्कू on the same verse refers to this opinion.

1082. The र्थम is फलवज्ञातिकांकर्त्तवय तद्भव्य mentioned by शर्म on श्र. IV. 4. 19 and by श्राव on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 14. Vide श्र. IV. 4. 29–38.

1083. तथाच म पुडाचर । अष्ठनवते आत्म विष्णुद्रव्यवस्ते तथा । सुगविलु च चर्याभिषु विविधोमाणिद्य भविष्यविश्वासं । इति। कार्त्तिकामित्रि श्रेष्ठ। । सुनिश्चि (आ.प) p. 369; vide हेमाद्रि (आ.) pp.334–336.

H. D. 61
Others like Karka hold the view that pīṇḍadāna is the principal item in śrāddha. They rely upon the fact that in the śrāddha at Gayā it is the offering of pīṇdas that is the most important matter and upon the fact that in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra (78. 52–53, and 85. 65–66) and in several Purāṇas such as the Varāha (13.50), Viṣṇu (III. 14.22–23), Brahma (220.31–32), Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 145.3–4) the pīṭhas are stated to have expressed a deep yearning for a son who would offer them pīṇdas at Gayā and water on sacred rivers &c. (vide note 911). Further support is sought for this view in the fact that in the śrāddha on the birth of a son and in śrāddha offered even by a good sūdra the feeding of brāhmaṇas is forbidden. A third view is that both the feeding of brāhmaṇas and the offering of pīṇdas are the principal matters in a śrāddha. The Gobhila-smṛti, after stating the other two views and some of the reasons therefor, tells us that the author of it is himself in favour of this third view. In cases where the word śrāddha is employed and there is neither brāhmaṇa feeding nor pīṇḍadāna as in Daiva śrāddha, the word śrāddha is applied in a secondary sense (gaṇa). Vide Hemādri (śrāddha) pp. 157–160. In the Dharmapradīpa it is said that among the followers of the Yajurveda (i. e. Vājasaneyins) the offering of pīṇdas is principal, among the followers of the Rgveda the feeding of brāhmaṇas is principal, while among the followers of the Sāmveda both are principal. In this way śrāddha partakes of two characters viz. it is a yāga (sacrifice) and also a gift (dāna). Haradatta, Hemādri, Kapardi and others appear to hold that all three (bhojana pīṇḍadāna and agnaukaraṇa) are principal. Vide Saṁskāraratnamālā p. 1003.

The Matsyapurāṇa says in a famous passage 'ancestors from the fourth (i. e. the father, grand-father and great-grandfather of the great-grandfather of performer) are entitled only to the wippings of the articles of food (sticking to

1084. यात्राये विपदवानस्य कैविप्राहूर्मेकीविखिण:। गयावरी विपदवानस्य तु श्रीसामानः
निम्नल्लितः। भोजनस्य स्वार्यमानव्यवस्थार्थम् सहीतः। भाज्यालय्यां परिश्रायां महाप्रच्छ प्रतिद्वते।
आसाधूपविधानस्य: विना पिण्डः। क्रियाविविषयः।।

t[ekuk}\n\text{1085. धर्मविविषयः। गयावरी विपदवानस्य तु श्रीसामानव्यवस्थार्थम्। भाज्यालय्यां परिश्रायां महाप्रच्छ प्रतिद्वते।}
the hand of the performer of śrāddha); the father, (the grand-father and great-grandfather) are entitled to the pīṇḍa; the offerer of the pīṇḍa is the 7th; thus sapīṇḍa relationship extends to seven generations. The Mārkandeya-purāṇa states that three ancestors beginning from the paternal grandfather of the paternal grandfather enjoy the wipings (of the hand of the performer when he offers pīṇḍas). The Brahma-purāṇa (220. 84-86) has similar verses. Manu provided that the performer should place three pīṇḍas on darbhas and then wipe off from his hand the particles of food and water sticking to it with the roots of the darbhas (on which the pīṇḍas were placed) and that such wipings are meant for those who are called ‘lepabhāgin’ (the three paternal ancestors after the paternal great-grand-father). Similar provisions are made by the Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73.22, Varāhāpurāṇa 14.36, Garuḍapurāṇa (Ācārakāṇḍa 218.24), Kūrma II, 22.52. Medhātithi on Manu III, 216 says that even if no food or water sticks to the hand still the performer rubs the hand against the roots of the darbhas on which the first pīṇḍa was placed. A special rule was provided by Devala quoted in Śrāddhakalpalatā (p. 14) that if the father or mother became a mleccha (by forcible or voluntary conversion &c.) one should not observe any impurity for him or her and no śrāddha should be offered and when offering the three pīṇḍas in place of the father the name of Viṣṇu should be uttered.

One question that exercised the minds of well-known writers was whether the daily Vaiṣṇava should be performed before starting the śrāddha ceremonies or after the latter were finished. We have to remember first that several works state that rites for pīṭha deserve pre-eminence over those for the...

---

1086. तेपभासात्मकान्तीमात्राय: पितामात्र: पिण्डभागानिन। पिण्डद्र: सतसमस्वेशं सापिण्डां सातपीवक्षण। मलय 18.29. These very verses occur in पादुराण (शुद्धकृत 10. 34-35), which reads सतपीवक्षण: सत पुष्यत:। They are quoted from मलयुराण by अपवर्तक p. 507. मलय 16.38 is देव० द्रम्भू त देवस्त निसुधारोपभाविनाय।

1087. तेपमाधवनिदेशाये पितामहकिनिनात। मस्तमकार्यपवेशं परिच्छन तत्त्वः। इतिवृत्तिम् भेष्मः। सतमन: सतपीवक्षण। माकरणप 28. 4-5 q. by त्राभास XI. 41 (which connects these verses with the rules of impurity on death). The printed त्राभास reads पिण्डमाधवनिदेशाये।

1088. न्युम तपिण्डमाधवान्तल्ल: परस्य विधिपुर्वकम्। देव० द्रम्भू त हस्तं निसुधारोपभाविनाय। मलय III. 216. The latter half occurs in मलय 16.38.
Manu (III. 265) states that after the brāhmaṇas have been dismissed the performer of śrāddha shall offer the (daily) domestic bali offering and that this is the settled rule of dharma. Medhātithi explains that the word ‘bali’ is merely illustrative. The Matsyapurāṇa 191 17.61, the Varāhāpurāṇa (14.43), Skanda VII. 1. 266. 101–102, Devala, Kāṛṣṇājīnī and others provide that after the rites for the fathers are finished Vaiśvadeva should be performed. When Vaiśvadeva is performed after the completion of śrāddha rites, it is to be offered from the food that remains after being utilized for the śrāddha dinner. But Hemādri (pp. 1058–1065) holds a long discussion and arrives at the following conclusions. In the case of an āhitāgni (p. 1064), Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha except in the case of the śrāddha on the 11th day after death. In the case of one who has not kept the sacred fires there are three optional times for Vaiśvadeva, viz. after agnaukkaraṇa or after the vikāra (scattering of food on darbhas for those dying without the saṁskāras being performed for them), or after the brāhmaṇas are dismissed on the completion of the śrāddha (p. 1064). If Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha or in the midst of it, then the cooking of food must be done separately for Vaiśvadeva and for śrāddha. In the case of all, whether sāgniqa or anagniqa, Vaiśvadeva must be performed with the remainder of the food left after use in śrāddha, if the former is performed after the latter. There were sages like Pāṇīṇas that held that Vaiśvadeva should not be performed with the food cooked for śrāddha without first offering the food to the brāhmaṇas invited for śrāddha dinner i.e. Vaiśvadeva must be performed after śrāddha if the same food is to be used.

1089. येत्स्कारणोऽविज्ञातीकामयां विन्दुकार्यं विभिन्नतः। मदु III. 203, ज्ञानां (उपो.-
भाषालय 10. 104), सच्चदुश्च 15. 40, मदु 73. 55.

1090. ततो श्रद्धां वुक्तादिति दृष्टं वयवाचितः। मदु III. 265. नेपालिञ्च रिमक्ष ।
साधु विन्दुकार्यं आदेशामार्गस्य वैमेध्यस्वामाला। त्रिपत्त्यामाला। वनस्पतिभाषि। वद्यसम्बन्धम्
बलिस्वरूपः मदवान्यायायं। ।

1091. ततुत्य ऋणस्ताय देवनामण्डलाय विन्दुभिधी समश्च। वैमेध्यं प्रकुल्लतं नैरथ्वं कन्दिते च।
सत्त्वं 17. 61; नित्यार्थाचार्यसार । आद्वारमार्गस्य
तत्रः। ॥ पराव 14. 43; पद्माकालकालसपन्धवें दृष्टवेन। ॥ वैमेध्य 9. by हस्ताक्षेर in
his com. on कारायत्स्य आद्वारम (folio 31a). The verse ततुत्य ऋणस्ताय
occurs in परावाराण (II े े 9. 190) also.

1092. तिरुगंगानितिविद्या समायज्ञायेत्मविवाहिने न कारः। तथा च पैदेनालि।
पितुगान्तकापादित्य वैमेधे स्वतीये विन्दुविद्या। आद्वार तद्वेल्याां विन्दुविद्या नोपि। स्वात्तिस्वाति।
(आत्म.) p. 410, येत्स्कारणोऽविज्ञातीकामयां विन्दुकार्यं विभिन्नतः। मदु III. 203, ज्ञानां (उपो.-
भाषालय 10. 104), सच्चदुश्च 15. 40, मदु 73. 55.
for the former. The Nirpayasindhu (III. p. 459) states that as most smṛitis place the performance of Vaiśvadeva after śrāddha and as many writers of commentaries and digests such as Medhātithi and Smṛtiratnaivali do the same all should perform Vaiśvadeva after finishing śrāddha.

It is now necessary to illustrate how pārvana śrāddha is performed in modern times. Here the greatest variety prevails. The details of the rite vary in the different parts of India. They vary also according as the performer belongs to a particular Veda or a particular recension of the Veda, they vary according to the particular eminent writer that is followed and further additions are made according as the performer is a Vaiṣṇava or a Śaiva. Such differences have to be passed over here, particularly because they are not material. We saw above that the Pārvana-śrāddha was very simple in the days of the Brāhmaṇas and most of the sūtras. There was then no express mention of the worship of Viśvedevāh in Pārvana-śrāddha, or of the maternal ancestors or of the wives of any ancestors. Gradually these came to be added and by the time of the Yajñavalkyasmrī there was special invocation of the Viśvedevāh. But these latter were probably not expressly divided into groups at the time of that work. During the smṛti period groups of Viśvedevāh came to be assigned to different kinds of śrāddhas (vide p. 457 note 1018). The Purāṇas prescribed several Paurāṇic mantras for being recited during the śrāddha rite, such as the verse ‘āgacchantu’ (note 984) and the verse ‘devatābhyaḥ pitṛbhyaśca’ (p. 458 note 1020). Then there arose the principle of the Purvamāṁsā that all rites described in the different sākhās and sūtras constitute but one rite, and that one may take over from another sākhā or sūtra details described therein, which are not opposed to one’s own sākhā or sūtra (vide pp. 453-55 notes 1011-1013). This principle tended to make the śrāddha rites all inclusive and the whole procedure became swollen to an enormous extent. How even the slightest variation causes difference in the details may be illustrated by an example. In Mithilā villages even among poor men eleven brāhmaṇas are invited for pārvana-śrāddha, but it is often difficult to secure a very learned man (who is called pātra or mahāpātra) to officiate. In such a case where a mahāpātra or a pātra brāhmaṇa is not available the śrāddha is called apātraka-pārvana-śrāddha (for which really there is no śāstric authority) and is distinguished from the sapātraka pārvana-śrāddha in several matters, two of which in the case of the
Vājasaneyins may be stated here. Though the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana, which is of special authority among Vājasaneyins, declares (at the end of kandika III) that the brāhmaṇas are to be dismissed at the end of the śrāddha with the verse ‘Vāja vāja’ (Vāj. S. 9. 18) and the performer should circumambulate the brāhmaṇas with the mantra ‘ā mā vājasya’ (Vāj. S. 9. 19), it is not the practice among the śiṣṭas in Mithilā according to the editor of the Śrāddharatna to observe these directions in what is called ‘apātrakapārvanā śrāddha’ in these days. In Rudradhara’s ŚrāddHAViveka (pp. 138–146) the ‘apātrakapārvanā śrāddha-prayoga’ is set out at length.

In medieval and modern times in the different provinces of India different manuals are followed by the followers of the several Vedas. For example, in Bengal the Śamavedins, Yajurvedins and Rgvedins follow the procedure of pārvana-śrāddha laid down in the manuals (or paddhati) of Bhavadeva, Paśupati and Kālesi respectively and there are many persons who follow the rules laid down by Raghunāndana in his Śrāddhatattva and Yajurvediśrāddha-tattva. In Mithilā, Śrīdatta wrote his Piṭṛbhakti for Yajurvedins and the Śrāddha-kalpa for Śamavedins and the Śrāddha-ratna of Mahāmaho-pādhyāya Lakṣmīpati (between 1500 to 1640 A.D.) which is printed at Darbhanga and claims to be the traditional manual for Maithilas (Maithila-saṃpradāyika-śrāddhapaddhati) in several places says that it follows the Sugatisopāna of Prati-hastaka for Chandogas and also for Vājasaneyins. In the Madras State Viṣṇava brāhmaṇas follow special treatises on Pārvna and Apara kriyās of Vaidika-Sārvabhauma or Harita Venkaṭacārya or Tolappar and Śmārta brāhmaṇas follow the Śmrīmuktāpahala of Vaidyanātha, which does not much differ in major matters from the works of Vaidikasārvabhauma. Often the only differences are in the saṅkalpa and at the end. It is impossible to exhibit in this work the contents of all these manuals and to compare and contrast them. Therefore I shall set out here a model pārvana-śrāddha rite as performed by Rgvedins in Western India and then a Śukla Yajurveda rite, The Pratisāṃvatsarika śrāddha or rite for Rgvedins in

1093. The dārśaśrāddha differs only very slightly from the above. The summary here is taken from the ‘Rgvedibrahmakarma-samuccaya’ published by the Nirnyayaśagara Press in Bombay in Pothi size, folios 98–108 (ed. of 1936, Jahe 1858).
Western India may be set out as follows:—(From the references added in the text and notes it will be clear that this modern rite is all inclusive i.e. it follows the Āsv. Šr. often taking passages verbatim from it, the śrīmāntis and purāṇas). The performer wears white garments (lower and upper) and sits on a seat of kūtas or of wool or deer skin and then sips water twice and wears a pavitra on the finger next to the small finger with Ṛg. IX. 83.1. He ties his top knot on the head and sacred thread with kūtas, and ties three kūsa blades with tilas on the left of the dhoti worn by him. Then he performs prāṇayāma and declares the resolve (saṅkalpa)²⁰⁹⁴ to perform (the Saṁvatsarika) śrāddha after referring to the time and place and together with agnaukarana, piṇḍadāna &c. The invited brāhmaṇas reply 'do so'. Then the performer puts into a copper vessel water with the mantra 'imam me Gaṅge' (Ṛg. X. 73.5), sandalwood paste with the mantra 'Gandhadvārām,' yava grains with the mantra 'thou art yava, king of cereals, Varuṇa is thy patron, thou art endowed with sweetness, thou art the remover of all sins and art known by all sages as holy', betelnut (with Ṛg. X. 97.15), gold (or some coin) with the mantra 'Hiranyarūpāḥ' (Ṛg. II. 35.10), flowers and basil leaves. (Then he becomes prācināvāti)²⁰⁹⁵ and puts sesamum grains in the water

---
²⁰⁹⁴ The स्त्रूल्य will be ॐ श्रीमदग्रंथो स्महादुर्भवयो विनोदराज्ञयो स्वर्समानसय भाज्यो ह्यस्येव परमतयो बुद्धियाप्ये बुद्धिकारये देवो श्राविवाहके अमुकनाम संवसरे मोदापर्ये बुझिते नीरे (उत्तरे नीरे ना) ...अमुकतिये अमुकवासरे ...इति वेदसंहसणानां विवेचनये देषाणां अस्मतितुत्पतिश्रापिततमानकमुदक्तर्कनान्यां अमुकवासर्गाणां प्रधानतपविप्रकाशोऽग्निः भाज्यो अङ्गेष्यो मोदार्यो मन निदुर्वा प्रतिश्रुतितस्वर्यांकारां सवैये सपिष्ट साधारणं परिष्ठि विनिहयि अशेष्यो हिर्यन हतिन हवाय सत्यं कारिष्ठे. The performer becomes प्राचीनवात्ति when repeating the words अस्मतितुत्पतिन्तु स्ववासर्यां रूपमाणं देशाएव व्यवहारशोष्णा कारिष्ठे).

²⁰⁹⁵ The terms प्राचीनवात्ति, यज्ञवात्ति or उपाध्यात्ति, सर्व और अपसर्वेः occur almost at every step in the आद्यक्षरों. They will be explained once for all here and instead of repeating lengthy translations the original Sanskrit words will be kept in the āryaṣa, set out hereafter. Gobilla gr. I. 2.2–3, Khādirag: I. 1. 4–6 and Manu II. 63 define yajñapāvītī or upāvītī as one who suspends the sacrificial chord round his neck and raises the right arm so as to wear the chord on his left shoulder and prācināvītī as one who raises the left arm and wears the chord on his right shoulder. Savyà means left. Acc. to स्थानाङ्क्षर यवन I. 91 when the sacred chord hangs down from the left shoulder (and under the right arm) that is said to be 'savyà' and when the chord hangs down from the right shoulder (and under the left arm) that is अपसर्वेः.
(in another vessel) with the mantra ‘Tilos’ (quoted in note 966), Bhringaraja leaf with the mantra ‘ma kākam’ (Rg. VI. 48. 17), betelnut, gold (or coin). Then he repeats the Purusa-sūkta 1096 (Rg. X. 90), Rg. X. 128.1–9, IX. 58. 1–4, Rg. X. 126. 1–8, Rg. IV. 40.5, Rg. VII. 89. 5, the sacred Gāyatrī with om and the three Vyāhṛtis, Rg. VII. 56. 12, Rg. VIII. 44. 21, 17, Rg. VIII. 95. 7–9. Then after repeating the well-known verse ‘apavitraḥ pavitro vā’ 1097 (whoever, whether pure or impure or being in any state whatever, remembers the name of Viṣṇu becomes pure externally as well as internally), he requests ‘May everything such as the place and the materials be rendered pure’. The brāhmaṇas reply ‘let it be so.’ Then placing some coin on the ground, the performer having in his hand sesamum grains, water and kūsas goes round (pradakṣipā) the brāhmaṇas thrice, and repeats three verses (in classical sanskrit) in praise of the dust of the feet of brāhmaṇas and a Vedic passage from Tai. Ā. II. 15 1098 ‘All the devatās reside in a brāhmaṇa who knows the Veda; therefore every day one should perform obeisance to brāhmaṇas knowing the Veda. He should not utter anything derogatory or evil (either true or false) about them. (By doing so) he pleases all these devatās.’ After making obeisance (to the brāhmaṇas) twice he should be praśānavīti, repeat the verse ‘akrodhanaḥ’ (note 913 p. 407 above) and request the brāhmaṇas ‘may you be pleased to say that I have complete adhikāra to perform the sāṃvatsarika-śrāddha of my pītris this day.’ The brāhmaṇas should reply ‘let there be this adhikāra for the performance of śrāddha.’ Then being upaśītvin the performer requests ‘may you declare that this time is the proper time and that the food cooked is fit for being offered.’ The brāhmaṇas reply ‘let it be so.’ Then he asks the permission to give invitation to the brāhmaṇas. They give it. Then he touches the right knee of one brāhmaṇa and says ‘you should find time to accept the invitation to act as representing the Viśve-devas named Purūrava and Ārdrava in this pratisāṃvatsarika śrāddha of my pītris’. The brāhmaṇa replies ‘yes, be it so.’ Then the performer addresses the second Vaiśvadevīka brāhmaṇa in the

1096. Hardly any sūtra or any single digest prescribes the recital of so many mantras as is done here.

1097. This occurs in the Garudapurāṇa (ācārakānda) chap. 216.1–2

1098. शास्त्रीयें बेत्तात्त्याः सर्वं वेदनामयः व्यवित्तित सत्यां वाद्यां सद्यं स्वेत्विनां बेत्तात्त्यां विवेका विवेको नमस्तुपरात्। नाथ्स्तिलितविभिन्नत्वाय बेत्ताः: धीरार्थि। से. आ. II. 15 (at end).
same way (if two brähmanas have been invited for the purpose) and then wearing the sacred thread in the prācīnāvīta way should touch the left knee of the brähmana (pitrya) and say to him 'you should accept the invitation to represent my father, grandfather and great-grandfather in this pratisāṃvatsarika śrāddha.' The brähmana should reply 'so be it.' He should request 'you should repair to my house.' The brähmana replies 'I shall do so.' Then he should make maṇḍalas for the daiva and pitrya brähmanas. Then savyam. The performer should offer seat, sandalwood paste, flowers and say 'may all the items (upacāras) of showing honour be complete by means of yava grains.' Then apasavyam. He offers āsana (seat), sandalwood paste and flowers and declares 'may all the upacāras be completed by means of sesamum grains.' Then savyam. He offers welcome to the daiva brähmanas, to which they respond by saying 'susvāgatam' (it is a good welcome). Then he should say 'here is pāḍya for you, O Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ādrava! Bhūr-bhuvah-svāh to the (daiva) brähmana;' the response is 'supādyam'. He should wash the feet of (the daiva) brähmana or brähmanas with the mantra 'śan no devir' (Rg X. 9.4, vide n. 968). Then he wears the thread in the apasavya way and offers welcome to the pitrya brähmana or brähmanas representing the three male ancestors and offers to give pāḍya to them and they respond with the words 'susvāgatam' and 'supādyam'. He also employs the verse 'śan no devir' as in the case of daiva brähmanas.

Then the performer casts away the pavitra worn so far, washes his hands and feet, performs ācamana and wears two pavitras. Then savyam. He says 'welcome to all.' They respond with 'susvāgatam'. Then holding the right hand (except the thumb) of the daiva brähmanas he says 'Ye gods, occupy seats;' they respond by saying 'susamāsmahe' (we have well occupied them). Then apasavyam. He addresses similar words to pitrya brähmanas who respond in a similar way. Then savyam. He seeks permission in the words 'I

---

1099. For maṇḍalas vide above pp. 456–457.

1100. The pavāṇa would be offered in the words 'पिता, असुक्षमग्रं असुक्षमोत वसुला भड़ेश्वर: स्वः, हन्ते पावाणः'. In the case of the vātāmaka and vātīmaka the words vātāmaka and aṣṭāsāmaka would respectively be substituted for vātāmaka. We have to construe as vātāmaka te vātāmaka (अस्त्वत: and वृक्षः स्त: as the mantra accompanying the pāṇa.'
shall perform the Pratisāṅvatsarika śrāddha of my pitris that has been begun'. The brāhmaṇas say 'do so'. Then the verse 'śam no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4) is repeated and also the words 'thou art yava, separate from us those who hate us and who are our enemies'. Then apasavayam. The following texts are repeated viz. Rg. X. 9.4, Rg. X. 15.1 and with the mantra 'The asuras, rākṣasas, the piśācas, that dwell along the earth are struck down; may they go from this place elsewhere wherever their mind may be fixed', he scatters sesamum grains everywhere and repeats the mantra, Rg. X. 87.1 There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras and twelve Adityas. Let there be protection given by Viṣṇu at the door where śrāddha is being performed and may this spot be Gayā. The brāhmaṇas reply 'Let it be a good spot.' Then savayam. He sprinkles drops of water with darbas over the food that is cooked for the śrāddha dinner with the mantras viz. Rg. IX. 58, 1, IX. 67. 26–28 and with the three Vyāhṛtis and the Gāyatri. Then he requests 'May there be purity of the cooking' and 'may the sprinkling of the cooked food be according to the rules prescribed,' to which the response is 'so be it.' Then the verse 'ṣagacchantu mahābhāgah' (vide note 984) is recited and the brāhmaṇas reply 'we are careful (or attentive). Then apasavayam. He announces 'contemplating upon this spot where śrāddha is being performed as Gayā and concentrating the mind on Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) and the pitris in the form of Vasus and the like, the śrāddha (rite) proceeds'. The brāhmaṇas say 'do proceed.' Then savayam. He gives water on the hand of the daiva brāhmaṇas, places on the right side of the seat occupied by them two darbas together with yavas with his upturned right hand held by the left hand and says with the Vyāhṛtis (Bhūr, bhuvāh, svah) 'this is the seat for the brāhmaṇa representing the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava'. The brāhmaṇa replies 'svāsanam'. This is done also for the second daiva brāhmaṇa. He then says 'Please sit down here, though art Dharma' and seizing the brāhmaṇa's hand (except the thumb) he says 'accept the invitation for being daiva brāhmaṇa in the Pratisāṅvatsarika śrāddha.' The response is 'so be it.' Then reaching the arghya water, he sprinkles the ground in front of the (daiva) brāhmaṇas with water, spreads two darbas (in front of each daiva brāhmaṇa) with their tips towards the east, places down two vessels with their tops turned downwards, sprinkles water over them with the Gāyatri mantra, raises the vessels up (i.e. turns their tops upwards), again sprinkles water over them and places over them (the two
vessels) two kūrcas \[1101\] with the tips turned to the east, pours into them water and invokes the water once with the mantra, ‘śan no devī’ (Rg. X. 9. 4). Then he puts yava grains into the two arghya vessels for daiva brāhmaṇas with the mantra ‘Yavosi dhāanyakā ṣrutiḥ’ (note 985) and also sandalwood paste, flowers, basil leaf and performs obeisance. He says ‘May all the upacāras be completed by means of yavas; the two arghya vessels for daiva brāhmaṇas are fully ready’. The response is ‘susampanne’. He says ‘śvāhā, these are arghya waters’. The response is ‘let there be arghya waters’. Placing his left hand in which he holds kuśas and yava grains on the right knee of the daiva brāhmaṇa and holding in his (right) hand yava grains he says ‘I shall invoke the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ardrava to be present in you’. They respond ‘do invoke’. He invokes the Viśve-devas with the mantra ‘viśve devaḥ ṣrūvemām’ (Rg. II. 47. 13) separately repeated as regards each daiva brāhmaṇa. He says, ‘I invoke the Viśve devas with the mantra ‘viśve devaḥ ṣrūvemām’ (Rg. VI. 52. 13). Having invoked Viśve devas he casts the remaining yava grains on the ground near the feet of the daiva brāhmaṇas. Then he gives water to them (daiva brāhmaṇas) and he puts in their hands the darbhas placed over the arghya vessels; he says ‘O Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ardrava! this is arghya water for you; śvāhā, adoration’. They respond ‘let there be arghya’. Repeating the mantra ‘yā divya ṣapāḥ’ (vide Āsv. Gr. IV. 7. 13 above in n. 966) he says ‘this arghya has been offered, it is no longer mine’. They respond ‘let it be so offered’. The same process is followed as to the second daiva brāhmaṇa. Then he offers fragrant \[1102\] substances (sandalwood paste etc.), flowers, basil leaves, incense, lamp, and cash according to his ability as substitute for garment, gopicandana for unguent, sacred chord and two kuśa blades for pavitra with the words ‘O Viśve devaḥ, called Purūrava and Ardrava! these are fragrant substances for you according

---

1101. कुर्च is a bundle of fifteen darbhas one cubit long having tops of four aṅgulas in length and having a knot two aṅgulas from the bottom part. पञ्चभग्नाविभित चक्रुकृतां हर्षविशा विहर्षिता विचारणांतः पैशाचसरम्। कुर्च 1. 8.

1102. Each of the things is offered with the same formula and as to each there is a response from the brāhmaṇas with ‘śu’ prefixed to each article offered. It would be like this ‘पुनस्तवायुखं ज्ञात्र विन्धयेवा: यथा भवसः अभि नो गमन: स्वहा नमः। दुगमयः। पुन्त...विन्धयेवा यथा भवसः एष यो दीपः स्वहा नमः। कुर्चायः। and so on.
to your portions; svāhā, adoration'. When offering a garment or cash therefor he recites 'yuva svāsāh' (Rg. III, 8.4). Then he says 'these items viz. gandha, leaves, flowers, incense, lamp ending with covering (garment) be all of them complete.

Let there be good worship in the rite of worship; May that which is wanting or is excessive be according to prescribed rules'. The brāhmaṇas respond 'astu vidhivat' and the performer recites the verse 'I do obeisance to Acyuta by remembering whom or by uttering whose name whatever is wanting in tapas (observances) or sacrifices becomes at once perfect'.

Then he says to the pitrya brāhmaṇas 'with your permission I shall offer worship to the pitra'. They reply 'do offer.' Then apasavyam. After bending his right knee, the performer says 'Bhūr bhuvah svāh to Brahman, this is the seat for my father, grandfather and great-grandfather, named N. N., whose gotra is so and so and who are identical with Vasu, Rudra and Aditya'. So saying he offers double-folded darbhas with sesame grains to the pitrya brāhmaṇas who reply 'svāsanam'. Then follows the same procedure as regards pitrya brāhmaṇas which has been already set out as to daiva brāhmaṇas. The only difference is that instead of two darbhas three darbhas are spread on the ground with their tips towards the south, three vessels are placed towards south-east with faces downwards and three double-folded darbhas are placed on each of the three vessels, instead of 'yavosi' the mantra is 'tīlosi somadevatyaḥ' (vide note 966) and instead of 'svāhā namaḥ' the words 'svadā namaḥ' are employed, and instead of tulasi leaf bhrngarāja leaf is employed. In āvahana the performer places his left hand holding kuśas and sesame on the left knee of the pitrya brāhmaṇa and the verse repeated is 'uṣantas tvā' (Rg. X. 16. 12) as to each pitrya brāhmaṇa and he should honour the pitra by repeating one mantra 'ā yantu naḥ' (Vaj. S. 19. 58). He offers arghya1103 water with the right hand supported by the left to the father and the other two paternal ancestors. He brings together the samsravas1104 in the first pitrya vessel and anoints his face with that water if he desires a son. The brāhmaṇas respond 'may you have a son'.

1103. The form will be: अग्नि दुष्य विभोविपश्च सर्वा असत्त्वतिरिष्टे ते अपर्योऽऽ्वष्टे। अवत्त्वष्टे। वा विष्य अवष्टे। तृप्तिसिद्धे। द्वितीयः वर्णे न मम। अस्तु दुष्ये। सर्वे। पितामहेऽऽ्वं तेषां वर्णे। अस्त्वतिरिष्टे। अवत्त्वष्टे। वा विष्य।। पितामहेऽऽ्वं वर्णे न मम। and so on for पितामहेऽऽ्वं.

1104. For संख्य, vide note 1001.
He places the vessel containing saṃśravas with the top upside down on darbhas to the north of the daiva vessel, with the mantra 'thou art a place for the pitṛs.' Then gandha, flowers with tulasi and bhringarāja leaves, incense, lamp, garment or cash therefor, gopicandana, sacred chord, betelnut, kuṭās for pavitra are offered to the pitṛs and he repeats the verse 'idad pitṛbhyaḥ' (Rg. X. 15. 2). After repeating the verse 'yat śmytyā' (vide above) there is 'savyam'. The performer says 'with your permission I shall prepare maṇḍalas and place the plates'. The response is 'do so'. On the spot where the plates for daiva brāhmaṇas are to be placed a four-cornered maṇḍala beginning from the south-west to north-east and made with the right hand towards it and on the spot for the plates for pitrya brāhmaṇas the maṇḍala is circular beginning from north-east to south-west made with the left hand towards it. Then the plates for the diners are to be placed inside those maṇḍalas. Then taking holy ashes (apasaṃavyaṃ) he draws a line round the plates for pitrya brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'piśāṅga-bhrīṣṭim' (Rg. I. 133. 5). Then saṃvyam. Then round the plates of the daiva brāhmaṇas he draws lines with the mantras 'rakṣā no' (Rg. IV. 3. 14) and 'brahma ca' (Rg. X. 4. 7) and two more verses (probably Paurānic) which pray that the mark made with ashes may guard all, just as Viṣṇu protects the worlds. Just as Viṣṇu renders ineffective the eyes of all men of evil sight, so one should make a maṇḍala with ashes and when this is done there is no blemish in sitting in the same row for dining. Then the purification of the hand (right) of the brāhmaṇas is done, beginning with the pitrya brāhmaṇa first. Then the performer requests 'let me perform agnaukaraṇa with your permission in the hand'115 of the (pitrya) brāhmaṇa.' The reply is 'do so'. Then apasaṃavyaṃ. Taking some cooked food and anointing it with clarified butter and dividing it into parts, having touched the two parts placed towards the south he says 'this for Soma accompanied by the Pitṛs, this for Agni, the carrier of kavya,' and having spread the left hand underneath the right hand, having cut off portions from the middle and the part to the east according to the rules for avadānas116

1105. If there are three brāhmaṇas to represent the three paternal ancestors, then he should say 'in the hands of the brāhmaṇas'. The Nirṇayasindhu (III. Uttarārdha p. 440) says that a widower performs agnaukaraṇa in the hand of the daiva brāhmaṇa.

1106. As laid down in Āśv. gr I. 7, 10–12 the abh보다 are उपसर्ग द्विगुणवत्ता द्विगुणवत्ता मध्यमिकम्. "
and having poured clarified butter on the food in the vessel and on the food cut off for oblations, he should offer the oblations with the words ‘To Soma accompanied by pîtra, svadhā and adoration; this for Soma with the pîtras and it is not (now) mine’ and ‘to Agni the bearer of Kavya, svadhā and adoration; this is for Agni Kavyavāhana and not mine.’ This is the mode everywhere. He touches water with the left hand and repeats the following (which is called ‘sāmsthā-japa’ and occurs in Āsv. Śr. I. 11.15) ‘Om ca me...te namah’. Obeisance to Agni. Svasti. Then he prays ‘O Kavyavāhana! bestow on me faith, memory, glory, intelligence, learning, intellect, wealth, strength, long life, brilliance, health.’ He says ‘offering has been made on the hand’. The response is ‘suhutam’. Then he pours ghee on the vessel containing the food and repeats ‘mūrdhānam divaḥ’ (Rg. VI. 7. 1). Then the brāhmaṇas should cast the food on their hands in the vessel over which ghee has been poured and then mutter Trisuparṇa,1107 the hymns to anna (Rg. I. 187. 1–11 and several others) and other hymns. Then certain purāṇic verses should be repeated, viz. ‘Devatābhyāḥ’ (note 1020), the verse ‘one should always recite at a śrāddha these holy places viz Kurukṣetra, Gayā, Gangā Prabhāsa and Puṣkara’, the two verses1108 ‘saptavyādāḥ’ (note 994a) and three more verses, one speaking of adoration to pîtras and the other two praying to Viṣṇu and Śiva for favours. Then savyam. Then he sprinkles water (proksapa) on the food with the Gayatrī mantra. Then bending his right knee he silently spills water. Then holding the plate with the right hand above and the left hand below he utters the mantra ‘the earth is thy vessel1108a, the heaven is the lid. I sacrifice thee in the brāhmaṇa’s mouth. I sacrifice thee in the Prāṇa (breath) and Apāna (breath) of learned brāhmaṇas. Thou art imperishable. Do not perish for these (Fathers) here and in the next world.’ Then he repeats ‘ato deva’ (Rg. I. 22. 16) and ‘O Viṣṇu, guard the sacrificial food’. With the hand

1107. For Trisuparṇa, vide p. 364 note 862a. The āstantakas are Rg. I. 187. 1–11, IV. 31.1–3 and several others which the brāhmaṇas are in the habit of reciting in these days.

1108. The meaning of the two verses (in note 994a) viz. सत्तप्याद्य: has been stated above on p. 445.

1108 a. For ‘Prthivi te pātram’ vide note 992.
turned downwards he thrusts in the food (served in the plate) the root of the thumb of the brāhmaṇa turned downwards and should revolve it (in the food) from right to left. Then touching the plate with his left hand the performer should say 'The Viśve devās called Purūrava and Ādṛava are the deity, this food is the sacrificial offering, this brāhmaṇa serves as āhavanīya fire, this place is Gayā, this brāhmaṇa diner is Gāḍādhara, this food is Brahma, the golden vessel is the shade of the Aṅkṣayyavatā (at Gayā). This food together with the flavouring dishes which is already served (in the plate) and which may be served therein (later), is the sacrificial food offered to the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ādṛava till this brāhmaṇa is satisfied. Adoration. It is not mine. Oṁ Tat Sat. May the food offered at the fourteen spots such as Viśṇupada at Gayā be inexhaustible!'. So saying he should cast on the ground towards the left side of the plate water mixed with darbhas and yavas. He says 'May Gāḍādhara (Viśṇu) of Gayā be pleased'. The brāhmaṇas respond 'May he be pleased'. Then he repeats 'Ye devāso' (Ṛg. I. 139.11). Then he says 'with the permission of the daiva brāhmaṇas I shall present food to the Father and others'. They reply 'do so'. Then apasanyam. Then silently sprinkling water round the plate, and touching the plate (of the pīṭṛya brāhmaṇa) with the left hand above and the right hand below it, he repeats the formula 'prthivṛ te pātram...loke' (vide p. 444 note 932) and the verse 'idam Viśpur' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17) and say 'O Viśṇu! guard the kanyā food,' he should thrust the root of the thumb of the (pīṭṛya) brāhmaṇa in the food (served in the plate) and revolve it from right to left. Then touching the plate (of the pīṭṛya brāhmaṇa) with the left hand he should say 'the father, grand-father and great-grandfather are devatā, this food is of the nature of kanyā, the brāhmaṇa is in place of the āhavanīya fire, this place is Gayā, this dining brāhmaṇa is Gāḍādhara, this food is Brahma, this silver plate is the shade of the Aṅkṣayyavatā (at Gayā), svadā to my father, grandfather and great-grandfather named so and so, of gotra so and so, that are Vasu, Rudra and Adiṭya respectively, this food with the side dishes that is already served in the plate and that may be served (later) is kanyā up till this brāhmaṇa is satisfied. Adoration! It is not mine. Tat sat. May the food given at the 14 spots such as Rudrapada at Gayā be inexhaustible. May Gāḍādhara of Gayā be pleased.' The brāhmaṇa replies 'May he be pleased.' He then repeats the verse 'ye ceha pitaro' (Ṛg. X. 15. 13) and says 'May the food
intended for the pitrs please them’. Then savyam. Then naivedya is offered with the verse ‘brahmārpaṇam’ (Gītā 4.24) and with three more verses in which Hari is said to be giver and the enjoyer and the food as having both natures viz, those of pitrs and devas and ultimately he winds up by saying ‘tad sat brahmārpaṇamastu’. Then apasavyam. Then two verses are repeated in which adoration is offered to the feet of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and other gods, in which even remembrance of Gayā-keśṭra is highly eulogised. Adoration to Kāśi Viṣveśvara! adoration to Viṣṇu and Gadādhara at Gayā! Then savyam. Then he says ‘I shall repeat in your hearing the madhumati verses beginning with ‘madhu vātā’ (Rg. I. 90, 6-8). Then he repeats the word ‘madhu’ thrice. The brāhmaṇas respond ‘sumadhu, all food is sweet.’ Then apasavyam. Then a verse in praise of Viṣṇu (eko Viṣṇur &c.) ‘there is one great Being viz. Viṣṇu &c.’ is recited and the performer says ‘May Janārdana Viṣṇu who has assumed the form of my father, grandfather and great-grandfather be pleased by this feeding of brahmaṇas at the pratisāvibhatsarika śrāddha of my pitṛs’. The response is ‘may he be so pleased’. Tat sat brahmārpaṇam-astu. Then having given water to the brahmaṇas for apoṣana (then savyam) he says ‘partake of (the food) at your pleasure’ and ‘though art the first layer of nectar’. Then he repeats the mantra1110 ‘fixing myself in faith and in Prāṇa I offer nectar; being beneficent enter me without burning me. Svāhā to Prāṇa’. This is repeated as to Apāna, Vyāna, Udāna, Samāna with the substitution of each of these four remaining life-breaths. Then he winds up ‘my soul is in Brahma for the sake of immortality’ and then ‘svāhā to Brahma’. Then the hands are purified (by washing them with water). After muttering the Gāyatri verse ten times or three times, he repeats the hymn to Śrāddhā (Rg.

1109. The printed text is pīṭṛyugh. This makes hardly any sense. I take that what is intended is pīṭṛyugh or pīṭṛyugam or pīṭṛyugam (अघ्ने) pīṭṛyugam.

1109a. ‘Apoṣana’ literally means ‘taking or drinking water’. It is a technical term applied to the sipping of water before beginning a meal with the words ‘amṛtopastaranamasi’ and after the eating is finished with the words ‘amṛṣṭāpiṣṭhānamasi’. Vide Tāl. Å, X. 32, Ap. M. P. II. 10.3-4, Åv. gr. I. 24.12, Yaj. I. 31 and 106.

1110. The mantras are abhaṅga pāṇe gītvād vṛddhaṁ gītvā gītvā mābhikām dāhāy. Pāṇa svāha. Abhaṅga pāṇe gītvād and so on. Pāṇe gītvād vṛddhaṁ gītvād and so on. The whole passage from pāṇe gītvād to abhaṅga occurs in śi. Å, X. 34.
X. 151. 1–5). Then the performer requests ‘you should ask for what is wanted; seating yourself you should with minds at ease eat at your pleasure. You should take from the foods and vegetables that are cooked and are ready whatever pleases you and should discard what you do not like. You should eat at ease’. They respond ‘we partake (of the food)’. He says ‘I shall recite the hymns called Rāksoghnā 1111 as far as I can.’ They respond ‘repeat’. Then towards the end of the dinner a little boiled rice with curds (should be served) and nectar-like Ganges water. He says ‘everything is perfect. Ask for whatever you like out of the sacrificial food that is cooked’. They respond ‘we have had enough’. He says ‘I shall recite the Madhumati verses (Rg. I. 90.6–8) in your hearing’. They respond ‘recite them’. Then apasavyāyam. He recites Rg. I.82.2111a and should say ‘The śrāddha called so and so is completed’. They should respond ‘susapamnam’. Then savyam. He asks ‘Ye Viśvedevah! are you satisfied?’ They reply ‘we are satisfied’. Then apasavyāyam. He asks ‘Ye (brāhmaṇas) representing my father, grandfather and great-grandfather! are you satisfied?’ They reply ‘We are satisfied’. He asks ‘what is to be done with the food that remains?’. They reply ‘it may be eaten in the company of your friends (and relatives)’. Then savyam.

Then the performer declares that he would perform in the Prati-sāṁvatsarika-śrāddha pindapradāna (the offering of lumps of rice) together with water and sesamum grains. They reply ‘do so’. ‘Let food be given to those who take as their share what remains outside the plates of the brāhmaṇa diners’. The performer says 1112 ‘May all the (deceased) men and women slaves that were born in the performer’s household obtain satisfaction by the food given by me on the ground’. (Then he offers water to the brāhmaṇas with the words) ‘thou art the nectarial lid’ (or covering). He says ‘May the water given to those who hanker for it, who dwell in Padma and Arbuda and

1111. The hymn beginning with कृत्य पाज: (Rg. IV. 4. 1–15) is called pājopājopā. The first five verses of it are वाज. सं. 13. 9–13. All fifteen verses occur in न्र. सं. I. 2. 14. 1–6. So also are Rg. X. 87 (beginning with रक्षोहरण बाजिनामागिनि), Rg. VII. 104 (beginning with द्रव्यासाम तयते रक्ष उपवत), Rg. X. 118, Rg. X. 162.

1111 a. अक्षमीत्वस्तः नाव मिष्या अवृत्त…हरी# This is न्र. I. 82.2, वाज. सं. III. 51, न्र. सं. I. 8. 5. 2.

1112. Compare महाम 246, which is the same as विन्यथमेत्वं 81.23, महाः 17.57, एष्टुराप (रूविन्ध 9. 186).
Raurava (hells) full of pus reach them inexhaustibly'. Then *apasangham.* He repeats the mantra 1113 'The asuras and rākṣasas that sit on the altar are struck and driven away' (Vāj. S. II. 29). Sprinkling the ground with water and strewing thereon darbhas cut with one stroke that have their tips turned towards the south-east he says 1114 'May the Fathers wash themselves, may the grandfathers wash themselves, may the great-grandfathers wash themselves'. In the same way he should sprinkle on the kuśa grass water mixed with sesamum grains for the mothers and the rest. Then he says 'This (food) is for thee, my father named so and so, of such and such gotra, who is (to be contemplated) as Vasu and for those who come here after thee; this is the pinda for thee 1115, svāhā! This pinda occupying the position of a pinda offered at Gayā is presented to my father named so and so and of such and such gotra and who is in the place of Vasu, it is (now) not mine'. Similar formulas are repeated for the pinda offered to the grandfather (who is styled 'Rudrarūpa' instead of 'Vasurūpa') and to the great-grandfather (who is styled 'Ādityarūpa'). Then he utters 'Tat sat.' 'May whatever is offered in Gayā at the fourteen spots such as Visṇupada be inexhaustible'. Then he wipes off on the roots of 1116 the darbhas on which the pindas are placed the particles (of rice, ghee and water) sticking to his hand for the gratification of those that are entitled to the wipings. Having uttered 1117 once over the pindas the mantra 'O fathers; regale yourselves here, come as bulls each to his share', he should turn towards the north with the left side of his body,

1113. He draws with the roots of darbhas as many lines (as the number of pindas offered, 3 or 6) repeating this mantra at each line (Vāj. S. II. 29).

1114. This is taken from आच. स्र. स. II. 6. 14-15 'शरणेनापूजयते मातीनवर्धीका लेखा विश्वनाथोपनेतुद्य खुश्चलत्व धिः... शुभत्वादि इति। तस्या विश्वनाथ निन्धृष्णादुत्परा जीवनायिणी: पित्रे विश्वनाथ अष्टित्वमहयेतेदुस्त्र ये च वामायिणिति।'. Compare आच. स. प. II. 20. 4-7 मातिर्दशस्त्रा मम धिः पिताः etc. q. in note 1060 above; vide n. 1053 for परविश्वनाथी.

1115. With the food that remains after आन्नीकरण mixed with honey, sesamum grains and ghee pindas are made by the performer or are got made by his wife and are offered by the वितुलिपि. Vide note 962.

1116. For लेखनमार्ग vide n. 1086 above.

1117. Vide n. 960a for अत्र पिताः मातृपरम...उपस्यां और अभिभवत्व धिः एवं व्य saat. The words in the text are taken from आच. स्र. स. II. 6.16-21 on विश्वनाथ 'निन्धृष्णादुत्परा जीवनायिणी: पिताः मातृपरम...परायिणिति। सप्ताकुलवर्तन्यं वधान्यक्षमणं वा जात्सिनाभिभवादुपायमात्र...पीताः। चारों: भायबायं भवेतेत।'. 
and having held his breath according to his ability he should return to the original position and utter the words ‘the Fathers regaled themselves and came like bulls, each to his share’ and having smelt the remains of the boiled rice from which pīṇḍas are made from the left side (to the right) he should cast the pīṇḍas (on the darbhās) and should partake of the boiled rice by taking in as much steam and flavour out of it as he can by smelling it. He should say ‘my father! N. N. by name, so and so by gotra, apply unctuous substance’; with these words he should anoint the pīṇḍas by means of darbhās with ghee or sesamum oil. And he should apply collyrium to the pīṇḍas with the words ‘O father! N. N. by name and so and so by gotra apply collyrium.’ He should put on the pīṇḍas unctuous substance, collyrium and garment,¹¹¹⁸ the last being the fringe of a garment or a tuft of wool with the words ‘O fathers! this is the garment for you, do not take up any other (garment) than this’. Then savya. He then says ‘I shall offer worship to the pīṇḍas for the prosperity of my family.’ He then offers to the pīṭras present in the pīṇḍas pāḍyā, arghya, water for ācamana, bath, gandha, flowers, bhṛṅgarāja leaf, incense, lamp and naivedya of apūpa (cakes) and pāḍyasa (rice cooked in milk), tāṃbula and daksīṇa, using the word ‘svadhā’ after each of them. Then he should worship¹¹¹⁹ them with the mantra ‘Fathers! obeisance to you’ for the sake of food, for strength, for śūṣma, for the non–terrible (aghora), for jīva, for rasa; svadhā to you, O pīṭras, obeisance to you; these are yours, O pīṭras! these are ours; we are your living (descendants), may we be alive here!’ He then recites the verses¹¹²⁰ Rg. X. 57. 3–5. Having thus worshipped them he then (apasaavya) with the palm of the hand turned upwards moves the pīṇḍas with the mantra¹¹²¹ ‘paretana’ which means ‘O fathers who love soma

¹¹¹⁸. Vide आ. श्री. सू. II. 7.6 ‘वासो ब्रह्माद वद्यायूपास्तु च व प्राप्ताः वेशसायं उध्य छोरी ययो वितरणं वितरणं वितर धा’ तिमो ययो मा नेवलोलक्ष्यते पिताः पुष्पविबले। The text translated is based on this; when the performer is over 50 years of age he may place on the pīṇḍa the hair from his chest.

¹¹¹⁹. नमः व वितर इथे नमः व वितर उध्य तत्सत् रुपम्—This passage is taken verbatim from आ. श्री. सू. II. 7. 7.

¹¹²⁰. नमः यस्माद महामहत्त्व विद्याम्बुः। आ. श्री. सू. II. 7. 8. अपि। श्री. सू. I. 10. 5 calls them सत्सत्त्व verses, as the word मन्त्र occurs in each of the three.

¹¹²¹. परेतन—compare तै. सू. I. 8. 5. 2 ‘परेत वितरण विद्याम्बुः सम्प्रती सम्बिकं पिताम्भितं। The 2nd half is different. The आ. श्री. सू. II. 7. 8 says that he should pour a stream of water with this mantra on the pīṇḍas which represent the Fathers for the time being.
drink! Go away by the sombre ancient paths, after bestowing on us wealth and endow us here with auspicious prosperity and all valiant sons'. He should repeat thrice the prayer 'O fathers! bestow on us a valiant son' 1122.

Then savyam. On the ground near the plates of the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas he scatters food together with yavas and water with the verse 'I shall offer food scattered (vikira) near the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas to those gods to whom no soma drink is offered and who are bereft of a share in sacrifices; this scattered food is offered to Viśvedevas who do not partake of the soma drink; it is not (now) mine'. Then apasavyam. He says 'I shall offer food scattered near pitṛya brāhmaṇas on the ground covered with darbhas to those who died without the sāṁskāras being performed for them and to those women of my family who left the family (for bad deeds); this scattered food is presented to those boys and girls that came out of the womb; it is not mine'. So saying he strews food with water and sesamum seeds and then says after reciting Rg. X. 15.14 'this pinda made from the remainder of the food and occupying the position that a pinda given at Gayā occupies, has been offered to those persons who were born in my family and died and who were cremated or were not cremated; this is not mine'. So saying he offers near the pitṛya brāhmaṇas a ball of rice and water mixed with sesamum grains.

Then he washes his hands and feet, sips water twice and puts on his finger a pavitra with the mantra 'pavitravantah' (Rg. IX. 73, 3). He then requests that the water in the hands of the daiva brāhmaṇas be auspicious (or beneficial). The brāhmaṇas reply 'may the waters be auspicious.' In the same way there are requests for goodwill, for protection due to yavas, for long life, welfare, peace, prosperity, contentment and responses by the daiva brāhmaṇas giving blessings as to these. Then apasavyam. Then the same request for auspiciousness of waters, goodwill, protection by sesamum grains &c. and blessings about them by pitṛya brāhmaṇas. Then the performer requests 'may my family increase (or prosper) and may the procedure of worshipping the pindas be good,' to which the pitṛya brāhmaṇas respond 'may

1122. वीरे में इत्यितः—If the wife desires a son then with this mantra the middle pinda is given over to her and she eats it with the mantra 
आवग वित्तवे गर्भस्य. Vide note 780 for that mantra. The आवग. श्री. सू. II. 7. 
12-13 says 'वीरे में इत्यितः इति वित्तवानो गर्भस्य। वर्ली मासेदांवाच...संवित्तिः'.
it be so.' Then raising the *pranīṭa* vessel the performer requests 'May you say that the water and food and the like offered in the Pratisāṁvatsarīkāśrāddha to pīṭr, pīṭāmaha and pra-pīṭāmaha, so and so by name and gotra, be inexhaustible.' The *pīṭra* brāhmaṇas reply 'so be it.' Then *savāyam.* The same request is made to the *daiva* brāhmaṇas and the reply is the same. Then gold is given to the daiva brāhmaṇas and silver to pīṭra brāhmaṇas and the performer says 'may the daksinās (fees) given to the brāhmaṇas that ate the śrāddha dinner protect (me).’ They reply 'may they do so.' Then he says 'I shall request you to utter the word svadhā.' They reply 'do so.' Then *apasaśāyam.* Then he says 'May (the brāhmaṇas representing) father, grandfather and great-grandfather utter the word svadhā.' They reply 'let there be svadhā.' Then he should place over the pīṇḍas sesamum grains and water. Then he says 'May you declare that svadhā be accomplished.' They reply 'may svadhā be accomplished.' Then *savāyam.* Then he says 'may you say that the gods led by Agni be pleased.' They reply 'may the Viśvedevāḥ be pleased.' Then *apasaśāyam.* Then he requests 'May you declare that the pīṭras led by the Vasus be pleased.' They reply 'may the pīṭras be pleased.' *Savāyam.* He says 'May you declare that there is accomplishment of the saṅkalpa' (made at the beginning of the rite). They reply 'May there be accomplishment of the saṅkalpa.' He asks 'were the vegetables and cooked food liked by the pīṭras.’ They reply ‘they were most excellent.’ Then the performer decks himself by applying sandal paste to his forehead. After doing obeisance to the pīṇḍas he requests for blessings for his family (which are the same as those set out above from the Padmapurāṇa on p.452 above) and one more blessing 'May persons beg of us but may we not beg of any one' (vide n.998). The brāhmaṇas reply in the same words only employing the words ‘you’ or ‘your’ for ‘us’ or ‘our’.

He says ‘I shall remove the pīṇḍas’. They reply ‘do remove’. Then he repeats the verses ‘Tad Viśnoḥ’ (Rg. I. 22.20), ‘Tad vīprāso’ (Rg. I. 22.21) and two more verses and then a Paurāṇic verse enumerating the seven holy cities of Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāṇcī, Avantikā and Dvārakā. He says ‘May there be peace, prosperity and contentment on the spot where the pīṇḍas are’. They reply ‘these (peace &c.) dwell in their own places’. He says ‘I shall

---

1122 a. For मणीलापात्र vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 208, 1022–23.
remove the plates in which the brāhmaṇas had their dinner.' Then he lays aside the kūrca. He then recites the verse 'Vāje vāje' (Rg. VII. 38, 8). Then savyam. Then he says 'O pitṛs, get up together with the devas' and repeats the verses 'a mā vājaṣya' (Vāj. S. 9, 19), 'svādusamsadāḥ' (Rg. VI. 75. 9), 'brāhmaṇāsāh pitarāḥ' (Rg. VI. 75. 10), 'ihaiva stam' (Rg. X. 85. 42). Then he recites 'may the grandfathers being pleased grant to men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, mokṣa, happiness and kingdom' (Yāj. I. 270, but reads 'prayacchantu' for 'prayacchanti'). Then he prays 'May these blessings turn out to be true, may my family prosper, may this Pratisāṃvatsarika-śrāddha have the same fruits as that of a śrāddha performed at Gayā! May the pitṛs secure inexhaustible gratification.' Then he proceeds 'Today my birth has had its reward by bowing to your feet &c.' (vide n. 999 for the two verses repeated here). The brāhmaṇas reply 'we forget the trouble and excuse you.' Then he says 'Today this tīthi is like a day sacred to the sun; the brāhmaṇas invited are like Vyāsa,VASIṣṭha and Vāmadeva; may you declare that whatever is lacking as regards seats, dinner, mantras, procedure, materials and fees in this pratiṣāṃvatsarika-śrāddha of my pitṛs performed by me today become all perfect at the words of brāhmaṇas'. They reply 'May all be perfect'. Then he recites the two verses 'VASIṣṭhaśaḥ pitṛvad' and 'devān vasiṣṭho' (Rg. X. 66. 14-15) and then at the end he repeats the verse containing a salutation (the word 'namaḥ') viz. 'idam pitṛbhya namo astvadya' (Rg. X. 15. 2). Therefore at the end (of a śrāddha rite) one does obeisance to the pitṛs (in the words 'namo vah pitaro &c.'). Therefore they say 'should one repeat the pitṛyā verses with āhāva mantra specially recited with each verse or without repeating the āhāva mantra separately with each verse; for it is better not to finish Pīṭrjadna quickly. He who separately recites the āhāva with each verse makes the pīṭrjadna that is imperfect, complete and therefore one must recite specially employing the āhāva with each verse.'

The words in the प्रयोग (p. 108a) are 'हि पितृवो नमो अस्त्ये पितृवो नमो अस्त्ये पितृवो नमो अस्त्ये' तदहुः पितृवो नमो अस्त्ये तदहुः पितृवो नमो अस्त्ये पितृवो नमो अस्त्ये पितृवो नमो अस्त्ये. The passage हि पितृवो नमो... up to अस्त्ये is taken verbatim from the ऐतिहासिक 13th chapter 13th khaṇḍa (end). The khaṇḍa (13) starts with the question whether the

(Continued on the next page)
one should repeat each verse with āhāva separately uttered. The performer should follow the brāhmaṇas up to the boundary (of the village). He says ‘whatever blemish there may be in japa, tapas or śrāddha rite—may all that become free from blemish by the favour of brāhmaṇas. I do adoration to that Acyuta (Viśṇu) by remembering whom &c. O best of brāhmaṇas! may this śrāddha, even if devoid of mantras, or of some rite or of faith, become perfect by your favour’. Then he concludes ‘May Janardana Vāsudeva who assumes the forms of father, grand–father and great–grandfather be pleased by this sacrifice, viz. the pratisāṁvatsarikā-śrāddha of the pītris. This is a sacrifice to the manes. Tat sat. May it be dedicated to Brahma.’ Then he repeats the verse ‘Vasāte’ (Rg. VII 99 7) and then says ‘adoration to Viṣṇu (Viṣṇave namaḥ) thrice and sips water twice. The fruit of offering pīṇdas is stated by Bṛhaspati and Vṛddha-Parāśara as follows: If the pītris are in the world of gods they are gratified by the food offered in fire, if they are in the world of pītris they are gratified by the dinner to brāhmaṇas and if in hell they are gratified by the balls offered on the ground.1123a

Comparing the above rather elaborate and exhaustive procedure with the procedure of pratisāṁvatsarikā-śrāddha as

(Continued from the last page)

verse ‘devānām patnir’ (Rg. V. 46 6) or the ṛk verse referring to Rākṣṇ should be recited first in the ātita-mālakāṅg in tīvra-pāsau. The conclusion reached is that the verse referring to वेषकर्म शी should be recited first by the ṛṣya. In the same context a question is raised whether the Yāmī verse (Rg. X. 14.4 ‘Imam yama prastaram’) or the Pitṛyā verses (Rg. X. 15.1–3) should be recited first. The conclusion is that the यामī verse should be first recited, then the Kāvya verse (Rg. X. 14.3 ‘Mātali kavyair’) and then the pitṛyā verses, out of which Rg. X. 15.2 (इन चिन्तयो नमे आस्त्रष) is recited last in which the word nam occurs. आहार means the mantra षोरेसामोर. The figure 3 is a sign of the ṛṣya accent. The sign of ṛṣya shows deliberation. अहार:—we have to understand बहसाविं: as the subject. Then comes the question whether the आहार should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitṛyā verses or not. The conclusion is that the आहार should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitṛyā verses. Apparently it is rather difficult to say why this passage of the Ṛgveda should occur in this मनोहर. The only reason appears to be that the ए. आ. passage has something to say about विद्वेश and hence as this is a प्रसूषि for विद्वेश it is introduced here.

1123 a. शिखवतात्काल महलकसः स्वभाविः। अही दृश्यो देवसः शिखवस्मिन द्विजयय:। नरक-स्वायत्ता नृपमिनि निष्कुर्यात्तस्मिनाशुं:। इत्यप्राप्ताकै:। ये केवलोकं खित्तलसमापयं भासाविने नस्क नरते च। अही दृश्यो द्विजःभोजनन्तु द्विष्णु निष्कुर्यात्तस्मिनाशुं:। q in प्रवृत्तम् folio 110 b.
practised in Madras in these days only a few points of differences in detail emerge. In the Madras procedure the numerous mantras as set out above (p. 448) do not occur nor does the Tai. A passage occur therein, but the verses in praise of the dust of brähmana’s feet do occur. Most of the mantras both Vedic and Paurânic are the same. The blessings (āśīrvādās) in the Madras manual are more elaborate and include even the performer’s cattle in the blessing of health and long life. In the Madras manual several mantras are set out as ‘annasaktu’ mantras in the procedure itself. The Madras paddhati adds at the end the well known verse ‘kāyena vācā manasendriyairvā’.

The procedure for Yajurvedins of the Mādhyandina Śākhā in Bengal as set out by Raghunandana in his Yajurvedi-srāddhataktra is entirely based on the 2nd and 3rd kandikās of the Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana. The Parvaṇa-srāddhā-prayoga in Halāyudha’s Brāhmanasaravasva closely follows Kātyāyana and I am assured by a careful student of Dharmaśāstra that the procedure of pārvaṇaspārddhā followed by Mādhyandinās at Bhatpara in Western Bengal is in strict conformity with the procedure laid down by Raghunandana. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana is translated here with some explanations and additions made by Halāyudha and Raghunandana and the whole text, being not very extensive, is given in the note below1124.

1124. देवेऽपूर्वे आप्रवण प्रवेणक्रामुप्रवर्: विन्द्रे। देवेऽपूर्वे आप्रवण प्रवेणक्रामुप्रवर्: विन्द्रे। देवेऽपूर्वे आप्रवण प्रवेणक्रामुप्रवर्: विन्द्रे।

(Continued on the next page)
"The pārvatā-śrāddha is preceded by the rite for Viśvedevas. The procedure follows that of Pīndapitryajña. In the rites for the pītra double-folded darbhas are to be used (while in Viśvadevīka rite straight darbhas are used). Whenever any thing is to be gifted, the performer (in all daiva as well as pītra rites) wears a pāvitra and makes the gift sitting. (When questions are to be asked) the performer puts the question to the most eminent in the row of diners (to the best daiva brāhmaṇa in daiva rites and to the best pītra brāhmaṇa in pītra rites) or he may put the question to all (and the reply is given by one or by all). Spreading darbhas on the seats (he makes the brāhmaṇas occupy them), he puts the question 'shall I invoke the Viśvedevas (to the daiva brāhmaṇa)?'. Being permitted (by the daiva brāhmaṇas) in the words 'do invoke', he invokes the Viśvedevas with the mantra: 'Viśve devāṣa āgata' (Vāj. S. 7, 34 'Ye All Gods, come, listen to this my call and sit down on this darbha grass'). Then he scatters yavas (in front of the brāhmaṇas), mutters a mantra, 'Viśvedevāḥ śrūnutemam' (Vāj. S. 35, 53, 'Ye All Gods, hear this call of mine'). After this japa he asks (the pītra brāhmaṇas) 'I shall invoke the pītras'. When permitted (by the pītra brāhmaṇas) in the words 'do invoke', he invokes them with the mantra 'uṣantasa tvā' (Vāj. S. 19, 70, 'O Agni! we longing for our fathers place you down' &c.). Then he scatters (sesamum

(Continued from the last page)

1124 a. निष्प्रय ... चार:—so the result is: अपराज: कालोऽविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यন्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तस्य, अविद्यन्तs

1125. It may be noted that almost all mantras quoted by Kātyāyana are very apt and appropriate for the purposes for which they are to be repeated. For reasons of space the full texts and translation of the mantras could not be given here.
grains in front of the pitrya brähmanas) and mutters the mantra ‘ā yantu naḥ pitaraḥ’ (Vāj. S. 19, 58, ‘May the soma-loving pitras come to us’ &c.). Then he pours water in each of the cups made of a sacrificial tree (such as palāśa, udumbara &c.), in which a pavitra is dipped with the mantra ‘ṣan no devī’ (Vāj. S. 36. 13, ‘May the divine waters be for our happiness’ &c.). (He puts yavas in the vessel for daiva rite). He puts in each of the cups sesamum grains with the mantra ‘Thou art Tila’ &c.’. He offers on the hands of each of the brähmanas (first daiva and then pitrya) that wear a pavitra water in a vessel made of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or precious stone or in whatever vessels may be available or in vessels made of bunches of leaves with the mantra ‘yā divya āpah &c.’. The water is offered in the words ‘O father’ N. N. by name, this is arghya for you’ (and then to other ancestors). Having mixed together in the first vessel (meant for the father) the drops of water remaining in the other vessels for other ancestors, he puts down on the ground the first vessel face downwards with the words ‘thou art a place for the pitra’. Then (at this stage) ganda (sandalwood paste), flowers, incense, lamp and garment are offered (to the brähmanas representing the ancestors).

Having taken out in another vessel some food from out of the food already cooked for śrāddha and having anointed it with ghee he (the performer) asks ‘I shall perform agraṇa-karana’. Being permitted by the brähmanas in the words ‘do so’, he offers into (grhya) fire oblations as in Pinda-

1126. नित्तिस्तिः. This mantra occurs in आभास. ग. छ. quoted in note 966 above. हलाऴुद्भ and रेपुन्न्द्र state that yavas are to be scattered with the mantra ‘योक्ति यवासंह द्रेयो पत्याराती’ (भाज. सं. 5.26) and sesamum grains are to be scattered with the mantra अप्रहता अवहार रक्षसि वेदिष्कः (भाज. सं. 2.29). Vide वा. इ. 230.

1127. For the स्त्रयं ‘या द्रिष्या etc.’ vide note 966 above.

1128. There are six ancestors, three paternal and three maternal and therefore six vessels; drops of water from five vessels are poured into the first vessel. रेपुन्न्द्र adds that the first vessel is covered with the vessel for great-grandfather and is then put down with top downwards. The बाल्यकारण, explains ‘तत्र च पितारसिद्धिनित्तिः बुधपत्रिः। आद्वात्स्व नित्तितिः पितरं आद्वात्स्वतः।’

1129. रेपुन्न्द्र adds ‘सम्भविनां हन्नन्दिकास्मिन्नितानमेव सन्नेत्र विप्राविक-खुविवध उ-समयः।’

1130. Both हलाऴुद्भ and रेपुन्न्द्र state that the two स्त्रयं in अमोकरण are ‘अंगमय कथ्र्यायनाय स्वाहा, अंगमय विप्रविक क्षाहा।’
pitravyajña, having served (into all the plates for all the brahmanas invited) the food that remains after being offered in fire, he touches with his hands (above and below each plate) and repeats the mantra ‘The earth is thy vessel &c.’ (notes 992, 1108a). (He keeps some food aside for making pindaś later on). Then (having served the food in the plates) he plunges the thumb of the brahmanas in the food with a ṛk (Rg. I. 22. 17, ‘idam Viṣṇu vicakrame’) addressed to Viṣṇu or with a Yajus so addressed (‘Viṣṇo kavyamidam rakṣasva’). Then he scatters about (yavas before daiva brahmanas silently and) sesamum grains with the mantra ‘apahatā asūrā rakṣāṇi vedīsadāḥ’ (Vāj. S. 2. 29). Then he should serve hot food very much liked (by diners or by the departed) or he may serve such food as he can afford. While the brahmanas are engaged in eating (the dinner) he should perform japa of the following 1131, viz. the sacred Gāyatrī once or thrice preceded by om and the vyāhṛtis, the verses called Rakṣoghni (note 1111), mantras addressed to the pitra (Rg. X. 15. 1–13 beginning with ‘udiratām-avara ut parāsah’), Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 1–16), Aprakāratha hymn (Rg. X. 103. 1–13) beginning with ‘āsūḥ śiśānah’) and other holy texts. Then finding that the brahmanas are satiated with food, he should scatter some food in front of the dining brahmanas, he should give to each brahmaṇa water once (for apotana at the end of dinner). Then he should mutter as before the Gāyatrī, the (three) Madhumati verses (Rg. I. 90. 6–8) and the word ‘madhu’ (thrice). Then he asks ‘are you satiated’. Being permitted by them in the words ‘we are satiated’, he makes them give their consent as to the rest of the food, collects together all food in one vessel (in order to make pindaś from it); he offers (two sets of three pindaś, three for paternal ancestors and three for maternal ancestors) on darbhas near the spot where 1132 the brahmanas dined and left uneaten food in plates and pours water over the pīṇḍas for ablation 1133. Some authors say that pindaś are to

1131. It may be noted that in Bengal the numerous verses that are prescribed here for japa are apparently not muttered in modern times.

1132. उच्चिस्तानिर्देश-रहस्य the notes ‘वाज्यानामानावतिसं भविषयति कर्तारामकः। पद्मगुरुपरमारोपितवत्त्वं अन्तिम्याऽपि कैर वरिष्ठतिः हेमादिति।’

1133. एकतर्कोपर्य य is grammatically irregular; it should be एकतर्क उपर्यः.

The pindaś are offered to paternal ancestors with their wives (समपत्तिक) and to maternal ancestors with their wives. The formula would be; अशुकोपर्य

(Continued on the next page)
be offered after the brāhmaṇas perform ācāmana at the end of the dinner. After they perform ācāmana he gives to the brāhmaṇas water, flowers, aksatas and aksayodaka. Then he prays for the following blessings. He prays ‘may the pita be not terrible (i.e. be kind) to us’. The brāhmaṇas reply ‘may they be so’. He prays ‘May our family prosper’. They reply ‘may it be so’. He prays ‘May donors increase in our family’. They reply ‘let it be so’. He prays ‘May Vedas and our progeny prosper’. The reply is ‘May they do so’. He says ‘May faith not depart from me’; they say ‘May it not depart’. He says ‘May we possess many things that we can donate’. They reply ‘so be it’. After receiving these blessings he spreads kuṣas called svadha vaçaniya together with pavistras (on the ground near the pīṇḍas or, on the pīṇḍas themselves according to Devayājñikas and others); he asks (all the brāhmaṇas or the most eminent one) ‘shall I request you to utter the word svadhā’. Being permitted by them in the words ‘May svadhā be recited’ he prays ‘May there be svadhā to the pita, to the grandfathers, to the great-grandfathers, to the maternal grandfather, maternal great-grandfather and maternal great-great-grandfather’. When the brāhmaṇas reply ‘May there be svadhā’ he sprinkles water over the svadhāvaçaniya darbhas with the mantra ‘ūrjam vahantir’ (Vāj. S. II. 34). Then he turns the vessel top upwards (which had been placed with top downwards) and he should give to the brāhmaṇas dakṣinā according to his ability. He should make the daiva brāhmaṇas repeat ‘May all the gods be pleased’. He should then dismiss the brāhmaṇas with the mantra ‘Vāja vāje’ (Vāj. S. 9. 18), he should follow the brāhmaṇas (up to the village boundary) with the mantra ‘ā mā vajasya’ (Vāj. S. 9. 19), circumambulate them and then enter his own house.

(Continued from the last page)


अरसादितित्सुकमार्ग सप्तलीक वसुव्रत एवं सत्यं स्वयम। इत्यमुक्तमोगन्यात्मात्मिकेशुकमार्गः सप्तलीक।

The same formula with appropriate changes is to be employed for viśālād, mahāśa, maśa, maśa, etc. Some writers proposed that nine pīṇḍas may be offered, three to viśālād, three to maśa, three to maśa, etc. (cf. p. 1445 and 1447) provides that a line for maśa should be drawn to the west of the one for viśālād and another line to the west of the one for maśa and viśālād should be offered in that order.

1134. On अरसादितित्सुकमार्ग, Gādāper explains ‘अरसादितित्सुकमार्गेन वसुव्रतान्तर्वात् भवेन्तैः

1134 a. सप्तलीक गुजानमार्गाः एवं गदापर explain ‘सप्तलीकात्मात्मिकेशुकमार्गः’.
It is to be noted that in the Bengal Manual of Pārvanāśrāddha based on the Brāhmaṇasarvasva of Halāyudha and also on Ṛaghunandana's Yajurvedi-śrāddhātattva the following details are added after the pindas are placed on the darbhās and before the dismissal of the brāhmaṇas. He turns towards the north and says 'O pītras, regale yourselves here and come like bulls each to his portion.' Then he turns round to his former position and says 'the pītras regale themselves and came like bulls each to his own share.' Then he loosens the side of his dhoti which has been tucked up and then folds up his hands (i.e. offers six namaskāras) with the mantra 'Namo vah pitaro rasāya' (Vāj. S. II. 32). He smells the pipāsas and gives the middle one to his wife, if she desires a son, with the mantra 'ādhatta' (Vāj. S. II. 33).

From considerations of space the procedure of pārvanā śrāddha among Hiranyakāśīnīs in modern times is passed over here. Moreover, it closely resembles the procedure in Āśv. Gr. set out above, the principal difference being that some of the mantras are different. The Sāmīnāra ratnamāla of Gopinātha deals with this from p. 985 onwards. But one noticeable feature of this last work is that of making hair-splitting distinctions. On p. 985 it refers to two śrāddhas (other than pīnda-pitrāyajña) to be performed on amāvasyā, viz. māsi-śrāddha and māsīka-śrāddha, the first being described by the Dharmaśītra of Hiranyakāśīnī and the second by the Grhyāśūtra. Gopinātha further says that māsīkaśrāddha is the model of the other śrāddhas described in the Grhyāśūtra and māsiśrāddha is the model of śrāddhas described in the Dharmashastras, such as Mahālayaśrāddha or Sāṁvatsarika-śrāddha, that Darśāśrāddha itself is māsi-śrāddha (p. 988) and that māsīka-śrāddha may be performed on each darṣā or on any one darṣā day in a year and that māsi-śrāddha follows immediately after Pindapitryajña as

1135. About नीविविषिन्स, vide मतपथ q. in n. 960a. दुधानज्ञवर्णย says ‘क्षणे काव्यद्वे तमि तिति: सह कुञ्जस्वम् ।’

1136. नमो य: चित्रो रसाय-vide note 963 above. व्युष्टविविधात्वः (व्युष्टविविधात्वः) remarks that in नमो य: चित्रो रसाय...सम्बन्धे he offers obeisance to the pītras identifying them with the six seasons, that in 'namo vah pitarah' (Vāj. S. 2. 32) he offers namaskāra to the pītras as identified with Agni Kavyavāhana and then prays to the pītras to bestow on them a house in the words ‘namo vo grbān naḥ pitaro datta’ Vāj. S. 2. 32).

1137. Vide Manu III, 218 अवब्रह्म सत्व विष्कार and note 960 towards the end.
laid down by Mānu (III, 122) and māsika-śrāddha may be performed after māsi-śrāddha. In modern times no one performs māsi-śrāddha or māsika-śrāddha strictly in accordance with the ancient rules. Śrāddha is supposed to be performed by feeding a brahmaṇa and giving him a dakṣinā of a few annas. The Śrāddhatattva (Jiv., part 1 p. 254) provides, after quoting Matsya and Bhavisya, that, if a person is unable to perform a pārvana-śrāddha every month, he should perform one at least thrice a year when the sun is in the zodiacal signs of Kānya, Kumbha and Vṛśabha and that if he is unable to perform even thrice then he should perform at least once when the sun is in the sign of Kānya.

The two meanings of sapinda given by the Mit, and the Dayabhāga have already been explained at great length in H. of Dh, vol. II, pp. 452–458 and pp. 472–477. The Dayabhāga propounded the theory that whoever conferred greater spiritual benefit on the deceased by the performance of śrāddhas and the offering of pindaḥ was entitled to be preferred as an heir to the deceased’s wealth. The Mit, said that heirship depended on blood relationship and the nearest in blood to the deceased was the preferential heir. But even under the Mit, whoever took the wealth of the deceased was bound to pay his debts (Yāj. II, 51) and to offer śrāddha and pinda to him. This subject and the several propositions deduced from the texts have been dealt with in H. of Dh, vol. III, pp. 734–745.

One thing to be remembered is that in determining the preferential right regard is to be had to the capacity of a person and the efficacy of the pindaḥs when offered. After a person takes the wealth of the deceased, there is no legal machinery to enforce his duty to offer pindaḥs. It was argued in Nalinaśṭha v. Rajani Kanto 35 C. W. N. 726 that, if an heir does not offer pindaḥs or refuses to offer them to his ancestor, he was not entitled under Hindu Law to succeed to him. This argument was repelled by the judges with the remark that there was no authority for such a proposition and that the right to inheritance is based under the Dayabhāga not on offering pindaḥ but on the capacity to offer it (p. 729). Vide Gooroo Gobinda Saha v. Anand Lal 5 Beng. L. R. 15 (F. B.) and Digamber v. Motilal 9 Cal. 563 (F. B.) for the statement that the principle of spiritual benefit is the sole foundation of the theory of in-
heritance propounded in the Dāyabhāga. But in certain later cases such as Akshayachandra v. Hari Das 35 Cal. 721 it was rightly pointed out that spiritual benefit is not always the guiding principle under the Bengal school of law, that the principle of spiritual efficacy as the guiding principle fails in all classes of female relations such as the wife, the daughter and the mother whose rights are really based on special texts and that the reason for inheritance by a re-united coparcener was not spiritual benefit but was based on a quasi contract and affection.

The question about how śrāddha was to be performed if one or more of the three paternal ancestors were alive engaged the thoughts of writers from very ancient times. The Āṣv. 1139 Śr. S. (II. 6. 16-23) first sets out the views of Gāṇagāri, Taulvali and Gautama and then refutes them. Gāṇagāri held that out of the three paternal ancestors pīṇḍas should be offered to those that were dead and those that were alive should be honoured in person, since the śrāddha rite is meant for pleasing the ancestors; Taulvali opined that pīṇḍas should be offered to all the three ancestors, whether living or dead, since in the rite of śrāddha they are only a secondary matter (a detail). Gautama thought that pīṇḍas should be offered to dead ancestors, up to three from the father if the latter was living, from the grandfather if he was alive and from the great-grandfather if all the three be living. Āṣv. replies; one cannot offer pīṇḍas to three ancestors 1140 beyond the father, grand-father or great-grandfather, since one has no adhikāra to do so; one cannot offer pīṇḍas to an ancestor after whom there is an ancestor (within three degrees) living. One may offer homa into fire to those that are alive. (If all three ancestors are alive) all the three pīṇḍas must be cast into fire or he may not begin the rite at all. The Kātyāyana śr. 1141 sutra provides

1139. Ṛṣiṇि ०-० ० ० एवं श्रेष्ठो: स्तुविति शाणमाति: मन्ये विविधतित्र: च वर्णमातृत। सपूष्य एव नियुक्तियाधिक तोलनिः: क्रिष्णायुगात। अधि जीवन्त: एव्तर जीन: एव नियुक्तियाधिकता यो ते: किंतु इत्यकारित। उपायविक्षेपो जीवितात्माद। न परं धर्मविविधता। न महायात्र। न अविन्यो नियुक्तियात। न जीवन्तातिविन्यास। जीवनातिविन्यास। सपूष्य पूजितानि। अधि भ्र. श्र. II. 6. 16-23.

1140. One can offer pīṇḍas only to three ancestors beginning with the father according to Vedic passages quoted in notes 958, 960a above and Manu IX. 186. So there is no ancient authority to offer pīṇḍa to 4th or 5th or 6th ascendant.

that piṇḍas are offered only to deceased ancestors; therefore if a person's father be alive or if there is a deceased ancestor between whom and the performer there is an ancestor that is alive, then one whose father is alive can only perform homa (into fire, but no piṇḍadāna) or he should not undertake at all (the rite of piṇḍapitṛyajña or pārvaṇaśrāddha); that Jātukarṇya prescribes that no piṇḍadāna is possible when a living ancestor (father) intervenes between the performer and a deceased ancestor, since a śruti text says 'one does not offer piṇḍas to ancestors that are beyond a living ancestor.' Manu (III. 220-222) deals with this question as follows: If the performer's father be alive he should offer piṇḍas to three ancestors beginning from the paternal grand-father or he may request the father to dinner as he would do to a stranger brāhmaṇa and offer piṇḍas to the deceased grand-father and great-grand-father. If the father be dead and the grandfather be alive, he may offer a piṇḍa only to the father and the great-grandfather (i.e., only two piṇḍas) or the grand-father who is alive may be invited to dinner as if he were the stranger brāhmaṇa invited to represent a deceased grand-father or if permitted by the grandfather who is alive he may offer piṇḍas to father, great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather. The Viṣṇudharmaśāstra (chap. 75) has several rules of a similar character. Some of the Purāṇas such as Skanda VI. 225.24-25, Agni 117.58-59 deal with this matter. Gobhilasmṛti (II. 93 ff) has a long passage on this question, one verse of which is quoted below. Many of the commentaries and digests hold divergent views on this subject, viz., the Mit. on Yāj. I. 254, Kalpataru (śr. pp. 240 ff), Śr. K. K. pp. 552-556 and Nirṇayasindhu (III. pp. 499-503). It is impossible to reconcile all the views. The Kalpataru (on śr. p. 240) states that there are three alternative courses for him whose father is alive; (1) he should pass over the father that is alive and offer piṇḍas to those three ancestors to whom his father offers piṇḍas; (Manu. III. 220, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 75.1); (2) he should simply offer homa into fire as stated in Āśv. Śr. S. quoted above; (3) he should not engage in the rite of piṇḍapitṛyajña or pārvaṇaśrāddha at all (Gobhila-smṛti II. 93). The Nirnaya- 

sindhu says that there are numerous alternatives mentioned by different writers, that they are forbidden in the Kali age and

1142. सत्पिठः पिलुपपन्द्र अधिकारो न विचारे। न जीवल्मक्षिकरूप सिंचर्य द्विवाहिति

श्लिष्टि॥ गोभिलस्मर्तिः II. 93, q. by भर. किलि. कौ. p. 552. Compare कास्या. भू. आ. in note 1141.
that one view is that a man whose father is alive cannot engage in a pārvanāśrāddha and that the real conclusion is that śrāddha may be offered to those to whom the father (of the performer) who is living offers pīṇḍas. It is clear that one whose father is living should have nothing to do with pīṇḍadhāna for deceased ancestors. Manu (in latter half of III. 220) allowed an alternative viz. one should feed one's father at a dinner (and honour him with the details of worship such as gandha, dhūpa, dipa) and offer pīṇḍas to the deceased grandfather and great-grandfather. When any one or two out of the three paternal ancestors are alive and śrāddha is permitted to a descendant several alternatives become possible by permutation and combination, which are passed over here from considerations of space and utility. But the various views held by different writers as described above show clearly what a firm grip the theory of the supreme benefits to be derived from śrāddhas had on the minds not only of common people but of learned men, who, in spite of the fact that the father was alive and was there to offer pīṇḍas to his three ancestors, allowed even the son (whose father was living) to offer pīṇḍas to the same three ancestors. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. extends the procedure about 'jivatpitṛka' to one's mother's paternal ancestors (changing the mantra where necessary). Similar rules apply where the performer's mother is alive (Agnipurāṇa 117.60 'evam mātrādikasyāpi tathā mātāmaḥādike').

It is provided by Gobhilaṃśti (III. 157) that a śruti injunction should be made effective by means of anukalpa (of some substituted procedure) if the primary procedure cannot be carried out. If a person cannot secure several brāhmaṇas but can secure only one, he should perform Pārvanā-śrāddha in which six pīṇḍas are to be offered with a single brāhmaṇa, provided he is pāṅkli-pāvana (sanctifier of a row of diners) and in such a case, naivedya should be offered in place of the dinner.

---

1142 a. mātrāmaṇgamayaḥ brahman śrūyāḥ kṣaṇikāh kṣaṇikāh || mātrāh śrūyaḥ pāñjīyo mātrāh śrūyaḥ 75.8. mātrāh śrūyaḥ—This is to be understood as follows: "śrūyaḥ kṣaṇikāḥ brahmaṇaḥ mātrāmaṇgaḥ śrūyaḥ kṣaṇikāḥ brahmaṇaḥ mātrāh śrūyaḥ pāñjīyo mātrāh śrūyaḥ kṣaṇikāḥ brahmaṇaḥ mātrāh śrūyaḥ 75.8. pāñjīyo folio 222 a.

1143. avadhitāh śrūyaḥ kṣaṇikāḥ mātrāmaṇgaḥ kṣaṇikāḥ || avadhitāh śrūyaḥ kṣaṇikāḥ mātrāmaṇgaḥ 1143. avadhitāh śrūyaḥ kṣaṇikāḥ mātrāmaṇgaḥ kṣaṇikāḥ || kṣaṇikāḥ q. by heṣaṁśti (āra. p. 1522). The first half occurs in gobhilaṃśti III. 157, but the 2nd half is different.

1144. abhajayādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyādāvahyातिन्यायो ९५७. हेमांत्रि (१.५२२)। The first half occurs in gobhilaṃśti III. 157, but the 2nd half is different.
to the *daiva* brāhmaṇas and the food should be thrown into fire; so says Śaṅkha 14.10. If even a single brāhmaṇa cannot be had for a pārvanaśrāddha, then one should prepare with kuśas the effigy of brāhmaṇa students (*bātu*) and the performer should himself ask the questions and give the answers required in pārvanaśrāddha.  

When one cannot secure a brāhmaṇa nor materials, or when one is on a journey, or on the birth of a son, or when one's wife is in her monthly illness, one may perform āmaśrāddha (śrāddha with uncooked grains). This is stated by the Skandapurāṇa VII. 1. 206.52. Kātyāyana and Saurapurāṇa 19.32 have similar verses 'a twice-born person should perform āmaśrāddha when he is on a journey or is in distress, or if he has no fire for cooking and those who are weak may always perform it.' The Madanapārijata (p. 483) states that one who has the *adhiśāra* for pārvanaśrāddha can alone offer āmaśrāddha. Hārīta says that when there is an obstacle in performing a śrāddha, āmaśrāddha is prescribed except in the case of māsika andśāmavatsarika śrāddhas. Āmaśrāddha is always prescribed for śūdras. It was further provided that the grains offered in śrāddha should be utilized by the brāhmaṇas for eating the cooked food for themselves and were to be applied for no other purpose (Hemārī, Śr. p. 1527). Vyāsa provides that the quantity of grains should be at least two or three or four times as much as the grains required for offering cooked food. Some words employed in the various items such as *āvāhana*.

---

1145. निग्राघ वा वाणवन्द्वनेन समालितः। पैशाचीतसंबंध संवादान्तरं निग्राघ। (भ. p. 1526). भ. क्र. कौ. p. 89 (ascribes to स्त्र्यावस्था वाणवन्द्वनाम)।

1146. द्रव्याभोज द्रव्यधिकार द्रव्यः पहले पुस्तकास्मिनि। आमास्रादेभु यथा धर्म धर्मार्थ न्यायस्तुदा। स्त्र्यावस्था यथा। भ. p. 492); आपदः नारी च पहले यथास्मिनि। आमास्रादेभु यथा भार्याचार संस्कृतम्। कार्यः q. by निर्माणस्त्राय III. p. 462, मद. पा. p. 480; कल्पन प. 234 explains 'अनाजाश्राव यथासमाज्ञानितः। न स्त्र्यावस्थानामितः।'

1147. आपदः नारी द्रव्याभोज परमा द्रव्याब्यास्त्राय। आमास्रादेभु निर्माणाभोज परमा द्रव्यास्त्राय। हारीत q. by आपदः p. 468, स्त्र्यावस्था (भ. p. 492). भ. क्र. कौ. p. 26 (स्त्र्यावस्था)।

1148. आपदः दुःखद्रव्याभोज द्रव्याभोज वालोपुर। वालोपुर चाहैं वालोपुर न लस्कृतिष्ठ परेषाः। धर्मार्थ भ. by हेमावनि (भ. p. 1528)।

1149. आपदः नारी द्रव्याभोज द्रव्याभोज निर्माणाभोज। स्त्र्यावस्था q. by हेमावनि (भ. p. 1529). स्त्र्यावस्था (भ. p. 492) ascribes to स्त्र्यावस्था and explains 'स्त्र्याभोजः नारी द्रव्याभोजः निर्माणाभोजः न लस्कृतिष्ठ परेषाः।'
svadhākāra and dismissal of the brāhmaṇas had to be changed e. g. in āvāhana the verse employed is ‘uṣantastvā’ (Vāj. S. 19.70) which ends with the words ‘haviṣe attave’ (which means ‘in order to eat the haviṣ’) the words ‘haviṣe svikartave’ would have to be substituted.

Āmaśrāddha is to be performed in the first part of the day, ekoddīṣṭa in the noon, the pārvatāśrāddha in the afternoon and vrddhīśrāddha in the first part of the day (divided into five).1149a

If even uncooked food grains cannot be offered the performer should perform hemaśrāddha (śrāddha with money). When the sun passes from one sign of the zodiac into another, in default of food and brāhmaṇas, on a journey, on the birth of a son, in an eclipse, in the case of women and śūdras hemaśrāddha is allowed or when one’s wife is in her monthly illness. In āmaśrāddha twice the quantity of grains required in offering cooked food and in hemaśrāddha four times (the price of the grains required for cooked food) has to be offered. If no money can be had the digestes prescribe several modes which have already been set out above (vide p. 425, n. 955).

1149 a. आमास्राद्धः तु शूद्रोऽसौ एकोद्धिस्त तु मध्यस्त। पवेश्च चापरादी तु पार्वताश्री निनिविञ्जः। हार्षित and हार्षात्तप q. in असरकेः p. 468, पृष्ठीच्छ. folio 124a.
CHAPTER X

EKODDIŚTA AND OTHER ŚRĀDDHAS

Having dealt at great length with Pārvaṇaśrāddha which is the model of all śrāddhas it is now time to speak of Ekoddiśta śrāddha that is a modification of Pārvaṇaśrāddha. The word Ekoddiśta means 'that in which only one deceased person is intended (to be invoked or benefited)'. The Pārvaṇaśrāddha is intended for three paternal ancestors and is thus distinguished from Ekoddiśta. In Śaṅ. gr. IV. 2, Baud. gr. III. 12.6, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kaṇḍikā 4), and Yāj. I. 251-252, the points of difference between the two are clearly set out. In this śrāddha only one arghya is offered, there is only one pavaitra and only one pīṇḍa is offered, there is no āvāhana (as there is in Pārvaṇa), no agnaukrama, there are no brāhmaṇas invited to represent the Viśve-devas; the question about being satiated by the dinner is to be asked in the word 'svaditam' (did it taste well) and the brāhmaṇas reply with 'susvaditam' (it had excellent taste); instead of saying 'may it be inexhaustible,' the formulā here used is 'May it approach' (or wait upon the deceased person); when the brāhmaṇas are sent away at the end of the dinner the word used is 'be satisfied (or delighted)' and they reply 'we are delighted.' The Viśnupurāṇa (III. 13. 23-26) and Mārkandeya (28, 8-11) closely follow the Śrāddhasūtra and Yāj. According to Śaṅ. gr. (IV. 2. 7),

1150. अध्यनायकवैद्यकोशिस्य पार्वत्याहंत्यासामिधानमेव तथ: प्रकृतिविद्वक्तलं सच्चयि!

आद्यनक p. 244.

1151. एक उत्ति दीप तिमिर आद्य बार्कवैद्यकोशिस्य कर्मनामध्ये पुरुषतः समाधिः। भिन्न: यान्ति। या. I. 251; elsewhere it says 'tathā vr̥taddeśas tavā prāvartā, dvārapratadarśeṇā kṛṣṇDAYAMAHAVIDHYAM!' भिन्नः याति। यान्ति। या. I. 217. हलावृह (folio 32 b) on आद्यनक says 'एकोत्र संपाद्यवृत्तान्निशिद्ध इति'.

1152. अध्यनायकवैद्यकोशिस्य नाग्रीक्षणं नान्मानवर्तं न पूर्वं निधिनां न देवं न पूर्वं न जीवं न स्म: न नमकरो नाजापुरस्रु। औप. या. स. III. 12. 6.।

1153. अध्यनायकवैद्यकोशिस्य। एकोत्र एकोत्र परिमेयः पिथो नागवर्त्तं नाग्रीक्षणं नात्र विवेक-बेवः। शब्दमयितम् तत्त्वस्यः: हलावृहस्तविशिष्टेण बुधवार्तियां तदस्वस्तस्यात्मविद्याधिकारेण प्रारम्भस्तिः। विसंगोगमितस्य: सम इतिभाव:। आद्यनक 4 (काव्यायनरी). Almost the same words occur in कौमितकुमार 4. 2 (Benares S. Series). The वज्रविविधाद्यक p. 495 explains 'एकोत्र वृत्तान्निशिद्ध परिवर्तु.'
Manu III 257, Mārkaṇḍeya (28.11), Yāj. I 256 and others, for one year after the death of a twice-born person till the sapindikarana śrāddha is performed this is the way in which śrāddha is to be performed for the preta every month. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra 21. 2 provides that suitable changes (ūha) should be made in the mantras employed (e.g. instead of 'atra pitaro mādayadhvaṁ' the mantra should be 'atra pitarmādayasya' (O father! 1154 regale thyself here). In Ekoddiṣṭa such a formula as 'ye ca tvām-anu' (those that come after thee) cannot be employed and the word 'pitr' is not to be employed (till sapindikarana is performed), but the word 'preta' (Aparārka p. 525 quoting Saunaka-grhyaparīṣṭa). 1155

As seen above (p. 262, note 591a) Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas are of three kinds, nava, navamiśra and purāna. Navaśrāddhas are those that are performed till the 10th or 11th day after death, navamiśras (or miśras) are those that are performed after the 11th day till one year (or six months, according to some) after death. Aparārka quotes a verse from Vyāghra 1156 that Ekoddiṣṭa-śrāddha is performed on the 11th day, on the 4th day, at the end of each month for a year after death and every year on the day of death and a verse of Katyāyana that (ekoddiṣṭa) śrāddha should be performed for one who had kept sacred fires on the 11th day after the day of cremation and that the Dhruva śrāddhas should always be performed on the day of death. Aparārka explains 'Dhruvāpi' as meaning those that are performed after three fortnights from death. About the navaśrāddha there is again a divergence of views. One meaning has already been given above on p. 262 note 593. The Skandapurāṇa VI (Nāgarakhaṇḍa) 205. 1-4 and Garudapurāṇa (pretakhaṇḍa 5.67-69) state that navaśrāddhas are nine viz. the three performed where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way and where the burnt bones were collected and six more performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th days after death.

1154. एकवाःस्वास्थयःकृत्तीकताः। बिश्नुप. त्व. 21. 2. On this the वीपकलिका explains "अत्र पितारो मात्रयामिति भुद्वचनालेतु अत्र पितामहवरस हि एकवाःस्वास्तयः। कार्यः:".

1155. येच लाभुः ह्रदयानि सन्तः न दुःखः। पितुःस्विनैं न कुर्वति नमो भवित ह्रदयानि सन्तः न पदेन। कल्याणः (अर्थसंहिता) p. 246.

1156. तद्व मृत्युः। एकास्वेय वेदोऽभ्रोऽभ्रो भास्ति मात्र भास्ति व वसास्तु॥ मात्रयामिति नाममात्रयामिति बिश्नुपुराणम्। बिश्नुपुराणम्। कार्यः वास्तविकवक्षयेत् अन्यः। अर्थात् p. 521. This last is मामलमलणम् III. 66 which reads मात्राबिकक्ष्येत्.
Numerous works lay down that there are sixteen śrāddhas which must be performed for a deceased person and that if these are not performed then his spirit is not freed from the condition of being a preta and a piśāca.\(^{1157}\) There is a great deal of divergence of views about what these sixteen śrāddhas are, some works including sapindikarana among the 16, others excluding it therefrom. Gobhilasmiṁti III. 67 enumerates\(^{1158}\) the 16 as follows: The twelve monthly śrāddhas (performed every month on the tithi of death), the first (i.e. the śrādda on the 11th day), two śrāddhas on (a day prior to the expiry of) every six months from the tithi of death and sapindikarana are the sixteen śrāddhas. The Garudapuraṇa\(^{1159}\) refers to three groups of sixteen, one of which enumerates the 16 śrāddhas as those performed on the 12th day (after death), after three fortnights, after six months, after every month and at the end of the year, while the Padmapuriṇa\(^{1160}\) enumerates them as follows: the sixteen śrāddhas are those performed on the 4th day after death, at the end of three fortnights, after six months, after a year and twelve śrāddhas performed each month (on the tithi of death). The Kālpetaṇu p. 25 and Brahmapuriṇa q. by Aparākṣa (p. 523) state that the 16 śrāddhas are those performed on 4th, 5th, 9th and 11th days after death and the twelve monthly śrāddhas (on the tithi of death). Laugākṣi and

\(^{1157}\) वैषेषिताः न दृष्टन्ते वेदवादात्वाति प्रोक्त। पिठाब्राह्म भून्त तथा ब्रह्मां भाजाः। शतरूपये यम् q. by भा। कृत्वा। q. p. 362. The same verse occurs in स्वरूपाः (संस्कृत 5.50–51), शर्मितके सात्री 16 (reads वैषेषिताः न कुरां वेदवादार्था), श्रवस्त्रु 13 (with variations), श्रवस्त्रु 47.272 (reads न सत्ताः वभृताः च अर्थाः)। The verse is quoted by the मिता. on या I. 254 (reading न प्राप्ताः न भूलबाः शुल्कवर्गोऽयं तत्र)। श्रवस्त्रु 13 न सत्ताः च भृत्ताः भृत्ताः यत्र नारायणेऽपि यम् q. by मिता. on या I. 253.

\(^{1158}\) घर्तो वैषेषिताः आधानंसासिक तथा। सापिष्टकारण चन्द्र एव आधाः। घर्तो गोपोपवर्तमानी तथा। यम् q. by भा। शतरूपये यम् q. by भा। कृत्वा। q. p. 362. The same verse occurs in स्वरूपाः (संस्कृत 5.50–51), शर्मितके सात्री 16 (reads वैषेषिताः न कुरां वेदवादार्था), श्रवस्त्रु 13 (with variations), श्रवस्त्रु 47.272 (reads न सत्ताः वभृताः च अर्थाः)। The verse is quoted by the मिता. on या I. 254 (reading न प्राप्ताः न भूलबाः शुल्कवर्गोऽयं तत्र)। श्रवस्त्रु 13 न सत्ताः च भृत्ताः भृत्ताः यत्र नारायणेऽपि यम् q. by मिता. on या I. 253.

\(^{1159}\) घर्तो वैषेषिताः आधानंसासिक तथा। सापिष्टकारण चन्द्र एव आधाः। घर्तो गोपोपवर्तमानी तथा। यम् q. by भा। शतरूपये यम् q. by भा। कृत्वा। q. p. 362. The same verse occurs in स्वरूपाः (संस्कृत 5.50–51), शर्मितके सात्री 16 (reads वैषेषिताः न कुरां वेदवादार्था), श्रवस्त्रु 13 (with variations), श्रवस्त्रु 47.272 (reads न सत्ताः वभृताः च अर्थाः)। The verse is quoted by the मिता. on या I. 254 (reading न प्राप्ताः न भूलबाः शुल्कवर्गोऽयं तत्र)। श्रवस्त्रु 13 न सत्ताः च भृत्ताः भृत्ताः यत्र नारायणेऽपि यम् q. by मिता. on या I. 253.

\(^{1160}\) झर्तो वैषेषिताः आधानंसासिक तथा। सापिष्टकारण चन्द्र एव आधाः। झर्तो गोपोपवर्तमानी तथा। यम् q. by भा। शतरूपये यम् q. by भा। कृत्वा। q. p. 362. The same verse occurs in स्वरूपाः (संस्कृत 5.50–51), शर्मितके सात्री 16 (reads वैषेषिताः न कुरां वेदवादार्था), श्रवस्त्रु 13 (with variations), श्रवस्त्रु 47.272 (reads न सत्ताः वभृताः च अर्थाः)। The verse is quoted by the मिता. on या I. 254 (reading न प्राप्ताः न भूलबाः शुल्कवर्गोऽयं तत्र)। श्रवस्त्रु 13 न सत्ताः च भृत्ताः भृत्ताः यत्र नारायणेऽपि यम् q. by मिता. on या I. 253.
others say that after performing the 16 śrāddhas according to the procedure for Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddhas sapindana should be performed. The Madanapārjita (p. 615), the Nirnaya-śindhu (III. p. 599) and others say that in this conflict of views one should follow the usage of one’s country, Vedic Śākhā or family. There were two views about the śrāddha on the 11th day. It should be remembered that Yāj. III. 22 laid down impurity on death for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varṇas. One view espoused by Śāṅkha and Paitihnasī was that in spite of the days of impurity not being over śrāddha must be performed on the 11th day (and for the moment the performer becomes pure for that purpose). The other view was that of the Matsyapurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmaśūtra 21.1 that the first śrāddha (ekoddiṣṭa) was to be performed on the expiry of āśauca.

In the case of ascetics dying it is provided by Uṣanas that by the fact of their taking to the order of sannyāsa (of the ekadaṃśi kind in the Kaliyuga) they have not to undergo the condition of being ṣṛṣṭi, no Ekoddiṣṭa nor Sapindikaraṇa should be performed for them by their son or other relative but only pārvanaśrāddha on the 11th day and every year thereafter. Śatātapa provides that no Ekoddiṣṭa, no water, no pīṇḍa and no cremation rites should be offered to an ascetic nor mourning should be observed, but pārvapa-śrāddha should be performed. Pracetas quoted by Mit. on Yāj. I. 256 states that no ekoddiṣṭa is to be performed for an ascetic nor sapindikaraṇa, but only pārvapa on the day of death every year in Bhādrapada dark half. The Śivapurāṇa (Kailāsa-saṁhitā) chapters 22 and 23 deal with the rites to be performed on an ascetic’s death on the 11th and 12th days.

In the Navaśrāddhas no incense, no lamps are employed. All mantras having the words ‘pitr’ and ‘svadā namaḥ’ are used.

\[1162.\] आद्वनि चोदवाय विद्वीत वपिन्यम्।
लोभायति q. by लिंता on या.
I. 255, निजायस्यम् p. 599, भुदीषति on चतुर्विकरितसेवाय p. 168; ascribed to वायु-पुण्यम् by अवरते p. 532; सपिन्दीकरोणस्य कुर्मश्चार्दुि चोदस।
एकोद्विद्विन्यमेन
कुर्मोक्षस्माति लाभे \(\text{II. q. by अवरते p. 522.}\)

\[1163.\] एकोद्विद्विन्यमेन न कुर्मी वतीन्यां चैव सवद्ध।
अहृतकारहैति माते पवर्यं तु विभिन्नम्
सपिन्दीकरणं ततो च कर्तयं चुराहितस्य।
विद्विन्यमेन स्त्रेतो वेतन नेव नामेस्।
उद्वत्ता q. by

\[1164.\] एकोद्विद्विन्यमेन जन्तु पिष्टदायिने मेतस्ततिकारिणयाः।
न कुर्मश्चार्दुि चोदस।
कुर्मोक्षस्माति लाभेते।
शासास्त्र य. q. by मया.
प. 627, भा कि. की. p. 445, अपरांके p. 538 (reads पार्वप्तार्थ्यस्त्र चोदतविन्यमेन).
omitted and so is the word 'anu' omitted and there is no japa and no recital of mantras in the hearing of the brahmana. As stated in the Brahmapurāṇa, the śrāddhas performed in the house at the end of impurity on the 12th day, at the end of a month etc. are called ekoddiṣṭa. It follows that the rites called navāsrāddhas offered during the days of impurity are performed at the place of death or in the cemetery or at a place where water and piṇḍa are offered (and not in the house); vide Sm. C. (āśauca p. 176). In the navamītra śrāddha mantras are employed according to some. In former times and now also all the 16 śrāddhas are performed on the 11th day. Hardly any one waits for one year to perform Sapindikarana. In former times it was laid down (e.g. by the Mit.) that in times of difficulty, Sapindikarana should be performed even before a year elapses after performing the sixteen śrāddhas. But now this exception has become the rule.

Sapindikarana or Sapindana is the reception of a deceased person into the community of pitṛs to whom piṇḍas are offered. Several times were prescribed by ancient works for this. Acc. to the Kaushitaki gr. IV. 2 this śrāddha could be performed after the death of the deceased at the end of a year or at the end of three fortnights or on the happening of a lucky event (like the birth of a son or a marriage). The Bhāradvāja1165 gr. (III. 17) allowed it at the end of a year (after death) or in the 11th or 6th or 4th month or on the 12th day. The Baud. Pitṛmedhasūtra II. 12.1 mentions five times for sapindikarana viz. one year, 11th, 6th or 4th month or 12th day. The Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 6. 53–54) states the time of Sapindikarana to be one year, six months, three fortnights, the 12th day or on a lucky occasion. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 13. 26ff) makes similar provisions about sapindikarana (which is an ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha). Aparārka (p. 540) after a long discussion holds that there are three times for a performer who is an āhitāgni viz. 12th day, some day between the end of āśauca and the first amāvāsyā (after death) or the first amāvāsyā after āśauca ends and prescribes four times for one who has not kept sacred fires, viz. a year, six months, three fortnights or when a lucky event occurs. The Madanasārijāta quotes a verse of Vyāsa that the 12th day is

1165. संस्तरे सापिन्दीस्तपेमेकापि माति मं च वायण्यादं लोकोऽहि। भारद्वाजसुः इति। 17.1; अतं अन्यवास्तुपरमाणां दुःखं वैहिकः श्रामवः। अतिरिक्तस्यत्रिशर्म भ्रात्रसन्मयं महर्षस्ते। व्यास त्यो। भारद्वाजसुः इति। 350 (ascribes to स्यामम्)। इति शास्त्रम्। त्यो। 237 (ascribes to स्यामम्)। मदविनं संस्य्यम मं च सापिन्दीस्तम्। भारद्वाजसुः 301.
commended (for the sapindana śrāddha) because family usages are innumerable, because man’s life is short and because the body is evanescent. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (21.20) provides that for śūdras 12th day after death is the only day for Sapindikaraṇa (but without Vedic mantras). Gobhiṣa laid down that after Sapindikaraṇa was performed, there was to be no performance of śrāddhas every month, but Gautama (or Śaunaka, according to Aparārka p. 543) held the view that they may be performed according to the procedure of ekoddīṣṭa śrāddhas. Bhaṭṭojī says 1166 that when sapindikaraṇa is performed before the end of the year, then all the sixteen śrāddhas must be performed before Sapindikaraṇa, yet the monthly śrāddhas should again be performed at their proper times for one year. Yāj. I. 255 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 23 prescribe that even if Sapindikaraṇa is performed for a deceased person within less than a year from death still for one year food and a jar of water should be given to a brāhmaṇa for the whole year (for the benefit of the deceased). Uśanas provides that even if the heirs of a deceased person are divided in wealth, still the navairāddhas, the sixteen śrāddhas, and sapindikaraṇa must be performed by one alone 1167 (e. g. the eldest son), but Pracetas provides that when a year has (elapsed) śrāddha may be performed separately by each heir 1168.

The procedure of Sapindana or Sapindikaraṇa is described in numerous works such as the Sān. gr. V. 9, Kausttaki gr. IV. 2, Baud. Pitṛmedhasūtra III. 12.12, Śrāddha-sūtra of Katāyana (kaṇḍika 5), Yāj. I. 253–254, Viṣṇupūrāṇa III. 13.27 ff., Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 12–23, Padma (Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 10. 22–33), Mārkaṇḍeya-pūrāṇa 28. 12–18, Garuḍa-pūrāṇa I. 220, Viṣṇudharmottara II. 77, Śrītyarthaśāra pp. 57–58, Nīrṇayāsindhu (III. p. 614). It is briefly set out here. 1169 As said by Baud:

1166. यदा संवसरसूर्याः मासेव सपिंदिककरणं निर्धारणं तद्विषय गोदश्च आहारानि ततः मासेव खुतानि-आहारानि गोदशावस्या न कुष्ठसात्र सपिंदशनम्-इति व्यवस्थिताः, तथाय रसस्वाते पुरानि मसिचकार्यावतारानि। भवते।

1167. नवाद्वारां सपिंदलं आहारानि च गोदश्च। एवेनेक हि कार्यानि सन्तंत्रनि। प्रहेलदि पुर्वस्य उदास्यम्। या भवेद्वदम्। या या आयामभवेद्वदम्।

1168. तस्वाते व्यतितते तु कुदूः। आद्व समेत: देते 34. 128–129.

1169. तद्वादि या सपिंदवेद्वदम्। अनुसरणार्यहुक्तवात्।
Pitṛmedhasūtra III. 12,12, in this śrāddha there is invitation to the brāhmaṇas the previous day, there is agnaukarāṇa, there is the recital of Vedic texts when the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating, Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas are honoured, the Viśvedevas are Kāma and Kāla (vide n. 1018), there is the presentation of incense and lamp, there is svadhā and also namaskāra. Four vessels for arghya should be got ready and filled with sandalwood paste, water and sesamum grains, one being for the deceased (the preta) and three for his paternal ancestors; two daiva brāhmaṇas should be invited, one to represent the preta and three to represent the three paternal ancestors of the preta; if a man is unable to invite so many brāhmaṇas, he should invite three, one for Viśvedevas, one for the preta and one for the three paternal ancestors. He should request ‘I shall unite the vessel for the preta with the vessels for his three paternal ancestors.’ When permitted in the words ‘do unite’, he should cast the kuśas in the vessel for the preta into the vessels for his three paternal ancestors, should keep a little water mixed with kuśas in the vessel for the preta and distribute the rest of the water from the preta vessel into the three vessels for his ancestors with the two mantras

1169a `ye samāna` (Vāj. S. 19. 45-46). Arghya is offered to the brāhmaṇa representing the preta with the water that remains in the preta vessel, arghya is offered to the three pitṛya brāhmaṇas from the three pitṛya vessels. Four piṇḍas should be prepared, one for the preta and three for his ancestors and then the performer requests ‘I shall unite the pretapiṇḍa with the piṇḍas for the three ancestors of his’; when permitted in the words ‘do unite’, the performer divides the pretapiṇḍa into three parts and puts each third into each of the three piṇḍas with the same two mantras (Vāj. S. 19. 45-46). The Garuḍapurāṇa (I. 220.6) strikes a discordant note in that it states that the pretapiṇḍa is to be divided in two parts, each of which is to be placed inside the piṇḍas for pitāmaha and prapitāmaha only.

1169a. The two mantras are: ये समाना: समानसं पितरसे यमराजे। तेवा लोकं रथया यथो देवेऽकल्याताय। ये समाना: समासो जीवं जीवितं मास्त। तेवा अति यथा कल्यातामतिमिच्छोित्वं समा:। बाज. सं. 19. 45-46, काठकसंहिता 38. 23-24. भारद्वज-शूद्र III. 17 sets out the following formula for तिवरेदनः येस यमकाण्डः यमकाण्डः ब्रह्मसेवाः पितामहेऽेः पितामहेऽिय:। समानसं पितसं यमराजेः। यस्य नम हि समानसं पितामहेऽेः। ब्रह्मसेवाः।। In place of अति one has to use the vocative ‘अस्मितस्यकऽक्रमी यस्य नम हि समानसं पितामहेऽेः। ब्रह्मसेवाः।।' तिवरेदनः and पितामहेऽिय: are Vedic Instrumentals (plural).
Sapinda-karaṇa partakes of the character of both ekoddhiṣṭa and pārvana, the first applying to the preta and the 2nd to the three ancestors of the preta, so that in it two kinds of śrāddhas are combined. When the sapinda-karaṇa rite is completed by the giving of daksinā to the brāhmaṇas, then the preta ceases to be so and himself becomes a pitṛ. The status of being a preta involves the experiencing of great torments due to hunger and thirst and becoming a pitṛ means being brought in contact with the śrāddha devatās called Vasu, Rudra and Aditya.1170 The word preta has two meanings, (1) a person who is dead and (2) one who being dead has not the sapinda-karaṇa performed for him. The result of sapinda is that the1171 great-grandfather of the deceased whose sapinda is performed drops out from the list of pītrs entitled to pīṇḍa and becomes one called ‘lepabhāk’ (entitled to only wipings of the hand) and the former preta becomes one of the pītrs and entitled to participate in the pīṇḍas offered at a pārvapāśrāddha thereafter. As stated in the Garudapurāṇa I. 220, 2 the sapinda-karaṇa-śrāddha is to be performed like the pārvana in the afternoon.

It may be noted that in some works the mantras recited at the time of pouring the water from the preta vessel into the pīṅḍa vessels are different. For example, the Visnū Dh. S. 21. 14 says1172 the mantras are ‘Samśrijatu tvā prthivi’ (May the earth unite thee) and ‘samanī va ākūtiḥ’ (Rg. X. 1. 4), while the

1170. मेतलं च शुद्धिशोपज्ञानितयमयमतुःङ्गयावयस्य। रथाह मार्क्षेयं। मेतले विद्यां व वातिस्वासुतिः सह। शुद्धिशोपज्ञानितयमतुःङ्गयावयस्य ।

1171. सपिङ्गातिणां विद्याः विद्यामतः। सुतसामहताःः यत्समविद्यातीतः। सवितां श्रवणोपज्ञानितयमतुःङ्गयावयस्य। विद्याः श्रवणोपज्ञानितयमतुःङ्गयावयस्य।

1172. सपिङ्गातिणां विद्याः विद्यामतः। सवितां श्रवणोपज्ञानितयमतुःङ्गयावयस्य। विद्याः श्रवणोपज्ञानितयमतुःङ्गयावयस्य।

Vide also स्वतिच. on भास्कर (Mysore University ed.) p. 158 quoting प्रेमदेव and विद्याः.

The mantra is सुविशेषतः लक्षणिकी साक्षात्रिय्य ज्ञातयो। संतुष्टं पूजनम् विद्याः। सवितां। The काठकंडः 10. 38-39 are recited.
Grhya-pariśiṣṭa 1173 of Āsv. employs the three Madhumarti verses (Rg. I. 90.6–8) and the three fine verses at the end of the Ṛgveda beginning with 'saṅgacchadhvam' (Rg. X. 191. 2–4, ‘May you unite’ &c.).

Yāj. (I. 254) and Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 17–18) provide that Ekoddhiṣṭa and Sapinḍikaraṇa śrāddhas are performed for women also (but not pārvaṇa nor abhyadayika). About the Sapinḍikaraṇa of the mother there are somewhat conflicting dicta. If a woman dies sonless and her husband is alive, her sapinḍana is effected with her mother-in-law (Gobhilasmrī I. 102). If a woman dies leaving no son and the husband also is dead, then no sapinḍana can be performed for her. If she died either on the funeral pyre of her husband 1174 or afterwards (as a Sati) then her son should perform her sapinḍana with her husband (i.e., the son's father) and there is no separate sapinḍana for her. If she was married in the āśura form or she was made a putrikā, then the son should perform his mother’s sapinḍana with his maternal grandfather; while a son born of a woman married in the Brāhma and three other proper forms may perform her sapinḍana with her husband or the paternal grandmother or the maternal grandfather. In the case of these three alternatives if there is a certain family usage that should be followed; otherwise there is an option. If a woman has a step-son, the latter should perform her sapinḍana with his father, as Manu IX. 183 (= Vas. 17. 11) indicates. Vide the Mit. on Yāj. I. 253–254 and Sm. C. (on āsauca p. 169) for discussion of these points and for various alternatives.1175

The Nirnayasindhu (III. p. 388) says that there is no sapinḍana for one whose upanayana was not performed when

1173. सपिन्दिकरणम् सवत्वस्य ॥ तत्र दुधामध्ये तिर्थसमाधिः ॥ मन्त्रे वाताः हस्ति विवर्तमाने ॥

1174. सपिन्दिकरणम् सतायुक्त द्वारा ॥ तत्र विद्वानंदस्य क्षेत्रसम्बन्धितोऽपि ॥

1175. सूत्र अर्थार्थम् ॥ तिर्थसमाधिः ॥ मन्त्रे वातार्थार्थम् ॥

The Mit. (ibid.) says ‘सपिन्दिकरणम् सवत्वस्य ॥ तत्र द्वारा तिर्थसमाधिः ॥’ Therefore the Mit. says ‘सपिन्दिकरणम् सवत्वस्य ॥ तत्र द्वारा तिर्थसमाधिः ॥’
he died, but if he was more than five years old then the 16 šrāddhas are performed for him (though not sapindana) and pinda is offered on bare ground. It may be noted that no auspicious rite like marriage in which abhyudayika śrāddha is necessary can be performed until the sapindana of a deceased person of the family has been effected (except in the case of such absolutely necessary ceremonies as simantonnayana).

Manu (V. 89–90) prescribes that no water and other rites like sapindikarana are offered and performed for those who had left off their faith, who were born of condemned mixed marriages, who entered ascetic orders, who had committed suicide (by hanging, poison &c.), who had embraced heretical doctrines, for women that wilfully seek illicit connection with men, that did harm to their foetus or husband (were guilty of abortion and murder of husband) and that were addicted to drinking sura. Yaj. III. 6 contains similar provisions. It has to be noted that every kind of suicide is not condemned by the ancient smritis. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 939, 958–9 for cases where suicide was not condemned. Except in those cases Yama (q. by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 6) provides that in the case of the persons mentioned in Manu and Yaj. there is to be no aśauca observed, no water offered, no tears shed, no cremation and no last rites. The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 6) quotes Vṛddha Yajñavalkya and Chāgaleya that in the case of those who are guilty of condemned suicide the procedure of Nārayanañabali should be resorted to after a year and then śrāddha may be offered to them. Then the Mit. describes at length the procedure of Nārayanañabali. Vide note 838 b p. 370 above for the Skandapurāṇa, Nāgarakhandā 219. 19–21 on the view that śrāddha may be performed on the 14th of the dark half for persons who committed suicide or who met a violent death.

The Abhyudayika-śrāddha is to be now described. Āśv. gr. IV. 7 mentions in one place only four śrāddhas viz. Pārvana, Kāmya, Abhyudayika and Ekoddīta (note 966 above). Many of the sūtras such as Āśv. gr. II. 5. 13–15, Śaṅ. gr. IV. 4, Gobhila gr. IV. 3. 35–37, Kauśitaki gr. IV. 4, Baud. gr. III. 12. 2–5, the Śraddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kaṇḍikā 6) briefly describe this śrāddha. According to most of these sūtras this śrāddha is performed when there is a lucky event such as the birth of a son, or his caula, upanayana or marriage or there is the commencement of a charitable (pūrta) act (such as the dedication of a well or a tank or a park to the public). Āśv.
gr. and Gobhila gr. are very brief. They say that in this śrāddha performed on auspicious occasions or on the undertaking of meritorious acts an even number of brāhmaṇas is to be fed, that the rite is to be performed from left to right and that yavaś (barley) are to be used instead of sesamum grains. As this śrāddha is only a modification (vikṛti) of pārvāṇa (as said by Aparārka p. 514) all rules of the latter will be applicable to the former except where special directions are given. The Āsv. gr. parīśāta II. 19, Smṛtyarthaśāra (p. 56), Pitṛdayitā pp. 62–71 give a compact but tolerably full description of this śrāddha.

In this śrāddha which is to be performed in the morning (except on the birth of a son when it is to be done at once) the Viśve-devas are called Satya and Vasu, it is performed in the forenoon, the brāhmaṇas to be invited must be even in number, the darbhas are to be straight (and not doublefolded) and are not to be with their roots; the performer wears his sacred thread in the usual form (and not in the prācināvita form), all actions are to be done from left to right (pradaksinam and not prasavyam); the word svadhā is not to be used; yava grains are to be employed instead of sesamum grains; he invites them with the words ‘find time to attend Nāndīśrāddha’. The brāhmaṇas say ‘be it so’. He says ‘May you two come (to my house)’; they reply ‘we two shall come’. The performer faces the east or north (but never the south); the mantra about yavaś is ‘yavosi’ (vide note 966)1176 he requests ‘I shall invoke the pitṛs called Nāndimukha’.1177 When permitted by the brāhmaṇas in the words ‘do invoke’ he says ‘may the Nāndimukha pitṛs be pleased’; he offers arghya only once with the words ‘O Nāndimukha pitṛs! this is the arghya for you’. Sandalwood paste, incense, lamp are to be given twice; the homa is made on the hand of the brāhmaṇa, the two mantras being ‘to Agni, the bearer of kavya! svāhā’ and ‘to Soma accompanied by the pitṛs! svāhā.’ While the

1176. The रथ here repeated is ‘गयोसित...स्त्रा: दुः: (in place of सूचया) नान्दीसुद्धाः पितृव...ः स्वाहा नमः (instead of स्वाहा नाम)’.

1177. The सत्य will be somewhat as follows: अतिपितानिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानिनिपितानि
brāhmanas are eating the dinner, the Rāksogha mantras and mantras addressed to Indra and propitiatory mantras may be recited but not the mantras addressed to pitṛs (viz. Rg. X. 15. 1-13); when he sees that the brāhmanas are satiated, he recites the five verses (Rg. IX. 11. 1-5) beginning with 'upāsmai gāyata na-raḥ' (O men! sing for this soma) instead of the Madhumati verses (viz. Rg. I. 90. 6-8) and at the end he makes the brāhmanas hear the mantra 'the pitṛs have partaken (of the food), they have regaled themselves'. The performer should ask 'I shall request the nāndimukha pitṛs to utter benedictions' at the stage where (in Pārvaṇa) 'akṣayayodaka' is asked for, to which the brāhmanas respond with the words 'do request.' The performer employs the word 'sampannam' (was it perfect) in asking about the gratification of the brāhmanas, who reply with the word 'susampannam' (it was quite perfect). On the brāhmanas sipping water after their dinner, he cowdungs the places where the dinner was taken, strews darbha grass thereon with their tips turned towards the east and offers thereon two piṇḍas for (each of the ancestors) made with the food that remains after the brāhmanas have eaten mixed with curds, jujube fruit and pṛṣadāyya (mixture of curds and clarified butter). The piṇḍas are offered to the mātris, to the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors (viz. mother's father, mother's paternal grandfather and her paternal great-grandfather). Some do not offer piṇḍas in this śrāddha (as stated by Āsv. gr. pariśiṣṭa II. 19). The Pitrdayitā and Śrāddha-tattva (Jiv. p. 297) say that no mātrī śrāddha is to be performed in Abhyudayikaśrāddha by the followers of the Śāmaveda. It is possible that the śrāddha for the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother was inspired by the Anvāṣṭakya śrāddha, as the sūtras from Āsv. gr. quoted below will indicate.

The words Nāndīśrāddha and Vṛddhisrāddha are synonymous. When Yāj I. 250 says that the Nāndimukha pitṛs should be worshipped with piṇḍas when there is vṛddhi (a lucky or auspicious event), he indicates that Nāndīśrāddha and Vṛddhi-

---

1178. पुष्पासव is defined in अवन्त. य. IV. 1. 17 as 'वचनसव सपरिवेष्टितविवादवृत्तमाय'.

1178 a. अर्द्धगृहदत्तमर्गीः...विष्णुपितृवंशे कलनेन. हुला मधुसेन्द्रायं पितृवंशोऽपि वचनमावता विगत्वा हुन्न भाषागमिष्यायकर्मम्। अवन्त. य. II. 5. 1, 3-5.

1179. एवं मधुमतियान्तर्नुः तृतीयान्तर्नुः पिन्नम्। वजेत दाहिक्षणास्विवात्र विष्णुपितृवंशे: किञ्च। स. य. I. 250.
śrāddha mean the same thing. As noted by the Mit. on Yaj. I. 250 quoting Sātātapa this śrāddha is made of three parts, viz. mātr-śrāddha, pīṭrasrāddha and mātämahaśrāddha. On the other hand the Bhavisya-puruṣa I. 185. 15 states that there are two śrāddhas in this viz. Mātr-śrāddha and Nāndimukha-pīṭras-śrāddha. Abhyudayika-śrāddha and Vṛddhiśrāddha are treated as synonyms in some works such as the Padmapurāṇa, though it may be said that Abhyudayika śrāddha is wider in import than Vṛddhiśrāddha, since it is also applicable to śrāddha performed on the commencement of a pūrta act.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13. 2–7, Mārkaṇḍeya 28. 4–7, Padmapurāṇa (sṛṣṭi 9. 194–199), Bhavisyapurāṇa I. 185. 5–13, the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 142. 13–18 describe briefly the procedure of Nāndīśrāddha and also the occasions on which it is to be performed. The occasions specified are: on the marriages of sons and daughters, on entering a new house, on naming a child, at the time of Čudākarma, at Śimantonnayana, on the birth of a son, a householder should honour the group of pīṭras called Nāndimukha. The Mārkaṇḍeya-puruṣa 28. 6 notes that some desire that this śrāddha should not have Viśvadeva brāhmaṇas, but the Padmapurāṇa (sṛṣṭikhandha 9.195) says that in this Vṛddhiśrāddha the mothers are to be first honoured, then the fathers, then the mātāmahās and then the Viśve-devas. Hemārdi (sr. p. 107) quotes two verses from the Brahmapurāṇa to the effect that the father, paternal grandfather and paternal great-grandfather are called aṭrumukha pīṭras, while the three paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather are called Nāndimukha pīṭras. The Kālpātāru (on śrāddha p. 270) explains these verses as meaning no more than this that in case the three paternal ancestors of a man are living and there is a lucky event, then the devatās for Nāndīśrāddha in his case would be the three

1180. यथापि पितामहके सामान्यसहितः सामान्यसहितः तथापि भाज्यवर्य क्रमार्य स्वरूप्ततादानः न मन्त्रः। सामान्यसहितः। मातृ: भाज्यं हृः पूर्व स्थापित्विस्वं तदनन्वर्यः। ततो मातामात्स्वरः च हुज्जः भाज्यार्य स्वामः॥ मिताः ॥ यहा या ॥ I. 250, कल्पक (भा.) p. 271.

1181. तुम्मीभागपृष्ठः इहिनाभाय तुवथः। प्रति (शुब्हकल्प 9. 194).

1182. कन्यापदस्विश्रव्यं पश्चाति नववेदङ्गि। नामकर्मेऽपि बालान् चूजणामवार्तेऽत्तथा। सीमान्तर्ज्ञायेऽवाच युवाहितविद्वेधेऽति। नार्यस्मृयं दितुग्रं दृष्येत्यं यथो दृष्ट्यं। पितामहेऽगीर्जः: मृत्यो इत्यर्थम् समस्तः। तिम्मपुराण III. 13. 5–7, quoted by अपारक p. 515 (except the last half).

1183. पिता पितामहेऽगीर्जः तथाच मशिष्ठाः। त्रियो ब्राह्मण वृत्तेऽविरः संयमितिः। केतवः: पूर्व त्रियो ये तु ते तु नार्यस्मृयं द्रविः। ब्राह्मण q. by इत्यावेदः (भा. p. 107), कल्पक (भा.) p. 270, नव: पा. p. 633. नार्यव means सम्पूर्ण acc. to ब्राह्मण q. by कल्पक (भा.) p. 268.
paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather. The Bhavisya-purāṇa notes that according to family usage some did not offer piṇḍas in Vṛddhi-rāddha.\textsuperscript{1183a}

The word ‘mātaraḥ’ has two meanings. Gobhilaṃśṭi\textsuperscript{1184} prescribes that at the beginning of all rites the Mātrṣ together with Ganeśa have to be worshipped and it names fourteen mātrṣ such as Gaurī, Padmā, Śacī (I. 11–12).\textsuperscript{1185} In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (88.11–20 and 38) they are said to be seven viz. Brahmāṇi and others. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 217–218 for the Mātrṣ and their worship.\textsuperscript{1186} Aparārka (p. 517) quotes verses to the effect that in Vṛddhi-rāddha one must offer worship to the seven mātrṣ (Brahmāṇi and others), then to one’s mother, paternal grandmother, and paternal great-grandmother, then to the Nāndimukha pīṭras and then to the mātāmahaś together with their wives. The Śraddhāprakāśa (of Viramitrodaya) quotes Vṛddha–Vasiṣṭha to the effect that in the Mātrṣ-rāddha (as part of Vṛddhi-rāddha) if a sufficient number of brāhmanas be not available then for the groups of mātrṣ and of mātāmahaś four women (for each group) whose husbands are living and who have a son or sons should be invited to dinner\textsuperscript{1186a} and honoured.

The Pratisāmāṭsarika or Pratyāśdika śraddha has already been described above at great length. It is to be performed every year on the day of death (Gobhilaṃśṭi III, 66). It is

\textsuperscript{1183a} विष्णुपूजनम् कुर्वावा वा कुर्वाशिवश्रवण:। इश्वराये महात्मा कुलपरमं-नवेशत्व सुरया। भविष्यवाचप:। on this the पृथ्वीवेश जोलयान अस्मात्मिन्याः कारणज्ञानामां निधिः।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।官员的参考文献

\textsuperscript{1184} कर्मदीनं ह सर्वं गृहस्थ-समाजपरिवार।। पूजनीयं: पयतनेन गृहितवत: पूजान्ति तत:। गौतिकालिन्यै। I. 13, q. by कल्पना (अ. p. 272).

\textsuperscript{1185} ब्राह्मणत्वाधिकारं सतू गुहिश्रवणघापित:। इश्वरीयवत: पुजारिता हु संसारान्त:। हाणवन्तन्तं पितृरित्वं तदं मातामहानपि। मातामहानपि: केसपितुव्यस्त भोयव। ब्रह्मिनतम्। q. by अपवर्जन p. 517.

\textsuperscript{1186} The worship of the mother Goddess or of mother Goddesses is one of the oldest and most widespread forms of religion. The mother Goddess appears in the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Syria, in prehistoric Europe and west Africa. Rude female figures, which represent idols of the mother Goddesses, have been discovered in the earliest deposits of prehistoric cultures. Vide *Mother Goddesses* by Mr. S. K. Dikshit (Poona).

\textsuperscript{1186a} मातृभवणं मातामहानपि मातामहानपिन्यं पतिप्रतिनिष्ठस्याभ्यासस्तत:। वातावरियं इश्वरीयश्च। मातृभवणं हु संसारान्तत: पुजारितवत:। पतिप्रतिनिष्ठस्याभ्यासस्तत:। वातावरियं यथाविशेषः। उपाध्येयः:॥ अध्यक्षकाराः। p. 298.

H. D. 67
laid down that in the case of one’s parents this śārddha partakes of the character of pārvya. The Bhavisya-purāṇa and Skanda state that the Sāṅvatsarika śārddha is the most eminent among śārddhas and that if a son does not perform the yearly śārddha of his parents on the day of death he goes to the horrible Hell called Tamisra and then is born as a pig in a town. In connection with this, if the tithi or month of death or both are not known then Brhaspati, the Skandapurāṇa, Padma and Bhavisyapurāṇa lay down certain rules, viz. (1) if the tithi is known but the month is not known, then the śārddha should be performed on that tithi in the month of Mārgaśīra or Māgha; (2) if the month is known but the tithi is not known, then the śārddha should be performed on the amāvāsyā of the month; (3) if both the tithi and the month are not known, then one should take the tithi and the month when the deceased started from home; (4) if even the day and month of starting be not known, then the tithi and month in which a person hears of the death of a relative should be taken. It is to be noted that the month in pitrya rites is lunar and the words ‘dina, aha, vāsara’ in connection with pitrya rites mean ‘tithi’ (Aparārka p. 545). There is no pratyādika śārddha in an intercalary month (Skanda VII. 1. 206. 59).

A few words may now be said about some other śārddhas.

A well-known śārddha is the Mahālaya śārddha. Some of the Purāṇas deal with this. The Padmapurāṇa (Śrīti-khanda) says ‘In the fifth fortnight (pakṣa) beginning from the Full Moon day of Āṣādhā, one should perform a śārddha, whether the Sun is by that time in the zodiacal sign of Kanyā (Virgo) or not. The sixteen days when the Sun is in Kanyā are equal to the solemn sacrifices which are completed with the gift of the

1186 b. एकवा सुनायांम् मातापित्रोऽर्जै।

1187. सवैःभीमेऽविद्या अतो सांवत्तर श्रुतम्।

1188. सुताःश्रवया मासों न स्मारते कर्मन्।
best of dakṣiṇās. If it is not possible to perform the śrāddha in the dark half (when the Sun is in Kanyā), one may perform it when the Sun is in Tulā (Balance). When the Sun enters the sign of Scorpion (without a śrāddha being performed), the Fathers go away losing all hope and after pronouncing a terrible curse (on their descendants) they return to their abode.  

The fifth fortnight from the Full Moon day of Āśāḍha is the dark half of Bhādrapada. The dark half is the preserve of pītṛs. In Bhādrapada the Sun is in the middle of its apparent motion in dakṣiṇāyana. Therefore the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially chosen as the best period for śrāddha to the pītṛs i.e. for the Mahālaya. The śrāddha performed in Bhādrapada dark half is called Mahālaya-śrāddha, since that fortnight is the abode (ālaya) as it were of the maha (i.e. festival day) for pītṛs. The real idea is that the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially to be welcomed for a śrāddha when the Sun is in Kanyā during that fortnight and that even if the Sun is not in Kanyā the dark half of Bhādrapada is still a good time for a śrāddha to the pītṛs. The Skandapurāṇa also says 'In the fifth fortnight from the Full Moon of Āśāḍha, when the Sun occupies the sign of Kanyā, the pītṛs of him who offers a śrāddha on the tithi of the death (of one’s father) certainly derive gratification for one year thereafter.' The Kalpataru quotes the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa to the effect that if a man has not performed śrāddha in
Mahālaya (i.e. in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in the sign of Kanya) he should offer it on the 15th day (of the dark half of Āśvina) on which, it is well-known, lamps are lighted.\textsuperscript{1191} The Śrāddha-sāra (p. 113) and the Smṛtimuktāphala (on śrāddha p. 745) quote Vṛddha-manu to the effect that the latter half of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in Kanya is called Mahālaya and also Gajacchāya. Various views are held on the question of the exact day on which the Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, viz. it may be performed on any day from the first tilhi of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the amāvāsyā or from the fifth of the dark half to the amāvāsyā of Bhādrapada or from the 8th or 10th of the dark half to amāvāsyā or from the 5th of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the 5th of the next fortnight or on any day on which the Sun is in Kanya or on any day till the Sun enters Scorpion.\textsuperscript{1192} Prajāpati states that there are numerous śrāddhas described by the Purāṇas, all of them yield rewards but the Mahālaya (śrāddha) is the most eminent among them.\textsuperscript{1193}

The Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, as stated by the Markandaeyapurāṇa, in accordance with the procedure of Pārvanaśrāddha.\textsuperscript{1194} The Smṛtyarthaśāra states that if it is not possible to perform all śrāddhas (except sapindikaraṇa) according to the detailed procedure of Pārvanaśrāddha they should be performed by the procedure called ‘Saṅkalpaśrāddha’, which consists in performing the details laid down for Pārvana as far as possible except the details of āvāhana, arghya, homa and pīṇḍadāna.\textsuperscript{1195} The Madana-pārijata (pp. 609–610) also states that when a man has to perform a ‘saṅkalpa-śrāddha’ he need not go through the details of arghyadāna, vikāra and there is no āvāhana, no agnaikaraṇa and no pīṇḍadāna even, but he has simply to feed a brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇa.

\textsuperscript{1191} वें द्विपालितमा राजार, र्याता प्रवालही तुवे। तस्यां द्वारा रेवं रेवं ग्राम्र्राम त्रहु महालये॥ भविष्यपूर्ण कर्म र्यथा र्यथा अस्य कर्म प्रवालही० (स्मृतिसूत्र वृहत्ते ०: भविष्यकर्म र्यथा र्यथा अस्य कर्म प्रवालही० (स्मृतिसूत्र वृहत्ते०)

\textsuperscript{1192} रेवैं द्वारा रेवं प्रवालहैं। प्रवालहैं। प्रवालहैं। प्रवालहैं। प्रवालहैं। प्रवालहैं।

\textsuperscript{1193} भविष्यपूर्ण कर्म र्यथा र्यथा अस्य कर्म प्रवालही० (स्मृतिसूत्र वृहत्ते०)

\textsuperscript{1194} कर्मादृशे स्त्रियाको क्षमायिता दुः प्रशा च। पार्वति लिंगिनात् तया भवाद्वत द्विभवसे॥ मार्कंदेय प्रार्यथा (स्मृतिसूत्र वृहत्ते०)

\textsuperscript{1195} सप्तिश्रीकावयवपाल तर्काभासोदुहितापरं श्रेष्ठापीतापरमाणवसमवे श्रुतिसिद्धिवैवैतिक कार्यव श्रुतिसिद्धिवैवैतिक कार्यव।
In the Mahālayaśrāddha the Viśvedevas are Dhuri and Locana. This śrāddha is performed for the benefit not only of the paternal and maternal ancestors with their wives, but also for other relatives and persons that are dead (together with their wives, sons and husbands if these be dead) viz. one’s step-mother, one’s wife, son, daughter, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, brother, paternal aunt and maternal aunt, sister, paternal uncle’s son, son-in-law, sister’s son, father-in-law, mother-in-law, ācārya, upādhyāya, guru, friend, pupil and any other relative. Some perform only for the paternal ancestors with their wives and the maternal ancestors with their wives. The day on which the moon is in Bharani nakṣatra in the dark half of Bhādrapada is called Mahābharani and śrāddha performed on that day is said to be equal to Gayāśrāddha (Matsyapurāṇa q. by Śr. K. L. p. 99). The Mahālaya-śrāddha is to be performed on the 12th tithi of Bhādrapada dark half in the case of a sannyāsin and on no other tithi and his yearly śrāddha is to be performed by his son according to pārvaṇa method as in the case of householders. The dvādaśī is sacred to Viṣṇu and yatis always repeat the words ‘nāma Narṣyanāya’ and therefore the 12th is the special tithi for the mahālaya-śrāddha of yatis. The Mahālayaśrāddha is not to be performed in an intercalary month (malamāsa).

Two more śrāddhas that are performed even to this day may be mentioned here. One is called ‘Mātāmahaśrāddha’ or ‘Dauhitra-pratipad-śrāddha’. A daughter’s son whose parents are alive can alone perform a śrāddha for his maternal grand-father (together with the maternal grand-mother if she also be dead) on the first tithi of the bright half of Āśvina. A daughter’s son can perform it even if his maternal grand-father has a son or sons living. It may be performed with or without pindadāna (generally without it) and it may be performed even if the daughter’s son has not been invested with the sacred thread. The Śrāddhasāra notes that the mātāmaha-śrāddha is based only on the usage of śīṣtas (p. 24).

Another is the ‘Avidhavānamaviśrāddha’, which is performed for one’s mother or other women of the family who died while the husbands were alive. It is performed on the 9th of

1196. Vide নরসিন্ধু II. p. 79 for the সহৃদয় in mahādhyamā.
1197. নরসিন্ধু চ দৌহিত্রে অস্ত্রাঙ্কাগতিপিন্দে । কুমারস্মাতামাহে পিতরে পাঁক্ষ জীবন : ॥ প্রাণপ্রাপ্তিঃ p. verse 170.
the dark half of Bhādrapada. It ceases to be performed when the husband dies after the woman’s death. The Nirṛtasindhu notices several views about this and says that one should follow the usage of one’s country.1198. According to the Mārkandeyapūrāṇa in this śrāddha not only a brāhmaṇa but also a woman whose husband is alive is to be fed and presents of a girdle, a garland and bangles are to be made to her.

It will have been seen from the translation of Āśv. gr., Yāj. and the Padmapūrāṇa that daksinā, according to one’s ability, has to be given in each śrāddha towards the end of the rite. The Skandapurāṇa (VI. 218. 12-14) provides that whatever is wanting in mantras or the proper time or in procedure becomes perfect by daksinā. Śrāddha without daksinā is like rain on an arid place or like dancing in the dark or like singing before a deaf person, that he who desires the permanent gratification of himself and his Manes should not offer a śrāddha without daksinā. The Rāmāyaṇa shows how on the 12th day after the death of king Daśaratha gifts of jewels, of hundreds of cows, wealth, food in abundance and vehicles, of male and female slaves, of spacious houses were made to the brāhmaṇas.1199 The Āśramavāsīkaparvya (14. 3-4) recounts the valuable gifts to brāhmaṇas in honour of Bhipa, Drona, Duryodhana and other fallen warriors, adding that persons of all varṇas were treated to profuse food and drink. The Vāyu-pūrāṇa (chapter 80) propounds in great detail the rewards of various kinds of gifts made in śrāddhas. From considerations of space those descriptions are passed over here and only a brief eulogy of the gift of cooked food is given in the note below.1200 The Śāntiparvya (chap. 42. 7)

1198. अय्य नयुंगरौदा धृष्टि जोकह न कार्यमभाय: पद्मति च भार्जु नरस्यं ख्यातसृष्टिे भविष्यति लेवायुद्धात्मकाव्यमभायः

1199. तत्र दुश्यार्वहितमेव इत्यसीत दृष्टिभवः। दृष्टिभविद्धं संयते भार्जु त्वां भार्जु कार्यम्। भार्जु योजयो दृष्टि हर्षायस्य के पुनः दृष्टि हर्षायस्य। वालिकेः मनुष्याः भार्जु अथात शस्त्राद्वारः। दृष्टिभवितपि व यद्य च वेशार्थि हृदयभातिभवः।

1200. अय्यतु सर्वत्र सर्वेऽरस्य च। अय्यतु सर्वेऽरस्य च सर्वस्य। अय्यतु सर्वेऽरस्य च सर्वस्य। अय्यतु सर्वेऽरस्य च सर्वस्य। अय्यतु सर्वेऽरस्य च सर्वस्य। अय्यतु सर्वेऽरस्य च सर्वस्य। अय्यतु सर्वेऽरस्य च सर्वस्य। अय्यतु सर्वेऽरस्य च सर्वस्य। अय्यतु सर्वेऽरस्य च सर्वस्य।
states that while Yudhiṣṭhira performed the after-death ceremonies of the fallen heroes he erected sabhās, propās, water reservoirs and the like intending them for each separately. Devala states: 'when the brāhmaṇas have sipped water after dinner, dakṣinā is to be given' and Bhāspati prescribes 'Dakṣīṇā should be given to all the brāhmaṇas according to the learning of them by means of (gifts of) cows, land, gold, clothes. He should do this in such a way that they feel satisfied; one who is well-off should do this specially.'

The Aśvamedhika-parva (62. 2–5) states that Vasudeva offered śrāddha to his sister's son Abhimanyu and donated to sixty thousand brāhmaṇas, gold, cows, bed-steads, clothes and fed them. A special rule was provided by Brhaspati that the clothes, ornaments, bed-stead and the like, the horse and the like that were used by the father during his lifetime should be presented to the brāhmaṇa invited for śrāddha after honouring him with sandalwood paste and flowers. The Anuśasana-parva (chapt. 96) states the origin of the practice of giving an umbrella and sandals on the completion of a śrāddha.

Something must be said about the gift of the bed-stead (sāyañā) used by the deceased on the 11th or 12th day after death. The Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 34. 69–89), Padma (srṣṭikhaṇḍa 10, 12), the Mātsyapurāṇa highly eulogise the gift of sāyañā to a brāhmaṇa and his wife. The Mātsyapurāṇa states that on the 2nd day after the end of impurity on death the performer (of śrāddha) should donate a bed-stead possessing special characteristics; on it the golden image of the deceased should be placed and also fruits and clothes. After honouring a brāhmaṇa couple with many ornaments this should be done; then a bull should be let loose (for the benefit of the deceased) and the gift of a dark brown cow should also be made. The Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 34. 73–82) gives a more elaborate description which appears to be almost identical with the

---

1201. ब्रह्मसत्तरिधि: मद्यालोकिता तेनेष्वरं सवेणामालक्षम:। मद्यस्तिरण्यालोकाती- 
स्वादिष्टिः कर्तव्यं यथा। तत्र भविष्यति कर्तव्यं समयोऽविशेषं।। q. by गृहस्वरी: folio 112b: यथा- 
विद्यतम लोके जयार्थ विपिन यहैं। तत्रपूर्णेऽवेऽथ तद्वायप्रति चिन्तामयमेऽथ । माकर्षणः 32.91, 
वामपुराण 14. 106.

1201 a. यथाज्ञानास्यवैकृत्य: स्रव्यात्साधारणस्वाक्षरः। ग्रन्थादि: समग्रपर्य्य ब्राह्मोधि: 

1202. भुजकालात्रहिन्धिशेष: शास्त्राः ब्रह्मस्वर्धिताः गुरु:। काजन्यं पुरुषं तद्वर्गगृहि विद्यताम्बेदः। 
सम्यगम हिन्धौपालणं नानाभन्त्रपात्रे:। हृदसुतिः च कुपितं द्वेष्यं च कपिला 
verses of the Bhaviśya quoted by Hemādri. The Bhavisiṣya-
purāṇa quoted by Hemādri (and from Hemādri by the Nirñaya-
sindhu p. 596) states the mantra to be recited viz. 'just as the
bed-stead of Kṛṣṇa is never devoid of Laksī, the daughter of
the ocean, similarly my bed may not be empty in each birth
that I may have to undergo.' Agreement of the gift of a
śayā was looked down upon in former times and even now it
is only the poor brāhmaṇas (that are not generally learned)
that accept this gift. The Padmapurāṇa condemns the accept-
ance of the gift of śayā in no measured terms. It says 'when
a brāhmaṇa accepts the gift of a bed-stead, he should have to
undergo the ceremony of upanayana again. In the Veda as
well as in the Purāṇa (the gift of) a bed-stead is everywhere
condemned and all those who accept the gift go to hell.'

Certain other matters connected with śrāddhas may be
briefly touched upon. In very ancient times twelve kinds of
sons were recognized out of whom the kṣetraja,¹²⁰⁵ the putrikā-
putra and dattaka were most important. All these were the
sons of two fathers. The question mooted was: to whom were
they to offer pīṇās? The Madanapārijāta (pp. 607–608) quotes
a passage from the Harita-dharmasūtra¹²⁰⁶ and explains it.
Harita says: 'seed does not grow without a field. Since it is
seen that both are necessary the child born is the child of both.
Out of the two (fathers) the procreator is to be first invoked

¹²⁰³. नरसुद्रे प्यथ न कुश्यायं नुर्य कारावताय। तद्या नि भवस्यायं तथा
जयस्य जयस्यायं। तथा जयस्य जयस्यायं। तथा जयस्य जयस्यायं। नि सि. III.
p. 597. The Gītādīvāna (कोसेख 34.81) has the verse तद्या-निषय न रूप
t etc.

¹²⁰⁴. द्रिव्यां तु तत्त्वाणां पुनः संस्कारार्थियां। द्रव्यानुपेक्षा जहां जहां संस्कार भविष्यता। द्रव्यानुपेक्षा
जाप्ये सर्वं निरामाणः। प्रथम (द्रव्यानुपेक्षा 10. 17–18).

¹²⁰⁵. The kṣetraja son was procreated on the wife or widow of a sonless
man by a sagotra (a brother or other agnate) or even an agasotra accord-
ing to the rules of niyoga, the procreator being called bija and the hus-
band on whose wife or widow the son was begotten was called kṣetra.
The putrikāputra is of two kinds, (1) a sonless man gives his daughter in marriage
to another with the stipulation that the son born of the marriage will be
the son of the girl's father (Vas. 17. 17, Manu IX. 127); (2) A daughter
herself may be made a son (Vas. 17. 16). A dattaka is a son whom his
father or mother gives to another as a son confirming the gift with water
explanations about these and other secondary sons.

¹²⁰⁶. तद्या यथार्थ:। नाचोऽवै नाहि नास्ति। उपमुन्नायुः तु वानरसमन्तिति। भेष्जयत: वानरसमन्तिति।
विन: यथार्थ:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:।
विन: यथार्थ:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:।
विन: यथार्थ:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:।
विन: यथार्थ:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:।
विन: यथार्थ:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:।
विन: यथार्थ:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:।
विन: यथार्थ:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:।
विन: यथार्थ:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:।
विन: यथार्थ:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:। अपेक्षार्थि:।
(and then the kṣetrin). He (the son) may offer two pindas to each grade of the ancestors or he may offer a single pinda (to the father and) may repeat the names of both (fathers) as to that single pinda. The son (of the son of two fathers) may repeat two names as to the 2nd pinda (i.e. the pinda for paternal grand-father); the grand-son (of the son of two fathers) may do the same as to the third pinda (viz. the pinda for paternal great-grandfather).

Manu IV. 140 and Gobhila-smṛti II. 105 say about the putrikāputra that he presents the first pinda to his mother (as she was appointed as a son), the 2nd to her father and the third to his father’s father. This appears to be one order in which pindas are to be offered by the putrikāputra, while Manu IX. 132 sets out another method since it says that a putrikāputra inherits the entire wealth of his own father if he is sonless and he gives two pindas (i.e. performs two śrāddhas) for his own father and for his maternal grandfather. The Śāṅka, Śr. S. provides that if there be two fathers, the son should recite the names of both (bijin and kṣetrin) with reference to the same pinda. Even Yāj. says “The son procreated according to the rules of niyoga by a sonless man on the wife of another inherits the wealth of both and offers pinda to both.” The Mit, adds that if a person appointed to procreate a son on another’s wife has a son, then the son so begotten becomes the son of the kṣetraja and putrikāputra have become obsolete for several centuries the subject has only an academic interest now. But the dattaka is still in vogue and a few words must be said here about the persons to whom the dattaka offers pindas. The Kalpataru quotes from the Pravarādhyāya a passage on this point which is as

1207. मात्र: प्रमान: विषय: निर्येत: वृविभाषण:। व्रतीयं तु वितुसर्वप्राप्तियं तु विन:।
 naming appears to be wrong in explaining विन:। in मान IX. 140 as ‘तुस्तियं मात्र: विनतमत्र: विनत:।। मान IX. 132 is ‘दीर्घो नाम हिरण्यन विश्वमनुष्राण। स एव बुद्राह्दो हो पिण्डी विने मात्रमत्र: विन:।।’ Here बुद्राह्द means वृविभाषण।

1208. असातेहि ये च नामवाचणिति विष्णुः प्रायोगिताः नियोगयोगकरिता विष्णुः पिण्डयेत। शाप्तराज्ञीय। चु. IV. 3. 10–11 q. by कल्याण p. 241 (on अन्न)। The अन्न. श्री. I. 9. 7 says ‘पदि हिरिता राजस्वेतः करितृ स दृष्टपस्यते।।’

1209. अपि यहिं परस्ते नियोजनालाहिति दृष्ट:। उभयोपरिको विष्णुतिः विष्णुकात च वर्षत:।। च. II. 127; चया तु नियुक्त: इत्ययस्ते केवल क्षेत्रिण: इत्ययस्ते हृदये तदा तुद्रकः। क्षेत्रिण्य एव दुर्दो भारती: न भोजिन:।। स च न नियमस्मे नामितानिष्णवारी विष्णायो वेति। दृष्टा।

H. D. 68
follows: 1210. 'If these (i.e. those who are bijin) have no issue born of their own wives, (the sons begotten by niyoga or given in adoption) should inherit their wealth and offer pinda to them up to three ancestors; if both (the bijin and kṣetrin or the giver and taker in adoption) have no other son, then they (sons begotten or adopted) should offer pinda to both; in one and the same śrāddha they should repeat (the names of) the two ancestors respectively (of the acceptor and that of the begetter) after having separately intended the same pinda for both up to the third ancestor.' The Baudh. Dh. S. 1211 quotes a verse as follows 'The son of two fathers shall give the pinda (to his two fathers and pronounce) two names with each pinda; three pindas will thus serve for six persons (ancestors).'</p>

It would be seen from the passage quoted above from Hārita that some authorities allowed two separate pindas for each degree of ancestors when there were two in the same degree. Manu IX. 142 lays down 'the son given should not take the gotra and wealth of his natural father; the pinda follows the gotra and wealth; the svadhā (obsequies) of him who gives (his son in adoption) cease or fail (so far as that son is concerned).'</p>

This verse has been so interpreted by some decisions of the High Courts and of the Privy Council as to mean that the son adopted becomes totally severed from the family of his birth. This subject has been discussed at great length in H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 690–697 and it is established there that the severance of the son given in adoption is only partial, that the gotra of the natural family persists even after adoption into another family for purposes of marriage and āśauca and that the Nīrṇayasindhu, 1212 the Dharma-sindhu and the Dattaka-candrikā declare that the son given away in adoption into another family can perform the śrāddha of his natural father,

1210. अथ वद्वेषां स्त्राभासवनं न स्त्राभिशेषं हरेण: विष्णु चैत्यपितुर्वचन्ति दुर्योगः.

1211. अध्यायदोहरणम्। द्विपद्: विष्णुदातां स्त्रात् विष्णु विष्णो व नामनी। वर्णशी विपदा: वर्णां स्त्रुवः कुच्च हुस्तितिः। इति। भौ। भौ। II. 2. 22–23.

1212. इत्यक्तम्य जनकस्य दुज्ञयामावे दुज्ञयेः तस्तद्विं। मोदिकमिव अनिष्यकामं भजेयं द्विं। मोदिकमिव अनिष्यकामं भजेयं द्विं। मोदिकमिव अनिष्यकामं भजेयं द्विं। मोदिकमिव अनिष्यकामं भजेयं द्विं। मोदिकमिव अनिष्यकामं भजेयं द्विं। मोदिकमिव अनिष्यकामं भजेयं द्विं। मोदिकमिव अनिष्यकामं भजेयं द्विं। मोदिकमिव अनिष्यकामं भजेयं द्विं। मोदिकमिव अनिष्यकामं भजेयं द्विं। मोदिकमिव अनिष्यकामं भजेयं द्विं। मोदिकमिव अनिष्यकामं भजेयं द्विं।
if the latter has no son at the time of his death and can also take his wealth.

Vṛśastārga (the letting loose of a bull). This topic has been dealt with by several sūtra works such as the Śān, gr. III. 11, the Kausitaki gr. III. 11 (in Benaras S. S. and III. 6 in Madras University Series), Kāthaka gr. 59, 1 ff., Pāraskara gr. III. 9, Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra, chap. 86. 1–20. In numerous works some verses called gāthās sung by the priests are set out one of which expresses the yearning of the priests as follows: \(^{1213}\) 'one should desire to have many sons; since if even one (of the sons) goes to Gayā (and offers śrāddha after his father's death) or if he performs a solemn horse sacrifice or lets loose a dark-coloured bull (the man having such a son will secure final release).'

The description in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra being tolerably full is set out here; \(^{1214}\) "(This ceremony) takes place on the full moon day in Kārtika or Aśvina. In this rite he must first examine the bull. The bull must be the offspring of a milch cow having young ones living, he must have all auspicious

---

\(^{1213}\) एवं श्रवणं युज्ञ वृषोद्वाहि गद्यं जोस्येत्। वृषेत् वि. सेवकमेव निहीत पा विवर्ध-भक्तेऽन्नृद्भः। विभाषामहाश्वं 85. 67, श्रवणरत्नेऽवर्त् वर्ष 21, तिलुपायः 10, मल्लपुराण 22. 6, मल्लपुराण 220. 32–33, मल्लपुराण 83. 11–12, सर (कृतिकार 11. 68), मल्लपुराण (उपेक्षातः पद्म 19. 11), विभाषामहाश्वं I. 146. 58 and I. 144. 3. The meaning is 'ब्रह्मण एवं ददाति मयः प्रक्षेपैः यथाभद्भवति प्रीतिश्रद्धार्थैः,' as stated in मल्लपुराण, यानवर्ष, chap. 216. 114–117. The first half occurs in मल्लपुराण 84. 14 and the whole verse in मल्लपुराण 207. 40 (which says it is an ancient gāthā and reads the third पद्स as 'वृषोद्वाहि गद्यं जोस्येत्'). Compare कृतिकार II. 20. 30–31.

\(^{1214}\) अर्थात् वर्षे युज्ञ ब्राह्मणविवर्धः। तद्वतुभृतः हुममेव परिले। जीवितस्या: पद्सविश्वस्य: हुममेव। सर्वस्य: पद्सविश्वस्य:। विभाषामहाश्वं 86. 1–20. The whole verse occurs in a corrupt form in विभाषामहाश्वं I. 147. 12 and the verse एवं हृदयार्थेऽन्नृद्भः। विभाषामहाश्वं I. 147. 10.
marks (i.e., must not be deficient in any limb), must be dark-colored or red but having a white mouth, white tail, white feet and white horns, he must be one that can protect the herd (or that throws into the background by his height all the herd). Then after having kindled a blazing fire among the cows (in the cowpen) and having strewn kuśa grass around it let him boil with milk a dish sacred to Pūṣan and offer (two oblations) with the mantra ‘May Pūṣan follow our cows’ (Rg. VI. 54.5) and the mantra ‘here is pleasure’ (Vāj. S. 8.51); a blacksmith should then mark the bull, on one flank with a discus and on the other flank with a trident. Let him wash the bull after he is marked with four mantras beginning with ‘the golden-coloured’ (Tai. S. V. 6.1. 1-2) and with the (five) mantras beginning with ‘May the divine (waters) bring us happiness’ (Rg. X. 9. 4-8). Having washed and decked the bull he should bring him together with four young cows which also should have been washed and decked and mutter the Rudras (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11), the Puruṣasūktā (Rg. 10. 90. 1-16) and the Kūśmāṇḍis (Vāj. S. XX. 14-16, Tai. A. X. 3-5). Then let him recite in the right ear of the bull the mantra ‘father of calves’ and the following mantras ‘The holy dharma is a bull and is declared to have four feet; I choose him with devotion (as the object of worship); may he protect me on all sides. This young bull I give you as husband (O young cows!), roam

1215. A नीळक्षण is variously defined. The महाभ. 207.38 and विज्ञापिष्टक I. 146.56 define ‘ब्राह्मणि कीर्त्युं कुष्ठं यथा भेताति गोपेन’ (लाताराशस्त्र ल नीकरानित निकोविनिर्यो)’.

1216. The विज्ञापिष्टक I. 146.42–55 and महाभ. 207 the characteristics of auspicious and inauspicious bulls are given. The महाभ. क. 8. 214 quotes श्रीम. as ‘तोहितो यस्य प्रकरणो युस्म प्रपाण्डरि।’

1217. The आद्यविधेय of विज्ञापिष्टक (p. 75) sets out the whole verse as ‘विभाषन पतिरद्वारायणमुष्किं गतं वित्तिणायण।’ It is a corrupt reading of कै. सं. III. 3. 9. 2 (which reads पतिरद्वार गति च आमः च चाकार विभाषन)’.

1218. The holy dharma......four feet—This refers to the idea that Dharma, when in pristine glory in the ज्ञातपुष्क, has four feet, but in each succeeding युग one foot is lost; vide महाभ. I 81 (= संस्कृतम 232.37). Dr. Jolly is not right when he refers (in SBE vol. 7 p. 262) the words to नातिसं संस्कृतम 11 (SBE vol. 30 p. 7) where विभाषन is said to have four feet of which युग is one. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 259-262 for explanation.
about sportingly with him as your lover. May we not lack progeny, O king Soma, nor physical fitness and may we not succumb to our enemy'. He must drive away the bull together with the young cows in the north-eastern direction and give a pair of garments, gold and a vessel of bell metal to the hotṛ (officiating priest). The blacksmith should be given wages as desired by him and food seasoned with a good deal of clarified butter should be served to (three) brāhmaṇas (at least). That pool at which a bull let loose (in honour of a deceased person by his son or the like) drinks water serves (reaches) the manes, Wherever a bull (let loose) exulting in his strength scratches (or digs up) the earth, that earth becoming abundant food and water waits upon the manes." 1220 In the Anuśāsanaparva the pits are represented as saying that by letting loose a dark-coloured bull, by offering water mixed with sesame and by lighting lamps in the rains a man becomes free from the debt he owes to the pits (chap. 125. 73-74).

In the Garuḍapurāṇa it is stated that the deceased person for whom a bull is not let loose on the 11th day after death permanently remains a preta, even if hundreds of śrāddhas are offered for him. The same Purāṇa further provides that if a bull be not available on the 11th day, then the effigy of a bull made of darbhas and flour or clay should be symbolically let loose. 1221 In the Bhavisyapurāṇa the 12th day after death is prescribed for the letting loose of a bull (N. S. III. p. 505). The Nīrṇayasindhu says that the making of an effigy of a bull with clay, darbhas and flour is without authority. Even at present people let loose a bull but owing to the rise in the prices of bulls this is becoming less frequent. Several medieval digests such as the Pitṛdayitā (pp. 84, 94), Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara (pp. 69-77), Nīrṇayasindhu (III. pp. 595-596), Śuddhiprakāśa

1219. 'That pool' etc. The Varuṇapurāṇa (83. 45-48) contains verses of similar import, only two of which are quoted here 'पुष्करिणीका युगालं द्रवितश्रावणां परे जन्मित्वा द्रवर्तयम् मृत्युस्मति शवस्मिन्वैवामिति द्रवित ये। मधुकुरया सिद्धां जन्मसंवतां भवति ये॥' 45. 48.

1220. The यस्मिन्मूच्छितम् in विभुतपात्तर (I. 147. 1-19) closely follows the विभुतपात्तर.

1221. एकादशे तेषां परेऽपति वश्योऽविश्वेषत गो बुध। वेतर्व द्रवर्तर्व तर्पये भाज्जलश्री॥ …एवतेतहों मृत्यां यशद्रवर्तयम् मात्रभाष्य। यें। सन्तवसंवतां यें। तथापरं यथीयम् न मधुकुरयेण। II. 5. 40, 44-45. वृष्णक्षर्ति q. by भा. कृ. ल. p. 214 and सहारसाष्टमि q. by छ. म. p. 225 have a verse very similar to the first and the 2nd is ascribed to संवह by the भा. कृ. ल.
pp. 225-230, Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa present a far more elaborate description, but from considerations of space they are passed over here. It is provided in these and other digests that such a bull should not be seized by anyone nor made to draw a vehicle and the cow or cows let loose along with him should not be milked nor confined in a cow-pen. A bull is not let loose for a deceased woman, but a cow may be donated together with its calf without being branded and after being decked with sandal-wood paste.\[1221\]

What is the idea underlying the letting loose of a bull after the death of a person? If a conjecture may be hazarded, it appears to have been thought that if a bull were freed from toil (that is the lot of most bulls) and placed in the midst of pleasant surroundings, that act of the relatives of the deceased may in a vicarious manner conduce to the happiness of the departed spirit in the other world.

One remarkable matter about śrāddhas is yet to be mentioned. The Baud. grhyāṣṭhaśāstra III, 19, the Liṅgapurāṇa (II 45. 8-90, some of which are quoted by Śr. Pr. pp. 363-364), the Kalpataru (on śrāddha pp. 277-279), Hemādi (Śr. pp. 1704-1717), the Śrāddhaprakāśa (pp. 361-371) and a few other digests describe the procedure of Jivaśrāddha or Jiva-śrāddha, which a man was allowed to perform for the benefit of his own soul, while he was himself alive. Baudhāyana's being probably the most ancient extant description it is briefly set out here. "A man who desires his own highest happiness should fast on the 13th tithi of the dark half and bring together materials on the same day, which are required in the funeral rites of deceased persons, viz. six garments, a golden needle, a goad, a noose made of (cotton) threads, a ragged garment, a stalk of palāśa leaves, a chair of udumbara wood, jars and other materials also. On the next day he bathes; after standing in the midst of water he comes out and makes (the brāhmaṇas) pronounce 'this is an auspicious day, may there be happiness and prosperity (for you)'; he makes a gift of garments, a ring and daksinā and facing the south eats rice boiled in milk and mixed with ghee.

---

1221 A. चन्द्रदत्तमिक्रो लिखित एक वर्णन चर्चितम् करोति. Vide Descriptive Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by M. M. Haraprasad Shastri, vol. III (smṛti Mss.) pp. 405-406 No. 2310.
He kindles the fire according to the general procedure laid down for homa, spreads round it darbhás, cooks food on the fire and offers from the cooked food four oblations of food into the fire; the first is made after first reciting the Puronuvākya (invitatory prayer) 'catvāri śrīgā' ('Agni has four horns,' Rg. IV. 58. 3, Tai. A. X. 10. 2) and offers the oblation with the Yājya (offering prayer) 'tridhā hitam' (placed in three plates, Rg. IV. 58. 4). The Puronuvākya and Yājya of the 2nd oblation of rice are 'tatsavitur vareṇyam' (Rg. III. 62. 10, Tai. S. I. 5. 6. 4) and 'yoyajitī sūrāṇām'. Of the third oblation the Puronuvākya and Yajya are respectively 'ye cātvāraḥ' (Tai. S. V. 7. 2. 3) and 'Dve sṛuti' (Rg. X. 88. 15, Tai. Br. I. 4. 2. 3); the Puronuvākya and Yajya of the 4th oblation are respectively 'agne naya' (Rg. I. 189. 1, Tai. S. I. 114. 3) and 'yā tirāsc' (Br. Up. VI. 3. 1). 1222. Then he offers oblations of clarified butter with the Puruṣasūkta of 18 verses (Vaj. S. 31. 1-18, Tai. A. III. 12) and 1008, 108 or 28 oblations of clarified butter with the Gāyatrī verse. Then he goes to a spot where four roads meet, makes a gift of the needle, goad, ragged garment, the rope to a short-statured brāhmaṇa who has a dark skin and having made him repeat the words 'May the servants of Yama be gratified' he places the jars on grains of rice. Having wound round the jars that are full of water threads he prepares an effigy of a human being, three threads for the head, three for the mouth, 21 for the neck, 4 for the body, two on each arm, one for the male organ, five for each of the feet with the words 'May the revered Yama be pleased.' Then making ready the chair, washing it with pāṇīcagāṇya, he makes the effigy of a human being on black antelope skin with palaśa stalks, he establishes the prānas in the effigy made on the jar and placing his body on the body made with stalks he should sleep. When he rises,

1222. For the general procedure of homa, vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 207-211.

1222 a. The पुरोनुवद्वास (or simply अश्वद्वास) is so called because it is recited to make the deity favourable before the sacrifice is offered (हूँ: पुरो वद्वास अश्वद्वास उपस्तिष्ठजय या कस्तगाल इति एवं प्रतप्रति). Yājya is the offering prayer. It is preceded by यो ज्ञानेव and followed by vasāt (pronounced as वसात्). Both these are uttered by the hoś in a high tone. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 1058-1060. The yajya is recited while standing, but the Puronuvākya is recited sitting. The verse योजातानि शुद्धतां appears to be an adaptation of योजातानि शुद्धतां (Rg. I. 3. 11).

1223. The verse is: या तिरिक्तो निपदेते (से?) अदा विषादी ह्वति। तं ता दृढरथ शरणात ज्ञ ज्ञ शरणमय एवं शरणमय। H. U. VI. 3.1.
he should himself bathe his body with (the water in) the jars with verses of Puruṣasūkta and with pañcagavya and pure water and eat in the evening food mixed with sesame grains together with clarified butter. He should give dinner to brāhmaṇas for the gratification of the servants of Yama. On the 4th day he burns (the effigy) with mantras. He should offer water and pīṇḍa with the words ‘pīṇḍa to me of such and such a gotra for benefit in the next world; svadhā namah.’ With these words he should bring to a close the rite. He should observe impurity for ten days for himself, but his agnates have not to observe impurity for him. On the 11th day he performs ekoddiṣṭa. They also cite the following verse ‘one who is in distress, a woman and a śūdra having burnt one’s body (i.e. effigy) with mantras should perform all rites on that very day. This is the revelation.’ In the case of women the rite is performed silently or with (?) Vedic mantras. In this way he should perform his own śrāddha every month for a year and at the end of each year up to twelve years. And then he should stop. When he is not able to do all these (himself) his son and the like may perform them. They also recite the following verse; ‘Although heirs may be alive one may perform one’s śrāddha while alive, having quickly set about doing everything according to the rules, except Sapinḍana. One should not make delay as to the time specified above, since life is evanescent’.

It may be noted that the Baud. grhyaśeṣasūtra III. 22 contains a very brief procedure of the same rite, but therein two verses of Kaṇva and one of Viṣṇu are quoted. It appears that this is a later addition. The text of Baud. grhyaśeṣasūtra III. 19 is quoted by Śr. Pr. pp. 361–363. But the Śrāddha-prakāśa also quotes a long passage from the Liṅgapurāṇa and explains it (pp. 363–368). The procedure in the Liṅgapurāṇa, however, materially differs from that of Baudhāyana. It is passed over here from considerations of space. The Śrāddha-mayukha also gives an elaborate description. Some of its provisions are stated here. In Jivat-śrāddha the word preta should nowhere be used. An effigy of the person is made with fifty kuśas and is to be burnt by another with the mantra ‘kravyādam-agnim’ (Rg. X. 16. 9). The person has to kindle fire on the banks of a river with his face to the south with his grhya fire or ordinary fire and has to dig up a pit and make a prayer to the earth as in the case of an actual death.

In the Bombay University Library there is a Ms. of Jivat-śrāddha ascribed to Śaunaka in the Bhadkamkar Collection,
It contains a far more elaborate procedure than that of Baudhāyana and is in prose. It contains many of the provisions of Baudhāyana. Further details are passed over here.

The provision of a śrāddha for a living person offered by himself is a perversion of the ancient idea of śrāddha. The basic and fundamental conception of a śrāddha was to gratify the spirits of deceased ancestors. People had gone crazy with the idea of śrāddhas and invented this new mode to satisfy that craze. I have known persons that performed Jīvat-śrāddha, though they had sons, younger brothers and nephews who would have certainly performed śrāddhas for them on their death.

It is customary to make a gift of a cow with a calf to a brāhmaṇa, preferably a kapilā cow, on the 2nd day after the period of āśauca. Often times this is the only cow given, and the cow called Vaitarapi referred to above (p. 183, note 427) is rarely donated in the midst of the sorrow and turmoil immediately on the death of a dear and near relative. A declaration is first made that a gift of a cow will be made and then water is poured on the hand of a brāhmaṇa. Then holding kusas in his hand the donor makes a gift of the cow with a formula noted below 1224. The donee replies with the words ‘om svasti’ (Yes, may it be well!). Then dakṣinā (in gold or silver coins) is given and the brāhmaṇa says ‘om svasti’, holds the tail of the cow and repeats a Kāmasūkti (eulogy of Kāma) 1225 according to the recension of the Veda he has studied. The Anuśāsanaparva (57. 28–29) eulogises the gift of a kapilā cow with the calf, given with a milking pail of bell-metal, whose horn tips are decked with gold, by stating that such a gift not only saves the donor in the other world but also his sons, grandsons and family for seven generations. The Anuśāsanaparva (77.10 ff.) sets out a legend why the kapilā cow is the best of all cows.

The Purāṇas and digests devote a good deal of space to śrāddhas at tirthas and at Gayā. Vide Atri 55–58, Vayupurāṇa 83. 16–42, Hemādri (on Śr.) pp. 1568 ff. and 1575 ff. This subject will be briefly dealt with in the section on tirthas.

1224. आदि। अधशोचाने वितीयेहि अनुकुलेरव षिरसुपकमेः स्त्र्यमालिकाम्। इन्धो फळिलां गृहेस्तुझी शेवतुपुरोर वश्यवल्लान्ति कार्योपेयोरो भुक्तापूर्वप्रियव सतसा बादृश्यायामलक्षणं भामद्याय भुख्यमस्ति संपादोर्। आदृश्यिक of सवर p. 77.

1225. For कामसूति, vide p. 184, n. 430 above.
Much is said on the question whether śrāddhas should be performed in the intercalary month. The intercalary month is called by various names, viz. Malimluca (Kāthaka Samhitā 38. 14), Samsarpa or Amhasaspati (Vāj. S. 7.30 and 22.31), Malamasi, Adhimasa. An intercalary month is known even to the Rgveda (Rg. I. 25.8). The vendor of soma and the thirteenth month are condemned as pāpa (sinful) in the Altareya Brāhmaṇa. The Purāṇas tried to bolster up the intercalary month by calling it Purusottama-māsa (i.e. the month of Viṣṇu) but the original stigma attaching to the 13th month seems to have persisted. The general rule about an intercalary month is stated by the Grhyaparisiṣṭa: ‘the month called Malimluca is polluted and springs from sin; it is condemned for all acts; it should be discarded in all rites in honour of gods and pitṛs.’ But exceptions to this sweeping prohibition have been recognized. Hārīta provides that all śrāddhas that come after Śaṅkhaṇa are not to be performed in an intercalary month.Vyāsa laid down that such ceremonies as jātakarma, annapraśana, the navaśrāddhas, śrāddha on Maghā and the thirteenth tithi, the sixteen śrāddhas, bath, gifts, japa and śrāddha at the time of the eclipse of the sun or moon—these should be performed even in an intercalary month. The Śrīmitukāpāla concludes (p. 728) that there is no blemish in performing a śrāddha in an intercalary month provided it is to be performed before the end of one year from death. It is provided by Bhṛgu that the sāṁvatsarika śrāddha of those who die in an intercalary month

1226. मैलम्मुलचा नासास सोडवीयों मास इवरुष्य खागालेचा। काठकालस. 38. 10 (161–162); सससोपयातस्वप्न बेश्यादासों सोडवीयों मास इववाहासत्मक तत्र माणालेचा। वे. सं. VI. 5. 3.4.

1227. तें (सोमस) भविष्यातासाहित्यांक्षणसत्साहित्योपसुंदरोष्टरोश्यो मासों नासासीपित न हैं सोमस-विक्रमचर्चीपित राखण्यपदेः पाणि हि सोमविचारी। ऐ. भा. III. 1 (com. भविष्यातासाहित्यांक्षणातिपल्लवीयों भीम-कर्नातुस्ताले माणाले)

1228. मैलम्मुलचा मासों वे मैलम्मुलचा पासवाचव। होळेस: विट्टरेके: श्रव्यक्षेत्र तं तपेतर युगपरिषिद्द ग. भा. हृ. को. प. 38.

1229. साप्ताहिक राष्ट्रपूर्वेण विधिविधानज्ञायकं भवेदं। एवं वाध्यवधाय वाध्यवधाय वाध्यवधाय हरिवं गृहस्थतिर्थं पावणुमाय वाध्यवधाय हरिवं गृहस्थतिर्थं पावणुमाय हरिवं गृहस्थतिर्थं पावणुमाय हरिवं गृहस्थतिर्थं पावणुमाय हरिवं गृहस्थतिर्थं श्रवणेऽभवेत्। श्रवणेऽभवेत्। श्रवणेऽभवेत्। श्रवणेऽभवेत्। (भा. प. 374), भा. हृ. को. प. 323, भाज्या प. 252 आदि श्रवणेऽभवेत्।

1230. ज्योतिष्यसाहित्याचे नववार्षिक तवेच तो। मध्यकालिकत्रिकत्र भविष्याप्राप्त च तत्त्वसृष्ट्वें। ज्योतिषयाश्रेष्ठद्वारा ज्योतिषिक तवेच तो। ज्योतिषेय नववार्षिक तवेच तो। ज्योतिषेय नववार्षिक तवेच तो। ज्योतिषेय नववार्षिक तवेच तो। (भा. प. 283, श्रवणेऽभवेत्। (भा. प. 373 अभिज्ञातस्त्रघ्ने)।

1231. मध्यांत्यसंसचे तु भाज्या पर्षाठित्वपर्षाठित्वाय। मध्यांत्यसंसचे तवेच मध्यांत्यसंसचे तवेच मध्यांत्यसंसचे तवेच मध्यांत्यसंसचे तवेच मध्यांत्यसंसचे तवेच मध्यांत्यसंसचे तवेच मध्यांत्यसंसचे तवेच मध्यांत्यसंसचे तवेच। (भा. प. 375)। भा. हृ. को. III. 474 साही मध्यांत्यसंसचे तु वृद्धि स प्राप्तिक्षणः श्रवणेऽभवेत्। तत्त्वात्त्विकं तवेच कार्यसंस्रवणं छल एव।
may be performed in the intercalary month, but if there be none such then in the ordinary month of the same name. When the tithi for performing a śrāddha comes and there is then an intercalary month, Vṛddha-Vāsiṣṭha says that śrāddha should be performed in both months.\textsuperscript{1232}

Further discussion about what may be done in \textit{Malamāsa} and what is prohibited therein will be taken up in the section on \textit{Kāla}. The question as to the day on which a śrāddha is to be performed if the \textit{titthi} is spread over two days or if there is a \textit{kṣaya} of the \textit{titthi} will also be discussed in that section.

Some of the works on śrāddha such as the Pṛthvi-candrodaya deal with what is called 'saṅghāta-śrāddha.'\textsuperscript{1232a} When on the same day several persons die, but not at the same time, then the śrāddhas for them should be performed, as said by Rṣyaśṛṅga, in the order in which they died. But if five or six persons die at the same time on the same day (as when a vessel sinks in the sea or a market is burnt down all at once), then the order in which śrāddhas are to be performed is determined by the nearness of relationship to the performer of śrāddha in the case of each. For example, if a person’s wife, son, brother and paternal uncle meet death at the same time, then the order should be this that the śrāddha of the wife is performed first, then of the son, then of the brother and then of the uncle. If the parents die at the same time by accident, then the father’s cremation or other rites should be first performed and then of the mother.

Provision is made if the performance of a śrāddha is rendered impossible by some obstacle. Rṣyaśṛṅga provides\textsuperscript{1233}

\textsuperscript{1232.} आश्रीपाहते संपाते अधिमासो भर्स्याति। मासहेत्रपि कुरिति भाद्रमेत न मुक्तान् हथा। \textit{ibid} p. 375, \textit{मा.} p. 13.

\textsuperscript{1232a.} तत्त्वसिद्धांति क्रमेण सुलभं। मरणकालेन तत् इत्यादी भाद्रमेत नज्ञातः। \textit{ibid} folio 265 a; जानाति। पिच्छलर्यं सम्बंधाधिकृतं सम्बंधाधिकृतं।

\textsuperscript{1233.} देवे विनम्रां भाद्रे ह भूताचार्य ज्ञाते भवेद। भूचा तु विनिर्देशभाषकः तेषां भाद्रेपि एकोदिष्टे ह संपाते विचारं। मासेविनम्भनस्तिद्वितीयं तत्तत: भाद्रे कुष्टाधिकृतं। \textit{ibid} folio 266 a; जानाति। मासेद्विनम्भनस्तिद्वितीयं तत्तत: भाद्रे कुष्टाधिकृतं।
If impurity (on death) intervenes when a śrāddha is to be offered to the pītra, śrāddha should be offered at the end of the period of impurity. If an obstacle arises at the time when an ekoddīṣṭa is to be performed, the śrāddha should be performed in another month on the same tithi. This last refers to a monthly śrāddha. If any of the sixteen śrāddhas fails owing to an obstacle it should be performed on the amāvāsyā or better still on the 11th day of the dark half. If there is an obstacle owing to impurity on death in the performance of a monthly śrāddha or yearly śrāddha it should be performed at the end of the impurity or on amāvāsyā. The Padmapurāṇa (Pātalakhapadā 101. 68-70) provides similar rules. If the obstacle is the performer's illness or his inability to collect materials or his wife being in her monthly illness, he may offer āmasārāddha described above.

It may be noted that while great emphasis was laid on inviting a very learned brāhmaṇa at a śrāddha, that object was often frustrated in practice by the provisions made in certain smṛti that one should not partake of śrāddha food for three years after sāpiṇḍana (which is often one year after death) and that by dining at a śrāddha in the first year one eats the bones and marrow of the deceased, in the second year his flesh, in the third year his blood and śrāddha in the 4th year is (somewhat) pure. Vide Par. M. vol. II part 1 p. 423, where smṛti passages prescribing prāyaścittas for partaking of food at various śrāddhas including sūmavatsarika are set out. Harita says: one partaking of food at Navaśrāddha should undergo Cāndrāyana, the Prājāpatya for dining at a monthly śrāddha and fast for one day for dining at a pratyādrīka śrāddha. This is on the same lines as acceptance of gifts. A donor collected merit by making gifts, but it was for the acceptor to decide whether he should accept gifts. The ideal"
placed before brāhmaṇas was that one, though entitled to accept gifts on account of his Vedic learning and tapas, should not accept gifts, if he desires to secure the highest world (Yāj., I. 213), while Manu IV. 186 affirms that though entitled to accept gifts a brāhmaṇa should not again and again resort to that method, since the spiritual power that he acquires by Vedic study is lost by accepting gifts. Manu IV. 85–86 (= Padma V. 19. 236–237) say that acceptance of a gift from the king is terrible (in its consequences) and Padma warns that gift appears sweet like honey but is like poison (i.e. deadly in its effects). This reasoning applied with greater force to officiating and dining at a śrāddha, where not only gifts are to be received, but also sumptuous food that will please the palate is served in abundance.

It has been seen above how the most ancient literary monument, viz. the Rgveda, shows that the funeral rites performed immediately after death were prompted by affectionate concern for the departed spirit mingled with some element of fear, that the object of those rites was to provide sustenance to the departed spirit and to endow it with an intermediate body before it became one of the pitrā. It has also been found that in the most ancient times of which we have literary evidence, there were rites for the worship of ancestors, being the Piṇḍapitṛyajña performed every month on amāvāsyā, the Mahāpitṛyajña performed in the Śakamedha and the Aṣṭaka śrāddhas. Gradually the rites for deceased ancestors became more and more frequent, all-inclusive and elaborate, so that ultimately an exaggerated importance came to be attached to the cult of śrāddhas over which there was an enormous expenditure of time, effort and wealth. The question now arises what Indians of the 20th century should do about śrāddhas. One finds that in these days when many brāhmaṇas even do not engage in any of the five daily obligatory yajñas (the paṇca-yajñas), they are solicitous to offer śrāddha at least once a year to their ancestors. The following may be therefore suggested as a via media for all kinds of people. Those who have faith in the duty of performing śrāddhas and their efficacy for the benefit of

1236. निविताति समवयोधि बसन्तेऽत्र बजेति। महापित्र यज्ञं वर्त्तति। महापित्र यज्ञम् हि नाभवः। पित्रस्वायत्ताः विवोधस्तृतम्। तद्यापनेऽयायते। कस्यते न हर्ष्येऽस्मार्यतेऽभवन्। यहस्यन्यस्मादि... तेन तुप्रभुसती राजा धीरस्त्रयं निविताति। पित्र V. 19. 235.
the dead may perform them on a small scale, bearing in mind the emphatic admonition of Manu (III. 125–126), the Kurmapurāṇa II. 22, 27, Padmapurāṇa V. 9. 98 that one should desist from extravagance in the matter of śrāddhas, particularly in the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited. Those whose faith is shaken or shattered by the onrush of modern ideas and English education or firm belief in the doctrines of kūrma and punarjanma should also remember one thing. The main underlying conception of śrāddha is certainly admirable, viz. a tender and affectionate regard for one's near and dear relatives. It is a good practice to set apart at least one day in a year for the remembrance of one's near and dear relatives that are no more, to invite relatives, friends, and learned people to a dinner in memory of the dead and to bestow monetary gifts on poor but learned persons of character and devoted to the practice of plain living and high thinking. This will be in keeping with our past traditions and will also give a new orientation to and infuse new life into practices and usages that have become lifeless and meaningless to many people. From very ancient times one of the fundamental conceptions of our faith has been the idea of three debts owed to sages, gods and pītrs. The debt owed to the ancestors is paid off by the procreation of a son who would offer pindas to his (and therefore also to his father's) ancestors. This is a grand conception. Nothing can be more sublime than the formula which one has to repeat at the time of offering pindas and water (with sesamum) at Gayā 'may those of my ancestors that are in the form of pretas be all satiated by means of the (balls made) of barley flour mixed with sesamum and may everything, whether moving or immovable from Brahmā up to blades of grass derive satisfaction from the water offered by me.' If the implication of this formula be thoroughly understood and

1237. दी प्रेम पिन्दनेन चैनेक्षेपभवन्त यो। भोजे दश्रश्रोपनं न कुपिष्टसं हृदः॥
पद्म 97. 98. जापानो ह व ब्रह्मणार्थपूजयते जापो ब्रह्मणयां अनुष्ठानं यथा यथाभासः
मजय गिर्तथत एव न अनुष्ठानो व: पुष्यं यात्र ब्रह्मणार्थसं॥ नै. सं. ६। २। १०। ५। अवस्थान—
सन्यासयुक्तां च संस्कृतम् शिलालिंगां च गण्यति। शिलालिंगां जातृस्य गुरुमये ज्ञेयेतो नुक्षय। नै. भा. ३३। ४।
This subject has been dealt with already in H. of Dh. vol III. pp. 414–416 and may be further dilated upon under Gayāśārdhā. वे कृतिवदेशावै यथाभासः
पितरी मय। ते सत्त्र ह्यस्मानं सत्त्रभविष्यति। आकारस्य भविष्यते यथाभासः च सत्त्रम्॥
मयं देवते तीर्थं द्वितियमुयन्त च संस्कृतम्॥ बालुकन 110. 63–64. Compare also a similar invocation in वाचु 110. 21–22 and the Mettasutta in the Suttanipāta.
implemented by actual practice, it will make the whole world kin. Therefore, while discarding the heavy accretions accumulated through ages, we Hindus of these days must see to it that we do not throw overboard the gold that lies buried under the crust of ritual and ill-understood ceremonies.*

---

* In passing I may mention that my friend Mr. N. G. Chapekar, B. A., LL. B., retired First Class Subordinate Judge residing at Badlapur in the Thana District, has been celebrating the yearly śrāddha of his mother in the manner indicated above for about twenty-five years.
SECTION IV

CHAPTER XI

TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ (pilgrimages to holy places)

All religions have laid great emphasis on the sacredness of certain localities and have either enjoined or recommended with great insistence pilgrimages to them. Among the five incumbent practical religious duties\(^{1237}\) of a Moslem, pilgrimage at least once in his life to Mecca and Medina, the birth place and burial place of the prophet Mohammad, is one. The four places of pilgrimage for Buddhists have been the place of the birth of Buddha (Lumbini or Russomidei), the place where he attained perfect enlightenment (Bodh Gayā), the place where he set in motion the wheel of dharma by delivering his first sermon (at Sārnāth near Benares) and the place where he passed away into the state of nirvāṇa (Kusīnārā). Vide Mahāparinibbānasutta (S. B. E. vol. XI p. 90). For Christians Jerusalem has been the holiest place and no religious community except the Christians undertook in historic times several great military pilgrimages. The crusades were launched to free the Holy Land of Christians from the domination of Moslems. In spite of what Gibbon says \(^{1238}\) somewhat cynically about those who joined the crusades, it must be admitted that there were thousands among the crusaders who risked their lives and fortunes in the pursuit of an ideal. In India holy places have played a very important part. Large rivers, mountains and forests have always been venerated as sacred\(^{1239}\).

---

1237. Vide S. B. E. vol. VI, Introduction LXXI, for the five duties. The pilgrimage is called Hāj and the Moslem who performs it is entitled to be called Hāji.

1238. Gibbon remarks 'At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide arose by thousands to redeem their souls by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their christian brethren and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination' Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. VII (ed. of 1862) p. 188.

1239. Tagore in his 'Sādhana' (p. 9) remarks 'India chose her places of pilgrimage wherever there was in nature some special grandeur or

(Continued on the next page)
Advantages of pilgrimages

and as the abodes of gods. In ancient and medieval India pilgrimages brought many advantages to the community as well as to the pilgrims themselves. Though India was divided into many kingdoms and the people of India followed several cults and sub-cults, pilgrimages tended to foster the idea of the essential and fundamental unity of Indian culture and of India also. Benares and Râmeśvara were held sacred by all Hindus, whether they hailed from the north of India or from the peninsula. Though the Hindu community was broken up into numerous castes and suffered from caste exclusiveness, pilgrimages tended to level up all men by bringing them together to the same holy rivers or shrines. The traditions associated with holy places, the discipline through which the pilgrims passed, association with holy and philosophic men and the whole atmosphere and environment at tirthas made it easy for pilgrims to remain at a high spiritual level and inculcated in them a mood of reverence that lasted even long after they returned from the pilgrimage. Pilgrimages supplied the much needed stimulus to draw ordinary men away from selfish pursuits and to make them think of the higher and more enduring moral and spiritual values. These obvious benefits and the belief that a holy place was the abode of some divinity led ancient dharmaśāstra writers to lay emphasis on visits to tirthas. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. provides 1240 that the dharma common to all men comprises the following: forbearance, truthfulness, restraint of the mind, cleanliness, charity, control of the senses, ahiṃsā, obedience to elders, visiting holy places, compassion, straightforwardness,

(Continued from the last page)

beauty so that her mind could come out of its world of narrow necessities and realize its place in the Infinite. This was the reason why in India a whole people who once were meat-eaters gave up taking animal food to cultivate the sentiment of universal sympathy for life, an event unique in the history of mankind.’ There is a fundamental difference in the outlook of modern Westerners and that of ancient and medieval Indians (which persists to a large extent even now). If there is a beauty spot anywhere most men in the West would think of building a hotel there for tourists, while ancient and medieval Indians would have thought of erecting a shrine there.

1240. वर्ता सरल वनम् श्रीरं दानानिर्मित्यसांस्करम्। ाहिसा श्रव्यादुक्तार तीर्थाक्षरं बुध। अर्जुणेव लोकानिर्मितिः देवानिर्मित्यपूजनयाः। अनम्यखुर्य स तथा धमेव सामान्य उच्चाये। विष्णुप्रमोदम् II 16-17. Vide विष्णुप्रमोदम् II. 80. I-3 for a list of सामान्यस्मार्कs such as ाहिसा, तत्त्वज्ञान, तीर्थाक्षर and H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 11 notes 28-30 for quotations about सामान्यस्मार्कs from शान्तिपर्व, वामनपुरण, ब्रह्मदुर्गाण्ड and other sources.

H. D. 70
freedom from avarice, honouring gods and brāhmaṇas and freedom from jealousy. Modern men whose faith in some of the aspects of the religious beliefs of our forefathers has been weakened or altogether sapped by the sight of the professional ministrants at the tirthas and their rapacity and ignorance should not judge the ancient attitude towards tirthas harshly.

The word tirtha occurs frequently in the Rgveda and other Vedic samhitās. In several passages of the Rgveda tirtha appears to mean a road or a way (e.g. in Rg. I. 169. 6 ‘tirthe nāryaḥ paunṣayāni tasthuḥ’, Rg. I. 173. 11 ‘tirthe nācchā tārṣaṇam-oko’, Rg. IV. 29. 3 ‘karan-na Indraḥ sutirthābhayam ca.’ In some places tirtha may be taken to mean a ford in a river, as in Rg. VIII. 47. 11 ‘sutirtham-arvato yathāmu no nesātha sugam &c.’, Rg. I. 46. 8 ‘aritram vām divas-prthu tirthe sindhunām rathāḥ’. In Rg. X. 31. 3 ‘tirthe na damam-upa yantyūmāḥ’, tirtha probably means ‘a holy place’. On Rg. VIII. 19. 37 ‘Suvāstvā adhi tugvani’ the Nirukta IV. 15 explains that Suvāstu is a river and tugvani means ‘tirtha’ (either a ford or a holy spot). In the Tai. S. VI. 1. 1. 1–2 1241 it is said that the sacrificer is to bathe at a tirtha (probably a holy river). The Rudras are said to prowl about tirthas (ye tirthāni pracaranto srkāvanto niṣāṅginaḥ) in Tai. S. IV. 5.11.1–2 and Vaj. S. 16. 61 (reads ‘srkāhasta’). In the Śankhāyana Br. 1242 it is said that Day and Night are the sea that absorbs everything and the twilights are the unfathomable tirthas (of the sea). Tirtha also means the way between the ‘utkara’ and ‘cātvāla’ pit for going to or coming from the sacrificial ground (the vihāra).1242a Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 984.

It is said that, just as some parts of the human body (e.g. the right hand or ear) are held to be purer (than others), so some localities on the earth are held to be very holy. Tirthas are held to be holy (on three grounds, viz.) on account of some wonderful natural characteristic of the locality or on account of the peculiar strikingness (or grandeur) of some watery place or on account of the fact that some (holy) sages resorted to

1241. अप्यु स्नाति साक्षादेव द्रीव्यात्मकी अवदन्ते तीर्थे स्नाति। तै. सं. VI. 1.1.1–2 Vide जैनमिल्लि III. 4. 14–16 for a discussion on the purpose of this passage.

1242. सहुऽ्रा च एव सबैहि चतुर्वधाराः तस्माद हेतु अप्युऽर्थे यस्यन्ते तथ अनादाय्या तीय्यार्या समस्मासमस्तार्थकत्वतः। तत॥। तै. सं. II. 9.

1242a. तेन अतरेयः चतुर्वधाकामात्त्वमेव उपनिष्टकामात्त्वमेव यज्ञय सुविधामात्त्वमेव नाम। तै. सं. 18. 9.
them (for bathing, austerities &c.). Tirtha, therefore, means a locality or spot or expanse of water which gives rise to the accumulation of righteousness (merit) owing to its own peculiar nature without any adventitious circumstance (such as the presence of Śālagramā near it).  

Or it is better to say that those localities that have been technically spoken of by wise and great sages as tirthas are tirthas, just as Pāṇini employs such technical terms as Nādi and Vṛddhi in his grammar. The Skandapurāṇa says that a spot of the earth resorted to by ancient good men for the collection of merit is called tirtha and that the main thing is to go to (i.e. associate with holy) men and pilgrimage is only a secondary object.

In the Rgveda waters, rivers in general and certain named rivers are referred to with great reverence as holy and are deified. In Rg. VII. 49 the refrain of all four verses is 'may the divine waters protect me' (tā āpo devir-īha māmavantu). In Rg. VII. 49, 1 waters are spoken of as purifying (punānāḥ). Rg. VII. 47, X. 9, X. 30 are hymns addressed to waters as divinities. They are said to purify a man not only physically but are also invoked to rid a man of all sins and lapses from the right path. The Tai. S. II. 6. 8. 3 asserts that all deities are centred in waters (āpo vai sarvā devatāḥ). In the Atharvaveda (I. 33.1) waters are described as holy and purifying and are invoked to confer happiness. About twenty rivers in all

1243. यथा श्लोकः यथोदेशः केवलिकैगतमः स्वतः । तथा पुष्यत्वा उत्तेषः केवलिकैगतमः स्वतः ॥ प्रायश्चित्तनिविदानि च न तीनां पुष्यत रस्ता ॥ पद्मारण (उद्त्तिक्ष) २३७. २५-२७, सरस्व, काशीश्वर ६. ४३-४४, नारदियफुराण II. ६२. ४६-४७। These verses are quoted by कल्पत्र on तीर्थ pp. 7-8 (ascribes them to महाभारत) and by सीताम, p. 10. Similar verses occur in अम्बाकणिपुराण १०८. १६-१८ 'यथा श्लोकः यथोदेशः पुष्यत्वा परिपूर्णाता । तथा पुष्यत्वा भाग्यावधिपुष्यानि स्वितानि च । ...परिवाहावात्सापूर्णम् युष्मिष्ठप्रथम, तेजसः। अतैतेव युष्मभावायते साहित्यं च तेजसः॥

1244. मुख्या पुष्यायाम हि तीर्थायात्तपरःः ॥ साहित्य: समाविष्टो चूस्यै भूमिभागस्थलये-पथये स्कृता II. २. १३. १०; यद्य पुष्यातः साहित्यं सेविते पर्वतसिध्ये। तदः पुष्यतम् लोके सन्तस्य देवस्य तेजस्य। स्कन्दुपुराण q. युष्मिखोचं folio १३५ b.

1245. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 12 for the rivers mentioned in the Rg.

1246. इद्भाव्यम् वचनं संज्ञातः च दुर्दितं माथि। यद्यामन्निद्राकोदः यद्य शेषं उत्तः अः ॥ अः अः अः अः अः संज्ञातं न आपः: सं योधा भवन्तः ॥ अस्त्यं I. 33. 1.
are invoked in Rg. V. 53. 9, X. 64. 9, and X. 75. 5–6. In Rg. X. 104. 8 Indra is said to have secured for gods and men ninety-nine flowing rivers. Vide also Rg. I. 32. 14 for 99 rivers. Rg. X. 64. 8 speaks of rivers that are thrice seven and the next verse mentions the three great rivers, viz. Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu, as divine and as mothers. Saiyapa remarks that these three are the principal rivers of three groups of seven rivers each. Seven Sindhus are mentioned in many verses of the Rgveda (e. g. I. 32. 12, I. 34. 8, I. 35. 8, II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, X. 43. 3) and the Atharvaveda (VI. 2. 1 "apām napāt sindhavaḥ sapta pātana"). The river Sarasvatī has three hymns devoted to it as a deity in the Rg. (viz. VI. 61, VII. 95 and 96) and it is addressed in many detached verses also. Rg. VII. 95. 2 says that the pure Sarasvatī, flowing from the mountains up to the sea, alone among rivers, knew the prayer of Nāhuṣa and granted it. A king and smaller people are said to dwell on the banks of the Sarasvatī (Rg. VIII. 21. 18). The impetuous and roaring

1248. कृष्णे मे गङ्गे पहुँच सरस्वति श्रुतांि सोमे सच्चा पश्यता। असिक्षया मद्यवये वितवनाकं विकिरित श्रुतांि शुभं। दुष्चारया यथम् गङ्गे महात्सः दुर्लभं रसया श्रेष्ठे त्वा। वें विवृत्ते श्रुतांि गीतां गौतमंके कृष्णे मद्यवये सरस्वते अन्यायांसे। सरस्वते ॥ X. 75. 5–6.

1249. Vide Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XV. pp. 1–63, where an attempt is made to show that Sarasvatī was really the Indus. But this is far from acceptable. Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu are mentioned in Rg. X. 64. 9 as the chief rivers of three groups. Prof. Ksetreschandra Chattopadhyaya refers to the conflict of views among scholars, admits (on p. 22) that, in the 10th Maṇḍala of the Rgveda, Sarasvatī cannot be identified with the Indus, that in Rg. III. 23. 4 Sarasvatī cannot be held to be the Indus and asserts that in Maṇḍalas VI and VII of the Rg. Sarasvatī is really the Indus, while in Maṇḍala X it is not so. The whole argument is vitiated by several unwarranted assumptions. He takes the modern conditions of Sarsut as existing in the early Vedic period. What reasons are there against holding that the Sarasvatī was in very ancient times a mighty river like the modern Indus and that owing to volcanic eruptions or earthquake upheavals and convulsions in the dim past the Sarasvatī lost its mighty character? Further how many centuries does he postulate as having intervened between the composition of the 6th and 7th Maṇḍalas and Rg. III. 23. 4 and Rg. X. 75. 5? I for my part find no difficulty in holding that in Rgvedic times there were two mighty rivers, the Sindhu (Indus) and the Sarasvatī. I cannot enter into this question in greater detail here. Even in the Purāṇas the Sarasvatī is described as springing from a Plakṣa tree, as flowing through Kurukṣetra, as rendering asunder thousands of hillocks and as entering the Dvaita forest. Vide Vāmana-purāṇa chap. 32. 1–4. जयं श्रीसरस्वते श्रीसरस्वते श्रीसरस्वते ॥ 7
flood of the Sarasvati impinging by its powerful waves against the tops of hills is referred to in Rg. VI. 61. 2 and 8. In VII. 96. 1, Sarasvati is spoken of as asuryā (of divine origin) among rivers. Sacrifices are said to have been performed on the Drṣadvati, the Āpayā and Sarasvati (Rg. III. 23. 4). In Rg. II. 41. 16 Sarasvati is called the best of rivers and goddesses (ambitame naditame devitame Sarasvati). Rg. I. 3. 11–12 praise Sarasvati as a river and a deity, as a purifier (pāvaka), as the impaller of sweet but truthful words and the inspirer of good thoughts and as bringing to notice its great flood of waters. From Rg. VII. 95. 2, VII. 49. 2 and I. 71. 7 it is obvious that the Rgvedic sages knew that the seven rivers fell into the sea. It would be proper to hold that the seven rivers are Sindhu (Indus), the five rivers of the Panjab and the Sarasvati. Though from the Rgveda passages cited above it appears that in the times of the hymns of the Rgveda Sarasvati was a big river with abundant waters, that it flowed between the Yamunā and Śutudrī (X. 75. 5), in the times of the Brāhmaṇas it disappeared in the sands. It is now generally identified with the modern Sarsuti which is lost in the desert at Bhatnair. The Vāj. S. 34. 11 says that five rivers together with their tributary streams fall into Sarasvati. There were three saltras called Sarasvata, viz. the first in honour of Mitra and Varuṇa, the 2nd for Indra and Agni and the third for Aryaman. The dikṣā (consecration ceremony) was to be performed on the south bank of the dry bed of the Sarasvati where it disappeared underground. Vide Tāṇḍya Br.

1250. हर्षं हुमिल्लिद्विधिकान्ता हर्षन्यापाय निरीक्षणं तविष्टिमितं। अर्थाः VI. 61.2; यथा अन्त्यं अन्त्यं तत्वस्य चक्रितिपुरणवं। अमयारति संस्कारम्। अर्थाः VI. 61.8. The nitiśka II. 23 remarks 'तत्र सरस्वती हर्षेतस्त्रय धीरवति देवतावर्त लिगस्मृत भवति' and explains Rg. VI. 61.2 as a verse where सरस्वती is described as a river.

1251. चोढ़वितां छठतानं चेतनी कुमारीनाम्। यथा एकः सरस्वती । अर्थाः छठतानं सरस्वती । अर्थाः इत्यचेतनी। अर्थाः I. 3. 11–12. For this last, vide nitiśka XI. 27.

1252. यज्ञ नवं: सरस्वतीमिति यत्नं सम्बोधत:। सरस्वती तु पञ्चपदो सो वेदोऽस्मात्सरस्वत:। अर्थाः सं. 34. 11.

1253. सरस्वत्यां विन्याते बीकान्ते। दशद्वर्यां अर्थां श्रीनिवासिप्रीयं च निन्यासात्तारात:। भवत: प्रसर्गविद्यार्थिः। अर्थाः 25. 10. 1, 15, 16, 21, 23. अर्थाः II. 17 defines दशद्वर्यां as the country between the divine rivers सरस्वती and दशद्वर्यां। अर्थाः II (21) श्रीनिवासिप्रीयं as the country between the Himalaya and Vindhya mount.

(Continued on the next page)
25. 10 for the first Sārasvata-sattra, 25. 11 for the 2nd and 25.12 for the third. The land between Vinaśana and Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa (which was the source of the Sarasvati) was the proper locality for Sārasvata sattra. At the confluence of Sarasvati and Drāḍavati an īṣṭi to Apām Napāt was performed wherein boiled rice (cāru) was the offering. From the place where the Sarasvati disappeared up to Plakṣa-Prāsravaṇa the distance was a journey on horse-back for forty days and nights. When the sacrificers (in the sattra) reach Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa they should stop the performance of the items of the sattra and undergo the Avabhrtha bath near the river Yamunā (modern Jumna) which flows through the country called Kārapacava (and not in the Sarasvati even if it had water). For details, vide Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra (10. 15–19) which mentions (in 10. 19. 1) a spot called Parināḥ in Kurukṣatra where the Vedic fires were to be kindled, the Āsv. Ś. S. 12. 6. 1–28 which adds that at the distance of each throw of the Śamyā from the Vinaśana one day is to be spent by the sacrificers, the Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtra (24. 5–6) which states that the īṣṭi at the confluence of the Drāḍavati and Sarasvati is to be offered to Agni Kāma, Āp. Ś. S. 23. 12–13 (which gives more details than any one of the other three sūtras). In the Ait. Br. a story is narrated that the sages performed a sattra on the Sarasvati and Kavaśa who was sitting amongst them was driven out by them as not a brāhmaṇa but the son of a female slave and left in a sandy desert with the idea that he would die of thirst; but he praised the waters or Apām napāt with the hymn, Rg. X. 30 (‘pra devatā brahmaṇe’) called ‘Aponaptriya’ and Sarasvati came rushing towards the place where Kavaśa stood and surrounded it, which (spot) thence-
forward came to be called 1254 *Parisaraka*. This shows that in the times of the Ait. Br. and long before it the bed of the Sarasvati was dry. Devala 1255 mentions several places as Sarasvata tirthas. The Rgveda 1256 VIII. 6.28 appears to hold that the valleys of mountains and the confluences of rivers are sacred. Mountains have been held by most ancient peoples to be the abodes of gods. Mount Parnassus north of Delphi was one of the most holy mountains in classical Greece and Olympus was supposed to be the home of the gods. In the Rgveda Parvata is a dual deity with Indra. *O, Indra and Parvata! may you two sharpen (or purify) us (our intellects)* Rg. I. 122.3 1257; *O, Indra and Parvata! May you two, being in the forefront of battle, kill with the thunderbolt every one who desires to attack us with an army* Rg. I. 132.6. In Rg. VI. 49.14 a prayer is addressed to Parvata separately *May the god Ahirbudhnya, may Parvata and may Savitṛ bestow on us food together with the waters on account of our prayers*. In Rg. III. 33.1 the two great rivers Vipāś (modern Beas) and Śutudri are described as issuing from the lap of mountains. Here the word *Parvata* is used in its ordinary sense. The Atharvaveda 1258 speaks of a salve (aṅjana) from Traikakuda peaks of the Himalaya mountain *May that salve which comes off the Himalaya from Traikakuda (peaks) destroy all wizards and all witches*. The Hir. Gr. I. 3.11.5 (S.B.E. vol. 30 p. 168) also

1254. अन्नो वे सरस्वती सरस्वती। ये नाथे। माताम: सरस्वती सरस्वती तद्भाव यथा सत्या निमातः। तं हेम उद्वेदुश्वर वै न धुमेकति य न बलव वा यह महात्म प्रभाव इति। स हं कुन्ये: पञ्चवत्सला मीति ज्ञाते न्यारास तं हेमाकारियम्। यस्य नाथे। नाथे। XII. 3.

It may be noted that the Vanaparva chap 83 when enumerating the numerous tirthas on the Sarasvati and in कुक्कुले mentions a famous tirtha called Sarak which is said to contain in it the sanctity of three crenes of tirthas (verses 75–76). This tirtha appears to be the same as the परिसरक tirtha of Sarasvati.

1255. प्रकाशवर्णं वुजुक्कुलं। सरस्वतमहाद्विभुजं। कृतवेदवेदकृतवेदपूर्वतं। नैचर्या। विनावाह वंशोधिनं महामस्तिनि सारस्वतानि। वेषति प्र. वै सूतिकलपत प. 250.

1256. उपक्ष परिशिष्टं सरस्वती। नाथजयं। दिव्यं विद्या अजातव्य। अथ. VIII. 6. 28 =वाज. सं. 26. 15 (which reads सहस्र).

1257. सिंहतिमन्दिरपत्तं हुन्त नस्तिको विचलित्वानु। देभा। अथ। I. 122. 3 (सर्वपल् explains परमस्व विभववतिन्द्रियानि। प्रयामितं।) दुहुमं तिमदिरपत्तं हुरानुसयं न नु: प्रत्येकत्यं तत्तिमित्वं विश्वं तत्तिमित्तुल। अथ। I. 132. 6 (सर्वपल्ल explains परमस्व िमदिर। तत्तिमित्वं तत्तिमित्तुल।) देभा। सत्तिमित्वानु। तस्मिन्दिरपत्तं अदिक्वेणि: परिशिष्टं तत्तिमित्वं च सूचितं। अथ। अथ। VI. 49. 14.

1258. यदा ज्ञात बृक्कुले जातं हिमालस्तिकं। यदुधार्य सरस्वतमहात्मस्तिकं कादम्बरं। अथवा। IV. 9.9; vide also Sat. Br. in SBE vol. 26 p. 15.
refers to this salve. Gaut., Baud. Dh. S. and Vas. Dh. S. have the same śūtra 1259 stating that the 'detas (localities) that are holy and hence destroyers of sin are all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (ṛṣis), cowpens and temples of the gods.' The Vāyupurāṇa 1260 and Kūrma state that all parts of the Himālaya are holy, the Ganges is holy everywhere, all rivers falling into the sea and all seas are holy. The Padmapurāṇa (Bhūmikhaṇḍa 39, 46-47) says that all rivers, whether flowing through a village or a forest, are holy and that where no name of a tirtha on rivers is known it should be called Visṇupīrthī. Kālidāsa speaks of the Himālaya as devatātmā (as vivified by the presence of gods) in the Kumārasambhava (I. 1). The Bhāgavata V. 19.16 names 27 holy mountains while the Brahmāṇḍa (II. 16.20-23) names thirty. The grandeur and sublimity of snow-capped mountains, of large life-sustaining rivers and of great forests easily impress the minds of almost all people and induce them to think that there is something divine about them, that the Supreme

1259. सत्रेः सस्तान्तः पुर्णाः ह्वस्तािधापश्बन्धुपतिविविवाहाः मोहपरिश्रव्या इति देशा। वै 19.14 = वस्यो 22.12 = वै 9.13. III. 10.12 (which reads वायुपुराण) 1260. सत्रेः पुर्णाः ह्वस्तािधापश्बन्धुपतिविविवाहाः मोहपरिश्रव्या इति देशा। वै 9.14 (reads वायुपुराण) 1261. सत्रेः पुर्णाः ह्वस्तािधापश्बन्धुपतिविविवाहाः मोहपरिश्रव्या इति देशा।
Being is partially revealed in such surroundings. In Protestant Europe and the U.S.A. hardly anyone performs a pilgrimage to a holy place in these days. Instead, they tour different countries for rest, health and in search of natural beauty and a respite from humdrum existence. But pilgrimage to a place supposed to be holy for the curing of disease is not rare even now. When one reads a work like that of Louis Cear, a great surgeon and a winner of the Nobel prize, on the miracles worked at Lourdes in France (in "A Journey to Lourdes") one sees that pilgrimage has taken on a new motive in the West. Similarly, pilgrimage to the tombs of unknown warriors has become common owing to the two world wars.

In Rig. X. 146 a large forest 1261 (Aranyāṇi) is invoked as a deity. The Vāmanapurāṇa mentions 1262 seven forests in Kurukṣetra as holy and as removers of sin, viz. Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakivana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Punyasītavana.

In the Sūtras and ancient smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya tirthas do not occupy a very prominent position. But in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas they are highly lauded and placed even above sacrifices. In the Vanaparva 1263 a comparison is made between sacrifices to gods and pilgrimages. Sacrifices require numerous implements, collection of materials, the co-operation of priests and the presence of a wife and so

1261. अरण्यावरणयागकर्ता यै यन्त्र यहसि। कथा ग्रामे न तुम्हसि न ला भिषिरः

1262. श्राण तत्त्वावधि कुक्तेवेत्रप सर्वनामसु। वेदान्ता नामानि पुष्पार्थि सर्वापारालि च।

1263. कायम्बो: कहः मोक्त देवे लिबङ्ग यथाभसमसु। फलं चैत स्थतत्वं श्रेष्ठ चैत ज्ञसं च

The H. D. 71
they can be performed only by princes or rich men. They cannot be performed by poor men, who are devoid of wealth, who are without a wife and without friends, who are helpless. The reward that a man gets by visiting holy places cannot be secured by performing such sacrifices as Agnistoma in which large fees are paid (to priests); therefore visiting holy places is superior to sacrifices. But the Mahabharta (Vana-paṇva 82: 9–12 and Anaśāsa 108: 3–4) lays the greatest emphasis on the cultivation of high moral and spiritual qualities if the full reward of pilgrimages is to be reaped. It says 1264 'He whose hands, feet, and mind are well controlled and who possesses knowledge, austerities and a good reputation derives the (full) reward of pilgrimages. He who turns his face away from receiving gifts and is content with what little he gets and is free from vanity obtains the rewards of pilgrimages. He, who is free from hypocrisy (or deceit), is not engaged in various undertakings (for earning money), is not a heavy eater, has subdued his senses and is (therefore) free from all sins; so also he who does not fly into a rage, who always speaks the truth, who is firm in his observances, and acts towards all beings by treating them like himself, obtains the full reward of pilgrimages'. The idea seems to be that pilgrimages may help to remove the sins of men who are not possessed of the above characteristics, while those who possess these acquire a great store of merit in addition. The Skanda (Kaśikhandha 6:3) asserts 'snāna cannot be predicated of a man whose body alone is flooded with water; that man who is plunged in restraint of senses, who is pure, relieved of all tint and is stainless, is alone to be called snāta' (as having had a bath). The Anaśāsa has almost the same

1264. वर्ष हस्तीः च पादि च मनस्वेव हस्ततमः। विष्णु तपस्वा कौरवंश स तीर्थकरोभ्ये।
प्रतिवा वनमानम: सन्तुहो देव वेदान्तित।
हस्तक्षेत्रं गुरुवर्ग: स तीर्थकरोभ्ये। आत्मोध्व-रहस्यम् स तीर्थकरोभ्ये।
वनयें 82. 9–12 q. by the सीतकर्तव्यम् प्रभु 4–5, सीतकर्तव्यम् प्रभु 13 (only 9 and 12).
हस्तक्षेत्रं संस्म: परिशिवायो जीवनाविविधत्वं
पायो। संस्म: अच्छोद्यम्यमलावलोहिताविविधत्वम्।
संस्म: संस्म: स्रेतुसतुसतुसतुविविधत्वम्।
विष्णु अर तत्त्वसंपन्नर्योस्मसः।
वि: स्म विष्णु: सर्वस्मिनाभिनिश्चितः।
वि: सर्वस्मि: तत्त्वसंपन्नर्योस्मसः।
वि: स्म विष्णु: सर्वस्मिनाभिनिश्चितः।
वि: सर्वस्मि: तत्त्वसंपन्नर्योस्मसः।
वि: स्म विष्णु: सर्वस्मिनाभिनिश्चितः।
वि: सर्वस्मि: तत्त्वसंपन्नर्योस्मसः।
वि: स्म विष्णु: सर्वस्मिनाभिनिश्चितः।
वि: सर्वस्मि: तत्त्वसंपन्नर्योस्मसः।
वि: स्म विष्णु: सर्वस्मिनाभिनिश्चितः।
वि: सर्वस्मि: तत्त्वसंपन्नर्योस्मसः।
वि: स्म विष्णु: सर्वस्मिनाभिनिश्चितः।
वि: सर्वस्मि: तत्त्वसंपन्नर्योस्मसः।
words (108.9).

The Vāyupurāṇa states a steadfast (or wise) man visiting tirthas with faith and controlling his senses would be purified even if he has been guilty of sins; what need is there to say about him whose actions have been pure? One who has no faith, who is full of sins, whose mind is not free from doubts (about the rewards of pilgrimages and the rites there), who is an atheist and who is bent on bad reasoning—these five do not reap the rewards of pilgrimages.

The Skandapurāṇa (I.1.31.37) remarks that all holy places, sacrifices and various gifts are meant for cleansing the mind (of its sins and sinful proclivities, manah-śuddhi). The Padmapurāṇa (IV.80.9) remarks: sacrifices, vrata, tapas and dāna cannot be carried out fully in the Kali age; but bathing in the Ganges and taking the name of Hari are free from all defects. The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa puts the matter very clearly when it says 'When resort is made to a tirtha, it removes the sins of the sinful and tends to the increase of merit in the case of the good and that a holy place yields fruit to men of all varṇas and āśramas.' Some of the Purāṇas (such as Skandapurāṇa, Kāśikādā 6, Padma, Uttarākliṇḍa 237) say that in addition to the holy places on land (bhauma) there are certain virtues that may be called mental tirthas (in a figurative sense). According to them 'truthfulness, forbearance, restraint of the senses, compassion for all beings, straight-forwardness, charity, self-control, contentment, celibacy (brahmacharya), sweet speech, knowledge, patience, austerity, are tirthas and the highest tirtha is purity of mind.' They further state that a man who is avaricious, wicked, cruel, hypocritical and immersed in pleasures of senses is still sinful and impure even if he bathes in all tirthas and that fish are born and die in holy waters but they do not go to heaven because their minds are not purified and that even charity, sacrifices, austerity,
cleanliness, frequenting sacred places, learning—all these are not tirthas, if the mind is not pure. The Brahmāpurāṇa (25.4-6) states 'a heart that is wicked is not purified by baths at holy places, just as a vessel in which surā (liquor) was carried remains impure even after being washed with water hundreds of times, that tirthas, gifts, vratas, or (residence in) hermitages do not purify a man whose heart is wicked, who resorts to hypocrisy and whose senses run away (are uncontrolled). Wherever a man who has his senses under control may dwell, there are present Kurukṣetra, Prayāga and Puskara'. The Vāmanapurāṇa has a fine Rūpaka about the soul being a river full of the water of control, flowing with truth and having character as the bank and the waves of compassion (for all beings) and states that the soul cannot be purified by water. The Padmapurāṇa (II. 39, 56-61) extends the meaning and scope of tirthas by remarking that places where Agnihotra and śrāddha are performed, a temple, a house where Veda is being studied, a cowpen, the place where a soma drinker dwells, parks, a place where the Aśvathā exists, a place where Purāṇa is being recited or where one's teacher stands or where a chaste housewife dwells, or where a father and a worthy son dwell are all holy.

Numberless tirthas and holy shrines have been mentioned from ancient times. The Matsya-purāṇa states that Vāyu declared that there are 35 millions of tirthas in the sky, in the aerial regions and on the earth and all of them are centred in the Ganges; while the Vāmanapurāṇa 46. 53 states that there are 35 millions of Līṅgas. The Brahmāpurāṇa says that the number of tirthas and shrines is so large that they cannot be

---

1267. सर्वं तीर्थं श्राम तीर्थं...तीर्थं सर्वं तीर्थं...विभुविद्रामसः पुनः...जात्यं येके जात्यं \n दशं जात्यं जात्यं जात्यं जात्यं...जात्यं तपः \n तपः तपः तपः तपः तपः...तपः \n \n 1267 a. आलका नरी संयतोपपुराणा सर्वप्राता श्रीलक्ष, दुर्योधन:।
तत्वसिद्धंसक्षु पाण्डुरुपः \n न गारणं श्रुत्सतः च नास्तस्य नास्ति जात्सरस:।
वामनुपराण 43, 25.

1268. तिर्थ: कोशोपरितक्षित तीर्थं नावरथित। तिर्थं कुष्ठस्तिरसः च तस्य जाधवी स्नात।
सर्वैपुराणाय 110.7. नागान्द (उत्तर) 63, 53-54, और पृथ IV. 89, 16-17
and V. 20 150 (last page is सर्व तिर्थं जाधवी); वाराणसी 159, 6-7 वाराणसीसभागी
तत्त्वसिद्धितात्मश्च।। तिर्थं सत्यसिद्धिः देवधर्म साराकार निष्पादने।।
वाणिज्यात्मकस्तमात्मक शास्त्रविहीन ।। विनाशकामिक तिर्थं सत्यसिद्धिः।।
सत्यसिद्धां खाद्यसि तिर्थसिद्धिः।।
वाल्लेश्वर 175. 83; सर्वैपुराणाय निष्पादगतिः।।
वाल्लेश्वर 25, 7-8.
enumerated in detail even in hundreds of years. The Vanaparva remarks that Naimiṣa is the (best) tirtha on the earth and Puṣkara in the aerial region, while Kuruṅkṣetra is the most distinguished in all the three worlds and that all the ten thousand crores of tirthas are present in Puṣkara (chap. 82.31). New tirthas were added from time to time and the monetary benefits derived by the permanent residents and particularly by the titha priests led them to prepare numerous māhātmyas of an apocryphal character and father them on Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Most of the writers of digests on tirthas follow a process of selection. The Tirthakalpata, of Lakṣṇidhara, one of the earliest digests (about 1110–1120 AD), devotes more than half the work to Vārāṇasi and Prayāga alone, assigns only two or three pages to such famous tirthas as Puṣkara, Prthūdaka, Kṛtāmukha, Badarikāśrama, Kedāra, The Nrisimhaprasāda (Tirthasāra) mostly deals with tirthas in the Deccan and southern India such as Setubandha, Puṇḍarika (modern Pandharpur), Godāvari, Kṛṣṇa–venyā, Narmadā. The Triśṭhalisetu of Nārāyanabhaṭṭa devotes two-thirds of it to Benares and its sub-tirthas and the rest to Prayāga and Gayā. This unequal treatment arose from various causes, such as the localities where the authors lived, their familiarity with the holy places and their predilections. There was also another tendency among the authors of Purāṇas, Māhātmyas and digests viz. that of great exaggeration and over-statement which is often repellant. If a man reads the description of one titha and does not discount much as sheer hollow laudation, he is likely to feel that a pilgrimage to a certain tirtha will yield all the desires in this life as well in the next and that after visiting a holy tirtha like Kāśi or Prayāga he need not go to any other tirtha, nor need he perform any yajña or act of charity and the like. A few striking passages may be cited here. The Vanaparva remarks that even gods and sages secured

1269. पुराणां वैमिति सत्यमन्तरस्ते च वृवकर। विद्यापारित सङ्कारां कुष्टेऽन्निष्ठित्वते॥ भववर्त्ते ८३ २०२, q. by सर्वेश, p. 19 and तारंभकमल p. 178; नीलाक्रमण explains: वैमिति तुण्यं पुराणिः प्रथमानुस्मारितं सानालिलिपिमानसामवाचविविज्ञमार्धिसिद्धान्तिः, अपरिवेशितं दुर्भावज्ञाविविवाहं नवादिभवक्तूवन्हर्षं मात्यायनिश्चेत। The same verse occurs in मात्यायन १०९.३, पुस्त (शास्त्रग्रंथ २७.५७) and the first half in शास्त्र ७.३७.

1270. कुष्टेऽन्नि वदेनान्नि विविठः। विविठादिन्नि पुराणेण महत्तामिश्च। तताविनेतेऽन्नि कुष्टेऽन्नि पुराणेण महत्तामिश्च। भवार्तं ८२, २६७-२७; नामस्मार्यारतं तथा योजनास्मयार्यार्यारतं। पुस्त (५वो तारं, २७.७७).
perfection at Puṣkara and that whoever takes a bath there and devoutly worships gods and his pītras secures rewards ten times of what the performance of Aśvamedha might give. About this very tirtha viz. Puṣkara, the Padmapurāṇa says that there is no holier tirtha in this world. The Vanaprava (83. 145) in its eulogy of Pṛthūḍaka asserts that Kurukṣetra is holy, that Sarasvati is holier than Kurukṣetra and that Pṛthūḍaka is holier than all other tirthas. The Mātysapurāṇa puts the comparative holiness of several tirthas thus ‘the waters of the Sarasvati purify after (one bathes for) three days, those of Yamunā in seven days, those of the Ganges at once, while the water of the Narmadā purifies a man at sight of it.’ In its eulogy of Vāraṇaśī the Kūrma-purāṇa states ‘there is no place higher than Vāraṇaśī nor will there be one’ (I. 31. 64). The invertebrate habit of exaggeration goes so far that it is said that by merely residing in Kāśi till one’s death not only does a man become free from the great sin of brāhmaṇa murder but from the never-ending cycle of births and deaths and is not born again.122 The Liṅgapurāṇa says the same thing. The Vāmana-purāṇa remarks 1223 that muktī (release from samsāra) can be secured in four ways, viz. by knowledge of Brahmaṇ, by śrāddhā at Gayā, by loss of life in repelling the carrying away of oons and by residence in Kurukṣetra and that those who die in Kurukṣetra never come down (to the earth). Mere residence in Kāśi was so much lauded that the Mātsya (181. 23), the Agni (112, 3) and other Purāṇas say that after repairing to Kāśi one should smash one’s feet with a stone (in order that

---

1271. विबिदः सरस्वती तोर सताहेन हु याहरन्ति। पति: पुष्करी व वर्णाशिषु नायाभुष्टिः पद्माशिष्य 13, 7, सताय 186.11. The विदिषितंदिनार्थं (Mysore ed.) I. 1.130 has a very similar verse ‘सरस्वती विबिदः स्नानी: पद्मीर्यंगमुद्रु:। जाहिर वनासिकेषु द्रागीनात्मा नर्विन्ते’।

1272. आ वेदपतनावतकोद्वियो यो न ह्रास्त। उ केरल ज्ञानवर्ण नात्रू च लिहाते। प्रस्तुत ब्राह्मणव ब्रह्मव न स पूरोपि महिषाते। सताय 182. 16-17, q. by सतायकपल्लपति। तत्त्व 182. 16-17 (which reads व्रजस्वयमि that is explained as संस्तावेधम्) and तत्त्विवि. p. 345 which quotes the passage from लिङ्गपुराण, but those verses are not found in chap. 92 of the लिङ्गपुराण (Vehk. ed.) which deals with वाराणसीमार्गम्. लिङ्गपुराण I. 92.63 is विदिषितंदिनार्थं यथार्थ (सन्तासंहितयोगिनि) रोमतक्ष्वेदनाितं। इह श्रेष्ठां-भाग: योगि संस्तारे न दुप्षेष्येत्।। कार्यान्त स्त्रेस्व भेदी अकुलन्तारम् सताते। लिङ्गपुरा 1. 92. 94. The verse आ वेदपतनावत occurs in लिङ्ग, काशिकापणम् 25. 67.

1273. ज्ञानवर्ण वेदपतनाव नेत्राय मण्डल्युभव। ग्राह: इसां कुपशेष्ये कुक्तिन्धर्मा वैश्वमिव प्रतिच्छिन्यशालानागम्य पदाचेत्रस्य। कुस्तिन्धर्मिष्या च एतर ग्राह निहिते। शास्त्र- दुर्गा 33.8 and 16; the first occurs in शास्त्र० 105.16, आश्र् 115. 5-6.
one may not be induced to visit another tīrtha)\textsuperscript{1274} and stay in Kāśi forever.

The Brahmapurāṇa classifies tīrthas into four divisions\textsuperscript{1275} viz. daiva (created by gods), āsura (those associated with such asuras as Gaya), ārṣa (those established by sages) such as Prabhāsa, Naranārayana and mānuṣa (created by kings like Amṛtaśa, Manu, Kuru) and provides that each preceding one is superior to each succeeding one. It enumerates six rivers to the south of the Vindhya and six rivers having their sources in the Himalayas as most holy and as devatīrthas, viz. Godāvari, Bhimarathi, Tuṅgabhadrā, Venikā, Tāpi, Payosñī, Bhāgtrathi, Narmadā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Viśokā, and Vitastā. Similarly, Kāśi, Puṣkara and Prabhāsa are devatīrthas (Tīrtha-pr. p. 18). The Brahmapurāṇa (175. 31–32) assigns daiva, āsura, ārṣa and mānuṣa tīrthas respectively to the Kṛta, Tretā, Dwāpara and Kali yugas.

There is a good deal of discussion in the Purāṇas and digests about those who are entitled or have the eligibility or capacity (\textit{adhikāra}) for tīrthayātā. The Vanaparva\textsuperscript{1276} provides that brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras, when they have bathed in holy places, are not born again. The same work further states that whatever sin a man or a woman may have committed from birth, the moment a person takes a bath in the holy Puṣkara all that sin vanishes.\textsuperscript{1277} Therefore not only men but women also had the right to undertake tīrthayātā. The Matsyapurāṇa\textsuperscript{1278} goes further and asserts that \textit{Avimukta}...
(Vārāṇasi) is the highest cure for men of numerous castes; for men not (recognized as) belonging to any particular varna, for caṇḍālas who are abhorred (by people) and for persons whose bodies are full of diseases and of aggravated sins. It is stated in the Vāmanapurāṇa: 1279 persons of all the four ārāmas (i.e., brahmācārins, householders, forest hermits and sannyāsins) by bathing in the tirtha (mentioned by it) save seven generations in their families and that persons belonging to the four varnas and women, when they bathe in tirthas with devotion, see the highest goal. It was provided by the Brahmapurāṇa that a brahmācārin can undertake a pilgrimage only if ordered or directed by his guru, and that a householder whose wife is alive and is chaste must go on a pilgrimage with her; otherwise he would not reap the fruit of pilgrimage. The Padmapurāṇa (Bhūmikhaṇḍa chap. 59-60) narrates the story of a vaiśya called Kṛkala who went on a pilgrimage without his virtuous wife and did not reap the fruits of a long pilgrimage (bhāryām vinā yo dharmaṁ sa eva viphalo bhavet, 59, 33). The Tīrthacintāmani and Tīrthaprabhāṣa quote a passage (from the Kūrmapurāṇa) which glorifies Vārāṇasi (called Avimukta there) as follows 1280: ‘brahmāṇas, ksatriyās, vaiśyas, sūdrās, persons of mixed castes (varnaśāṅkara), women, mlecchas and others who are born in evil forms and are of mixed blood, worms, ants, birds and beasts when they die in Avimukta are born as human beings in Benares and no one guilty of sins dying in Avimukta goes to Hell.’ As regards 1281 women and sūdrās, a smṛti verse provided ‘Japa, tapas, pilgrimage to holy places, becoming an ascetic (sannyāsin), efforts to attain mastery over mantras and worshipping deities (as a priest)—these six lead to sinfulness in the case of women and.

1279. वराणसि गुरुस्वम वानपर्वतं पवित्रतमः। कुतानि त्याग्येत्ततः सम सत सतम वः। वराणसि: अश्विन्य बैराया। ब्रह्मण: घुष्ठाम तत्वतः। दीर्घेश्वरः शिविरुतः। एकयनं वर्णम पदार्थम्। वानपर्वतं 36. 78-79.

1280. वराणसि: गुरुस्वम वांसि च वर्षमुहुः। क्षिप्रो जलाशयं च वांसि च क्षिप्रायाः। पापवेशम्। कालं: पिपलाकर्षणं च वांसि च वर्षमुहुः। कालेन निश्चयं यत्र अविष्कृते पदार्थम्। तत्र त्रावणौ सम सत सतम वः। वराणसि: ब्रह्मण:। वराणसि: कुत्तरं वर्णम पदार्थम्। किलिङ्ग currents I 31. 32-34, मलुकपुरा 181. 19-21 q. by तीर्थेश्वर p. 346, तीर्थेश्वर p. 139 (which quotes from मलुकपुरा and adds वराणसि: ब्रह्मण:। वराणसि: कुत्तरं वर्णम पदार्थम्। किलिङ्ग currents I 31. 31-34 q. by तीर्थेश्वर p. 346, तीर्थेश्वर p. 139. The same verses occur in परं I 33. 18-21.

1281. जपमुदयेत्यपि ब्रह्मण वराणसि गुरुस्वम वर्षमुहुः। देवताराशी: ब्रह्मण:। ब्रह्मण: ब्रह्मण:। वराणसि: 31. 32-34 q. by तीर्थेश्वर p. 21, ascribed to मलुक by मलुकियन्त्र in विशेषितसूत्रसंग्रह p. 2.
sūdras." This was explained away by stating that this text refers to undertaking pilgrimage without the husband’s permission (in the case of a woman) and as to a sūdra in such a way as to be opposed to the primary duty of a sūdra to wait upon learned brāhmaṇas (as laid down in Manu X.133). Kātyāyana as quoted in the Vyavahāramayūkha provides ‘whatever a woman does that relates to (benefit in) a future state (i.e. state after death) without the permission of her (husband’s) father, husband or son, would become fruitless.’ It is clear therefore that it was recognized early that tirthayātrā was a popular way for redemption of sins in the case of all classes of men and women. Though a Hindu woman succeeding as heir to her husband’s estate has only a limited and qualified ownership over it, judicial decisions have recognized that she can alienate a small portion of her husband’s estate for the expenses of a pilgrimage to Gayā for performing her husband’s śrāddha for the latter’s spiritual benefit or of a pilgrimage to Pandharpur. Vide Muteeram v. Gopal 11 Beng. L.R. 416; Darbari Lal v. Gobind 46 All. 822; Ganpat v. Tuliram 36 Bom. 88 (pilgrimage to Pandharpur). It was also provided that there was no question of untouchability when bathing in holy waters.

1282. नायी लक्ष्यग्रस्ताता विज्ञि भया हुले वा। निभले तन्येवस्यस्य पल्ल्यसीव्यस्मी-\\nवेदिका। काया. q. b यद. म. प. 113; this verse is quoted by पति से on र. इ. p. 327 as from आदिपियुराण and आदिविद्वारिक is explained as भाषिनि।

1283. Strangely enough, the Calcutta High Court has held that a widow cannot validly alienate a part of her husband’s property inherited by her as heir for a pilgrimage to Benares; vide Hari v. Bajramp 13 C. W. N. 544 at p. 547. But a gift to the temple of Jagannātha at Puri for bhog (offerings of cooked food) to the deity and for the maintenance of the priests there for the salvation of the husband and the members of his family and for the widow’s own salvation was upheld by the Privy Council in Sardar Singh v. Kunj Behari 49 I. A. 383. As seen in note 1294 below, a person on returning from a pilgrimage had to honour and feed brāhmaṇas. In Dinanath v. Hrishikesh 15 C. W. N. 1303, 1306, where a widow on returning from a pilgrimage to Gayā for the benefit of her husband’s soul incurred a debt for feeding brāhmaṇas and her husband’s relatives and alienated a portion of her husband’s property, it was held that the debt was one for a spiritual purpose and was binding on the reversioners after the death of the widow.

1284. तीव्रेच्य निविश्वेठे पानांत्रां स्वते बेहोशिले। भवसंवादवाने च सुधासुधिशिैं कुष्टिफ।\\nइति. q. b कथित on झल्ला p. 169, सुन्तलिक. I. p. 122. This is variously explained. The तीव्रेच्य. p. 41 says ‘तीव्रेच्य निविश्वेठे निविश्वेठे बेहोशिले। भवसंवादवाने च सुधासुधिशिैं कुष्टिफ।’ त्यथा. p. 122. This is variously explained. The तीव्रेच्य. p. 41 says ‘तीव्रेच्य निविश्वेठे निविश्वेठे बेहोशिले। भवसंवादवाने च सुधासुधिशिैं कुष्टिफ।’ त्यथा. p. 122. This is variously explained. The तीव्रेच्य. p. 41 says ‘तीव्रेच्य निविश्वेठे निविश्वेठे बेहोशिले। भवसंवादवाने च सुधासुधिशिैं कुष्टिफ।’ त्यथा. p. 122. This is variously explained. Vide above note 750 for the same quotation. The झल्ला p. 130 explains: तीव्रेच्य पानांत्रां च स्वते बेहोशिले।

H. D. 72
There is a verse of Bṛhaspati: 'At holy places, in marriages, in a religious festival (or procession), in a battle, when there is an invasion of the country and when a town or village is on fire, no blame attaches on the ground of incurring contact with untouchable persons or things.'

In order to guard against the facile assumption that without a change of heart or change in one's sinful mode of life a mere physical act of pilgrimage and bath in holy waters would be enough, some of the texts in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas adopted two propositions: viz. the one noted above that it is the pure mind that is a real tirtha and further emphasized that it is better to stay at home and perform all the duties of a householder including the performance of vedic sacrifices than to go on a pilgrimage. The Śāntiparva in the dialogue between Tulādhāra and Jājali (a brāhmaṇa proud of his tapas) asserts that purodāsa is the holiest of offerings, that all rivers are (holy like) Sarasvati and all hillocks (and not merely Himālaya and the like) are holy, that one's soul is a tirtha and advises Jājali not to be a guest (i.e. to be wandering in quest of tirthas) to several countries. The Tṛthacintamani and Tṛthaprakāśa quote passages from the Brahmapurāṇa that a brāhmaṇa should wander about tirthas after his capacity to perform sacrifices has come to an end, that it is better for a man to stay at home and perform the duties of an householder when he has the capacity and authority to perform ṭīṣṭis and yajñas, and that all the tirthas do not come up (in their rewards) to the performance of agnihotra. The Kūrmapurāṇa has the following remarkable verses on this point. 'That person who abandoning his proper duties resorts to tirthas does not reap the fruits of.

1285. पुरुषार्थि हि सर्वेऽ पञ्चालो मेध उच्चये| स्वातः सन्तः सत्याय गुप्तः| सिद्धेष्यते। जाने तीर्थयात्राय मा स वैवृत्तिकं विचारे| एतागीयात्कारभल्लावमचारलिखे जाने॥ कार्यायणमसमन्विच्छये स लोकानाग्निषं दुवार। शास्त्रियव 263। 40-42। नीतिकृत्तं बतो। यद्यात्मासमाप्यान् तज्जै सर्वानि तीर्थाद्वि नस्तीत्यथा॥

1286. यज्ञविरागश्च धृत्या तिर्थाद्वि तीर्थात्मिपिरतिर्मेव।...पुरुषोदित्यास्तिस्तरयम्| ॥ ॥ ॥| यज्ञविरागश्च धृत्या तिर्थाद्वि तीर्थात्मिपिरतिर्मेव।...पुरुषोदित्यास्तिस्तरयम्| सर्वानि| तीर्थायणि वाताव्रहोत्त्वादि नैस्तिक वन्य वन्यम्। ब्रह्मपुराण 9। by तिर्थकथारक p. 9,| तीर्थाद्वि pp. 5-6 and तीर्थम् p. 19। Vide नारायण (उत्तर) 62। 22 for the first verse.

1287. च शरणार्थयोपलोको नरेन्द्रं करते तिर्थिः हि। न हस्त फलते नरेन्द्रिहृषो लोके| परम च॥ प्राग्वश्च च विपुर्वया प्रचारो रूपिः। मुक्तातीत्वसंयोग व्यास्त्वसातो सों। जनः॥ सत्यात्मिपिन्यायं सदहस्त्विनेन धर्मान्त्रसंयोगम। सत्यात्मिपिन्यायं सदहस्त्विनेन धर्मान्त्रसंयोगम। कर्मणि श्रीनागाधुर्वकुर्मला मिलेनिनयमस्य। विधाय हुसि दुराण्यां भार्यां तेवुन निधाय च॥ कुम्म II. 44। 20-23.
pilgrimage in this world as well as in the next. A person who has to undergo an expiation (for a sin), or who is a widower or who is a householder of the yāyāvāra type or similar persons may resort to pilgrimages. One may go to holy places with his Vedic fires or with his wife; he becomes free from all sins and secures the best goal as stated above. One who wants to go on pilgrimages should pay off the three debts, should provide means of maintenance for his sons and should consign his wife to their care.

Ancient writers on Dharmaśāstra favoured pilgrimages by prescribing, as stated in the Viṣṇu Dh. S., that no money was to be demanded from a Vedic student, a forest hermit, an ascetic, a pregnant woman and a pilgrim by a ferryman or by a toll officer and that if he took money from such persons he was to be made to return it. But this prescription was not invariably followed even by Hindu Kings. The Rājatarāṅgini (VI, 254–255 and VII, 1008) notices that a tax was levied on Kashmiririans performing śrāddhas at Gayā. It appears that Siddharāja king of Anahilavād (1095–1143 A.D.) levied a tax on pilgrims going to Somanātha at the frontier town Bāhulaṅḍa, that he remitted the tax at the intercession of his mother and that the tax thus remitted amounted to 72 lakhs of rupees every year (this last may be an exaggeration to glorify Siddharāja). Moslem kings levied this tax. It appears that a great writer named Kavrindrācārya took up the cause of Hindu pilgrims visiting Prayāga and Kāśī and so eloquently pleaded it before Emperor Shah Jehan that the latter remitted the tax altogether.

1288. A householder is said to be of two sorts, śālīna and yāyāvāra. The latter is one who subsists by picking up grains that fall down when the corn that is reaped is taken from the fields to the house or threshing floor or who does not accumulate wealth or who does not earn his livelihood by officiating as a priest or by teaching or by accepting gifts. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 641–642 and notes 1501–1504. For the three debts to Gods, Manes and sages, vide. H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 270 and 425.

1289. ज्ञानचार्यवन्दनस्मिष्टीविन्यासायात् । नासिकं स्वतः स्वाजलामहानाथां । तत्र तथा हरियां दशात। लिङ्गायतमद्वितीय V. 132–133.

1290. कामाभिकाराः यः आद्वत्कायध्वम् महात्सवः। सौन्दर्यस्मातः॥ धनाश्रयस्य सर्वदा विलामः पातिता। राजसंह. VI. 254–55.

The valiant Deshmukh of Parīdās who had relieved Kashmir residents from the tax at Gayā was drowned in Vītāla (by queen Diddā) with a big stone tied round his neck.

and conferred upon the great scholar 1291 the title of ‘Sarva-
vidya-nidhāna’. People throughout India felt such relief at the
remission of the tax that congratulatory letters and addresses
(several of them couched in very poetic language) poured upon
Kavindrācārya. These have been published in a work styled
‘Kavindra-candradaya’ by Dr. Har Dutta Sharma and Mr.
M. M. Patkar (in the Poona Oriental series), a characteristic
verse from which is quoted below.1292 In a remarkable copper-
plate Inscription in Sanskrit 1293 and Kannada issued by the
Hoysala king Narasimha III in Māgha šaka 1200 (1279 A. D.) it
is said that the king granted the revenues (amounting to 645
nīkṣkas a year) of a village called Hebbāle to the pilgrims of
Kāśi and to god Śrīviśvēśvāra for the purpose of enabling the
pilgrims to Benares (including those from the whole of
Karṇāṭaka, from the countries of Telingana, Tulū, Tirhut, Gauḍa
and others) to pay off the tax levied by the Turuṣkās
(Moslem kings).1293

The digests quote certain verses of the Brahmāpurāṇa
about the rites to be performed when a person decides to start
on a pilgrimage. The Brahmāpurāṇa provides that the intending
pilgrim should restrain his senses the previous day, should observe a fast and on the next day he should offer wor-
ship to Ganeśa, the gods, the pitrās and honour good brāhmaṇas
according to his ability and when he returns from the pilgrimage
he should offer similar worship and honour.1294 The digests

---

1291. Vide I. A. vol. 41 (1912) p. 7 at p. 11 for an account by the late
M. M. Haraprasad Shastri of the abolition of the pilgrimage tax by Shah Jeha n.

1292. येन ब्रह्मारघार त्योगतित्वकः सर्वमयम्: कृतोद्वितीय ब्रह्मधुर्ग: नुसार्पण
विशिष्टं: शार्दूलोपानिधिनं:। काशीसिद्धविवाहाकारणतिलिङ्कायाहंकेष्विषेकोऽतिष्ठेणः साङ्यो भृगवान
पौन्द्रयो जयाति कान्तिविद्विदीर्याताधोऽनौ: । कर्मकान्तं ब्रह्मधुर्गं प. 23 No. 169. There
is possibly a veiled allusion to मनंद्रगो in the words ‘भागछो’.

1293. Vide Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. 15 No. 298 pp. 71-73 (contain-
ing transliterated text) and p. 12 of the dynastic list; the important words
in Kannada are ‘Ellā-ksetravāsi-galu Turahkarige .. Kula karṇāṭiga
telugur.. Tulū-Maleyarun .. Tirabhukti-garu .. Gavudugaru’ &c. This inscription
indicates that the expression ‘Turuṣkādaṇḍa’ occurring in certain
Gāhādvāla Inscriptions such as those in E. I. IX at p 305, E. I. XIII, p. 295,
E. I. XIV. p. 195 meant a levy imposed by Moslem raiders and rulers.

1294. यो: य राजनीतिपत्यां म प्रबुद्धार्जुरस्त्रत: स च पूर्वं यथो ये। कृतोपत्यम्: श्रवित
भरमात: सम्पूर्णोन्निधिनं येवेऽदु:। वेदानि विनं वाच्याद्भवेऽव परमुपार्णम् विनयवादन
dūṇेवथान्। धर्मावधानादिरुत्तरयथादुत्तरेऽव वेदान fविनं वाच्याद्भवेण विनयवादन
वेदापनम् । ब्रह्मचारण प. by तौरे
काक्ष: p. 9, तांत्रिक: p. 6 (explain सुसंस्कत् इति पूर्णिने कृतेनकारित्वमः:), तांत्रिक.
(Continued on next page)
explain that on return there is no fast and no worship of Ganeśa. He should perform śrāddha in which there is plenty of ghee, honour three brahmaṇas (at least) with the offer of sandalwood paste &c. and then make a resolve (saṅkalpa) to go on pilgrimage. The Vāyupurāṇa¹²⁹⁵ and the digestes lay down that (after the worship of Ganeśa, the planets and the deities) he should put on the dress of a kārpāṭi viz. wear a copper-ring, a copper bracelet and reddish garments. Bhāṭṭośi (p. 5) states that according to some the apparel of kārpāṭika is to be put on by a pilgrim going to Gayā. The Padma (IV. 19. 22) prescribes the pilgrim’s dress for other tirthas also. The Tir. C. adds that this dress is to be worn only on the journey to a tirtha, when the pilgrim is in a tirtha, but not at the time of performing his daily duties such as taking meals (p. 9).

There is a difference of opinion among the digestes as to whether tonsure of the head is obligatory when starting on a pilgrimage. The Padmapurāṇa¹²⁹⁶ and Skandapurāṇa appear to make it obligatory. The Tirtha-Kalpataru does not¹²⁹⁷ refer to tonsure at all, while a fast at a tirtha is declared by it to be optional. The tendency of later digest-writers is generally to make every religious act more elaborate and harder. The tonsure of the head and beard was prescribed for a sacrificer

(Continued from the last page)

p. 23 (which states 'संस्थय: पृथिवि श्रुतिकारैवतिनियम दति केवलकः, जनञ्चयविदः दुरुक्तिः दुखितं दुरुक्ति') In Dinanath v. Hrishikesha 18 C. W. N. 1303 this passage of the Brahmapurāṇa is quoted and relied upon. These verses occur in नासीदी (उत्तर) 62. 24–25. The सत्यायु (सत्यायु 6. 56–57) and परम have similar verses: संप्रदायिना विचारिना पार्श्वानिषयायं दृष्टे। गणेर च विद्यौ विधिः सत्यायु सत्या पुरुष: च। कुटपेश्वरस्यो हतो गणुर्विद्विधिमुखपुष्प एव:। आपातार्थविधिः च चित्तवृत्त यथोक्त फलविधिमेत्। परम, उत्तरकृष्ण 237. 36–38. ब्रह्म 76. 18–19 provide नासीदी श्रुतिकारः, धेश्यूक्ति, बाण्यायोजन, remaining celebate and not talking with पतिता people, when one is on a pilgrimage to गोदावरी.

¹²⁹⁵. उद्धव-श्रुतियां गन्धु आद्रु शुष्क विषयति:। विधाय कारपीडिकां कुला प्रायं परंपरायम्। ततो व्यामत्तरं गर्भ आद्रुश्चरी कोज्जनम्। वातुवः। नासीदी 110. 2–3, q. by तोर्यक्ष्म. p 7, तोर्यक्ष्म. p. 29 (which explains 'कारपीडिकाः तत्संकलताकारपीडिकाः धारयति). The तोर्यक्ष्म. remarks that although these requirements are mentioned in connection with Gayā, these hold good as to pilgrimages to all holy places. Besides, this kārpāṭika apparel is to be worn only when actually travelling and not when the pilgrim performs his daily duties or takes his meals or offers śrāddha.

¹²⁹⁶. तीर्थपरस्पः कारंस: किंस्ते शुष्कं तथा। सिरोशालिनि पार्श्वि पार्श्वि शुष्कं नतो यत:। परम (उत्तरकृष्ण 237. 45), सत्यायु (श्रुतिकार 6. 65).

¹²⁹⁷. तीर्थपरस्पः विद्यैं किंस्तेः शुष्कं तथा। सिरोशालिनि पार्श्वि पार्श्वि शुष्कं नतो यत:। परम (उत्तरकृष्ण 6. 65).

¹²⁹⁸. तीर्थपरस्पः विद्यैं किंस्तेः शुष्कं तथा। सिरोशालिनि पार्श्वि पार्श्वि शुष्कं नतो यत:। परम (उत्तरकृष्ण 6. 65).
when undertaking such solemn Vedic sacrifices as Caturmāsya and Agnistoma.1298 The termination of the stage of Vedic studenthood (samāvarāna) was also marked by tonsure.1299 Further, tonsure was prescribed when undergoing prāyaścitta for sins (vide p. 122 above). The Tir. C. and Tir. Pr. both quote a verse of Viśnu 1300 from the Smṛtisamuccaya, viz. ‘at Prayāga, on a pilgrimage, on the death of one’s father or mother one should cut one’s hair; but one should not cut one’s hair without cause.’ The Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 quotes a verse as follows: ‘On the Ganges, in Bhāskarakṣeta, on the death of one’s father, mother and guru, at the time of consecrating Vedic fires and at a soma sacrifice—tonsure is prescribed in these seven cases. Some read ‘satsu’ and therefore they take the first two words as meaning ‘on the Ganges only at Prayāga.’ Both Tir. C. and Tir. Pr. quote a verse 1301 which says that tonsure and fast are acts that must be done at all tirthas except at Kurukṣetra, Viśālā (Ujjayini or Badarikā), Virajā (river in Orissa) and Gayā. In the case of a snātaka, all the hair except the top-knot is cut and


1300. गम्यपणां त पापान् संप्राप्ति मतिंवचतात्। केशामाहिबं विनितलि तस्मात्-तद्यत्तं चोरुः॥ पद, पातालसंहा 19. 21; उपवासदिने सुष्णसमापः। प्रयते तीर्थात्यायां- विगमतांविच्छिन्न:॥ कन्याना वाने कुष्ठीवर्धा न वक्रोऽभेदेऽविति सत्रूपासहस्यपुष्प-विकृतिश्रविक्रमानं। संहिताय. p. 7, संहिताय. p. 28. This verse is गम्यपण (Utrā) 62. 28. The निगम. on yā. III. 17 quotes the following verse: गम्यां भाषकर-के श्यालितीमेऽपत्यांमुः। अधानात्मको त्रे कच वर्यन सत्त्व रूपं॥। भाष्ठर्केस्त्रि हेमया acc. to some and कामण्ड acc. to others. It is not correct to translate ‘ādhāne’ as ‘in the Garbhādhāna ceremony’ (as Dr. Chaudhuri does on p. 55 of his English Intro. to गद्यसाहित्या.). अधान by itself in परस्पर works generally means अभयास्यान. गम्यपण is referred to by the word वित्तिक or गम्यपण itself. भाषकर्केस्त्रि is really कौषल्य and not पयाम, which latter is called गम्यपतिकेझिं in मस्त 104. 5 and 111. 14.

1301. गम्यां चोपासान स्वपीतित्वोऽविचित्रति विनितां विनितां गम्यां॥ वात्सु. 105. 25 q. by तीर्थसंह. p. 14 (ascribes to स्वपवत्युपग), तीर्थसंह. p. 50 (ascribes to देवल and सुकद्ध). The तीर्थसंह. (p. 50) refers to the view of तीर्थसंह. ‘प्रयते कल्याणकारणेऽत्यथा गम्यां नोस्ते न वा तथ तयां गम्यां गग्नि तथा तयां गग्नि चोपासानस्यविचित्रतयां सकलाशिवारुपिन्यायमात्त्वात्।’ The तीर्थसंह. p. 32 also does the same. In the गम्यायात्यां second half is read as काश्यप्याय गग्नि गग्नि विनितां विनितां तथा is said to be from स्वपवत्युपग. The तीर्थसंह. on yā. III. 17 explains विनित as श्यालिते दशान्त्याः लोपास्यामित्वा विकृतिश्रविक्रमानं। The first half is अधिक 115. 7 and the whole verse is ascribed to आम्बायात्यां by the सुकद्ध मस्तव विनितां folio 141a and occurs also in नारदीय (Utrā) 62. 45.
in the case of women whose husbands are living only two finger-breathths of hair are cut. Vṛddha-Hārita (IX. 386–387) lays down that in the case of women whose husbands are living tonsure of the head should not be carried out, but that holding up all their hair only three finger-breathths should be cut off. Other smṛtiś like Āpastamba in verse (I. 33–34), Aṅgiras verse 163, Yama 54–55, Parāśara q. by the Mitāksāra on Yaj. III. 263–264 lay down that tonsure is limited to the cutting of two finger-breathths of hair in the case of woman (nārī). Par. M. 1302 II. 1. p. 291 reads ‘evam nārikumāriṁśa’ and holds that nārī means here ‘a woman whose husband is alive’. Although the smṛti passages occur in the section on prāyāścitā still by analogy they are to be applied to the tonsure in holy places. As regards widows, ascetics1303 and śūdras all hair are to be cut. The Tirthaprapākāsa finds fault with Vācaspatimiśra for saying that there is no tonsure on the Ganges. When there is such a conflict of views, the final decision rests with the usage of each country or the individual’s choice. The Tir. K. (p. 10) appears to hold that honouring the pits at the time of starting on a pilgrimage is specially obligatory on a man with means. The texts make a difference between ksaura and mundana. The latter means ‘shaving the hair on the head as well as the moustache and beard,’ while ksaura means only shaving the head. Therefore the Nāradiya says that all sages did not prohibit ksaura even at Gayā but only mundana is forbidden there1303a and there is no mundana on the Ganges anywhere except at Prayāga. The Tirthenduśekhara (p. 7) gives it as its opinion that tonsure and fast are not obligatory but are only kāmya (i. e. to be done if certain rewards are desired) and points out that śīśṭas do not resort to these two at many tirthas.

1302. कीर्ति एवराजेन विशिष्टोभिंतमि। वपन नैव नारिः सयोम्ब्रामसुन्धरय छवेयमुलिंदस्। सर्वशेष न्ह नारिः सिः सुधत सुखस्त्रुतम्। मिता। या। ई। 263–264; सतौष्म गेशाद सुधत भवेत्। इत्यस्य प्रायः। सयोम्ब्रामसुन्धरय ख्याताराकाँसाधिकारिण कालयाग्यात्। मयावाकानिष्ठात्। तस्मात् हृदयक्षेमाधिकारिणमात्रि वपनभ। तीर्थप। पृ 50–51।

1303. यति: ख़ुश्च भिषया सिः क्रिया सपन्त चरेत। इति कार्यांवर्तय। नावस्तं लिम्बाचेत। विराजय रत्नघिरयं विरंचयं तथा। इति धेकोला श्रद्धारं न मुखस्माति पल्लभम। तस्मात। अरस परमी तिनेशसिखितात्। तीर्थप। पृ 51।

1303a. गणावारिवृक्षेण इश्वरूंस् वपनं विना। न श्रद्धात। भाषनं: सयोम्ब्रामसुन्धरय चयने। इतितिपाभो। सयोम्ब्रामसुन्धरय श्रद्धारं तथैतिपाभो। न श्रद्धात। इतितिपाभो। नावस्तं उत्तरं 62. 54–55। वर्याम्बारीवेशकृित्या श्रद्धारं श्रद्धारं नहीं। ibid chap. 62.52.
The Purānas and digests devote some attention to the mode of travel. The Matsya (106. 4–6) states that 1304 if a pilgrim goes to Prayāga in a conveyance drawn by bulls he falls into hell and his pītṛs do not accept the water offered by him at the holy place and if a pilgrim because of riches or avarice or foolishness goes in a conveyance (not drawn by bulls) all his effort (as a pilgrim) becomes fruitless and therefore a pilgrim should avoid journey in a conveyance. According to the Kalpataru (on Tīrtha p. 11) using a conveyance is forbidden only in the case of pilgrimage to Prayāga (and not in the case of other tirthas), while the Tīr. C. (p. 8) and Tīr. Pr. (p. 45) quote a verse 1305 which provides that if a pilgrim uses a cart drawn by bulls he is guilty of gowadha (killing a cow), if he travels on horse-back (or in a horse-drawn carriage) his pilgrimage yields no fruit, if he is carried by men (in a palanquin or the like) he secures only half the merit but if he travels bare-footed then he wins the full merit. The Padma-purāṇa (IV. 19. 27) has a similar verse. The Tīr. Pr. p. 34 quotes a verse from the Kūmarapurāṇa that those who are unable to perform a pilgrimage otherwise do not incur blame (or loss) by making use of a conveyance drawn by men or a chariot which is drawn by mules or horses. Similarly, a verse of the Viṣṇupurāṇa 1306 quoted by both Tīr. C. and Tīr. Pr. (pp. 34–35) provides that one should always go on a journey wearing shoes and holding an umbrella in the rains or in summer and armed with a staff at night or in a forest. The Viṣṇudharmottara takes a more practical view when it says that to make a pil-

---

1304. परमांतिपराणि यः प्रभा तरः कणिकं। विद्यादेव समावः शङ्ख सतमापित हस्ताक्षरः॥ नरणे वस्त्रे धोरे वसं कौशिकर त्रिहरे।। सास्त्रमेव न च हस्ताक्षिर विनिर्देशं देहनेन॥ एष्ययोगाल्मोहादा गात्रेयालम्बने यो नत्र।। निषेधां तथा तन्त्रां तत्त्वात्मानाः विचर्जयेत॥ महर्षी. 106. 4–5 and 7. These verses are quoted by तीर्थार्थि. p. 8 (its reading एष्ययोगाल्मोहादा is better) and तीर्थार्थि. pp. 33–34. The verse एष्ययोगाल्मोहादा is q. by तीर्थार्थि. p. 492. The कुर्मः (I. 37. 4–5) has the verse एष्ययोगाल्मोहादा.

1305. गोपालेऽगोपः गोकृति हर्षपाले तु निक्षेपम्। तत्साधने तद्भि शापति पद्यम् तत्त्व चतुहिर्यम्।। q. by गोपालेऽगोपः. p. 13, तीर्थार्थि. and तीर्थार्थि. 'उपसन्द्रयम् चतुहिर्यम् गोपालेऽगोपः' पदः IV. 19.27.

1306. विष्णुपुराणिकस्व द्रव्यस्वर्गस्वर्गीय च। सर्वसारस्त्रयाधिकारवस्तुं संसारविद्यायतं।। इति विष्णुपुराणिकस्वर्गस्तवस्तुं सारस्त्रयाधिकारवस्तुं संसारविद्यायतं।। तीर्थार्थि. pp. 8–9. This verse is विष्णुप्तम्. III. 12. 38: मद्यप्राप्ति (उद्धरण) 62. 35 is almost the same; तीर्थार्थि. पदः तद्भवस्तुं पद्यम् तत्तं परस्त्रीयम्।। तद्वेत् कुल्यम् याति न विष्णुपम्. III. 273. 11–12.
grimage on foot is the highest tapas (austerity) and that if a pilgrimage be made in a conveyance the pilgrim will reap only the reward of the bath. The Tir. Pr. (p. 35) allows the use of a vessel to reach holy places like Gaṅgāsāgara which cannot be reached otherwise.

The Tristhali-setu (pp. 1-3) has a long discussion about the saṅkalpa (declaration) to be made at the time of starting on a pilgrimage. The conclusions reached are that the declaration should not include the names of all the holy places intended to be visited, but should expressly state the last one up to which one desires to go, that persons from southern or western India should make a saṅkalpa about Gayā (and pilgrimage to Prayāga and Kāśi will be implied) and that a person from East India should make a saṅkalpa about Prayāga (and pilgrimage to Gayā and Kāśi will be included as a matter of course) and that (as an alternative method) a man from south or west India should at first make a saṅkalpa about pilgrimage to Prayāga, then while in Prayāga he should make a saṅkalpa about visiting Kāśi and then in Kāśi he should make a saṅkalpa about visiting Gayā. A pilgrim from Eastern India should first make a saṅkalpa about Gayā, then, while in Gayā, he should make one about Kāśi and so on. The Tirthapraṇāśa (p. 326) appears to criticize the first method proposed by the Tristhali-setu and states its own view to be that those who intend to visit many sacred places should make a saṅkalpa in the form 'I shall perform pilgrimage' (Tirtha-yātāmam kariṣye). The Tirthapraṇāśa, however, approves of the second method proposed as an alternative.

That the merit of a pilgrimage could be collected in a vicarious manner is laid down by the Smṛtis and Purāṇas. Atri (50-51) provides He for whom an effigy made with kuśa grass intending it as a representative is dipped in the waters of a holy place secures one-eighth part of the merit (that he would have secured by himself bathing in the waters). If a man takes a bath (in a holy place) having in view (the benefit

---

1307. The saṅkalpa may take the form अः अः पतिपुष्पवसेर्ववशज्ञवः फलस्मथकात्मकाः सः।

1308. The first verse is quoted as देवरात्मस्थितो तीर्थक्लेयो । प्राचीत्यम् निमंजये अष्टामः शयने । मातं पिताय गार्ही भाटि भाटि सदाः प्रज्ञाने। The 1st is q. by पतिपुष्पवसेर्ववशज्ञवः (p. 50-51). The 2nd is q. by देवरात्मस्थितो (p. 11) and by तीर्थक्लिप्य, pp. 13-14 and occurs in नृमलं (काशी 6. 64); the 2nd is q. by पतिपुष्पवसेर्ववशज्ञवः (p. 59) reads शयने । and attributes it to ग्रंथोदयः.
of his mother, father, brother, friend or guru, these latter receive one-twelfth of the fruit (of the pilgrimage). Another verse of Paññānaśi says that he who visits a holy place for money (wages) from another gets only a 16th part of the merit, but he who goes to a tīrtha while bent on another purpose or errand (such as study, business, waiting on a guru) reaps only half the merit. The Viṣṇudharmottara has a similar verse. It was owing to this idea of collecting merit and God’s Grace that wealthy men built Dharmatilās, tanks, and annasatrās and wells for the conveniences of pilgrims and the planting of trees by the sides of roads had in view the comfort of pilgrims as well as of the general public. The Prabhāśa khaṇḍa remarks ‘A wealthy man who enables another to perform pilgrimage by providing his own money or conveyances gets one-fourth of the merit of the pilgrimage.’

The Prāyaścittatattva of Raghunandana quotes from the Brahmapūrāṇa some verses which enumerate fourteen acts that a pilgrim has to give up after reaching the Ganges viz. saucā (punctilious performance of bodily purification), ācamaṇa (sipping water on various occasions in the day), hair (dressing), wearing nirmaṇya (flowers taken away after being offered in worship), repeating the Ahamaraṇa hymn (Rg. 190.1–3), shampooing the body, sports, acceptance of gifts, sexual dalliance, devotion to another tīrtha, praising another tīrtha, the gift to others of clothes (worn by oneself), striking any one and swimming across the water of the tīrtha.

One noticeable rule is that, though Manu III. 149 requires strict examination of the ancestry and learning of brāhmaṇas to be invited at a śrāddha, some of the Purāṇas provide that

---

1309. पैठिनासिः। बोधकां स तभंते। पराधेन मच्छति। अर्थेषु तीर्थेन तथा। प्रसंगेन मच्छति। तीर्थे। प. 11। प्रयो। तथा। प. 492 (explains पराधेन वेदान्तवाच्य प्रसंगेन उदेश्यस्यादानाद्वारे)। तीर्था। प. 36। (प्रसंगेन भ्रमणेक्यवाच्यार्थानुद्वारे विशिष्टतत्त्वः)। This is found in सन्ध्व (कालीं। च. 6.63)। The first half is प्रय. VI. 237.43.

1310. यथार्थं व्यवस्थित शक्यं तीर्थयात्रा ततोऽपि। स्वकीयव्यवस्थयात्रा तत्परं पुरणं चतुर्दशं। परन्तुप्रवर्तनं गण. 1। प. 36। तीर्थं मात्रायुक्तम् स्त्रानं तीर्थं समाचारं। स्त्रानं व्यवस्थित तीर्थयात्रार्थं न हुः। सन्ध्व 8.12 q. द्व. 1। प. 132 and कल्पन (तीर्थं)। प. 11। Almost the same verse occurs in प्रय. VI. 237.41–42। vide विष्णुपौराणिक III. 273.10 for a similar verse.

1311. तीर्थेन भार्त्रणं नेव पराधेत्तर्व परिप्रेक्ष्यत। अथाप्रायत्साहितं भोज्यं तं महत्तर्वित। प्रय. V. 29.212 and महापुराणं। गण. 1। प. 10। भार्त्रणं पराधेत अथ कूटं त्रिविष्णुवाचिनं। समुद्रपरिवर्तितत्त्वादिपि भार्त्रणाः परिप्रेक्षये। सन्ध्वं (प्रसंगेन) quoted by पुराणेन्द्रदेवं। फः 130 b। न परिशील्य विद्यापितां ऋष्यं वच। सन्ध्वं। विष्णुदानं च च चक्ष्यं परस्रेण। सन्ध्वं। (कालीं। 6.56–57)।
one should not enter upon an examination of the worth of brāhmaṇas at holy places and this view is endorsed by several digests such as the Kalpataru on tīrtha (p. 10), the Tīr. C. (p. 10) and the Tīr. Pr. (p. 73). The last work remarks that brāhmaṇas who are known for certain to possess defects deserving condemnation should be avoided. The Varāhapurāṇa goes so far as to say that at Mathurā a pilgrim should prefer to honour a brāhmaṇa born and bred up in Mathurā rather than a brāhmaṇa who has studied the four Vedas (but is a stranger to Mathurā). Similar passages from the Vāyu and Skandapurāṇa have been quoted above in note 910 and there is another similar passage in Skanda. It is provided by the Vāyupurāṇa that when a son goes to Gayā, he should invite only those brāhmaṇas that have been settled in Gayā by Brahmā and that such brāhmaṇas are above ordinary mortals, that when they are gratified the gods together with one's pitṛs become pleased, that one should not enter upon a consideration of their family, their character, their learning or their austerities and that when the Gayā brāhmaṇas are honoured the man doing so secures release (from saṁśāra). In Vāyu 106. 73–84 and Agni 114. 33–39 and Garuda it is narrated that, after Gayāsura fell down and asked for boons which were granted by Viṣṇu, Brahmā bestowed upon the Gayā brāhmaṇas 55 villages and Gayātīrtha extending over five krośas, gave them well-appointed houses, desire-yielding cows and trees, but he enjoined on them not to beg or accept a gift from others. The brāhmaṇas, however, greedy as they were, officiated at a sacrifice performed by Dharma (Yama) and begged him for fees and accepted them. Then Brahmā cursed them that they would always be in debt and took away the Kāmadhenu and Kalpavṛkṣa and other gifts. The Agnipurāṇa (114. 37) adds that Brahmā cursed them to be bereft of all learning and to be full of greed. The brāhmaṇas then begged Brahmā to favour them with some means of livelihood (as they had been deprived by the curse of Brahmā of all that had been bestowed on them). Brahmā pitied them and told them that they would maintain themselves at Gayā-tīrtha

1312. बहुतेवर्ष परिश्रमा माथुरं पूजयेतहदा। मथुरायेन वसस्विस्तित विश्वस्त्र हि ते नतः। ज्ञानलस्यं हि पपमनि अज्ञा: परमाणि तत्त्व हि। वाराह 165. 57–58.

1313. गद्दि दूसरे गायं गद्दिकपायितातीतपर्यं। ततः नृपाध्यायिन माझाणा ये यकालिता। अमाधुतया विया माझाणा (माझाणा?) ये यकालिता। गाय 82. 25–27.

1314 स्विथा गद्दि गायायेन ते जागस्ते माझाणा तत्त्र। विया विभिन्निविना दूसरे श्रीमाधुरे भविष्यः। अधि 114. 36–37.
till the end of the world and that those who would perform śrāddha at Gayā and worship them (by engaging them as officiating priests and pay them) would secure the merit of having worshipped Brahmā. From this it is clear that the Gayā brāhmaṇas at the time of the composition of the section on Gayā at the end of the Vāyupurāṇa possessed the same characteristics as the modern Gayā brāhmaṇas (Gayāls or Gayāwals as they are called) and made the Gayā pilgrimage their business even then (as now). One of the early historic references to Gayal brāhmaṇas occurs in the Śaktipur copper-plate of king Laksmanaśena of Bengal in his 6th year (i.e. about 1183 A.D.)

The result of this teaching of the Purāṇas was that the brāhmaṇas at Gayā became a guild or a close corporation and the Gayāwals resent the intrusion of an outsider. Disputes between Gayāwals and outside priests and cases of Gayāwals have come before the courts and have gone up even to the Privy Council in England. It has been a usage for orthodox Hindu pilgrims going to Gayā to shave themselves at the river called Punpun, then on arrival at Gayā to worship the feet of one of the Gayāwal brāhmaṇas. The Gayāwal himself or his agent takes the pilgrim to the sacred spots (Vedīs) in and around Gayā. The priest is paid a fat fee near the Aksaya-vaña and the Gayāwal puts a garland of flowers on the folded hands of the pilgrim and pronounces the word 'sūphala' and utters a blessing that the pilgrim’s ancestors would go to heaven on account of the pilgrim’s visit to Gayā. In order to keep this business in their own families the Gayāwals have adopted loose and peculiar customs. If a Gayāwal is sonless he makes a gift of his office (called gādi or gaddi) to another Gayāwal, who describes himself as the adopted son of the Gayāwal making the gift. There is no real adoption in the strict sense. Therefore, the so called adopted son retains his rights in the family of birth, he is not severed from his natural family and it is not rare to find that one Gayāwal claims to have succeeded to four gādis (i.e. claims to be the son adopted by several persons simultaneously). The Gayāwals have got books in which they enter the names and addresses of

1315. Vide E. I., vol. XXI. p. 211 at p. 219 'विनाशाःनवदेशादयथा-वयात। बाह्राणगिरिविपिने नितियुक्ति। आराध्यत्वाबिश्वास्यसत्त्वकार्यविधानं॥'

1315 a. The Manusāstra says: धारणयानि हृदभावस्वप्निष्क्रिया च श्रोतस्वत् तथा। इति-पुनः महावयानं आर्तं सत्त्वनिधोपेत्। q. in Upaniṣ. folio 141 a.
their clients, who sign such entries and enjoin upon their descendants to make members of that particular Gayāwal family their gurus whenever they might visit Gayā. Thus large incomes and properties come to the hands of the Gayāwals. They send their agents throughout India, who bring as many pilgrims as possible. In *Lachman Lal v. Kanhaya Lal* the Privy Council had to deal with the case of a Gayāwal who claimed to be an adopted son without loss of his interest in the property of the natural family on the ground of these peculiar practices of the Gayāwals and that claim was upheld. In *Lachman Lal v. Baldeo Lal* the Patna High Court gives a brief summary of the origin, history and customs of the Gayāwals, remarks that though in former times there were several hundred families of Gayāwals their number is now reduced to about 150, that the Gayāwals so-called gaddi is not a hereditary office, but only a business to which a goodwill is attached. The Calcutta High Court decided in *Dwarkanath Misser v. Rampertab Misser* that persons who require religious ceremonies to be performed for their benefit are at liberty to choose the priest by whom they shall be performed, that plaintiffs are not entitled to a declaration that they along with defendants are exclusively entitled to officiate as priests when pilgrims, on their way to the holy city of Gayā, perform the śrādha ceremony of their ancestors on the bank of the sacred river Punpun, and that the plaintiffs could be given a declaration that they are entitled to officiate as priests for such pilgrims as may choose to employ them for the purpose of religious ceremonies and that the defendants are not entitled to prevent the plaintiffs from the exercise of their calling. In *Narayan Lal v. Chulhan Lal* the Calcutta High Court decided how the books containing the names and addresses of pilgrims kept by a joint family of Gayāwals were to be divided at the time of the partition of all the properties of the family.

The literature on tirthas is probably far more extensive than on any other single topic of Dharmasāstra. Not to mention the Vedic Literature, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas

1316. 22 Cal. 609 at pp. 615–618 (P. C.) = 22 I. A. 51.
1317. 2 Patna Law Journal 705.
1318. 13 C. L. J. p. 449.
1319. 15 C. L. J. p. 376.
contain on a very modest calculation at least 40000 verses on tirthas, sub-tirthas and legends connected with them. In the Vanaparva (chap. 82–156) and Śalyaparva (chap. 35–54) alone there are about 3900 verses on tīrtha-jātrā. To mention only a few of the Purāṇas, the Brahmapurāṇa devotes about 6700 verses (i.e. nearly half of its total extent of 13783 verses) to tirthas, the Padma about 4000 verses out of the 31000 verses of the first five khaṇḍas, the Varāhapaṇa devotes about 3182 verses to tirthas (out of which about 1400 refer to Mathurā) out of about 9614 verses, the Matsya about 1200 verses out of 14002. Besides these, the following well-known digests and works on tirthas deserve mention. The Tritthaviveca-kāṇḍa of the Kalpataru of Lakṣṇidhara (G. O. S. series); the Caturvarga-1320 cintāmaṇi of Hemādri (1260–1270 A. D.) contained a section on tirthas (no Ms. has yet been discovered); the Tirthacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati (1450–1480 A. D.) published in B. L. series; the Tirthasāra, part of Nṛsīmhaprasāda about 1500 A. D. (published in the Sarasvati-bhavana series); the Tristhālisūta of Nārāyanabhaṭṭa (about 1550–1580 A. D.) printed by the Anandārama Press, Poona; Tirthasaukhya, a part of Toḍarānanda (1565–1589 A. D.); Tirthatattva or Tirthayātrāvidhitattva of Raghuṇandana whose literary activity lies between 1520–1570 A. D. (printed in Bengali characters and over and above the 28 tattvas of his Smṛtitattva); Tirthapratkāśa by Mitramiśra about 1610–1640 (published in the Chowkamba Sanskrit series); the Tristhālisūtusāra-saṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji (about 1625); Tristhālisūtusāra-saṅgraha of Nāgēśa; the Tirthendusekhara of Nāgēśa or Nāgoji (published in the Sarasvatibhavana series, Benares, 1936). There are several works on tirthas (not yet printed) mentioned in H. of Dh. vol. 1. p. 554, of which the Tirtharatnākara of Anantabhaṭṭa composed at the order of Anūpasimha is probably the largest work on tirthas (ms. no. 1822 in the Anup Library at Bikaner). Besides these there are special works on indivi-

---

1320. Vide H. of Dh. vol. 1 p. 354 n. 838 which shows that Hemādri had completed his section on tīrtha when he commenced the Parisēṣa-khaṇḍa. It may be noted that the Śrīvācchādaṇḍa of the Śrīvācchādaṇḍa had the work of Hemādri on tīrtha before them. For examples, the Śrīvācchādaṇḍa p. 53 'तथा च हेमाद्रीलसारारसिकारणार्थसारारसिकारणार्थसारारसिकारणार्थसारारसिकारणार्थसारारसिकारणार्थसारारसिकारणार्थसारारसिकारणार्थसारारसिकारणार्थसारारसिकारणार्थसारारसिकारणार्थसारारसिकारणार्थसारारसिकारणार्थसारारसिकारणार्थसारारसिकारणार्थसारार

---

The text contains a detailed historical overview of the importance and various aspects of tirtha and tīrtha-jātrā in ancient Indian literature. It references several key works and authors, including the Vanaparva, Śalyaparva, Brahma Purana, Padma Purana, Matsya Purana, Kalpataru, Caturvarga, Nṛsīmhaprasāda, Sarasvati-bhavana, Nārāyanabhaṭṭa, Vācaspati, Nāgēśa, Bhaṭṭoji, Mitramiśra, Anantabhaṭṭa, and others. The text also includes a historical note (1320) mentioning Hemādri’s work, which predated the Śrīvācchādaṇḍa. The references and quotations from various sources are mentioned, indicating the rich and diverse literary tradition concerning tirthas and their significance.
dual tirthas such as the Gāṅgā-vākyāvalī\textsuperscript{1321} (on the Ganges) of Vidyāpati (1400–1450 A. D.) published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri; Kāśimrtimokṣa-vicāra of Sureśvarācārya (published in the Sarasvatibhavana Texts series, Benares 1936); the Gayārāddha-paddhati of Raghunandana, the Purusottama-kṣetratattva of Raghunandana (published by Jivananda). Only printed works have been drawn upon in this work (except where expressly stated otherwise).

The preliminaries before starting on a pilgrimage to any tīrtha prescribed by the purāṇas and digestes may be brought together. On a certain day (when a person has decided on tīrtha-yātra) he should take only one meal, then the next day he should shave himself (according to most digestes) and observe a fast; then on the day after the fast he should perform his daily duties, should make a saṅkalpa (declaration of intention) in the form 'I shall perform a pilgrimage to such and such a place and I shall worship Gāṇeṣa and my favourite deities for the accomplishment of the pilgrimage without obstacles'; offer worship to Gāṇeṣa, to the planets (nine) and his favourite deities with five or sixteen upacāras,\textsuperscript{1322} then perform a pārvaṇa-ārāddha with plenty of ghee according to his own gṛhyaśūtra, honour three brāhmaṇas at least and donate some money to them. Then he should put on a pilgrim's dress as described above (p. 573), go round the village in which his house is located (or at least round his own house), reach another village not more distant than one kroṣa (two or two and half miles) and break his fast by eating the remainder of the food cooked and ghee used for the ārāddha (this applies to pilgrimage to Gayā). He may break his fast

\textsuperscript{1321} The last verse of the Gāṅgāvākyāvalī is किष्किष्कवमालेक्ष्य अव-निधानविवरणम्। गद्धावास्यान्त देव्या प्रमाणिनसभायुषम्॥। This verse shows that the famous Maithila scholar Vidyāpati at least provides the authorities on which the work is based. Some scholars hold that it is really Vidyāpati who wrote the work for commemorating the queen who had honoured and patronized him. The 2nd Introductory verse claims the work as Viśāva-devī's own. In the द्वावास्यान्ती of परमति the last verse is निष्कर्ष नम्बरमालेक्ष्य। सुनिरणम्। द्वावास्यान्ती देव्या:॥॥ (D. C. ms. No. 216 of 1881–82.

\textsuperscript{1322} For the sixteen and five upacāras, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 729–730. The नववातपुरण (Anandārama ed.), युवकपुरण, chap. 26.60–92 mention 16, 12 or five upacāras as follows: आतन्य वसन्त पायस्तपत्वाचमीकं || पुरय वन्सपूर्ण व दीप्य नैतिदुपात्मसतम् || तथापि मात्र जलयो जलाहारिः जलाहारश्रीपववायुः || तरयुः साधारं देवायेन्द्र सत्येन || गध्याधित्वास्राहें विना द्राहाति ह्रादस। पायस्तपत्व- नेवुपायुः यथेष्ठास्त्रीयम् एव च॥।
in his own house (in the case of other tirthas) and then start. Then the next day he should bathe with pure clothes on and then put on his pilgrim dress and start on his pilgrimage in the forenoon with his face to the east, preferably bare-footed. There are two views here. Some say that on the day on which a man reaches a tirtha he should observe a fast, while the other view is that the pilgrim should fast on the day previous to his reaching the tirtha. In the first case he will have to perform a śrāddha on the day of the fast and in that case he cannot actually taste the remnants of śrāddha food but should only smell the cooked food. The Kalpataru (on tirtha p. 11) and the Tirtha-cintāmaṇi (p. 14) quote Devala for the proposition that a fast on reaching a tirtha is not obligatory, but if observed yields special merit.
CHAPTER XII

THE GANGES

Since the Ganges is the holiest of rivers and since such highly esteemed tirthas as Kanakhalal, Haridvara, Prayaga and Kasi are situated on it, it would be most proper to begin the treatment of individual tirthas with the Ganges.

It has been already seen (p. 556) how the Ganges is the first among the many rivers invoked in the famous Ṛadistuti hymn (Ṛg. X. 75.5–6). In Ṛg. 1323 VI. 45.31 we have the word 'Gāngyāh' which most probably means 'growing on the Ganges'. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIII. 5. 4. 11 and 13 and Ait. Br. 39. 9 the victories and sacrifices of Bharata Daussantī on the Gāṅgā and Yamunā are mentioned. In Śat. Br. XIII. 5.4.11 and 13 an ancient gāthā is quoted 'At Nādapit the Apsaras Śakuntalā conceived Bharata who after conquering the whole earth brought to Indra more than 1000 horses meet for sacrifice.' The Mahābhārata (Amuśāsana 26. 26–103) and the Purāṇas (such as Naradiya, Uttarārdha, chap. 38–45 and 51. 1–48, Padma V. 60. 1–127, Agni chap. 110, Matsya chap. 180–185, Padma, Adikanda, chap. 33–37) contain hundreds of verses eulogising the greatness and the sanctifying activity of the Ganges. The Skandapurāṇa, Kaśikandha, chap. 29 (verses 17–168) contains one thousand names of the Ganges. It is not possible to reproduce here even a small fraction of what is said in these works about the Ganges. To most men in India great rivers like the Ganges, great mountains like the Himalaya present a double aspect, viz. the physical aspect and the spiritual aspect. A great river apart from its volume of water is deemed to have a spiritual or divine life which animates it. Tylor (in 'Primitive Culture', 2nd ed. p 477) observes 'What we call inanimate objects—rivers, stones, trees, weapons and so forth—are treated as living intelligent beings, talked to, propitiated, punished for the harm they do.' There are separate treatises devoted to the glorification of the Ganges and the pilgrimage to it such as the

1323. अधि पृथुः एण्डीमां वल्लिं दूर्वर्गस्वर्दात। उस: कस्यो न गान्धुषः॥ श्र. VI. 45. 31.
The last pāda means 'like a broad patch of grass or bush growing on the banks of the Ganges'.
Gaṅga-pattalaka of Gaṅgēśvara (1350 A.D.), Gaṅgāvākyāvall of Viśvāsadevi, queen of king Padmasimha of Mithilā, the Gaṅgābhakti-tarāṅgini of Gaṅapati, the Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka of Vardhamāna. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 538 for the dates of some of these works.

The Vanaparvā, chap. 85, has a grand eulogy of Gaṅgā in verses 88–97, some of which may be translated here. The Ganges is equal to Kurukṣetra wherever one may take a bath in it, but there is a speciality about Kanakha and in Prayāga there is the greatest and highest (holiness). If a person, after committing a hundred bad deeds, sprinkles himself with Ganges (water), the waters of the Ganges burn all of them as fire burns fuel. In the Kṛta age all (places) were holy, in Tretā age Puskara was (the holiest place), in Dvāpara Kurukṣetra and in the Kali age the Ganges. The Ganges, when its name is uttered, purifies a sinner, when seen it yields good fortune, when a bath is taken in it or its water is drunk, it sanctifies the family up to the seventh ancestor. As long as (a particle of) the bones of a man touches Ganges water (i. e. lies inside it), so long does the man remain happy (or honoured) in heaven. There is no holy place equal to the Ganges, there is no god higher than Kesava. That country and that penance-grove where the Ganges flows should be known as the sacred spot of success (or perfection) since it attaches itself to the Ganges.” The Anuśāsana (26.26, 30–31) asserts “those districts and countries, those hermitages and mountains, in the midst of which the Ganges flows are pre-eminent in puṇya (religious merit). Even those men who, after committing sinful acts in the first part of their lives, resort afterwards to the Ganges reach the highest world (or goal). That increase (in merit) which comes to men that bathe in the holy waters of the Ganges and that then become pure in spirit, cannot be secured

1324. कुष्ठेश्वरसमा गङ्गा पत्र तथाव्याहिता। मिश्रधोनो मीनन्दे परंते महत्। पदकार्येण कुला छल्ते गङ्गापतेनवर्। सबं तत्तत् ग्रामाणि देहयमिनित्यन्तम्। 88; सबं भुजुण्यु पुपणे जीताणि उपकारं समेतम्। द्यारसद्रे कुष्ठेश्वर भुजुण्यु स्वरत्मं...युना शरीरितिति परं पर्वस्य भयं मध्यामस्त। अवशयाच ग्रामाणि पुनार्मिनित्यन्तम्। 94; न गङ्गासुइहौ तीथि न वेदः केशवान्तः।... वर गङ्गा महाराजः स उसशतश्रीवर्धनम्। सिद्धिविषेण भुजुण्यु महाराजीर्य समाधिः। वनर्ष 85.88–97 =प्रथ I. 39.81–90. नारायण. (उत्तर) 39.46 is कुष्ठेश्वर... गङ्गापतिः। मिश्रधोनो मीनन्दे परंते महत्॥ कुष्ठेश्वरसमा गङ्गा पत्र तथाव्याहिता। नारायण. (उत्तर) 38.20 is कुष्ठेश्वर... गङ्गापतिः। मिश्रधोनो मीनन्दे परंते महत्॥ The same verse is quoted from भविष्य by नीलिंग्च. p. 191.
even by the performance of hundreds of solemn Vedic sacrifices.'

In the Bhagavadgītā (X. 31) Lord Kṛṣṇa says that among streams he is the Ganges (srotasāsāstim Jāhnavī). The Manusmṛti setting out an exordium to a witness to tell the truth indicates that the Ganges and Kurukṣetra were the most sacred spots in the age of the Manusmṛti. Some of the Purāṇas describe the Ganges as flowing in Heaven (as Mandākini), on the earth (as Gaṅgā) and in the nether regions or Pātāla (as Bhogavati). Vide Padma VI. 267. 47. The Viṣṇupurāṇa and other Purāṇas state that the Ganges springs from the toe-nail of the left foot of Viṣṇu. In some Purāṇas it is said that Śiva let off from his matted hair the Ganges in seven streams, three flowing towards the east (Nalini, Hādini, Pāvani), three to the west (Śita, Caksus and Śindhu) and Bhagirathi (vide Matsya 121. 38-41, Brahmāṇḍa II. 18. 39-41, Padma I. 3. 65-66). The Kūrmapurāṇa (I.46.30-31) and Varāha (chap. 82 in prose) state that the Ganges flows first in four different streams, Śitā, Alakānanandā, Sucaksu and Bhadrā and that the Alakānanandā flows towards the south, comes to Bhāratavarṣa and falls into the sea with seven mouths. In the Brahmapurāṇa (73. 68-69) the Ganges is described as sprung from the foot of Viṣṇu and as established in the matted hair of Mahēśvara (Śiva).

The Viṣṇupurāṇa eulogises the Ganges as follows: The Ganges purifies all beings from day to day when its name is
heard, when one desires to see (it), when it is seen or touched or when its waters are drunk or when one plunges into it or when one takes (or sings) its name; when people utter the name ‘Ganges’ even though living at a distance of hundreds of yojanas, their sins accumulated in three births are destroyed.’ The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa has a similar verse ‘one becomes free from sins at once by seeing the Ganges or touching it or drinking its water and by uttering the name Gaṅgā and also by remembering it.’ The Matsya, Kūrma, Garuḍa and Padma remark that the Ganges is easy of access everywhere but is difficult to reach at three places viz. at Gaṅgādāvāra (Hardívāra), at Prayāga and where it joins the sea and that those who bathe therein reach heaven and that those who die there are not born again. The Nārādiyapurāṇa, on the other hand, says that the Ganges is difficult of access everywhere, but much more so at three places. The man, whether desiring it or not, who draws near the Ganges and dies (near it) secures heaven and does not see hell (Matsya 107.4). The Kūrmapurāṇa represents that the Ganges is equal to all the 35 millions of holy places declared by Vāyu in the heaven, in mid region and on the earth and that all of them are represented by the Ganges. The Padmapurāṇa asks ‘what is the use of sacrifices rich in large wealth, what is the use of very difficult austerities when there is the Ganges honoured easily and gracefully that yields Heaven and mokṣa’? A similar verse occurs in the Nārādiya-purāṇa ‘what is the use of Yoga with its eight āngas, of austerities, of solemn (Vedic) sacrifices? Residence

1330. द्वारातत्साक्षात्यानां तथ गृहस्ति कीर्तनातः। स्तन्त्रावेशः गद्धर्षाः। सचं पारेः।

1331. सर्वं एकं गद्धां जिः विषु त्योपेतु दुर्जयते। गद्धार्दारे व्याघ्रे च गद्धासारासकस्मे॥

1332. अकालस्मि या कालस्मि वा गद्धाँ चोकाभिवृंदात्। सुनतां लभते स्वर्ग नस्ते च न

1333. तत्रः कालोपक्षीकों च संपत्तां गद्धारसिद्ध। विजयः पुरुषसन्ति च तस्माद जागरी र्षएं ज्ञातः॥
on the Ganges alone is superior to all these". Two verses of the Matsya-purāṇa deserve mention here: "even a man of sinful deeds, on remembering the Ganges even at a distance of thousands of yojanas, attains the highest goal. A person is delivered from sin by uttering the name (of the Ganges), on seeing it a person sees happiness; by bathing in the Ganges and drinking its water he purifies his family up to the seventh ancestor". It is stated in the Kāśikāpanḍa that on the banks of the glorious Ganges all times are auspicious as well as all countries, and all men are fit for receiving gifts.

In the Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 82) the name ‘Gaṅgā’ is derived as ‘gām gata’ (that has gone to the earth). The Padmapurāṇa (Sṛṣṭikhandha 60. 64–65) specifies the mūlamantra about the Ganges as follows: ‘Om namo Gaṅgāyai, viṣvarūpiṇyai nārāyanyai namo namah’.

The Padmapurāṇa (sṛṣṭi 60.35) holds that Viṣṇu represents all the gods and the Ganges represents Viṣṇu. It eulogises the Ganges as follows: Sons abandon their fathers, wives their husbands, friends and relatives abandon a friend or a relative if any one of these is adulterous, or putica, or wicked or becomes a cāndāla or kills his guru, or is full of all kinds of sins and hatreds; but the Ganges does not forsake such persons.

The extent of the holy region of the Ganges is laid down in some purāṇas. The Nārādiya states: the region

1334. किं यथेष्ठुचितादिः किं तपस्यं: सुदुष्काः। सर्गानुक्षेपिता गद्गा ह्यस्तभाग्यमपि यन्तिता। पदa V. 60.39; किमहस्तो योगेन किं तपस्यं: किमहस्तोः। यस्त एव किं महात्माः। सर्वतोष्पिरं विलक्ष्यते। नारायण (उत्तर) 38.38, q. in सौभाग्य पत्र p. 194 (reads उद्दैन्या ज्ञानान्तरीण कारणेण) and तत्त्व तत्त्. p. 498. The first verse किं यथेष्ठु: is quoted as from भाग्यमण by तीर्थिन्द्रिय. p. 195 (last पāda is ज्ञानसृष्टि यत्र सर्वनाम).

1335. प्रीतिनादास सहक्रेशु हद्गा: सर्गानुक्षेपिताः। अपि हुष्टकरमः तु लभते परमं गतिः। किमहस्तो योगेन यस्तं तपस्यं पदार्थविदि। अन्यभादा च पीला हुष्टत्सपास्यावम्। कुलस्तम्। मस्त्र्य, 104. 14–15 q. by कष्टक (सौभाग्य पत्र) p. 160; vide also मस्त्र्य, 108. 25–26. Compare वाचनप्रेम 87. 93 (पुनितति किमहस्तिः) quoted in n. 1324; सर्व एव चुभम: कान्ते। सर्व एव चुभम: कान्ते। सर्व एव चुभम: कान्ते। सर्व एव ज्ञानो दानादेव श्रीमतीज्ञानोपदेवे। कान्तेषु 29. 69.

1336. ज्ञानं परं दुःखसाधनं दुःखविद्विनम्। सर्वसोदेषेन संकुल्कं सर्वसोदेषं संकुल्कं। र्यज्ञानं पितामह: निःसर्गमय:। चुभम: पतिः सर्वोन्नम्। अपि व ज्ञानं। सर्वोन्नम्। चुभम: पतिः। (सौभाग्य 60. 25–26).

1337. तीर्थुप्रदेशाविधां सुलिङ्गम्। तीर्थं र्यक्तं: कोष्तं तोऽत्त्र चेतसं चेतसं। एकोर्जनक्षेत्रोऽर्जनाति। नारायण (उत्तर) 43. 119–120. The first is quoted from ज्ञान by तीर्थिन्द्रिय. p. 266, which remarks ‘उद्दैन्या ज्ञानान्तरीण कारणेण’ केशभम्। The half verse पुनि is quoted from ज्ञानविद्वि by तीर्थिन्द्रिय. p. 267. (Continued on the next page)
within one *ganyūṭi* from the banks of the Ganges is called *kṣetra*; one should reside within the *kṣetra* limits, but not on the bank itself; residence on the bank (of the Ganges) is not desired. The limits of the *kṣetra* are of the extent of one *yojana* between both the banks' i.e. the *kṣetra* extends for two krośas from each bank. The general rule is stated by Yama that forests, mountains, holy rivers and tirthas are without an owner; these cannot be possessed (by a person as owner). The *Brahmapurāṇa*\(^{138}\) says that measuring from the flowing waters for a distance of four hastas, God Nārāyaṇa is the Lord (or owner) and no one should accept a gift in that strip even if he be on the point of death. A difference is made between the *garbha* (the inner circle) of the Gaṅgākṣetra, the *tira* and the *kṣetra*. *'Garbha'* extends up to that portion of the river stream which is reached on the 14th of the dark half of Bhādrapada; beyond that is the *tira* (bank), which extends up to 150 hastas from garbha and kṣetra extends up to two krośas from each bank.

Let us suppose that the pilgrim has come to the Ganges. Then the question is, how is he to proceed about a bath in the Ganges. Many of the digests contain several alternate forms of the *sāṅkalpa* to be made at the time of Gaṅgā-sāṅna. For example, the *Prāyaścittatattva* (pp. 497-498) contains a very elaborate *sāṅkalpa*. A simple one is quoted below from the *Gaṅgāvākyāvali*.\(^{139}\) The mode of bathing prescribed in the

\(^{138}\) *Brahmapurāṇa*. p. 136. *Ganayuti* is a measure of length or distance generally taken as equal to two krośas. There was some difference about the measures of length. According to the *Amarakosa* a *ganyūṭi* is equal to two krośas. *Ganayuti: kṛṣṇa kāṃkṣṣa*. According to the *Mahābhārata* 8. 105-107 and 101. 122-126 and *Mahābhārata* 7. 96-101 the measures are 24 *akṣaras* = one *hast;* 96 *akṣaras* = *dṛṣṭ;* (which is same as *bhū;* *yug;* and *nāti*); 2000 *bhū;* = *ganyūṭi* and 8000 *bhū;* = *yogāni*. *Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 145 n. 185.*

\(^{139}\) *Mahābhārata* 3. 43. 116-118. q. by *Śrīdhara*. p. 266 and *Śrīdhara*. p. 499 (from *Mahābhārata* and the verse *bhū;* from *Darsṇāvata* and by *Darsṇāvata*. p. 136 (the first verse from *Mahābhārata*); *Śrīdhara* (Uttara) 43. 118 [last half] is *śaṅkalpa* of *ḥriyājeśvaram* i.e. *puruṣa*. The digest reads *mahābhūta* for *mahābhūta*. *Vide H. of Dh. *Śrīdhara*. p. 266-207 for several alternative *śaṅkalpa* before *ghṛtāgni*.
Procedure of bath in the Ganges

Matsyapurāṇa 102 is common to people of all varṇas and students of all the different recensions of the Veda. The Matsyapurāṇa, chap. 102, which contains one of the earliest procedure of a religious bath, and which has been taken over by several digests such as the Gānḍāvyāvalī (pp. 148–152) is summarised here. Cleanliness (of the body) and clean thoughts do not exist without a bath; therefore bathing is first prescribed for making the mind pure. One may bathe with water drawn (in a vessel from a well or stream) or with water not so drawn. A wise man should fix upon a holy spot after repeating the fundamental mantra ‘namo Nārāyaṇāya’ (reverent bow to Nārāyaṇa). A man holding darbha grass in his hand and being clean and pure should perform ācamana (ceremonial sipping of water). He should select a spot four hastas square on all sides and invoke the Ganges (to come or be present there) with the following mantras ‘you are spring from the foot of Viṣṇu, you are a devotee of Viṣṇu, you worship Viṣṇu; therefore save us from sins committed from birth to death. Vāyu declared that there are three and a half crores (35 millions) of holy places in heaven, on the earth and in mid air; all these, O Ganges (daughter of Jahu), belong to you. Your name among the gods is Nandini (the joy-giving) and also Nālīni and there are other names of yours viz. Dakṣa, Pṛthvī, Vihaṇga, Viśva-kāyā, Amṛtā, Śīvā, Viḍyādharī, Supraśānta, Viśva-prasādini, Kṣemā, Jāhnavi, Śānta, Śāntipradāyini.1339a One should utter these holy names at the time of bathing; then the Ganges flowing in three worlds would be near (even if a man bathed at home). He should, after folding his hands, cast on his head thrice, four times, five times or seven times water on which he has muttered the mantras seven times. After having invoked the clay (in the river bed) with the mantras ‘O earth! Oh clay! you are crossed over by horses and chariots, by Viṣṇu, remove my sin which I may have committed by my evil deeds; you were brought up (from the depths of the sea) by the Boar incarnation of Kṛṣṇa with his hundred hands, O clay! you are given (to the world) by Brahmā and you had mantras repeated over you by Kalāṣapa. Occupying my limbs may you drive away all my sin! Oh clay! Give us

1339a. Verses 1–8 of Matsya chap. 102 are q. by the Sūtaṭīc. I. p. 182. The Sūtaṭīc. I. p. 183 also gives the twelve names of Matsya differently. Ṛṣa (IV. 89. 17–19) has the same holy names of the Gangas that the Matsya (102. 6–8) mentions. For the thousand names of the Gangas, vide above p. 585.
prosperity; everything is centered in you; a bow to you, that are virtuous and the source of all worlds'. Having thus bathed and having sipped water (ācamana) according to the procedure prescribed, he should get out of the Ganges and should put on two white and pure garments. Then he should perform tarpana for the satisfaction of the three worlds. (He should say) 'This water is being offered by me for satiating gods, yaksas, nāgas, gandharvas, apsaras, asuras, cruel snakes, eagles, trees, jackals, birds, creatures that sustain themselves on air and water or that move in the sky, all beings that are without support and those that are devoted to the dictates of dharma'. The person (performing tarpana) should wear the sacred thread in the upavīta form (when satiating gods) and then wear it in the

1340. Tarpana (satiating with the offering of water) is of two kinds viz. principal (pradhāna) and subsidiary (ānga). The first has to be performed every day by a twice-born person (who has finished his studies) for the gods, sages and pītsī in that order. The 2nd is performed as an ānga of snāna. नित्य वैभवावस्थें कार्यस्त्रिविवेय स्नानसूचये। तर्पणं हु भवेतेवध्वजेन वैकालिकम् II ब्रह्मस्पृष्टिः। इ. p. 165. तर्पण is an ānga of bath as well as of brahma-पाज्या। Tarpana has been described at great length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 668-669 and pp. 689-695. Therefore it is not necessary to make any lengthy remarks on tarpana here. A few matters that deserve attention are mentioned. One rule is that one has to perform tarpana according to the provisions of his own recension of the Veda. The persons to whom water is to be offered and the manner in which it is to be offered are set out on p. 692 of vol. II of H. of Dh. Another rule is that tarpana has to be done (even if the day is not auspicious) at a tirtha, in Gayā, in pitrapās (i.e. the dark half of Bhādrapada) with water mixed with sesame 'सीमें विधिविधें विधिविधें।' च मपाया शेषरिकें। विधिविधें विधिविधें विधिविधें।' A widow also has to perform tarpana for her husband and his relatives at a sacred place. An ascetic (sannyāsin) has not to do it. A person whose father is living has not to perform tarpana, but acc. to Viśvupurāṇa he offers three handfuls to gods, three to the sages and one to Prajāpatī (in the form 'devās-trpyantām'). Another rule is the one which makes an offering in śraddha or into fire with one hand only (the right hand) but in tarpana water is poured into the stream in which one is bathing or on land with both hands. ‘आयो हस्तवल्ले व पाथिक्षिकदीयवल्ले।’ तामें तामें तुंकभि एव ततिभि: स्तृत्वः।’ नारायणवः (उपज) 57. 62-63. If a man is not able to perform the elaborate tarpana described in vol. II, he should repeat the mantras from बाणुस्पृष्टि 110. 21-22 set out here and offer three aśjalis of water mixed with sesame and kuśas; अच्छोऽप्पर्यं व्रतिविधितम:। तुपस्तु पितादि। सब मात्रमात्रमात्र:।’ अत्तिकुमारिपति विनियोगिनाऽध्यायः।’ आ बाणु-स्पृष्टु श्रवणव्यवहारस्तु विशेषकारः।’
nīlā form (when satiating men). He should devotedly satiate men, the sages who were sons of Brahmā; he should say "May Sanaka, Sananda and Sanatana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vodhu, Pañcaśikha—may all these reach satiety by the water offered by me." Then he should satiate with water and aksata grains (the sages) Marici, Atri, Anirūkas, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Pracetas, Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu, Nārada; he should satiate all these devaṣīs, and brahmaṣīs, and rṣīs with water and aksatas. Then wearing the sacred thread in the apasavya mode, bending his left knee on the ground, he satiates with water mixed with sesame and sandal-wood paste pītras called Agniśvāta, Saumya, Havimata, Ṭr̥ṣaṭa, Sukalina, Barhiṣad and others called Aijupa. He should make a bow to Yama, Dharmarāja, Mrtyu, Antaka, Vaivasvata, Kāla, destroyer of all beings, Audumbra, Dadhna, Nila, Pārameśṭin, Vrkodara, Citra and Citragupta. With darbhas in his hand a wise man should satiate his pītra. He should satiate with devotion his father and the rest by uttering their names and gotra and his maternal grandfather and others in the same way and should recite the following mantra 'May those who are my bandhus or not my bandhus or were my bandhus in some previous life reach satisfaction and also whoever desires satisfaction from me.' Then he should sip water (perform ācamana) in the prescribed way and draw the figure of a lotus in front of himself and offer thereon to the Sun arghyam (respectful offering of water) with water mixed with red sandal-wood paste, flowers and aksatas (grains of rice) and repeat the names of Śūrya (the Sun) 'Bow to thee! that are Viṣṇu in another form, that art the face of Viṣṇu, that hast thousand rays and that art all fulgurance. Bow to thee that art beneficent, the lord of the world. Bow to thee that art adorned with divine sandalwood, that art seated on a lotus, adorned with ear-rings and armlets, the lord of people; that awakenest (or enlightenest) the whole world, that goest everywhere and markest the good and evil

1341. निवित्र भद्र भवनावन्ति भवनावपन्ति भवनास्पदाति भवनास्वाभावं ।
   मे भवनाभि । सं. II. 5. 11. 1.
   For explanation of these three modes of wearing the sacred thread, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 287–288 and apasavya has been explained in this volume in note 1093.

1342. Vide Vāyu 61.80–90 for definitions and enumeration of भद्र, वेणार्थ, राजस, and also Baud. Gr. I, 7 and Devala q. by अपसाव्या and other terms.

1343. For Agniśvāta and other names of classes of pītra, vide above pp. 343–344 and Brahmāṇḍa III. 10. 52, 75, 93, 96.
deeds; a bow to thee who art a god to all. O Bhāskara (Sun) I be well disposed to me. A bow to thee, Divākara (maker of day). A bow to thee, Prabhākara (source of refulgence). Having thus bowed to the Sun and having circumambulated thrice (the lotus drawn for representing the sun) and touching a brāhmaṇa, gold and a cow, the person (bather) should go to a temple of Viṣṇu (or to his own house, according to another reading). 1344

It may be noted that the verses of the Matsyapurāṇa (102. 2-31) summarised above occur (with slight variations of a word here and there) in Padma (Pāṭala-khaṇḍa 89. 12-42) and Śrīti-khaṇḍa, chap. 20. 145-176.

The Sm. C. and Raghunandana in his Prāyāscittapattva (p. 502) lay down two mantras to be recited at the time of taking a bath in the Ganges 1345 ‘O Ganges, daughter of Jālani! That flowest in three worlds, that art sprung from the lotus-like feet of Viṣṇu, that are far-famed as devoted to (the spread of) dharma, remove my sin; O divine mother, O Bhāgirathi! purify with your immortal waters me who am full of faith and devotion’. The mantra to be repeated at the time of the bath at the place where the Ganges falls into the ocean according to the same two works is “O god that art the lord of rivers! O goddess that art the best among rivers! Having bathed at the confluence of both I shall cast off my sins”.

On pp. 243-244 above it has been stated that the Viṣṇu Dh. S. and other works recommend the casting of the ashes or charred bones of a cremated body in the Ganges at Prayāga, Kaśi or other holy place and the rites accompanying the casting of ashes have been there set out. A few words are added here. The same verse 1346 (with slight variations) about casting

1344. त्रयसराष्ट्र तो चित्र are the names of यम and for चित्रस्य स्वये p. 160 above and कराहराण chap. 203-205.

1345. विश्वास्नात्सम्पूर्णं गृहीत स्वयमास्मिनः प्राविष्टातिविष्वमात्रे पारं मे हर जाहिरते हि अद्भुता महकसम्प्रदेशं (ल? ) अन्नलाभिनः जाहिराति। अयूनेतार्धसंयुते देवी सचीरिषयं कुन्यादि नामं स्वरूपित । I. 131; माय. तत्त । p. 502; लं के त वरिता नाथ लं के वरिता सरिता बे। उपथे: सकृष्ण नवलियार कुर्माजी दुरुचियार के। ibid. पत्र, कृषिकारण 60, 60 is the same as the first verse and 60. 62 offers some variant readings for the second.

1346. पाण्डुलिपि महद्वर्षय महद्वर्षय: स्वतः स्वतः। तज्जस्य दुर्योध: राजा स्वरूपिने महीयते: वनपर्य 85.94 = आश. I. 39 87; 47.10 चारासन्धि 26.32 is ग्रामस्थिता पाबृत्तात्र दिलियति वि स्पष्टितात्रः। तावद्यस्यत्सर्वादि...हरियते: = तावद्य. 106.52, कृष्ण I. 37.32 (reads पुरस्चर्य व ।); नारद (उदत) 43.109 यथावास्थितानि महद्वर्षय नित्यावित्य पुरस्चर्य व। तावद्यम्...हरियते। और भगवत (उदत) 62.51 is यथाज्य वस्तूर्मानि महद्वर्षयिष्य पत्रिते, तिनि खिनि ग्रामस्थिताय पुरस्चर्यम्। नारायण (ग्रामस्थित) 15.163 (केशारिणिवर्त्स्तात्मक अस्ताय: पुरस्चर्य:। निनित्य विश्वास्य स्वरूपमा ग्रामिण्यारणः).
ashes in the Ganges occurs in several works. The Agnipurāṇa observes ‘the deceased man benefits if his bones are thrown into the Ganges; a man stays in heaven as long as (even a particle of) his bone remains in the waters of the Ganges. No rites for the dead are performed for those who commit suicide or who are patita; but even in their case the fall of their bones in Ganges water is beneficial to them.’ The Tir. C. and Tir. Pr. quote two verses and a half from the Brahma-

purāṇa which set out a briefer rite of throwing ashes than the one in the Nirṇayasindhu. The verses mean: ‘The man carrying the ashes should take a bath, sprinkle pañcagavya over the ashes, should place on them a piece of gold, honey, ghee and sesame; then he should deposit them in an earthen vessel; he should then look in the southern direction, say ‘salutation to Dharma,’ enter the waters (of the Ganges), utter, ‘may he (Dharma or Viṣṇu?) be pleased with me’ and then cast the ashes in the water; then he should bathe in the river, come out of it, cast a look at the Sun and then give a present (dakṣiṇa) to a brāhmaṇa; if he does so, then the state of the deceased person will be like Indra.’ Vide Skanda, Kāśikhaṇḍa 30. 42-46 where a little more elaborate procedure is prescribed. The importance of casting ashes in the Ganges probably owes its origin to the story of king Sagara’s sons who were reduced to ashes by the wrath of the sage Kapila and who were saved by the ashes being washed in the waters of the Ganges brought down from heaven by Bhagiratha. Vide Vanaparva chap. 107-109, Viṣṇupurāṇa II. 8-10 for the story. The Nāradaṇya makes not only the throwing of calcined bones a source of benefit to the departed but even his nails and hair when cast in the Ganges confer the same benefit. It is stated in the Kāśikhaṇḍa that those who, while standing on the banks of the Ganges, praise another tīrtha or do not think very highly of the Ganges go to hell. The Kāśikhaṇḍa further provides that there is special and

---

1347. स्नात्ता तत: प्रणमित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्यायक्षित्रिन्यायोः प्रणमित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्यायि। तत्रुप्रकृतिसु कः नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय तत्रुप्रकृतिसु कः नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय तत्रुप्रकृतिसु कः नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यव�्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय।

1347 a. नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय। नारदप्रणयित्वं मिस्कल्वर मिस्यवध्यायक्षित्रिन्याय।

These verses are Nārada (Uttar chapt. 43. 113-115) with slight variations.
excessive merit in Gangāsnāna on special days e.g. the merit of bath on New Moon has one hundred times as much merit as on an ordinary day, a thousand times on a saṅkrānti, one hundred thousand on the eclipse of the sun or moon and unlimited times when a bath is taken on moon eclipse on a Monday and on sun eclipse on Sunday.  

TRISTHALI

The three great tirthas of Prayāga, Kāśi and Gayā are referred to as Tristhali and the great scholar, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (born in 1513 A.D.), wrote (about 1580 A.D.) in Benares a famous work called Tristhaliseta (a bridge to the Tristhali) wherein he gives a thorough and exhaustive treatment of the pilgrimage to these three holy places alone. Prayāga is assigned pp. 1–72, Kāśi pp. 72–316 and Gayā pp. 316–379 (of the Anandāśrama edition). Following with all humility the footsteps of such an illustrious and venerable scholar I shall deal with the three tirthas in the same order.

PRAYĀGA

One of the most ancient reference to the greatness of the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā occurs in a kīlā verse which is usually placed in Rg. X. 75 and may be rendered as follows: “Those who take a bath at the place where the

1348. भूते शतुरां युण्यं संक्रान्ति च सहस्रामस्। चतुर्दशृण्यं तर्क व्यक्तिपालनम्। तद्भवतः सोमवर्षानि रविष्णुसि। तद्भवत्वामविषयायं तत्र हस्तम्वसंस्करणवार्ता। 

1348 a. अयापान स्थानाश समाहात्विसवधितः।

1349. सितवासिरे सरिते पत्र सहुल्लासो दिवस्यनति। ये मेवत्व बिकुर्जति पीरासो जनासो अभुलासो भजनेत। The एवं p. 3 says it is a supplementary śruti text of the Āśvalāyana school, while the Tir, C. p. 47 quotes it as a verse of the Rgveda. It is quite possible to hold that the verse does not encourage religious suicide but only makes this distinction that by a bath only once a man goes to heaven and that if he dies at Prayāga he attains mokṣa even without correct metaphysical knowledge. Vide रुपेण्ड 13.58 ‘तत्त्वमोदिस्म विनापि सुरूपस्तुरापज्ञानी नासिक श्रीरत्नव्यः। q. by तीय य. p. 313. The एवं says: सत्सम्पूर्णः चर्च-परिपूर्णेश्वरिसिद्धो श्रीरत्नव्यः। तत्त्वमोदिस्म सत्त्व भवन्ति दिवस्य नासिकाय। कार्यः 10.54 q. by विकासिता p. 11. Vide also बालवेण्ड 7.46 for a similar verse. The verse no doubt has a vedic ring about it. The एवं p. 4 notices another reading. The waters of the Ganges are whitish while those of the Jumānā are dark. Classical Sanskrit poets very often harp on these colours of the waters of the two rivers. Vide रुपेण्ड 13.54–57.
two rivers, white and dark, meet together, rise up (fly up) to heaven; those determined men who abandon their body there (i.e., commit suicide by drowning themselves) secure immortality (or \textit{moksha})." This must have been a comparatively early verse. The Skandapurāṇa refers to it as śruti. The greatness of Prayāga is dwelt upon in the Mahābhārata (Vana-parva 85. 69–97, 87. 18–20, Anuśasana 25. 36–38)\textsuperscript{1350} and in many purāṇas such as the Matsya (chapters 103–112, in all 260 verses), Kūrma I. 36–39 (verses 121), Padma (I. chap. 40–49), Skanda, Kāśi-Khaṇḍa, chap. 7. 45–65). Only a few out of the hundreds of verses on Prayāga can be cited here by way of sample. One remarkable fact is that the Rāmāyana does not say much about Prayāga. The confluence of the two rivers is no doubt referred to (Rām. II. 54.6) but from the description it appears that there was a forest at what is now Prayāga. Prayāga is called Tirtharāja (the prince among tirthas) in the Matsya 109. 15, Skanda (Kāśi 7. 45), Padma VI. 23. 27–35 (where the refrain at the end of each verse is "sa tirtharājo Jayatī prayāgah) and elsewhere. The legend runs that Prajāpati or Pitāmaha (Brahmā) performed a sacrifice here and Prayāga is the middle one of the vedis of Brahmā, the others being Kurukṣetra in the north (uttaravedi) and Gayā in the east. It is believed that three rivers meet at Prayāga viz. Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvati (underground between the two). It is said in the Matsya\textsuperscript{1351}, Kūrma and other Purāṇas that at the very sight of Prayāga, even by taking its name or by applying its clay to one's body a man becomes free from sin. The Kūrmapurāṇa\textsuperscript{1352} proclaims "it is the sacred spot of Prajāpati; those who bathe here go to heaven and those who die here are not born again." That sacred spot is known as tirtharāja; it is dear to Keśava. The same is known as Triveni.

\textsuperscript{1350} इसरूपसर्वसाधारण तिल: कोट्यत्साधारण: | समागमचारि महंत्यं तु पवाने भरतभिषक्क मानमार्गि पवाने तु निष्ठितम् संकल्पतः: | स्नाना तु भरतांश निमित्तः स्नायमान-पवान । अयुक्तान 25. 36–38.

\textsuperscript{1351} दर्शनतय शरीरसंय समस्कर्तानाशाश्च | दर्शितकालभाषाश्च नर: पापान्

\textsuperscript{1352} एतद् प्रजायते। के च विषु तोकेशु विश्रुतम्। अत्र मानविवः विमानि व सुनालसं-षुक्मवसं। कुमार:। कुमार:। 36. 20। मानव। (१०४.५ एव १११. १४) तथा नारद: (उत्तरम् ६३.१२७-१२८) also calls it प्रजापतित्वेष्ट.
The word Prayāga is employed in the neuter when connected with such words as tirtha or kṣetra, as in Matsya (111.14 praśāpater-idam kṣetram prayāgam-iti viśrutam), but when employed along with words (in the masculine gender) such as tirtharāja, it takes the masculine gender.

The word Prayāga is derived in various ways. The Vana-pārva\textsuperscript{1353} appears to suggest that the word Prayāga is derived from the root ‘ya’ when it says ‘Brahmā who is the soul of all beings performed formerly a sacrifice here; therefore it became known as Prayāga’. In the Śrānda\textsuperscript{1354} purāṇa also it appears to be explained by taking the two parts pra and yāga separately. “It is mentioned as Prayāga because it is superior to all sacrifices; Prayāga was the name given to it by the gods Hari, Hara and others seeing that it is superior to all sacrifices though the latter be enriched with fees and the like.” The Matsyapurāṇa\textsuperscript{1355} appears to lay emphasis on the part ‘pra’ when it says ‘on account of its efficacy (or power) as compared with all other tirthas it prevails (or is useful) far more’. The Brahmapurāṇa\textsuperscript{1356} affirms “It is called prayāga on account of its eminence and it has the word ‘rāja’ (in Tirtharāja) applied to it on account of its being the chief”.

We must distinguish between Prayāga-mandala, Prayāga and Veṇi or Triveni, each subsequent one being smaller and holier than each preceding one. The Matsya\textsuperscript{1357} states that the sphere of Prayāga is five yojanas in circumference and that the moment a man enters inside this strip of land, there is an Aśvamedha at every stop. This has been explained by the Tristhāntasetu (p. 15) as follows: Regarding Brahmayāpa (the sacrificial post of Brahmā) as the spike or peg, if one measures with a rope one and one half yojana long all round, that would be the

\textsuperscript{1353} गाधारणांगपरिशर सहन्तं लोकदीव्यद्वार॥ प्राथयाजत यूताल्या प्रभमित विसतम।।
\textsuperscript{1354} प्राप्तं सर्पपरिशर: प्रागमिति भीष्यते। दुहुम प्राप्तपरिश्र: श्रेष्ठो दीप्तिते।
\textsuperscript{1355} प्राप्तं सर्पपरिशर: प्रागमिति भीष्यते। दुहुम प्राप्तपरिश्र: श्रेष्ठो दीप्तिते।
\textsuperscript{1356} प्राप्तं सर्पपरिशर: प्रागमिति भीष्यते। दुहुम प्राप्तपरिश्र: श्रेष्ठो दीप्तिते।
\textsuperscript{1357} प्राप्तं सर्पपरिशर: प्रागमिति भीष्यते। दुहुम प्राप्तपरिश्र: श्रेष्ठो दीप्तिते।
Prayāgamaṇḍala of five yojanas in circumference. The boundaries of Prayāga itself are defined by Vanaparva, the Matsya-purāṇa (104. 5 and 106. 30) and others. ‘Prayāga extends from Pratiṣṭhāna up to the pool of Vāsuki and upto the two nāgas Kambala and Aśvatara and the nāga Bahumūlaka; this is known in the three worlds as the sacred spot of Prajāpati’ (Matsya 104. 5), while Matsya 106. 30 provides that to the east of the Ganges is the Śāmudrakūpa, which is the same as Pratiṣṭhāna. This is explained by the Tristhalisetu as follows: the eastern boundary is the kūpa called Pratiṣṭhāna; the northern one is the Vāsuki pool, the western limit is formed by Kambala and Aśvatara; the southern boundary is Bahumūlaka. This would be a four-cornered space which is included within Prayāga-maṇḍala. According to the Matsya-purāṇa as quoted by the Kalpataru on tīrtha p. 143 the two Nāgas are on the south bank of Yamunā while the printed text has ‘vipule Yamunātaṭe’ (106. 27). The printed text of Padma I. 43, 27 supports the Kalpataru reading (‘Yamuna-dakṣīne tate’). Veṇi-kṣetra is within the limits of Prayāga itself and is twenty bow lengths in extent, as stated in the Padma. There are three kūpas viz. Prayāga, Pratiṣṭhāna and Alarkapura. The Matsya and Agni say ‘there are three fire kūṇḍas and the Ganges flows in their midst’. It should be noted that except where special reference is made in the Purāṇas to the sub-tirthas, the reference to a bath at Prayāga in general means bath in the Veṇi i.e. the confluence of the two rivers, as e.g. in Vanaparva 85,81 and 85 and Matsya 104. 16-17.
The Vanaparva\textsuperscript{1362} and some of the Purāṇas represent that the country between the Ganges and the Yamunā is (like) the hips and loins of the earth (i.e. it is the most prosperous and plentiful part of the earth) and that Prayāga is like the inmost part of the hips.

The Narasimha-purāṇa says that Viṣṇu is in the form of Yogamūrti in Prayāga (65.17). It is said in the Matsya-purāṇa\textsuperscript{1363} (111.4–10) that when Rudra dissolves the world at the end of the Kaipa, the holy place of Prayāga is not destroyed, that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara (Śiva) stay in Prayāga, that to the north of Pratīṣṭhāna Brahmā stays in it under guise, that Viṣṇu stays there as Veni-Mādhava, that Śiva stays there as the Vaṭa (banyan tree) and that therefore the gods with the Gandharvas, the Siddhas and great sages always protect the sphere (maṇḍala) of Prayāga by guarding it against evil actions. The Matsyapurāṇa, therefore, recommends that a pilgrim should go to Prayāga which is protected by all the gods, stay there for a month, avoid sexual intercourse, worship gods and pitras and thereby secure his desired objects (104.18). The same Purāṇa highly eulogises the gift at Prayāga of a kapilā cow properly decked (105.16–22) with clothes, ornaments and jewels. The Padmapurāṇa (Ādi. 42.17–24) has the same verses as the Matsya on this subject. Similarly, the marriage of a daughter in the ārga form at Prayāga is highly spoken of in Matsya (106.8–9).

The Matsya (105.13–14 and 106.10) says generally that if a man makes a gift of a cow, of gold, of precious stones, of pearls and of other things that he owns his pilgrimage becomes fruitful (saphalo) and he collects religious merit (puṇya) and that when a man makes gifts according to his ability and wealth, the fruit of his pilgrimage increases and he remains in heaven till the end of the world. The Brahmāṇḍa\textsuperscript{1364} assures pilgrims that whatever gifts are made according to one's ability at

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1362} ग्रामसनयोगसध्यत्य पद्मिन्य जगलय स्थरत | पथाण जगत्साधनसुपस्वब्रजी
\item \textsuperscript{1363} वमप्रपर्व मुनि माणयोगसध्यतः पद्मिन्य जगलय स्थरतः
\item \textsuperscript{1364} ब्राह्मण सद्द्वारां सत्य सल्लिः पद्मिन्य जगलय स्थरतः
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item ब्राह्मण च ग्रामसनयोगसध्यतः ग्रामसनयोगसध्यतः कर्मसः कर्मसः
\item वमप्रपर्व मुनि माणयोगसध्यतः पद्मिन्य जगलय स्थरतः
\item वमप्रपर्व मुनि माणयोगसध्यतः पद्मिन्य जगलय स्थरतः
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item ब्राह्मण q. in. ब्राह्मण प. 24.
\end{itemize}
Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, at the mouth of the Ganges where it falls into the sea, on the Ganges, at Puskara, at Setubandha, at Gaṅgādvāra and in Naimśa tends to confer inexhaustible rewards. In the Vanapravā 1365 it is stated that this sacrificial ground (of Brahmā) is honoured even by the gods, that even a small thing donated here assumes greatness (i.e. produces the rewards of large gifts).

The confluence of the three rivers came to be associated with omkāra, 1366 the mystic syllable that stands for Brahma. It is said in a purāṇa passage (probably Brahma purāṇa) that the three parts of om (a u m) respectively are Sarasvati, Yamunā and Gaṅgā and that the waters of three rivers represent Pradyumna, Aniruddha and śaṅkaraṇa Hari.

It may be noted that, in spite of the fact that the Māyā, Kūrma (l. 36-39), Padma (Ādi, chapters 41-49), Agni 111 and other Purāṇas contain several hundred verses on Prayāga, the Kalpataru (on tīrtha), the earliest extant digest on tīrthas, quotes only the Māyā (104. 1-13 and 16-20, 105. 1-22, 106. 1-48, 107. 2-21, 108. 3-5, 8-17 and 23-34, 109. 10-12, 110. 1-11, 111. 8-11, in all about 151 verses) and Vanapravā chap. 85. 79-87 and 97 and does not add a single word of explanation or discussion. But the other digests profusely quoting mostly from Purāṇas discuss at some length several topics and a few words must be devoted to some of those topics.

One such topic is tonsure at Prayāga. It is stated by the Gaṅgāvākyavalli (p. 298) and the Tir. Pr. (p. 335) that, though the author of the Kalpataru says nothing about tonsure at Prayāga, yet as siṣṭas (respectable and learned people) and the writers of digests accept it as necessary, certain authorities would be set out. The two verses quoted by most 1366a writers are 'one should tonsure the head at Prayāga, offer piṇḍas at Gayā, make gifts in Kurukṣetra and should commit

1365. एव श्याननुसारं चेवाननमपि सत्कुला। तत्र वर्ग स्त्रयमाशय-सहजतिः भारताः। वनप्रवा 85. 82 = 83. 77 of the cr, ed. which reads तत्ति दूरतमपि।

1366. अर्घोपेयार्थय नाहो वर्तान्यवातिं सत्वकुलकालम्। तथैव केवल ब्रजस्य सा श्यामसौपकर्मकथा। अकारः शारदो बोधका मुहूर्तस्त्र स्नहापत्रे। उकारे गद्धा भोजानुकुलितं तत्तज्ज्वल्कः। सकारे जागुरु गद्धा तत्र सुइवमेहो हि। एवं सिन्धु दिग्युतासि वदविति। प. 8.

1366a. प्रयागे वर्ग कुश्रुषुगारां विद्यवाचलभर। वान दूरतां कुश्रुषुगेन वाराणसी ततः त्वन्तेषु॥ क्षण-प्रत्येकं किं गणप्रदिक्षिणे नामवर्णे कर्ति॥ किं देवश्रुषुगेन गणते वर्गमेहो॥ प. 298, 32, 335. वर्गमेहो॥ प. 17. वाराणसी॥ प. 335. These two verses occur in नानाचारी (उत्तर) 63. 103-104.
(religious) suicide at Benares. What is the use (or necessity) of pinda offerings at Gayā or death in Kāśi, or gifts at Kuruksetra, if one has tonsured one’s head at Prayāga? ". Elaborate discussions are held by all these works about the exact intention of the verses, about the application of the maxim of rātrisattra to them and about the results derived from tonsure. They have to be passed over here from considerations of space. The Tristhali-setu (p. 17) holds that the verse only praises the rite of tonsure at Prayāga and the fruit thereof is simply the removal of sin. The Tri. S. refutes (p. 17) the application of rātrisattra-nyāya to these verses, while Tir. C. (p. 32) applies it. Some of the conclusions drawn by the Tri. S. are that in one and the same yātra at Prayāga (even if a man stays there for some days) ceremonial tonsure takes place only once, that widows have to tonsure their heads, that in the case of women whose husbands are living only two or three finger-breadths of tresses are to be cut and offered at the Triveni, that even boys whose upanayana has not been performed have to undergo tonsure provided the cūḍā rite has already been performed. The Tristhalisetu (p. 22) notes that certain traditionalists, 

1367. रात्रिसत्त्राः occurs in न्याय और राजस 23. 2. 4 'मस्तिष्क य एव राजसीष्पतिः.' Here in the मस्तिष्क राजस एव is enjoined but no fruit thereof is expressly promised. The question arises whether in the absence of an express reward, heaven should be understood as the reward (because as explained in Jai. IV. 3. 15-16 svarga is the reward of all sacrifices for which no express reward is mentioned) or whether मस्तिष्क (stable position) which occurs in the above arthavāda passage should be held to be the reward of राजस. The reply is that here the reward is मस्तिष्क and not स्वर्ग i.e., though there is no express mention of the reward in the passage about rātrisattra, the arthavāda passage should be construed as laying down the reward. In the two verses, there is a vidi in the words पदया वर्णोऽक्षरं तद्द्विपरीतः and the second verse is an अर्थवादः. The question is what reward is promised in it. If रात्रिसत्त्राः applies, then स्वर्गनीसिद्धे the fruits of यथार्थत्तत्त्व, कुष्ठेवत्तत्त्व and कार्येवत्तत्त्व. If it does not apply then the only fruit is प्राप्तेति.

1367a. अपने नातानां गवेषते सर्वं कार्यम्। यदैव दुःखसत्तवा चारस्नानप्रेयते तेन यथार्थत्तत्त्वं स्वर्गमात्रिनिधित्वकल्पनन्। तिरंवरी। pp. 23-24। यदैव दुःखसत्तरोऽस सरस्य। 106.6.

1368. बाल्यात्तकाद्वृत्तस्य...तत्कालस्युलकेन केहीपर्यायं क्रियायाति। अपि यथापि नेत्रस्तवकेहीपर्यायं सिद्धवतं। अलौक्येनैव वेयमानी कल्याणिकता लिखिताति। तत्तदार्थात् सदा स्मरणात्मः सम श्रवायात्। तदार्थात् सर्वेऽपि सर्वात्मः। इति पद्यभवम्। 

1369. श्रवणे क्रियायाति। मिथ्या च तदार्थात्। वधुस्वाछे मिथ्या कदाचित्ता दृष्टिविपरीतः। यथार्थत्तत्त्वं सर्वं सम्बन्धवाच विषयाः। विषयविपरीताः। इतिपद्यभवम्। पद्यभवम्। विषयाः। p. 22। वधुस्वाचे क्रियायाति। मिथ्यात् न तत्तदार्थात्। वधुस्ब्रह्मणां केरलां कुष्ठेवत्तत्त्वं। पारस्यंक्तितत् p. 493.
relying on passages that aver that all sins cling to the roots of a person’s hair, say that cutting two or three tresses would be merely kartara and not aparana (tonsure), that even women whose husbands are alive must shave themselves at Prayāga, that such women should make a braid of all their hair, should deck the braid with saffron and other auspicious materials, bow to their husbands and with the husband’s permission have the head tonsured, that then they should place the cut hair in their joined hands, place thereon a golden or silver venit and pearls and coral and should cast all these into the confluence (Venit) of the Ganges and Jumna after repeating the mantra ‘May all my sins be destroyed by this offering of my braided hair into the Venit! may my blessedness (the auspicious state of wifehood) always increase in the lives to come.’ The Tri. S. states that women do not tonsure their hair at any tirtha except at Prayāga and the only reason for this is that it is the practice of śīṭas. Vide above pp. 122–124 for tonsure as expiation for sins. The Nārādyā (Uttara) 63, 106 provides the same rule as Parāśara (in note 278 above) for women. The Prayaścittatattva of Raghunandana prescribes the complete tonsure of the head for women at Prayāga.

It appears probable that the provision for the casting of venit (braided hair) on the part of women whose husbands were alive was suggested by the word Venit applied to the confluence of the two rivers, where the river Ganges appears to make a bend or curve for some distance.¹³⁶⁹

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and medieval Indian writers was whether and when suicide, particularly at sacred spots like the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna or at the foot of the Aksaya Vata at Prayāga, would involve no sin.¹³⁷⁰ This matter has already been

¹³⁶⁹. ओमिर्नेकार्यं भ्रम परन्नामभिज्ञायक्ताय। नवें बेंगः विबोज्ञया सर्वतीर्थ-पदाृष्ठी।॥ एवं नीर्धिराज्यं निर्देशय यथा सबूतः॥ निर्देशयः॥ प्र. 8.

¹³⁷⁰. प्रयासं...निमो। अभावमतं...यथक्ते॥ तत्त्वभिमेक्यो...कर्मसङ्गीतं संसिद्ध-बन।॥ पुरुषं सकलात्मातिः राजसङ्गीतं निर्देशयः॥ एवं यजुः...महानवितं भासं।॥ न वें... प्रयागमशं पदं... द्वारात्त्वर्गं विद्याकद्विवर्गं।॥ वें। सांस्कृतिकमेव कौतिकं कुक्कुट-नवन। ॥ चारुवें। यथाबन्धनं वें। वें। यशस्वितं गहनपूर्वकः॥ वें। यशस्वितं। ॥ 85–85. After quoting the last verse and several other verses the निर्देशयः observes (p. 30) ‘सन्तु सर्वं बलवेदं वयवं प्राचिनेन स्वयंविषयं उपाधिः स्वयंविषयतं तदादिकं ददाति तदादिकं ददाति तदादिकं ददाति। The same verses occur in यत्र (अर्थ 39. 72–78). लक्ष्मी (वार्षिकों चैप. 7, 63 and 65) says ‘तद्भवणी: परमं धनं संहतं परमवितं युनसः॥ एतद्भवतरं वें स्थापत्यं पुनः।’ इन येवं विद् निः। हिंदू: भ्रमं विद्याति द्वारा यस्यानि।।

¹³⁶⁹ — is M. I. 22.20.
dealt with at length in H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 924–928 and vol. III, pp. 939, 948–949. Only a brief treatment by way of a summary of the pages and a few notes will be added here. The general sentiment of Dharmaśāstra works is to condemn suicide or an attempt to commit suicide as a great sin (vide H. of Dh. vol. II page 924 for texts). The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 10. 28. 15–17) mentions the view of Hārita which condemns suicide even as prāyaścitta for committing a mahāpātaka (like incest) and puts killing another or killing oneself on the same footing. Manu V. 89 and Yāj. III. 154 condemn suicide by denying after-death rites to those who commit it, but Manu allowed suicide in various ways as prāyaścitta for mahāpātakas (vide Manu XI. 73, 90–91, 103–104). But exceptions to the condemnation of suicide are found in the smṛtis, epics and purāṇas. They may be grouped under several heads. (1) Suicide as an exception in various ways by those guilty of mahāpātakas (viz. brāhmaṇa murder, drinking of suṣra, theft of brāhmaṇa’s gold and incest); vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 924–925 for smṛti and other texts.

(2) Starting on the Great Journey (mahāprasthāna-gamana or mahāpāthayātrā) by a forest hermit (Manu VI. 31, Yāj. III. 55) suffering from incurable diseases and unable to perform the duties of his order. (3) An old man or one who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or who is so ill as to be beyond medical skill may kill himself by throwing himself from a precipice or by fire or by drowning or fasting or start on the Great Journey into the Himalaya or by jumping from the branches of the Vātā tree at Prayāga (Aparārka p. 877 quoting Adi-purāṇa and Atri-smṛti verses 218–219 q. by Medhātithi on Manu V. 88 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 6). (4) Even a householder, otherwise all right, may resort to suicide by the means stated (in No. 3) if his life’s work is done, if he has no desire for the pleasures of the world and does not desire to live, or if he is a Vedāntin and convinced of the ephemeral nature of life and may kill himself by fast in Himalaya. (5) Religious suicide was allowed at the confluence of the two great rivers Gāṅgā and Yamunā, at the Vātā there and at some other tirthas. (6) A wife dying by saha gamana or anumāraṇa. As to Sātī, the Nārādiya (pūrvaśāstra 7. 52–53) provides that a woman should not burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband if she has a

1371. अमरं जीवितं ज्ञातव यो व वेदाधिकारि हिवः।
अत्थयं ब्रह्मविद्यस्य महायोगोऽहं युग्मितां।
तत् सिद्धं विद गच्छेत् ज्ञातवं सनातनस्॥
अनजातसन 25. 63–64, तत्र refers to हिवः as the context shows.
young child or young children, if she is pregnant or if she has not attained puberty, or if she is in her monthly illness at the time. Not only did common men believe in the promise of the Purāṇas that those who killed themselves at Prayāga (at the saṅgama or near Vaṭa) secured mokṣa (freedom from the everlasting cycle of births and deaths) which was the highest of the four puruṣārthas (goals of human existence), but even great poets like Kālidāsa held the view that, though mokṣa or kaivalya or aparārtha requires correct knowledge and realisation of the Supreme Spirit according to the Vedānta, Śāṅkhya and Nyāya systems, death at the sacred saṅgama led to mokṣa even without ‘tattvajñāna.’ In H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 925–927, historical examples of kings such as Yaśah-karmadeva, Candella Dhaṅgadev and Cālukya Someśvara committing suicide at Prayāga or the Tuṅgabhadra have been given. The king Kumārāgupta of Magadha is said to have entered the fire of dry cow-dung cakes. This is in accordance with the prescriptions in the Matsya-purāṇa 107. 9–10 (=Padma, Ādi-khaṇḍa 44.3) which states 1372 ‘the man who, suffering from no diseases, having no deficiency as to his limbs and being in full possession of his five senses, encompasses (his death) in cowdung fire remains honoured in heaven for as many years as there are pores on the whole of his body.’ 1373 The Rājatarāṅgiṇi VI. 14 refers to officers entrusted with the duty of supervising suicide by fast (prāyopaveśa).

1372. गुढःपञ्चङ्कोमेयी मर्यादाय यथा साख्याति। अहंगाविन्य सर्वेगम एवंणूर्व-समस्तति। यथावत्व राजाकृतिः तथावेद गोवेषु। तत्तुष्णार्थायणि स्वरूपायेव वादेयानि॥

महाय 107.9, कृम I. 38. 3–4, तत्तुष्णाय 63.154 (reads कर्मियानि न एवरात्रेण), पद I. 44. 9 (reads पराशाय यथू।) कर्मियानि is short for कर्मियानि for metrical reasons.

कृम I, 38.3 reads ‘कर्मियानि च साख्याति।’ Vide Gupta Inscriptions No. 42 p. 200, the Ahśal Stone Inscription of अहंगाविन्य of समस्तति, which states that his fifth ancestor Kumārāgupta plunged himself in the slow-burning fire of dried cowdung cakes as if in water at Prayāga. सोपानशपतिर च गोवेषु॥ p. 205 (of the text). यथावत्व means यथावत्वि. The learned editor was probably unaware of the provisions about suicide at Prayāga by being burnt with dry cowdung cakes in the Matsya and other purāṇas.

1373. The Ain-i-Akbari (tr. by Gladwin and published in 1800) speaks of the following as the meritorious kinds of suicide (vol. I. p. 531 and p. 802 of the Popular edition, edited by J. Mukhopadhya). These are five in number viz., (1) starving; (2) covering himself with cowdung and setting it on fire and consuming himself therein; (3) burying himself in snow; (4) to plunge into water at the Gaṅgāśārā-saṅgama, enumerate one’s sins and pray till alligators come and devour the man; (5) cut his throat at Allahabad at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.
The important verse on which reliance is placed for sanctioning religious suicide at Prayāga may be translated as follows: 'You should not set aside (pass over) your wish about dying at Prayāga on account of the words of the Veda or the words of the people.' The words of the Veda are Vāj. S. 40. 3 (=Īśāvasyopanisad 3) which literally translated means 'there are worlds of Asuras enveloped in blinding darkness; those who have killed themselves repair after death to those worlds.' This verse does not in the context appear to refer to a person committing suicide, but rather to a person who kills his soul by remaining in ignorance of the true Self. But even learned writers and poets took it to refer to suicide (vide Uttaramārāmacarita, Act IV after verse 3). Another passage of the Veda on which reliance may be placed is the one in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa X. 2. 6. 7 ‘one ought not to yield to his own desire and pass away before the full extent of life, for it (such shortening of full life) does not make for the (heavenly) world’. By ‘the words of the people’ are meant smṛti passages condemning suicide such as Gaut. 14. 12, Vas. 23. 14–15, Manu V. 88 (which says that no water is to be offered to those who kill themselves), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 56 (ātmayāgaṁḥ patitāṁ ca na saucodakabhājaḥ).

1374. न वैवृत्तिकात्म न लोकवृत्तिकात्म | मतिरैव समाजीत | यतस्मायनं मति ||
1375. अधस्यं नाम ते लोका। अधस्यं तस्माहकाव्या। तस्मातै केवलभोगः स केवलभोगं जननं || वाज. सं. 40.3; The Īśāvasyopanisad reads अधस्यं (sunless). Vide for आस्त्रययु the sitra of वसंद quoted below. यो या ज्ञान व्याप्ति जीवित्य स हृदेषु-मृत्युमच्छिन्नतः ||तस्मातै ह न पुराणं: रूपाप्रमाणं तृप्ति तस्मातै || तद्भवनाः X. 2. 6. 7 q. by मेदातिदिः on मति V. 88 (आत्मविश्वव्याप्ति वै निर्विकल्पादिनेष्य) and VI. 32. The printed text of मेदातिदिः and कुलकुलं स्तन्यामामी (desiring heaven).

1375a, य आत्मनामा कुलकुलं ? सवलिनां मे पूर्वार्थेन च। काककर्षकेव-पायानांशकप्तन्वयन्ती आत्मनामवसायते स आत्मांव भवति || वसंद 23. 14–15.
There is no doubt that some of the smrtis, the Mahâbhârata*376 itself and some purânas do recommend (or at least do not condemn) suicide in certain circumstances. A few purâna passages may be quoted here. Two verses of the Kûrma state ‘That goal (or state), which a wise man that is devoted to Yoga and that has become an ascetic (or has forsaken all actions) reaches, is secured by him who gives up life at the confluence of the Gângâ and Yamunâ. Whoever dies in the Gângâ whether wilfully or unintentionally is born after death in heaven and does not see hell’.1377 The Kûrma is quite clear ‘Moksa may be secured or not after a thousand births elsewhere but in Benares moksa can be secured in a single birth’ (1. 32. 22). The Padma1378 is quite emphatic ‘a man who, knowingly or unknowingly, wilfully or unintentionally, dies in the Ganges assures one of heaven and -moksa’. A verse of the Skanda asserts ‘He who abandons his life in this sacred place in some way or other does not incur the sin of suicide but secures his desired objects.’ The Kûrma (I. 38. 3–12) refers to four modes of suicide and promises residence in heaven and various other rewards for thousands of years, viz. by (1) burning oneself in the slow fire of dry cowdung cakes, (2) by entering the water at the confluence of Gângâ and Yamunâ, (3) by hanging with head down in the stream and feet up and drinking

1376. Vide the references given under No. 2 and 3 of the five classes of excusable or permitted suicides on p. 604 above. The Mahâbhârata has a parva called Mahâprâsthânika in which it is narrated (chap. I. 24) that Yudhishthira with his four brothers, queen Draupadi and a faithful dog started on the Great Journey towards the Himalaya and that they fell down dead one after another, Draupadi being the first and Bûma the last.

1377. या वातिरेनूज्जय संवत्सरय मनःपिनः: सा वातिरेनूज्जय मनःपिनः: \(\ldots\) अकामे वा सकामे वा महायो यो विपयते. स युद्ध सताते सम्म परम् बचन्व न व दस्याति \(\ldots\) कुर्मे. I. 37. 16, 39. The first verse is read in पक्रे, देशायनम 60.56 as या युद्ध-संस्कृतय मनःपिनः: सा...वातिरेनूज्जय सारेरिये \(\ldots\) नारू (उत्तर) 43.97 is the same as पक्रे.

1378. ज्ञानोज्जानसतो वाधि कामोज्जानसतोपि वा। महायो वा सुतो वर्जः स्वेदो गोकुलं च निगुर्जली पक्रे, वातके. 60.65 q. by ज्ञानाली p. 47. ज्ञानो ज्ञानोपिन परम्पणिये: दस्याति श्रास्तः \(\ldots\) नारू; वातिरेनूज्जय संवत्सरय मनःपिनः: तस्माय पापायापीयायायायायायायायायायायायायायायायायायायायायायायाया

The mantra as printed makes no sense. The editor should have separated the words properly even if the mss. were unsatisfactory. It appears to be Rg. II. 1. 6 (= Tai. S. I. 3. 14. 1) ज्ञानो वातिरेनूज्जय संवत्सरय मनःपिनः: पात्रव व च तामाय एव।
the waters of the Ganges, (4) by cutting off his own flesh and giving it as food to birds. The famous Chinese traveller Hiouen Thasang (about 629–645 A. D.) clearly refers to this practice of religious suicide (vide Beal’s ‘Buddhist Records of the Western world,’ vol. I. pp. 232–234). The Kalpataru on Tirtha (composed about 1110–1120 A. D.) devotes a special section to Mahāpathayātra (pp. 258–265). Gradually, the idea of securing heaven and mokṣa by committing suicide at Prayāga or Benares appears to have spread to other tirthas. Vanaparva speaks of suicide at Prthūdaka (Pehova in the Karnal district of Punjab, 14 miles from Thanesar). The Brahmapurāṇa calls upon daivas who are intent on securing mokṣa to commit suicide at Puruṣottama-kṣetra. The Liṅgapurāṇa says ‘if a brāhmaṇa kills himself on Śrīśaila he destroys his sins and attains mokṣa as at Avimukta (Benares); there is no doubt about this’. The Pādma promises a similar reward for suicide by fire or by fast at the confluence of Narmadā and Kāverī (a small river, not the great South Indian river).

Gradually there was a revulsion of feeling against suicide at Prayāga or Kāshi or starting on the Great Journey. Among the actions forbidden in the Kali age are included ‘starting on the Great Journey’ and ‘suicide of old people jumping from a precipice or by fire’ (vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 939, 958–59). Some of the later medieval writers try very hard to combat the view that religious suicide is permitted. Nilakanṭha, the commentator of the Mahābhārata, holds that Vanaparva 85. 83 (na vedavacanāt &c.) refers to natural death at Prayāga and not to willful death and that the Khila verse (‘Sitāsīte’ quoted above on p. 596) has the same meaning. Then he propounds two alternative interpretations of Vanaparva 85.

1379. ucaṃ sarīrīyānaṃ vasantarāmaṃśah. śūryakej aranyakē nāv oṣerā samāpiś evaṃ toṣeyeva kīte suṃcakṣāreṇa śāhasen vah maṭhasanā. vajrayā 83. 146, 147 q. by tīrthākhā. p. 180 (reads suṃcē śūryā).

1380. tasmānā pūraṇēn tasmān śāntē hi jīvanām. dhiyā vagyē yadā karāṃ samānāsābhadramuṣām. bhadrapuraṇa 177. 25; vide also bhadrapuraṇa 68. 75 and 177. 16–17.

1381. abhiśeśa samānāeḥ kṛṣṇa jñāna gṛhīkālītāḥ. ēṣānāṃ nāv samānyo bhāvenkā dṛṣṭāḥ sūryā. 92, 168–169).


83, viz. that this passage allows those who are suffering from an incurable disease to commit suicide at Prayāga instead of dying by falling from a precipice and the like or that this verse does not apply to brāhmaṇas but only to the other three varṇas.\textsuperscript{1384}

Both the Gangāvākyāvali (pp. 304–310) and the Tir. C. (pp. 47–52) hold that all varṇas have the authority to resort to suicide at Prayāga. The Tir. Pr. holds a long, learned and highly polemic discussion on the subject of religious suicide at Prayāga (pp. 346–355). Its own view appears to be that a brāhmaṇa should not commit this suicide at Prayāga on account of the prohibition contained in Kalivarja verses and that members of the other varṇas may do so. The Tristhalisetu also enters upon a long discussion (pp. 47–55) and its conclusions are that in suicide at Prayāga for the attainment of mokṣa or other rewards (such as heaven) there is no sin, that this suicide at Prayāga is not forbidden\textsuperscript{1384a} to brāhmaṇas as some think (since Agni 111. 8 reads ‘na vedavacanād vipra’), that persons whether seriously ill or in good health\textsuperscript{1385} may resort to suicide at Prayāga, that no one has authority to commit suicide at Prayāga after abandoning to their fate one’s old parents, young wife and children that require support, nor should a woman who is pregnant or who has young children or who has no permission from her husband, commit suicide at Prayāga.\textsuperscript{1386} It is refreshing to find Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, perhaps

\textsuperscript{1384} ब्राह्मण अक्षय करियो अत्यज्जृ त्याध्याम। एते विषयं क्यों स्वाहिता हिंसा दुःप। पतितो ब्राह्मणस्वरूपम् ब्राह्मण वाल्मीकि भवेत। च यथा विविधतः प. 52, जो विविधतः। यह वर्णन करियो च। इति।

\textsuperscript{1384a} रत्ना ब्रह्मणविष्ठान्विता एकवर्णायण्यानि ब्राह्मणपारि मरणविधायकानि। इति। वस्तुपतिः—हत्याद्वयकाय सम्पन्नार्थाय वार्ता तुपर्बनिरिमादात्र। भौटांकसातापूर्वक वेशस्थानं करिति च। इति। तदेष्यानां नाति ना। उत्तमाध्यमानुषयांकालात् च भेष्टस्वभवि। इति।

\textsuperscript{1385} तमस्मा ध्रुवंद्वेनेनान्तर सर्वाधिकारिः। ति इति विविध तत्त्वाभिः परिणन्त प्रथमवच च अविलास नाथिकारः। तदव विलयो अपि महिष्याविन मात्राधिपत्याय वा नाथिकारं हर्षादं वेधस्य निमित्तिः। प. 55.

\textsuperscript{1386} काव्यद्राक्षणान्तरस्तति एव। तथाज्ञात्साधारणसदृशोऽविन्द। इति। ज्ञातन्त्र विना चिन्तामणिनविन्देवसरस्वात। अत एव यथा। इति। इति। इति। इति। इति। इति। इति। इति। इति। इति। इति।

(Continued on the next page)
the most learned and renowned Pandit of his age steeped in all
the lore of ancient India, make, in spite of the overwhelming
weight of śāstric authority in favour of suicide at Prayāga,
exceptions that surely appeal to reason, sentiment and common
sense. Nārāyanabhaṭṭa probably followed traditions several
hundred years older than his times. Alberuni in his work on
India composed about 1030 A. D. says about religious suicide
that “it was resorted to by those who are tired of life, who
are distressed over some incurable disease, some irremovable
bodily defect or old age or infirmity. This however no man of
distinction does, but only vaiṣyas and śūdras. Burning oneself
is forbidden to brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas by a special law.
Therefore these if they want to kill themselves do so at
the time of an eclipse in some other manner or they hire somebody
to drown them in the Ganges.” (tr. by Sachau, vol. II. p. 170).
The Tri. S. S. provides that a man desirous of committing
religious suicide at Prayāga should first perform a prāyaścitta,

(Continued from the last page)
p. 313; the passage of the जातलोपपनिशद् is: अविच्छ वै कृष्णेऽभिः द्वेष्यजनः
सच्चेदा दुःखं बहस्ततु्सदृशय। तस्मात् कुर्चन ग्रथितत सदृशम् मनोक्षमुक्ते। इव वै
कृष्णेऽभिः द्वेष्यजनः सत्यम्। अह वि जन्नोऽपायेव वानिकमाणेऽवस्तु द्वेष्यजनः यथा व्याच्छेदे
वेणा-सारामुत्तूलान्म शीर्षकेति। In the Bhan Daji collection of mss. at the Bombay
Asiatic Society there is a ms. called अधिवक्तानिधिसार (cat. No. 1047) which
contains 15 verses and comments thereon intended to explain the purport of the
जातलोपपनिशद passage quoted and also some other passages from the
same. In this work कृष्णेऽभि occurring in जातलोपपनिशद् is explained as ‘कृष्णेऽभि
रायवस्त्रिशि कुष्ण पंपं तथ लेखणादृति कुष्णेऽभि पायानामानिकेति,’ and द्वेष्यजनः as मोहो-
पायानामानिकेति;

1387. काम्पचार्यम मनस्या। अह वि सत्ववार्तमाणिकेति। मुखासा। p. 305 and
तीर्थिक्षा. p. 47. It is a most remarkable thing that the treatment of प्रभुसत्वक in
both these works is word for word the same, except that the तीर्थिक्षा. quotes
the verses in कृष्णेऽभि from the प्रभुसत्वक while the मुखासा. quotes them from the
सत्ववार्तमाणिकेति. It appears probable that the तीर्थिक्षा. borrows from the मुखासा.
since बायानामानिकेति appears to have been a younger contemporary of Vidyāpati who
helped विन्यासेत्वें in composing मुखासा. Both were closely connected with the
several kings and queens of the कर्त्तिशिर dynasty of Mithilā and it is difficult to
assert with confidence who borrows from whom. In New I. A. vol. VII.
at p. 53 Prof. G. C Basu while describing a newly found ms. of a work called
व्याधिभिन्निकेति ascribed in the colophon to विन्यासेत्वें states that that work
mentions the तीर्थिक्षा of बायानामानिकेति. So it is not unlikely that विन्यासेत्वें helped
विन्यासेत्वें by taking a part from the तीर्थिक्षा of बायानामानिकेति. Vide H. of
the date and works of विन्यासेत्वें and H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 404-405 for the date
of बायानामानिकेति.
should perform his own śrāddha up to the offering of pinda if he has no relative entitled to perform it, should fast that day, should make a saṅkalpa next day preceded by a writing (to inform people of his desire to die in that way) and enter the holy waters contemplating on Viṣṇu. On his death, his relatives have to observe āśauca only for three days (and not for ten) and on the 4th day the śrāddhas of the 11th day are to be performed for him.  

The psychological background behind the religious suicide at Prayāga and other places is not difficult to realise. Centuries of philosophical thought had made a very deep impression on the minds of all people that the soul has to submit to a never-ending cycle of births and deaths. Ancient scriptures had offered a release in two ways viz. by tattva-jñāna and by suicide at a tirtha. Death had no great terror for the pilgrim who submitted to various inconveniences and privations ungrudgingly. If one is determined to put an end to svīṁśūra by taking one's life, what nobler environment could have been imagined or indicated than at Prayāga, where two mighty rivers flowing from the sacred Himālaya unite and carry on unceasingly their work of fertilizing the land and bringing prosperity and solace to millions of needy and anxious people?  

While on this topic of religious suicide, it would not be out of place to briefly refer to the discussion in the digests about the meaning of the statement in the purāṇas that those who die at Prayāga are not born again (e.g. Matsya 180, 71 and 74). The answer is foreshadowed in the Matsyapurāṇa itself (182, 22–25) which says: At the time of death, when the vital  

1388.  

1389. The śrāddhā, karti has the following verses which repeat what the Matsya (182, 22–25) says viz. Śiva whispers into the right ear of a man dying at Kāśi the knowledge of brahma that will save his soul. Jñāna-jñāna ivrae nāmaṇaḥ ānāram kāraṇām:  

The śrauṣṭhā verses are:  

The verses ānāsyaḥ... ānāsyaḥ... state the special case of death in Avśīvaṇa.  

The śrīśūla p. 297 quotes these verses and reads ānāsyaḥ...
parts of the human body are being shattered, memory must fail
a human being that is about to be pushed on (to another body)
by the vital breath (when it leaves the mortal coil). But at the
time of death in Avimukta (Vārāṇasi) Lord (Śiva) himself
whispers (higher knowledge) in the ears of his devotees that
are about to be pushed (into new bodies) by (accumulations
of their actions). A man dying near Mani-karnikā pool reaches
the desired goal; he being guided by the Lord reaches the goal
which is difficult of attainment by those whose minds are not
pure. In the Kāśikhaṇḍa it is expressly stated that mokṣa does
not directly result in these cities (viz. Kāśi &c.). But in spite of
these warnings the popular belief fostered by the literal mean-
ing of hundreds of Purāṇa passages is that mokṣa results from
dying at Prayāga or in Kāśikṣetra.

The practice of religious suicide has a very respectable
antiquity. In the 4th century B.C. Kalanos, the Indian
Gymnosophist from Taxila who had accompanied Alexander
from India, burnt himself alive on a funeral pyre at Sousa,
when being over 70 years old, he was afflicted with a malady
that made life more and more burdensome. Vide J. W.
McCrindle’s ‘Invasion of India by Alexander the Great’ (New
Edition 1896) pp. 46, 301, 386–392. Strabo informs us of a
gymnosophist from India named Zarmanochegas of Broach who
accompanied an embassy to Augustus Caesar at Athens and
consigned himself to flames (vide ‘Invasion of India by
Alexander’ p. 389). Hiouen Tsang (Beal’s ‘Buddhist Records
of the Western World’ vol. I. pp. 232–234) refers to suicide at
Prayāga. The Jains, while on the one hand they laid the
greatest emphasis on ‘ahīṁsā’ (non-injury), encouraged reli-
gious suicide (called ‘Sallekhanā’) in certain cases.

Some of the works, viz. the Kāśīmrīti-mokṣa–vicāra of
Sureśvara (pp. 2–9), the Tristhalisetu (pp. 50–55) and the
Tirthaparakṣa (pp. 313–318) discuss at some length how mere
death (either involuntary or voluntary) in Vārāṇasi or Prayāga
would lead to mokṣa. Considerations of space prevent a
complete statement of their views. Their arguments are
briefly as follows:—Karma is of three kinds, viz. saṁcitā (col-
lected in former births), pṛārābiha (that has begun to

1390. Vide I. A. vol. II. p. 322 ‘Jain Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola’,
where some verses are quoted from the Ratnakaraṇḍa of which the following
one may be noted: उपसंह दुःसिद्धे जरासि बजापि च निष्पातकारे। धम्माय सहितिम्
श्रवणां मृत्युभीत: सत्सुभितामास्तः।
operate by giving the soul the present body) and kriyāmaṇa (to be done in this body and in future). The Upaniṣads and the Gītā declare that, just as waters do not stick to a lotus leaf, so evil deeds do not cling to a man who knows this (knowledge of brahma), that the fire of knowledge reduces to ashes all karma and that mokṣa results from the realization of the Supreme Spirit (Vedānta-sūtra IV. 1. 13). From this it follows that a man who has realized the Highest Reality will not be affected by the acts done by him after realization and his accumulated actions (saṅcita) will be destroyed by that realization. The present body in which the soul realizes brahma was due to that part of his karma which had begun to operate. When the present body perishes in the case of a man who has realized brahma he attains final release, since no actions remain for producing effects. To the man who dies a natural death in Benares is given at the time of death the Tāraka (saving) mantra. The Matsyapurāṇa says: those who enter fire according to the rules in Avimukta (i. e. Benares) enter the mouth of Śiva and so also those determined devotees of Śiva who die by fast in Benares do not return (to this world) even after millions of kalpas. Therefore all those who die in any way at Benares receive Grace from Śiva after their death. That leads to tattvajñāna (correct spiritual knowledge) which leads to mokṣa. In rare passages it is expressly stated that mokṣa cannot be immediately secured.

1391. यथा पुष्करस्याको न दिश्यथम् एवेकोन्विविधानि पाणि कर्म न दिश्यथम् इति। ज्ञ. उप. IV. 14. 3; भिक्षु ह्रदयार्थिविनाधिस्य मर्यादा।। श्रीपेठ चारास्य कालिन्ति ताकिन्तु ही गद्यार्थे II. 2. 8; यथायथस समित्रंतिग्रामस्यकुलुकस्मु रुपम्। ज्ञानार्थ: संयमक्षोऽभस्मस्यसङ्कुलवेद्य: तथा || भगवद्विन्दुत ॥ IV. 37.

1392. अभिमेके ये कुरुविविवके विधानं:। पवित्रता पुरस्ते ते से निःसन्तुष्टं वर्तन्ते।। कुर्वस्यनन्दनेण दू सुन्तकां:। इतिविधया:। न तेषां पुनराविविह: काल्पकोपितथापि ॥ मर्यादा ॥ 183. 77-78 q. by कल्याणको "सीमा p. 21.

1393. ‘ञानादेव’ दु ज्ञातवर्ष: द्वाराधि श्रवात्सुविविषयात् ज्ञानाभमेव श्रवात्सुविविषयात्॥ राशयुक्तद्विविषयात्स्वाभावार्थान्यविषयात्:। तत: कालानं प्रक्रिया।। महामायेन सुन्तकां विश्वासान्तत्त्वाविषयात्।। द्विधितारं तारं पाते सुन्तकां से दू तत्त्वानुवाद:। विविधता p. 292 which quotes कालिन्तु 32. 115-116. Similar statements occur in कालिन्तु 21. 98 विश्वासां व जन्तुं यथा विशेष्याय:। सहाया।। कर्म जारे प्रक्रियाते कालिन्तुद्रव्यायं ।। कालिन्तु 61. 117-118, 64. 98. The कक्कुद्ध (कक्कुद्ध, 6. 60-61) says ‘सीमेन्द्रसल्लकता: काली महावेदेऽयो विद्याविधि।। सूतानां यथा जन्तुं यथा कर्म ज्ञातं अयति तारं’॥।

1394. सामासिशकी न चैतावसु पुरुषो विद्याविधिः। स्रव्यं काली 8. 2 (अभिमेके करार: तोपारायं)।। तत: विषय: कार्याविधि तत्:। कर्म: विषयं। संसारादिपुरुषाके तारं || का कालिन्तु विविषयात् || कालिन्तु विविषयात् p. 3.
(by dying) in these cities. The Tāraka-mantra is variously explained. According to Suresvara, Tāraka-mantra is the mystic syllable om which is a symbol of brahma as stated in the Tai. Up. (I. 1.8 Om-iti brahma) and the Gitā (8. 13 Om-ityekākṣaram brahma). The Tri. S. gives another explanation besides this. According to Rāmatāpaniya Upanisad and the Padmapurāṇa the mantra is 'śrī-Rāma-Rāma-Rāmeti.'

There are several sub-tirthas that fall under Prayāga. The most important of them is the famous Vata (banyan tree) called Aksaya-Vata (the imperishable Vata). The Agni (111. 13) states 'if a man dies at the foot of the Vata and in the Saṅgama he goes to the city of Viṣṇu'. Special reference is made to abandoning one's life at the foot of the Vata. The Kūrna1396 says 'He, who abandons life at the foot of the Vata, passes beyond heavenly worlds and goes to the world of Rudra'. The following are the sub-tirthas of Prayāga and only references are given to the works in which they are described: (1) the two Nāgas called Kambala and Aśvatara which according to some are on the spacious (vipula) bank of the Jumna and according to others on the southern bank of the Jumna (Vanaparva 85.77, Matsya 106. 27, Padma, Adi 39. 69, Agni 111. 5, Kūrna I. 37. 19); (2) Pratiṣṭhāna on the eastern side of the Ganges, being the same as the Sāmudra-kūpa (Vanaparva 85.77, Matsya 106. 30, Kūrna I. 37. 22, Padma, Adi 43. 30; Vanaparva 85. 114 appears to suggest that Pratiṣṭhāna is another name of Prayāga; (3) Sandhyāvāta (Matsya 106. 43, Kūrna I. 37. 28, Agni 111. 13); (4) Hamsapraptana to the north of Pratiṣṭhāna and to the east of the Ganges (Matsya 106. 32, Kūrna I. 37. 24, Agni 111. 10, Padma, Adi 39. 80 and 43. 32; (5) Kṛtiṭiratha (Matsya 106. 44, Kūrna I. 37. 29, Agni 111. 14, Padma, Adi 43. 44; (6) Bhogavati, the Vedi of Prajāpati to the north of Vāsuki (Vanaparva 85. 77, Matsya 106. 46, Agni 111. 5, Padma, Adi 39. 79 and 43. 46; (7) Daśāsvamedhaka (Matsya 106. 46, Padma, Adi 39. 80); (8) Urvāśipulina, suicide at which

1395. रामतापणियोऽदि तु त्रित्रांगमण्डले एव तारककड़बार्यां उज्ज्वलं भूवृक्षादिवशेषं केशवं कर्मपि योगद्वयं व त्यायं। उपेन्द्रेतस्मात प्रति बुधी संभविता तिर्यक्तिई। परेति तु त्रित्रांगमण्डले एव तारककड़बार्यां भूवृक्षादिवशेषं। सप्तो तिर्यक्ति निकृष्टाण्य भूवृक्षादिवशेषं। अद्य विश्वामिति तेन सर्वं तारकं भाषण्येत्तत्र त्यां अधिकर्षणेष्वद्वित्तिसि। विश्वामिति। p. 291.

1396. वदमूलं समासिष्ठर्ष्यं वसु माणस्यं परिवर्यक्तं। सर्वनाशलक्षकाद्वित्तं कहलेरलं व वश्चत्रं कृत्यं। इ. 37.8-9 Q. by तीर्थचिन्ति। p. 48. The same is ग्रंथं, आदिविश्वासं 43.11 (reads सप्तो तिर्यक्ति)।
led to various rewards quoted below (Matsya 106. 34-42, Padma, Adi 43. 34-43, Agni 111.13, Kūrma I. 37. 26-27); (9) Rūnapramocana, on the northern bank of Yamunā and to the south of Prayāga (Kūrma I. 38.14, Padma, Adi 44. 20); (10) Mānasā on the north bank of the Ganges (Matsya 107. 9, Padma, Adi 44. 2, Agni 111. 14); (11) Agnitritha on the southern bank of the Jumā (Matsya 108. 27, Kūrma I. 39.4, Padma, Adi 45. 27); (12) Virāja on the north bank of Yamunā (Padma, Adi 45. 29); (13) Anarakā 1399 to the west of Dharmarāja (Kūrma I. 39. 5).

The Purāṇas lay down that if a man starts on a pilgrimage, but dies on the way to Prayāga he reaps great benefits even without reaching it, provided he dies remembering Prayāga. The Matsyapurāṇa (105. 8-12) asserts: A man whether in his own country or house or after leaving his country dies in a forest, while remembering Prayāga, he still secures the world of Brahma; he reaches a world where the

1397. उव्वष्ठिकिसिद्धिः पुण्ये विदुः तं गमयुः। परिप्रमाणति पवाणम भवुष ततपापः।

1398. It may be noted that the rewards promised for suicide at Urvāṣipūlina are sex pleasures and secular benefits like becoming a king or governor. Even suicide at the Saṅgama is promised similar pleasures of the flesh and of kingly power and riches in Matsya 105. 1-12.

1399. In Matsya, 108. 29 we read तीरि निक्रजन नाम यथा वेशः सतांसरा: which appears to be a mirading. पद्मे is नरसहस्रसंगीती नामलं नारदं स्वरूपः. कृम्बु. I. 395.; the अधिष्ठात्रु 111.14 mentions a तीरि called नारद (or वासिक acc. to some mss.) but that seems to be a misreading of नारदं (ढु + अनिक.) Matsya, 108. 27 तीरि ढु नारदं स्वरूपं seems to be a misreading for नारदं. Several tirthas called आनादक are known. Vide एक, अद्वि 27.56 and list.

1400. देवस्यो यथि वारचे विविधात्मकसऽवतः श्रे। पाण्य स्वामावेिपि स्वाय पाणावेिपि परिवर्तनेऽऽि बहुतीकारकमहादेवता अविविधम्। सर्वबालसाहा गुहा महाविविधमां तथा विविधमां। कृम्बुः मुखः सिद्धांगान्तरी तथा सुशब्धां। श्रीसाहस्रस्वते तथा नारदिकार धृष्टे। नेत्रेऽऽि अद्वितियतः सर्वविविधान्ती कर्मणा।.. ततः स्मृतस्पर्शेऽऽि जन्मजीविपरिम्वें। Matsya. 105. 8-11 q. by ब्रह्मचा p. 310; verses from श्रीसाहस्रस्वते are quoted from कृम्बु by नितान्ती p. 25.
trees yield all desires, where the earth is full of gold and where there are sages and munis and siddhas; he dwells on the bank of the Ganges full of thousands of women and enjoys the company of sages; when he comes down from heaven he becomes the lord of Jambūdvipa.

At most famous tirthas the pilgrim has to perform śrāddha. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (chap. 85) mentions about fifty-five sacred places which are fittest for śrāddha. The Kalpataru (on tirtha), the Gaṅgāśakyāvali, Tir. C. and other digests quote several verses from the Devipūrāṇa, the gist of which is as follows: Śrāddha should be performed at tirthas, but there is no offering of arghya and no āvāhana (since pītris are deemed to be always present at tirthas, as the Kāśikādhāra says) nor is the entering of the thumb of the invited brāhmaṇa into the food served done, nor is there the question about the brāhmaṇas being satiated, nor vikira. If one is unable to follow the complete procedure of śrāddha one should merely offer pīṇḍas made from barley meal or may offer saṅgūḍa (cake of wheat flour fried with ghee and milk), rice boiled in milk, the cake of sesame (after the oil is extracted) or jaggery. It should not be allowed to be seen by dogs, cows and vultures, it may be offered at any time after the pilgrim reaches the holy place. A śrāddha performed at a holy place gives great satisfaction to pītris. Some of the works such as the Tristhalisetusārasaṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji provide that after performing a pārvanaśrāddha at a tirtha and after making offerings of pīṇḍas to one’s ancestors one should offer a single pīṇḍa to one’s other relatives with the following mantra: ‘Here I offer pīṇḍa to deceased persons of my father’s family, and of my mother’s family and to the deceased relatives of my guru and of my father-in-law, to those men of my family

1401. आर्यमानवार्ता चैव द्रजाकृतिमिवाहनम्। तुलयास्य च विकृरं तीर्थसंहारे विकर्षयेत्॥ q. by व्रि. से. सा. स. p. 18; द्वानिथ पितरे यस्मादेहाऽपि सर्वदा चिन्तयितः। आर्यमानवार्ता विकृरं (गृहस्थ?) तेवा तत्र ततो मे हि॥ काशिकासंहार 28.9: तथे आर्यः मुक्तिनिमात्र पंक्षकोनिन्द्रिः॥ आर्यमानवार्ता कुलभूतचेतराम्॥ सुरातुतः q. in व्रि. से. सा. स. p. 20.

1402. स्त्रविधं विन्दामान् तु संसारे: पप्पसेनः तु। कत्त्रिष्यायपिन्यक्तिरुणम् विन्दामानेन ब्रह्मै॥ आर्यः तत्र तु कत्त्रिष्यायपिन्यक्तः हेतु द्वानिथ च चतुर्म्! आर्यः तस्मैयेर्म सोवर्म पितुणां मार्गक्रमिद्धः।। कत्त्रिष्यायपिन्यक्तः तीर्थसंहारे आर्यः तथा नै॥ पद्येयम् सतवा कार्य कत्त्रिष्यायपिन्यक्तः॥ विन्दामानं तचत्तरं पितृमतिस्तुविषिए॥ विन्दामानं तचत्तरं पितृमतिस्तुविषिए॥ विन्दामानं तचत्तरं पितृमतिस्तुविषिए॥ पद्येयम् क्षुद्रम् 29. 212-218, q. by युवाकमेंद्रस्य folio 135b and 136a. The same verses are quoted from देवीपुराण by कल्या on तीर्थों p. 10, तीर्थिन्यि. pp. 10-11, ग्रहण. p. 129. Vide विन्दामान, काशिकासंहार 6. 58-60 for some of the verses and नारदन (उत्तर) 62. 41-42 for last two verses.
who were devoid of sons or wives and so who would lose the benefit of the pinda (to be offered by the son or wife) and in the case of whom all rites after death have ceased, those who were blind from birth or were cripples, those who were malformed or died in the womb; to all these, whether known or unknown to me, may this (pinda) reach inexhaustively’ (Vāyu 110. 51–52). After this he should offer another pinda for his servants, slaves, friends, dependents, pupils, persons who conferred obligations on him, cattle, trees and those with whom he came in contact in other lives (Vāyu 110. 54–55). If a person is ill or has not the time to go through this elaborate procedure, then he should make a sankalpa that he would perform śrāddha and should offer a single pinda with the mantra (in Vāyu 110. 23–24) ‘I offer this pinda to my father, grand-father, great-grand-father, to my mother, father’s mother, grandfather’s mother, to my maternal grandfather and to the latter’s father and grandfather. May it reach them inexhaustively!’

The Anuśāsana-parva, the Kūrmapurāṇa, Nāradiya (uttara) 63. 19–20 and 36–38 and others highly praise bathing at the saṅgama in the month of Māgha. Men of all castes, women and those born of mixed unions can take this bath; śūdras, women and men of mixed castes should not repeat any mantra but should bathe silently or with the word ‘namah’ (Tri. S. p. 39). Similarly, the Padma, Kūrma, Agni and other Puraṇas wax eloquent over a bath for three days in Māgha saying that it is equal to the gift of three crores of cows. There is great divergence as to exactly what three days are meant, as pointed out by the Tri. S. p. 33. The various views are: the three days are the passage of the sun into Capricornus, Rathasaptami and the full moon day of Māgha; the three consecutive days including the 10th of the bright half of Māgha; the first three days of Māgha; the three consecutive days from the 13th day of the bright half of Māgha; any three days in Māgha.

1403. इति विष्णुसहस्राणि वाहिकोवृक्षतथापुराः। समागम्यति माण्डवं ह व्रजमेव भरत्वभवं। अभासम् 25. 36-37: विष्णुसहस्राणि वाहिकोवृक्षतथापुराः ह। माण्डवस्य समागम्यति माण्डव-पुगुलक्ष्मे॥ कृम्व I. 38. 1; सरस्व 107.7 is very nearly the same.

1404. यथं कोविडानायदत्र उपर्यं स्नातस्य तत्तवं। प्रयासे मायमासे ह एवमाहमिनी-विषं आदि 111.10-11: यथं वर्तत्वभवं सम्यक्कान्य तत्तवं। प्रयासे मायमासे ह एवमाहमिनी-विषं स्नातस्य तत्तवं। पाणे आदि 14. 8, कृम्व I. 38.2.

H. D. 78
CHAPTER XIII

KĀŚĪ

There is hardly any city in the world that can claim greater antiquity, greater continuity and greater popular veneration than Banaras. Banaras has been a holy city for at least thirty centuries. No city in India arouses the religious emotions of Hindus as much as Kāśī does. To the Hindu mind it represents great and unbroken traditions of religious sanctity and learning. It is a miniature of Hindu life through the ages in all its great complexities and contradictions. Not only Hinduism with its numerous sects has flourished here for numberless centuries, but the principles of Buddhism, one of the great religions of the world, were first proclaimed here by Śākyamuni after he received Enlightenment at Bodh-Gaya under the Bodhi tree. Thousands of verses are found in the epics and purāṇas about Banaras. Several volumes have been written about Banares during the last hundred years. It would be impossible to do justice here to this vast mass of literature on Banaras. I shall briefly deal with the important topics relating to Banaras. In olden times the name was spelt as Benares, but recently as Banaras, which will be retained here (except in quotations).

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to dwell, however briefly, on the ancient history of Banaras. The Satapatha Br. quotes a Gāthā which states that Satānika, son of Satrājīt, carried away the sacred sacrificial horse of the Kāśīs, as Bharata did in the case of the Satvats. In Śat. Br. XIV. 3. 1. 22 king Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vicitravirya is called Kāśya, In the Gopatha Br. we have the combination Kāśi-Kośalā. The

1405. Among modern works in English dealing with Banaras the following may be mentioned: 'Benares, a handbook for the visitors' by J. Eween (Calcutta, 1886), 'The sacred city of the Hindus' by M.A. Sherrington with a learned Introduction by Dr. F. E. Hall (London, 1886) and 110 photographs; 'Benares, the sacred city' by E. B. Havell (1905) with many fine illustrations; 'History of Benares' by Prof. A. S. Altekar (1937) with a few diagrams and photographs.

1406. त्रेष्वमाध्यमविदेशं। शतानिकः समस्ताङ्ग मेध्ये सात्राजितो हुयस। आदेव यज्ञाः कारिनों भरतः सतानिकोंति। शतानिक, XIII. 5.4.21.

1407. विजयार्थ हैं काक्षिन्द्र! कपिलपरस्यविद्या पुरो मेधातीयी मीमांसकोऽभ्यासान अरस। स ह स्वेतानिकानेन मातृपुर्वी विन्ते नेवारां। तं मातृपुर्वां तं ते विन्त्रसूत्वक्षलितं इमेकुर्ष्वानुष्ठानं। वाल्मीकिकाणिः काशीकाणिः विद्याः॥ उद्विश्यवेदमांद्रिः। गोपथ, पूर्वमाण 2.9.
Cambridge History of India (vol. I, p. 117) remarks that in the Brähmapa period Kāṣī, the capital of the Kāśis, was situated on the Varaṇāvati. In the Br. Up. (II, 1, 1) and the Kaṇṭakta 1408 Up. (IV, 1) there is the story of the proud Bālaki Gārgya going to Ajātaśatru, king of Kāṣī, with the assurance that the former would expound brahma to the latter. In Pāṇini IV. 2. 116 Kāṣī heads a gana (Kāṣyādibhyas-than-ithau'). Under Pāṇini IV. 2. 113 we get the form ‘Kāṣiyāḥ.’ It is remarkable that in the Sarvānukrama the rṣi of Rg. X. 179. 2 is stated to be Pratardana Kāṣirāja. In tarpana, the Hir. Gr. (II, 8. 19. 6) mentions Kāṣīśvara along with Viṣṇu and Rudraskanda (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 244). Divodāsa figures frequently in the Rgveda. In Rg. I. 130, 7 Indra is said to have conquered ninety cities for Divodāsa, while in Rg. IV. 30. 20 it is stated that Indra gave 100 cities of stone to Divodāsa. From these Vedic references it may be surmised that in later works like the Epics and the Purāṇas Divodāsa was naturally credited with the founding of the most sacred city in India. In the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 4 on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 54 (vol. II, p. 223) we find the illustration ‘Kāṣī-Kosalīyāḥ.’ The Mahābhāṣya (vol. II, p. 413) furnishes the interesting information that there is a difference in the price of cloth manufactured at Kāṣī and that manufactured at Mathurā, though the length and breadth of the piece of cloth be the same. This shows that even so early as the 2nd century B.C. Kāṣī was famous for the fine qualities of its cloth, as now.1409 From the above passages it is clear that Kāṣī was the name of a country long before the Śatapatha Br. was composed and it remained so till the 2nd century B.C. (the date of Patañjali). We have a parallel example. Avanti is the name of a country as shown by Pāṇ. IV. 1. 176 (strīyām-avanti-kunti-kurubhyaś-ca) and by the Meghadūta (Prāpyāvantin-udayana—), but Avanti or Avantikā is also the name of Ujjayini (as in the well-known verse ‘Ayodhya...Avantikā’). Fa Hien (399 to 413 A.D.) is said to have arrived at the city of Vārāṇasī in the kingdom of Kāṣī (Legge’s tr. p. 94). This shows that about 400 A.D. Kāṣī was still the name of the district and Vārāṇasī was its capital. But from the reference in the Mahābhāṣya it appears that Kāṣī had then become the name of the city (and was also

1408. इत्यत्तत्त्वसच्चनि गार्य आस सतोवाचायातसाइ काैसं मद्गं ते मेधावीति। श्रेष्ठ, उप. II. 1.1.

1409. इह सयानी आहाने सिस्सरे पादस्मष्टावं भवति काष्ठकसाधनो माधुर्यस्य। महा-महाव, vol. II, p. 413 (on Pāṇ. V. 3.35).
the name of the country). In the Anuśāsana-parva (chap. 30) it is said that Haryāśva, the grand-father of Divodāsa, was king of the Kāśis 1409a and was harasssed and killed by the Vitahavyas in the Doab between the Ganges and Jumna. Haryāśva's son was Śudeva who was crowned king of Kāśi (verse 13, Kāśirājō̄s bhyaśasya) and he also met the same fate as his father did. Then Divodāsa, son of Śudeva, became king of the Kāśis and founded Vārāṇasi thickly populated with men of all varṇas on the northern bank of the Gomati. This legend shows that Kāśi was the ancient name of a kingdom and the ancient belief was that Vārāṇasi was founded as the capital of the Kāśis by Divodāsa. In the Udyogaparva also Divodāsa is said to be the ruler of Kāśis. 1410

The Harivamśa (1, chap. 29) has a long but rather confused story about Divodāsa and Vārāṇasi. 1411 It deals with the dynasty of Āyus, one of the sons of Aila. One of the descendants of Āyus was Śunahotra who had three sons, Kāśa, Śala and Grītāmada. From Kāśa arose a branch called Kāśayāh. Dhanvantari, a descendant of Kāśa, was king of the Kāśis (verse 22). Divodāsa was great-grandson of Dhanvantari. He killed 100 sons of Bhadraśreṇya, who first was Lord of Vārāṇasi. Then Śiva sent his gana Nikumbha to destroy Vārāṇasi which had been occupied by Divodāsa. Nikumbha cursed it to be devastated for a thousand years. When it became devastated it came to be called Avimukta and Śiva resided there. It was again re-established (verse 68) by Durdama, a son of Bhadraśreṇya, whom, because he was a child, Divodāsa had not killed. Then Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, took it from Durdama. Alarka, grandson of Divodāsa and king of Kāśis, again established Vārāṇasi. This legend may contain some germs of truth, viz. that Vārāṇasi had become devastated several times and had often changed hands. The Vāyupurāṇa (chap. 92) and the Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 11) also contain the same legends of Dhanvantari, Divodāsa, and Alarka and the vicissitudes of Vārāṇasi.

1409 a. काशिकार्यम् च यो राजन दिवोदासासनिलामः। हर्षसेष इति लिख्यातः किरु जनस्ततः वर। अनुसासन 30 10.

1410. महार्याॅखः यहयाः कार्योणन्नित्याः। प्रमुै। दिवोदास इति लिख्यात भैलसेन्नित्याः। रावित्व उपयोगः 117 1.

1411. सोशसेषश्च काशिको दिवोदासासनिलामः।...वायुविना महात्मस्म निर्माणे श्रायशासनम्। लिखितिब्रह्मसनिलामाः। नैछुदसेन्नित्याः सर्वोद्विभावित्याः। शंकृत्वा उन्नी भ्रमरे च भारस्याः। गोमया शक्ष्यन्ति क्रुडः शाकर्ष्यवर्त्तादिः। अनुसासन 30 15-18.
In the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali states (vol. I. p. 380,) that Vārānasi is alongside of Gangā and on Pān. IV. 3. 84 (vol. II. p. 313) he informs us that traders call Vārānasi Jitvari.

Ancient Buddhist works show that Banaras was, in the times of Buddha (5th Century B.C. at the latest), a great and famous city like Campā, Rājagrha, Śrāvasti, Sāketa and Kauśāmbi (vide Mahāparinibbānasutta, S. B. E. vol. XI p. 99 and Mahāsudassanasutta, ibid. p. 247). The very fact that Buddha attained Enlightenment at Gayā (which was an out of the way place and on the borders, if at all, of Āryāvarta), thought it necessary to travel hundreds of miles from Gayā and preach his doctrines at Banaras in the Deer-park and set rolling the wheel of the kingdom of Dharma at that place, clearly indicates that Banaras had then become a very holy place and was in the centre of all Aryan activities and culture (vide S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 153 and vol. XIII p. 90, Mahāvagga, S. B. E. vol. 17 p. 21). King Brahmadatta of Banaras figures in many jātaka stories. Hardly any part of the jātaka tales can be placed earlier than the 3rd century B.C. But it may be admitted that Banaras was well-known as the capital of Brahmadatta kings several centuries before Christ. The Matsyapurāṇa 273, while enumerating hundreds of kings bearing the same surnames, states that there were 100 Brahmadattas and 100 Kāsīs and Kuśas.1412 But the very fact that Brahmadattas are separately mentioned from the Kāsīs largely reduces the value of this piece of information. The ancient Jain works also speak of Banaras and Kāśi. In the Kalpasūtra it is said that Arhat Pārśva was born in Banaras in the month of Cātra on the 4th day of the dark fortnight (S. B. E. vol. XXII p. 271) and that when Mahāvira died the 18 confederate kings of Kāśi and Kosala along with other kings of the Licchavis and Mallakis instituted an illumination on the day of the New Moon (ibid, p. 266). Aśvaghosa appears to identify Vārānasi with Kāśi when he says in his Buddhacarita ‘Having entered Vārānasi, the Jina (Buddha) illuminating the city with his light filled the minds of all the inhabitants of Kāśi with excessive interest,’1413 The Buddhacarita further speaks of Buddha as having gone under the shadow of a tree near Vaṇārā (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p.

1412. इत्यतः कास्ययम् श्राक्षसवर्धितं पितुयम् । इत्यतः वा ज्ञातस्य सम्बन्धम् । साकेः काशिकुरुपपाधुं ॥ सत्यं 273. 72-73.

1413. इत्यतः अवाचियम् भास्य सम्बन्धमात्रादेशः । चाकार काशोदिशेशयम् कौशकयोऽ
कौम्भवेच्यतः ॥ इत्यतः 15. 101.
169), which is probably the Varanā. It is thus clear that Vārānasī and Kāśī had become synonyms at least sometime about the first century A. D. In the Vāyupurāṇa 45.110 Kāśi-kosālāḥ figure among the countries of Madhyadेशa.

In the Viṣṇupurāṇa we have the story of Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva who challenged Krṣṇa and asked the latter to surrender his Cakra and other symbols. He was helped by the king of Kāśī. The combined armies of Pauṇḍraka and Kāśtrāja attacked Krṣṇa who killed Pauṇḍraka and cut off Kāśtrāja’s head (with his discus) which fell in the city of Kāśī. His son performed austerities, propitiated Śankara and secured from him a Kṛtyā (ogress) which entered Vārānasī. Krṣṇa’s discus in pursuit of her burnt the whole of Vārānasī together with its king, his servants and citizens. In this account from the Viṣṇupurāṇa (V. 34) the names Kāśī, Vārānasī and Avimukta are employed as synonyms (verses 14, 21, 25, 30, 39). The same legend occurs in the same words in Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 207 and is briefly referred to in Sabhāparva, chap. 14.18–20 and chap. 34.11.

From the above-mentioned accounts in the Epic and Purāṇas about Kāśī and Mahādevā, various conclusions 1414 have been drawn by writers, viz: that Mahādeva was a god of the non-Aryans, that Banaras was a centre of non-Aryan worship for a long time after the advent of the Aryans and that the people of Banaras, though they ultimately turned to the Aryan religion, were more interested in the philosophic speculations of the Upaniṣadic age. I dissent from most of these conclusions. We are on most unsafe ground as regards these conclusions. None of the extant Purāṇas can claim to be older than the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Most people in India lived and even now live a humdrum, placid and unattractive life in which there is nothing to satisfy the ordinary man’s appetite for the mysterious, the unusual and the horrible. The purāṇas contain stories that may be divided into several classes and that satisfied the above-mentioned cravings of the common man. Many of the

1414. Vide, for example, Prof. A. S. Altekar’s ‘History of Benares,’ pp. 2–7. The Nārādiya (uttara, chap. 29) states that Banaras was at first the city of Mādhava, but later on became a Saiva-śetra; is there any real historical basis here? If any historical conclusion is to be drawn from this statement of the Nārādiyapurāṇa it would be exactly the opposite of what Prof. Altekar has drawn, viz. that the non-Aryans scored a cultural victory over the Aryans at Banaras.
Conclusions from legends about Banaras

Legends contained in the purāṇas were meant for the entertainment of common people, just as even in these days millions in Western countries read with relish detective stories and crime club fiction. Some paurāṇic legends had a serious purpose in view viz emphasizing religious or philosophical dogma or moral values and standards and were clothed in a supernatural garb to make them striking and effective. Only a few legends have some historical basis, but the latter is evidently smothered in a mass of exaggerations and prejudices for or against a hero, or a caste, class, tribe or family. It is hardly fair to draw far-reaching historical conclusions from heterogeneous materials in the purāṇas about the conditions of things that prevailed several hundreds or thousands of years before they were compiled. The purāṇas often speak of the quarrels and bickerings among high gods and sages. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 30.65 speaks of a fight between Indra and Kṛṣṇa. Was Kṛṣṇa a non-Aryan god originally? Gaṇeśa’s left tooth was shattered by the missile of Parāśurāma who comes to fight with Rāma, both being supposed to be avatāras of Viṣṇu. The sage Bhrigu curses Viṣṇu, Gautama curses Indra, Māndavya curses Dharma (vide for all these, Brahmāṇḍa I. 27. 21–25).

In several purāṇas Kāśi or Vārānasī has been lauded and described at great length. Vide Matsya 180–185 (411 verses), Kūrma 1.31–35 (verses 226), Liṅgapurāṇa (pūrvabhāga, chap. 92, verses 190), Padma (Ādiḥkhaṇḍa 33–37, verses 170), Agni 112, Skanda, Kāśikhaṇḍa, chap. 6 ff., Nāradiya (uttara, chap. 48–51). The Kāśikhaṇḍa alone has about 15000 verses on Banaras and its sub-tirthas. In the Padmapurāṇa the sages are said to have asked Bhrigu five questions, viz. what is the greatness of Kāśi, how it is to be understood, who should resort to it, what is its extent (or boundaries) and by what means it (Kāśi) can be secured. In the Skandapurāṇa,

1415. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall (Introduction to Sherring’s work p. XXXII n. 3) criticizes Dr. Wilson for holding that the greater part of the Kāśikhaṇḍa is anterior to the first attack on Banaras by Mahmud of Gazni and holds that it is later than the Gaznivide invader. Dr. Hall advances hardly any convincing reasons. The work of Aīberuni is definite that Sultan Mahmud of Gazni had not spread his depredations as far as Banaras (vide Sachau, vol. I p. 22): ‘This is the reason why Hindu Sciences...have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places.’ The Kalpataru on Tīrtha quotes about one hundred verses on Vārānasī
Kāśikhaḍa (chap. 26, 2–5) the following questions are asked, viz. from what time this holy place Āvimukta became highly famous, how it received the name Āvimukta, how it became the way to mokṣa, how the pool of Manikarnika became an object of worship to the three worlds, what was there formerly (when) the Ganges was not there, how it came to be called Vārāṇasi, Kāśi, Rudrāvasa, how it came to be Ānandakānana (the forest of bliss) and then Āvimukta and Mahāśmaśāna (the great cemetery).

Banaras has been known for centuries under five different names viz. Vārāṇasi, Kāśi, Āvimukta, Ānandakānana and Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna. The Kāśikhaḍa states that Śaṅkara first called it Ānandakānana and then Āvimukta.

(Continued from the last page)

from the Skandapurāṇa and holds the latter work to be as authoritative as the Matsyapurāṇa, Liṅgapurāṇa and other Purāṇas. The Kalpataru of Lakshmīdhara was composed about 1110 A.D. (vide Prof. Aiyangar’s Introduction to Tīrthakāṇḍa pp. XVIII–XIX). Therefore a century or two at least before 1100 A.D. there existed a Skandapurāṇa, part of which contained a eulogy of Banaras. Unfortunately the present printed Kāśikhaḍa of the Skanda does not agree with the quotations from the Skanda given by the Kalpataru. A curious state of things is divulged as regards the quotations from Skanda in the Kalpataru. For example, on pp. 36–37 of the Kalpataru on Tīrtha, about 19 verses are quoted from Skanda which occur verbatim in the Liṅgapurāṇa, chap. 92. 120–142 (with the addition of some half verses). Similarly, on p. 44 of the Kalpataru three verses are quoted from Skanda, which are the same as Liṅga. 92, 87–89. On p. 42 Kalpataru quotes one verse about Goprekaśvara from Skanda which is quoted from the Liṅgapurāṇa by Tri. S. p. 171. Some of the Purāṇas say that the Skanda has 81101 verses (Matsya 53, 42–43). But the Skanda printed at the Veṅkaṭēśvara press contains several thousand verses more. It appears that there were different recensions of the Skanda. The Tri. S. quotes verses from specific chapters of the Kāśikhaḍa which are generally found in the printed work. Vide p. 193 (for chap. 30), 190 (for chap. 32), p. 144 (for chap. 34), p. 160 for chap. 45, p. 154 for chap. 49, pp. 157 and 200 for chap. 61 etc.

1416. तिन महात्मरं कर्ष स्वर्या केश न्यक्षस्मात्। पारीण्यं च तत्यतः तिन केंद्रोऽपि निवर्तनं। परम्परेण हथिनं परमात्मण्युवाच केवलाय स्वर्यायूसम्। अविरुद्धाः प्रथमेऽयति भविष्याय विधिप्राप्तस्मात्।

1417. अर्थात्तद्वरवं नाम प्रताकारं पिनाकिनं। सन्तस्वान्नद्वेयावद्विद्वध्वजमन्तरस्मि। स्वमृदुल्यात्मिनि। च कर्म विद्वान लिङ्गि कालीः। 26. 2–5.
A few words must be said about the derivation and significance of these words as gathered from the Purāṇas and other works. And first comes Kāśi. It is derived from the root kāś ‘to shine.’ The Skandapurāṇa 1418 says that the city of Kāśi became famous by that name because it shed light on (the way to) nirvāṇa (final release) or because that indescribable refulgence, viz. God Śiva shines forth there. The name Vāraṇaśi is derived in several Purāṇas from the names of two streams Varāṇaś 1419 (modern Bārnā) and Asi, which are respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the modern city. From the passages quoted below from the Skandapurāṇa (Kāśi-khaṇḍa) it appears that Asi is the correct form of the name of the river. The names most frequently used in the Purāṇas are Vāraṇaśi and Avimukta. In the Jābalopanisād 1420 the words Avimukta, Varāṇaś and Nāsi are brought together in an esoteric sense.

"Atri asked Yājñavalkya: how is one to know the unmanifested Self? Yājñavalkya explained that he was to be worshipped in Avimukta, since the Self is centered in Avimukta. Then a question was asked: in what is Avimukta centered or established? The reply is that Avimukta is established in the midst of Varaṇaś and Nāsi. Varaṇaś is so called because it

1418. कालेलईक यतो योज्यतववाास्ययमीविषयः। अनै नामपर चातुर कालीति धिक्षित विभो। स्कन्द, कालीः 26.67 q. by विशाखपी: p. 88; मायापान्त हा महा देवीयोऽपि: पुरुषधर्मी। तिरुककाशनाद्वन्य कालीति भित्रता पुरी। स्कन्द, कालीः 30.5: काली महाबिलि विशिष्यति नायिवाः जन्मस्व। अध्‌पुते तुरुस्ताः: कालीति नारायणविश्व।। q. by विशाखि: p. 88.

1419. वर्णालंकारम् बालरण मयेव नारास्वे पुरी। प्रा। अद्वी 33.49, कृत्ति I. 31.63 (reads हरा।): वर्णाली नवरी वानलीवज्करणं शुद्धकर्मिं (शुद्धकर्मिं) तु। तत्पर 183.62। अस्त्रवयम् यथं क्षेरवर्धाक्षुति हुले। वारीलार्यति विविधात: क्षेरवयम् महावयम्। अतेशक्षा वरणा- यथा शदृङ्गम् गायन कालिका। स्कन्द, कालीः 30.69-70: वरणा च नवी नास्ति सम्य वरण्यां तयाः। अध्‌ 112.6. नासी आप्रवायत्वम् कालीनयम्। कालीशेष 30.18 there is a pun on the word अस्ति (a sword, the river) ‘अस्ति महास्वप्ता च गायन सम्मतियानानी।’;देवसन्तरसां गायनाः कुलार्यसि वरणा स्वा। सेवनम् गौरी- निष्क्रीर्यान्तिनिमाणयसि।॥ वेद्यम् प्रददिधिनां ते देवाः निमाणयसि। कालीशेष 30.20-21; वरणा (वरणा?) च अस्ति चापिये है नासी शुद्धम्। अतेराख्यां तयाः: क्षेरवयम् (वरणा?) च विनिर्मित कालिका। वेद V.14.191. वरणा विनायत स्म हुले। वासनपुराण, after stating that कालीशेष is between वरणा and अस्ति (3.28 ff) contains a poetic description of वारणस्वि with शेष quite in the style of बागा ‘तारायण कुलीनले मेरे हित्युद्वितयिः।’ (V. 38).

1420. अथ इतिवनि: प्रचु याज्ञवल्क्यवि: य येषोन्नात्स्य: आत्मा तव कालशव विज्ञानायमानिति। सहोदरच याज्ञवल्क्यः। सौदिजीसु: उपामः। य येषोन्नात्स्य: आत्मा सौदिज्जिकविविद्यते हि। सौदिज्जश्च: कालिक युविदः हि। वरणयाः नायिकाः च मयेव यंतिः हि। कि व वरणाः किच नायिकाः। सामविद्यस्युद्दानज्ञानाचार्यायामती वरणाः भवित। सामविद्यस्युद्दानज्ञानायामती तेन नायिक। सामविद्यस्युद्दानज्ञानायामती। कालिकाः यथान्तर्यात्मा। श्चेष्‌ श्चेष्‌ श्चेष्‌ श्चेष्‌ श्चेष्‌ श्चेष्‌। श्चेष्‌ स्वायत्ताम तय्‌ स्वायत्ताम परस्पर च साध्यमानविशेषताम। जापालोपMos 2nd para.
wards off all faults due to the senses and Nāsi destroys all sins due to the senses. Then a question is asked: what is its location (sthāna)? The reply is that it is the conjunction of the eyebrows and the nose i.e. the upāsanā (contemplation) of Avimukta is to be made as located in the span between the eyebrows and the root of the nose.” Here it will be seen that Varāṇa and Nāsi are the names (and not Varāṇa and Asi). The Vāmanapurāṇa employs the form Asi (15.50–53). The same is the case with the Padma.

The name Avimukta has generally been explained as derived from the negative particle ‘na’ (for which ‘a’ is substituted) and vimukta (forsaken). Many Purāṇas say that the holy place is so called because it was never forsaken by Śiva (sometimes both Śiva and his consort). In the Lingapurāṇa another derivation is suggested: “avi means ‘sin’; that holy place is devoid of sin”. The Kāśikhaṇḍa (39.74) states that originally the kṣetra was called Ānandakāṇana and then Avimukta because though Śiva went to stay on Mandara mountain he did not leave it entirely but left his liṅga there.

Varāṇasi is very dear to Śiva, it gives him joy and therefore it is called Ānandavana or Ānandakāṇana. It is also styled Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna for various reasons. As a belief was entertained by all people that death in Banaras freed a man from saṃsāra, and as the thoughts and aspirations of pious Hindus ran in the direction of dying on the sacred soil of Banaras, the old and decrepit crowded therein and persons seriously ill got themselves removed or were removed to the banks of the Ganges when about to die and were cremated there. Cremation of corpses is always seen on the Manikarnikā ghūṭ near the Ganges. A śmaśāna (cemetery) is considered impure but Banaras with the sacred Ganges was purest in spite of being always the cremation ground for thousands in a year.

1421. मूले प्रस्थातिवंतिन न कठोरेण कठाचन। विज्ञनां हि विज्ञानां पद्मिनुष्ट सतो विद्वः। स्वस्वद, काशीं 26.27 q. by विज्ञानोपनी p. 89; विद्वंदुप्रभु (पुराणो) 92. 45–46 विज्ञानां स सतो न नासमानमोहते ज्योतिषम् कठाचन। सतो विज्ञानम् ज्योतिषमोहति स्वस्वद। almost the same verse is नारायण (उत्तर) 48.24: vide मतव. 180.54 and 181.15, अधि. 112.2 and लिङ्ग I. 92. 104.

1422. अविनाश्चपति वेदोंक्त: कहयते हिनैः। तेन दुधं मया ज्योतिषमोहते सतो विद्वः। लिङ्ग (पुराणो) 92.143.

1423. तथा विन्यस्ता देवी सतो सतविन्युमिदं तद्विषे सहानुष्ठानम्। काशीकृष्ण 32.111। आविनाशी परं केष्ट्रं जन्तुं दूकिंदे सदा। सेवत सततं प्रभाव विशेषं। लिङ्ग I. 91. 76.
The Skanda says: 1424 'śma' means a corpse and 'śāna' means 'lying down'; when the end of the world comes, the great elements lie here as corpses and therefore this place is called Mahāśmaśāna.' The Padmapurāṇa 1425 makes Śiva say: 'Avimukta is a famous cemetery: becoming the Destroyer (or the Time Spirit) I being here destroy the world.' Matsya very frequently speaks of Vārāṇasi as Śmaśāna. The KāŚikhanda states: if a man after reaching the great cemetery dies there by fate he has never again to lie in the cemetery (i.e. he is not born again).

Although generally Kāśi, Vārāṇasi and Avimukta are used as synonyms in the Purāṇas, in some passages a distinction is made between them. The passages quoted above (in note 1419) show that Vārāṇasi is bounded by the Varanā and Asi on the north and south, 1426 the Ganges on the east and the shrine of Vināyaka in the west. Ain. A. (vol. II p. 158) remarks that Benares is a large city situated between the rivers Barnā and Asi and that it is built in the form of a bow of which the Ganges forms the string. The Matsyapurāṇa 1427 states: 'that kṣetra is two yojana and a half east and west and half a yojana broad north and south; out of this Vārāṇasi extends up to the dry river (viz. Asi)'. The first part appears to deal with the entire Kāśiksetra which according to the Padmapurāṇa 1428 comprised the tract covered by a circle the radius of which was the line joining Madhyamāvāra-linga.

---

1424. श्रेष्ठद्विदर्शा श्री: आचरण श्रावणमधुय्यते। निर्विष्कारित्य इत्यावादमयं सूर्य हस्तीत्यः
कोविष्टः। महामयापि च पुराणां सदाय सप्तशतां। क्रेस्तरं ब्राह्मण पुराणं हु ततो सहायः
श्रेष्ठं, काशी। 30. 103-4। वाराणसीति काशीति कठार्या द्वैतं द्वितिः प्रिजः। महाकालानिर्देशेः
काशीमायुक्तकालमायुक्त। ibid 30.111.

1425. इत्यावादमयं विष्कारित्य इत्यावादमयं श्रावणमयं
हस्ती। पप्प। I. 33.14। परं कर्मयात इत्यावादमयं श्रावणमयं संस्कारं। मस्तू। 184.5।
महामयात महामयातिः विष्कारिताः श्रावणमयं। मस्तू। 184.19। वेतृत्त्वन्यात्रां मृत्री इत्यावादमयं तथा। मस्तू।
184.26। vide also मस्तू। 182.6। महाकालानिर्देशेऽथि द्वितिः प्रिजः। पुनः
इत्यावादमयं न कार्यं तः मायुक्तं। काशीमायुक्त 31.130.

1426. वषोपयोतरं योधीश्वरं विश्वासित युक्तं। जागृहं पतिमेव चापि पाषाणपरिवर्तितं
पपा। पाषाणलिंगं तु चित्रती। p. 100, तीर्थं। p. 175.

1427. तिरुत्तरसम्भवं च तत्त्वं यथ: पूर्वपरिवर्तम। अर्धोदयेनविवस्थितिः वषोपयोतरं
स्वतं। वाराणसी तथा यथ: वषोपयोतरं (श्रेष्ठोत्तरं?) हु तः। एव वेतृत्त्व विस्तार: अक्षो
कौशल चित्रम्। मस्तू। 184. 50-52.

1428. मध्यकालानिर्देशमस्तू मायुक्तमित्रविवर्तितं
पुनः संस्कारं तस्वयं श्रावणामयात्रा श्रावणामयात्रा
काशीति शाबुधवेद्यास्तु सुते। मनोविवर्तितं तात्त्वं
पुनः कर्मवेद्यास्तु विस्तारं संस्कारं निमित्तमात्र व। पपा। पाषाणलिंगं तु चित्रती। p. 100, तीर्थं। p. 175.
with the shrine of Dehali-Ganeśa. The Matsyapurāṇa (in chap. 183, 61–62) makes it two yojanas in extent. Agni 112. 6 also does the same. But that is only approximate. The actual distance covered by a yojana varied. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 145–146 n. 183. Rhys Davids in ‘Numismata Orientalia’ (London, 1877) after examining 30 passages from Pāli texts comes to the conclusion that a yojana was equal to about 7 or 8 miles. Avimukta is said to be that part of the holy place which is represented by a radius of 200 dhanus (i.e. 800 hastas or about 1200 feet) in all four directions from the shrine of Viśvesvara. 1429 There was no unanimity on the extent of Avimukta. In Kaśikhaṇḍa Avimukta 1429a is said to be five krokas in extent. But there Avimukta appears to stand for Kaśi. The innermost 1430 circle in the holy Kaśikṣetra is defined as that between Gokarṇesvara to the west, the mid stream of the Ganges to the east, Bhārabhūta to the north and Brahmeśvara to the south. A few more passages on the extent of the sacred place of Banaras may be cited here in one place. The Līṅgapurāṇa 1431 says: ‘this kṣetra is declared to be four krokas (in extent) in the four directions and also one yojana’. The Nāradīyaṇapūrāṇa 1432 puts the extent thus ‘(The kṣetra) extends over two yojanas and a half from east to west and is half a yojana wide from north to south; god Šambhu declared the extent of the kṣetra between the rivers Varuṇa and Asi (which latter is) a dried-up stream.’ In the Padmapuṇaraṇa 1433

1429. विशेषता नातिदेव मधुतूपत्योगीत्वस:। अपरमाधिपिं श्रेष्ठ सुनिलत्व न

1429 a. अपि वरुण देशकषेत्रयं श्रेष्ठत्वयोगीत्वस:। उपेत्रितःदेव गोर्वम् हि श्रेष्ठत्व विशेषसी-भिधत्।
कालीकषेत्र 26. 31.

1430. गोकर्णदेव: पदिविवे पुर्वत: गजानामभवस्वेत: भारसुः। गोकर्णो धक्षिणे सर्वत्विविदे-चु गोकर्णे भवम् विश्वामिद्रो:। पद, पातालस्वाधिर् q. by विश्वामिद्रो: p. 101; कालीकषेत्र (74, 45–46) is similar ‘पुर्वतः भारसुः प्रदक्षिणायो गोकर्णः विश्वामिद्रो:। पदिविवे गोकर्णः भारसुः तत्विविदे-चु गोकर्णः भवम्’

1431. जहु गोकर्णादेव श्रेष्ठत्वयोगीत्वस:। गोकर्णं विद्धचर्चितः प्रवस्यातःसुधातःसहः।
विश्वामिद्रों, तिरंगम, 92, 99-100. तीर्थप. p. 340 and विश्वामिद्रों p. 103 quote this verse as from सकस्व.

1432. विशेषत: गोकर्णादेव श्रेष्ठत्वयोगीत्वस:। अपिवती नस्तविविदे-चु गोकर्णादेवः।
विश्वामिद्रों p. 18, 19–19.

1433. पंक्तिका प्राणनीतिः श्रेष्ठत: च मयात: त:। भास्मयोगिताः पंक्तिका प्राणनीतिः।
रूपस्माता गोकर्णानं गोकर्णानं गोकर्णानं गोकर्णानं गोकर्णानं गोकर्णानं गोकर्णानं गोकर्णानं गोकर्णानं पांडव: विश्वामिद्रों p. 14, 194–196.
Brahma is supposed to have said to Rudra: 'I have given you a kṣetra of the extent of five kroṣas; when the best of rivers, Gangā, will flow through this kṣetra, the city will be great and holy; the Ganges, as it flows northwards (in Banaras) for two yojanas, will be holy'. If in any texts there be any differences between the extents of Avimukta, it must be supposed that there is an option; 1434 (or, as the Tir. C. suggests, the differences refer to different kalpos i.e. ages). It is clear that Vārāṇasi was that strip of land, the four boundaries of which were the Ganges to the east, Asī to the south, the shrine of Dehali-Vinayaka to the west and the river Varaṇā to the north. In the 7th century Hiouen Thang, the Chinese pilgrim, notes that Banaras was 18 līs (about 3½ miles) in length and about 5 or 6 līs (a little more than a mile) in breadth. This makes it clear that the city was then bounded as now by the Varaṇā and Asī.


Verses laudatory of the greatness and uniqueness of Varaṇāsi literally run into thousands. All that can be done here is to set out a few characteristic verses. The Vanaparva observes: 1435 a person coming to Avimukta and resorting to the sacred place becomes free from the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder by merely seeing the (image of the) Lord of gods (i.e. Viśveśvara) and if he dies there he secures mokṣa. The Matsya-purāṇa 1436 contains many striking passages about the unique greatness of Banaras: "Vārāṇasi is always my most secret place; it is always the cause of mokṣa for all beings. Mokṣa may be effected in Prayāga or in this city because I have taken it under my protection; this place is greater than even Prayāga, the foremost among tirthas. All the sins 1437 that a man may have

---

1434. अत्र तैत्तिकमालोचनाय इतिवर्गसमध्यमेऽप्रयोगान्त्याविद्वृत्ते योजनाविद्वृत्ते। पाषाणं तविवर्गसमध्यमेऽप्रयोगान्त्याविद्वृत्ते। तथा चात्र परिमाणविकल्पः। विवरणः p. 103.

1435. अहिस्ते समाध्याय तीर्थेनिनी कुस्माह। दुर्लभं धार्वेश्वरं सुभवते ज्ञात्वत्स्याया। मानादस्यामुपज्णस्य माहत्त्वम्। वल्लभे 84. 79-80.

1436. इन्द्र खुदाम खुदाम सत्य परामतिस्म माम। सत्यपराग भूतानां खुदामकृत्य सत्यवादम्। मार्गम् 180. 47 q. by सरिषकल्पः p. 12 (reads जनुनां ग्रामा गुणनाग्नाय। This is the same as हिङ्गम, पृष्टी 92. 38; पृष्टी तथा जनुनां ग्रामा गुणनाग्नाय। मयागढापि सीरवोवेणुस्त्रम स्वत्वो स्वत्वाय। मार्गम् 180. 56-57 quoted by सरिषकल्पः p. 13 with some additions. It explains 'इन्द्राय भूतपूर्वत्तिने पुत्रसंधियो भोगसमस्ते।' This is also हिङ्गम, पृष्टी 92.48.

1437. ज्ञात्वत्स्यगरूपं समानाय पुरुषाक्रियस्म। अविनाविनावतः ततस्मि वास्तति स्वतः। इत्यादि विवेचना स्वतः पार्यन्तः। कालेन निर्माणं गतं अवस्थाश्च श्रुत निबोध।। जयत्वत्तिनेन। सर्वं लघुत्वम्। इत्यादि विवेचनाः। परं 181.17-21 = परं 1. 33.17-20. q. by सरिषकल्पः p. 15. The verse मार्गम् इति occurs in मार्गम् (उत्तर 48. 51-52).
accumulated in thousands of past lives are destroyed the moment he enters Avimukta; brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, śudras, persons born of mixed marriages, worms, mlecchas and others born of low mixed unions, insects, ants, birds and beasts, when they succumb to death in course of time all find happiness in my auspicious city, all being endowed with a crescent of the moon on their heads, with a (third) eye on their forehead and have a bull as their conveyance." A person\textsuperscript{1438} even though his mind may be addicted to pleasures of sense and though he may have given up devotion to dharma, if he dies in this place (Banaras) he does not again enter upon the path of saṃsāra (the cycle of births and deaths); a man concentrating his mind for thousands of past lives may secure Yoga; but by dying (in Banaras) he secures the highest mokṣa in this very life. Even if a man be a sinner \textsuperscript{1439} or a rogue or irreligious he becomes free from all sins if he goes to Avimukta. Other women,\textsuperscript{1440} that act as they like and are intently devoted to enjoyments, when they die here by lapse of time secure the highest worlds. In this world mokṣa \textsuperscript{1441} cannot be secured by men without the (practice of) Yoga; but in the case of those who reside in Avimukta Yoga and mokṣa are both secured. For planets,\textsuperscript{1442} lunar mansions and stars there is the danger of falling (from the sky) in course of time but there is no fall for those who die in Avimukta. Whatever evil actions may have been committed by an evil-minded man or woman, knowingly or unknowingly...
ingly—all those are reduced to ashes when he enters Avimukta. Even a mleccha resident in Kāśi is better, since his future will be blissful, but not one residing elsewhere, though he may be a dikṣita, because he will not be a recipient of mukti."

In some passages a mystic flavour is imparted to Vārāṇasī and the rivers. For example, the Kāśikhaṇḍa says that Asi is the Iḍā nāḍī, Varaṇā is the Pīṅgalā nāḍī, Avimukta is susūmnā and Vārāṇasī is all the three.1444 The Liṅgapurāṇa, however, puts the matter somewhat differently. It holds that Asi (the dried-up river), Varanā and Matsyodāri (i.e. Ganges) are respectively the Pīṅgalā, Iḍā and Susūmnā.

It is time now to turn to the individual sacred spots in Banaras. It is stated in some of the Purāṇas1445 that at every step in the Kāśikśetra there is a holy place and that there is not even as much space as a sesame seed in Kāśi which has not a liṅga (emblem of Śiva). As a matter of fact the Kāśikhaṇḍa names 64 liṅgas in chap. 10 alone. But one must look to the tirthas that are specifically named. Hiouen Thsang says that there were one hundred temples at Banaras in his day and he speaks of a temple where the copper image of Deva Maheśvara was a little less than 100 feet high (vide Beal’s B. R. W. W. vol. II. pp. 44-45). Unfortunately, the fanatical zeal and ruthlessness of Moslem rulers demolished almost all Hindu temples at different times from 1194 to about 1670 A. D. Mosques and mausoleums were erected on their sites, and the materials of the temples thus razed were used in constructing mosques and for serving as breakwaters &c. Kutubdin Aibak destroyed about 1000 temples in 1194 A. D. (vide Elliot and Dowson’s ‘History of India’, vol. II. p. 222). Alauddin Khilji boasted that he had destroyed one thousand temples in Banaras alone (vide Sherring p. 31, Havell p. 76). About 1585 A. D. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa re-established the temple of Viśvanātha with the help

---

1444. सहोदासचिति जातादित्रस्ववेशिका मता। वरण विभूति नानी तदन्तर्वः सिद्धार्थस्य। सा दुधुम्णा पत्र नानी जैव वाराणसीस्य। स्कन्धु, काशीं। 5.25; compare नारायण (उत्तर) 47. 22-23; विभूति नाम या नानी आदिपर्व सा जयपीत। दुधुम्णा स्ववेशिका सा ज्ञेय तोऽक्ष्ययैः पत्र विभूतिः। इत्यादिपी या नानी सा सौम्या सम्बन्धित। वरण नाम या ज्ञेय केवलोऽयं पत्र संस्कृताः। आयुष्यं सर्वचे तृ दुधुम्णा सा जयपीत। मत्स्यदैर्यी या सा ज्ञेयं बद्धुर्वत तस्मात्कृतिविनः। ज्ञेयपुराण ४.७. ३४१, विशेषतेः pp. 78-79.

1445. तीनोपमसि सन्ति सूक्ष्मसि कायदानांष पदैः पदे। यं प्रभुतर्वर्षिर्यस्य कोष्ठकम् सन्न्यास्य। स्कन्धू, काशीं। 59. 118; विद्यश्रापि जो कालयं सुमिलितः निना कालिं। काशीं। स्कन्धू १०. 103.
of Rājā Todarmal. Even this temple was desecrated. The following passage from the Ma-A’sir-i-A’lamgiri quoted by Elliot and Dowson (‘History of India,’ vol. VII p. 184) is instructive: “It reached the ears of His Majesty, the protector of the faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multan and Benares, but especially in the latter foolish brāhmaṇas were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in their schools and that students and learners, Musalmans as well as Hindus, went there even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. ‘The Director of the Faith’ consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship. On the 15th Rabī‘-Jākhir (i.e. December 1669) it was reported to his religious Majesty, leader of the Unitarians, that in obedience to order, the Government officers had destroyed the temple of Bishnath at Benares.”

A mosque, which still exists, was built on the site of the Viṣveśvara temple by Aurangzeb, who even changed the name of Banaras to Muhammadabad. The result is that, as stated by Sherring (p. 32), it would be difficult to find twenty temples in the whole of Banaras of the age of Aurangzeb (1658–1707 A. D.). Many of the temples were built by the Maratha Chiefs and Sardars and during the British occupation many more were built. Prinsep calculated in about 1828 that there were in the Banaras city proper 1000 Hindu temples and 333 mosques; a more recent estimate puts the figures at 1454 temples and 272 mosques (Sherring pp. 41–42).

Viṣveśvara or Viśvanātha is the tutelary deity of Banaras and the principal and most holy temple in it (vide n. 1429 a). It is prescribed that every resident of Kāśi must every day bathe in the Ganges and visit the temple of Viṣveśvara (vide Tri. S. p. 214). After Aurangzeb pulled down the temple of Viṣvanātha, there was no shrine of Viśvanātha in Benares for over a hundred years. The liṅga was probably removed from place

1446. Vide Altekar pp. 47–48 and Introduction to my edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha p. VIII (Poona, 1926), where I cite a verse from the Dūnahirāvali-prakāśa of Divakarabhaṭṭa, a daughter’s son of Nilakanṭha, who was the grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.

1447. Havell (p. 76) remarks that there are 1500 temples and that smaller shrines or images in niches of walls or the like are countless,
to place as the vicissitudes of the times required and the pilgrims performed parts of the worship (such as namaskāra and circumambulation) at the site of the image, but they could not perform other portions of the worship such as bathing the image with Ganges water. The present temple of Viṣṇuṇātha was built in the last quarter of the 18th century by Devi Ahalyābāi Holkar (Altekar, p. 57). The Tri. S. p. 183, while on the question of the appearance (prādurbhāva) of Viṣṇuvara, observes that there is no blemish in the case of the Viṣṇuvara-linga due to the touch of the untouchable, that every day Viṣṇuvara removes it by a bath in Manikarnikā at dawn and the worship offered by Himself and quotes a verse of the Sāntakumāra-saṁhitā in support. What the Tri. S. means is: Generally great care is taken about liṅgas. All and sundry are not allowed to touch them but in the case of the Viṣṇuvara-liṅga any one, even a great sinner, may worship it and pour Ganges water over it. Whether Nārāyanabhatṭa meant that even the so-called untouchables might touch it is not clear.

It appears that Vācaspati holds that Avimukteśvara liṅga is the same as Viṣṇuṇātha, but both the Tristhal-setu (p. 296) and Tir. Pr. (p. 187) reject this idea. The Skanda-purāṇa (Kāśi, 10. 93) mentions Viṣṇuvara and Avimukteśvara as separate liṅgas. Besides worshipping Viṣṇuṇātha, every pilgrim to Benares has to visit the five tirthas (Pañcatīrthī). According to the Matsyapurāṇa the five essential tirthas in the Anandakānana of Viṣṇuvara are Daśāsvamedha, Lolārka, etc.

1448. अन्ध चयापि विषेषतः चित्तिमण्डियोत्सववाणीकों व वाल्लाहुःके साखापत्य तत्त्वानाय विशिष्टामिथियुंजादि कायरसय..... यदापि स्वयंविद्यरुशसःचात्मकमान्वयों चित्तिमण्डियोत्सववाणीकों व वाल्लाहुःके साखापत्य तत्त्वानाय विशिष्टामिथियुंजादि कायरसय....... \n
1449. विषेषतःस्वतःप्रभावस्फोक्तनानी दोषों नाति चतुर्वेद लेवेन पुजया साखा-नक्षत्राभान। तुकंक तमेव (सन्तकुमारसतीमतम)। बाज्ज दुहड़ मन्यकाभिकं एव सन्तवा समारायते स्वमेव। असुल्लस्स्फोक्तनानी दोषों नाति चतुर्वेद लेवेन पुजया साखा-नक्षत्राभान। तुकंक तमेव (सन्तकुमारसतीमतम)। बाज्ज दुहड़ मन्यकाभिकं एव सन्तवा समारायते स्वमेव। असुल्लस्स्फोक्तनानी दोषों नाति चतुर्वेद लेवेन पुजया साखा-नक्षत्राभान। तुकंक तमेव (सन्तकुमारसतीमतम)। बाज्ज दुहड़ मन्यकाभिकं एव सन्तवा समारायते स्वमेव। असुल्लस्स्फोक्तनानी दोषों नाति चतुर्वेद लेवेन पुजया साखा-नक्षत्राभान। तुकंक तमेव (सन्तकुमारसतीमतम)। बाज्ज दुहड़ मन्यकाभिकं एव स

1449 a. अविकृत्यक्रियान्यथसंबंधः क्षेत्रे शिवसतपीतविश्वेष्ठं दित्ये विश्वनाथ-नामं तिक्कसिद्धं। तीर्थापति। p. 360.

1450. The Pañcatīrthī has received the highest judicial notice in Maharani Hemanta Kumari v. Gauri Shankar 68. I. A. 53 at p. 57.

1450 a. Lolārka is only one of the shrines of the Sun in Kāśi; vide Kāśikādanda 10. 83 (Lolārka-mukhya-sūryāni ca punah punah) and 46. 45-46, where the shrines of the twelve Arkas in Kāśi are enumerated as लोलरक, उत्तररक, सामायार तथा.
Keśava, Bindumādhava and Manikarnikā. In modern times the five essential tirthas called Pañcatirtha are the confluence of the Asi with the Ganges, the Daśāsvamedha ghāt, Maṇi-karnikā, the Pañcaganga ghāt and the confluence of the river Varanā (called Bārnā by the common people) with the Ganges. This is based on the Kāṣikhaṇḍa. The shrine of Lolārka is situated at the confluence of the Asi (the southern boundary of Banaras) with the Ganges. The Kāṣikhaṇḍa furnishes a popular etymology for the name Lolārka, viz. that the mind of the Sun on seeing Kāṣi became agitated. The Asi is a tolerably wide stream (about 40 feet) in the rainy season, but is dry at other times. The several gigantic ghats with their flights of stone steps are a grand sight at Banaras. The Ganges while passing by Banaras takes a great sweep so that its mighty current flows in a northerly direction (that is towards the Himalaya) and is therefore held to be peculiarly holy here.

The Daśāsvamedha-ghāṭ has been famed for centuries. Jayaswal's interpretation of the epithets applied to the Bhāraśivas in Vākaṭaka grants should be accepted viz. the Bhāraśivas were an imperial dynasty, were crowned with the holy waters of the Ganges and took their ceremonial baths on the Ganges at the end of ten Aśvamedha sacrifices, on account of which the Daśāsvamedha-ghāṭ at Banaras was so named (Jayaswal's 'History of India' 150 A.D.–350 A.D. p. 5). In order to realize the grandeur of Banaras on the side of the river one must be at

1451. तीर्थानां पश्चातां सारं विग्रहायतैवस्तुकांस्ये। दुधामघातं खोलाकं मेरामो विन्दु-भाषा। पश्चातां तु माधवाच्छायझे मणिकर्णिका। प्रभृति तीर्थार्यभाय वाप्यवते त्रिबोधवर्कम्। सर्षयो 185. 68-69.

1452. यथम चालिसमेवं तीर्थानां यत्र परम। ततो दुधामघातां सर्वभोगिनां वितम। ततः पार्श्वः तीर्थार्यविषकल्यांस्ये। ततः पार्श्वनाम दुधामघातांविषिद्ध। एतेऽपि पार्शवविषिणां चतुर्धिनिष विपन्नम्। प्रथम मतिकम्पकां समीक्षायतुद्ध। पार्श्वविषिणां नन। स्वतः न देवं पार्श्वभोगिनम्। युद्धाति जातुविकाणु स्मारयायते। कालिनं 106.110 न्यून 114 य. बिस्तिते = p. 261, which explains 'पद्मा अहक्तं तदा पार्श्वः। मित्र एव भविष्यत सत्यानि देहो। नासितै भावः।'

1453. तरायुक्तं मनो तोहं वाससैकाषिकुलमि। अतो तोहाऽ दुधामघातां काल्यं जाता विस्तितम्। तोहाऽकेत्तानमेवं देवनामीयं हिंसी सितम्। स्थानं, कालिनं 46. 48-49.

The shrine of तोहरको is referred to in E. I. vol. V. p. 117 of Vikrama era 1208 (1151 A.D.), a grant of मोहिनदेवताद्वारका of Kanoj.

1454. 'अन्यभावस्यभिषेकित्रिविधिकल्यामण्डलसुपरिषुल्लक्षितारायणां पराक्राम-प्रियसाधिरूपस्यलक्षणपारिपूर्वकम्। दुधामघातामुद्धरास्यां राहस्यावलां महाभाषार्यभीष्म-भाग्यमाैदम्। जातानितरतदस्।' E. I. vol. III. p. 258 (Dudia plates of यथास्मरी इल) and Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (Chammak plate of यथास्मरी II) p. 236 and p. 245 (Siwani plate of the same king).
the Daśāsvamedhaghaṭ at dawn. For the eulogy of Daśāsvamedha, vide Kāśikhaṇḍa 52. 83 ff. and Tri. S. p. 159. The Kāśikhaṇḍa says that formerly the tīrtha was called Rudrasaras, but as Brahmā performed ten Aśvamedhas there it came to be called Daśāsvamedha (chap. 52. 66–68). The Maniśkārṇīka (also called Mukiṣṭra) pool is the very centre of the religious life of Banaras and is the most holy among all the Banaras tīrthas. The Kāśikhaṇḍa gives a phantastic story of its origin (in chapter 26 verses 51–63 quoted in Tri. S. pp. 145–146): Viṣṇu dug with his discus a puskārini, filled it with the perspiration from his own body and performed severe austerities on its bank for 1050 (or 50000) years. Śiva came there and being pleased shook his head and an ear-ornament studded with jewels fell into the pool, which thenceforward came to be called Maniśkārṇīka. The word is derived in two ways in the Kāśi-
kaṇḍa. Śiva who is like the wish-yielding jewel whispers in the ear (karnīka) of good men the Tāraka mantra at the time of death. The extent of Maniśkārṇīka north to south is said to be 105 kastas i.e. about 160 feet (Kāśikhaṇḍa 99. 54). In modern times the waters of the Maniśkārṇīka pool become foul and fetid because it is shallow (two or three feet deep), because hundreds of pilgrims cast into it flowers and money by way of worship and because the priests stir the waters with their hands and feet to find the coins dropped by pilgrims. Our methods of worship must be changed. The flowers and gifts should be placed on the banks of the pool and then taken away by the priests. The Tri. S. p. 147 mentions several mantras (two of which are set out below) to be recited when contemplating on Maniśkārṇīka. Near the Maniśkārṇīka pool is the temple of Tārakesvara so named from the belief that Śiva will whisper the mantra called tāraka in the ear of

1455. तद्न वासस्कल्लभिविधिप्रियाः शाकास्थयानिकाकाया महिमा। बिष्ठश्चीं प. 142; तस्मात सत्तिद्भोगादुतमा मणिकाण्डका। ताराको (उत्तर) 48. 66.
1456. शृंकुकस्मलपतेन ताब्रकिरंतयामिनि। तीर्थयांग एवं तीर्थं शृंकुकस्मलपतेन वै। कारकिं 26. 66. q. in Bhāṣādīव. p. 146: संसारिकिस्मलपतेन यस्मात तारामेव सजन- काण्डायत।। शिवेयुवस्मलपतेन सतस्मात्स्मलपतेन सारणिकाण्डायत।। धनिज्ञातोमेवस्मलपतेन मोहिनस्मलपतेन काण्डायत।। काण्डायते तत: प्रहुतो ज्ञाता मणिकाण्डकाय। काण्डार्थः 7. 79-80 q. by बिष्ठश्चीं p. 148. In the 2nd verse मृग means भ्रष्ट and the compound is dissolved as मणिकाण्डकाय, the meaning being that मणिकाण्डका is the jewel among शुकिष्ठेत्र and it is as it were the कारकिं of the lotus-like feet of मोहिनस्मी.
1457. तत: वै मन्त्रं। आैं ऐं गृं अैं हृं ओ एं मणिकाण्डकायं। भूल। तथा बैं वै मन्त्रं। आैं मं मणिकाण्डकायं मणिकाण्डकायं। भूल। बिष्ठश्चीं p. 147. The second मन्त्र is based on काण्डार्थः 61. 97.
the dying man brought to the sacred pool\textsuperscript{1457a} (vide Kaśikhandā 7.78, 25. 72-73 and 32. 115-116). The Pañcaganga ghāt is so called because it is supposed that five rivers, viz. the Kiraṇā,\textsuperscript{1458} Dhūtapāpā, Gaṅga, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, meet here (though four of them are invisible). This is very highly eulogised and it is said in the Nārādhyapurāṇa and the Kaśikhandā (59. 118-133) that when a man takes a bath in the Pañcana, he is not born again in a body made up of the five elements. It is said that this confluence of five rivers had different names viz., Dharmakṣa, Dhūtapātaka, Bindutūrtha and Pañcana in Kṛta and the following Yugas respectively. The Kaśikhandā in chap. 59 deals with the confluence of five rivers and gives phantastic legends as to why the rivers were called Kiraṇā (59. 108-113) and Dhūtapāpā (59. 101-106). The river Varanā is the northern boundary of Vārānasī and the end of the ghāt on the northern side is reached at the confluence of the Varanā with the Ganges. That the ghāts have been there for at least a thousand years can be proved from copperplates and inscriptions. The Gāhadvāla rulers of Kanoj (of whose times at least 55 copperplates and 3 inscriptions on stone were issued during the period 1097 to 1187 A. D.), being devotees of Viṣṇu, several times made grants at the Ādi-Kesava ghāt. Vide J. R. A. S. for 1896 p. 787 (king Madananāla’s grant on the occasion of a Sun-eclipse after Mahārājā Pṛthvīśrikā took a bath), I. A. vol. 19 p. 249 (grant of Govindacandra in samvat 1188 i. e. 1131 A. D.), E. I. 14 p. 197 (Candrādityadeva, who having bathed at Adikesava-ghatta\textsuperscript{1459} at the confluence of the rivers Gaṅga

\textsuperscript{1457a} a. मद्रासाने गुप्तने नगर्य जनन: काहिन। ब्रह्मान्ये क्षेषे मथे वा तत्सुप्त। \textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{1458}} ब्रह्माण्ये तद्विषेदं कार्तिकरथितेनविभाजिनाद। दिग्दान्त तात्रां गुप्तने तत्सुप्ते तई तत्सुप्तात। काैविकां 32. 115-116; vide also काैविकां 86. 48 and नारदिच्छ (उत्तर) 47. 56, 59-62.

1458. तिरंगा भूपलम्ब च शृंगयोक्ति सरसंतः। गुरु: च यमुन्य: चे चाप पर: च: श्री: तिसः। अन्तः प्रजनन: नाम तीर्थे बिलावप्रविषितः। तात्रां न गुर्जीये दित्तार्ता प्रशासनिश्चितः॥ अहिवर्ज्ज्यादिवरीनां हृतुषुमुख्येन। स्नानमाहास्यो याति श्रीला ब्रह्माण्यमयप्रस... कुले अर्थादि गरुः शृंगवस शृंगवसः। हन्ते विक्रमादिनि च क्षीर: प्रजननः स्वतः॥ नारदिच्छ (उत्तर) 51. 15-18 and 35-36 and काैविकां 59. 115-117 (reads देव न प्रशासनिष्ठि) and 136.

1459. वेदश्रीमशास्त्राङ्गादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादिपुराणादि... आदिन्द्रतृतियां युगाल्पवर्ष: ... आदिके शुद्ध स्नानः। रात्रेयुयोगः प्रसक्तः निर्वर्षे उपर: निष्कृतितत्त्वाय:...। कैविकमहतिसंस्कृताकेतनस्य महत्त्वं। E. I. 14 p. 197 at p. 198. For adikeshavapitam as one of the four युगाल्पवर्ष: vide n. 841 above. That there were several images of Kesava is expressly stated by the काैविकां 10. 82 (अधिकश्रीमत्सुपांश्च केसामत्सुपांश्चित्ति च). Prof. Altekar observes (p. 28) that the Adikesava-ghāt, once a royal favourite, is now in a dilapidated condition and is rarely visited by pilgrim.
and Varanā bestowed on 500 brāhmaṇas 30 villages on the Aksayya-trītyā of saṁvat 1156. Those rulers made grants at other ghāṭs and sacred spots also. For example, E. I. vol. IV. pp. 97 ff. (21 copperplates of Gāhadvālaś, of which H in saṁvat 1178 speaks of the grant of a village after a bath at the Kapāla-mocana-ghaṭa at Banaras where the Ganges flows towards the north; grant L. p. 114 of saṁvat 1197 made on a queen taking a bath at the ghaṭa of god Vedeśvara in Avimuktakṣetra; grant S. mentions god Kṛttivāsa; grant U. is made to the temple of Lolārka by Jayacandra in saṁvat 1233), E. I. vol. VIII p. 149 (five copperplate grants of Govindacandra in saṁvat 1207 i. e. 1156 A. D. after a bath at Koṭiṭirtha on Uttarāyana-śaṅkrāṇti). The Kaśi-khaṇḍa promises Varuṇa-loka to those charitable people that build stone ghāṭs on the sacred rivers 1460.

One of the most meritorious of all pilgrimages is the Pañcakrośi by road. Lakṣmidhara in his section on Tīrthas in the Kṛtyakalpataru apparently takes no notice of it. The length of the Pañcakrośi road is about 50 miles and there are hundreds of shrines on the road. Taking Manikarnikā as the centre the whole road describes an irregular semicircle round the city of Banaras with a radius of five krośas (about ten miles) and hence it is called Pañcakrośi. The word ‘pañcakrośi’ occurs very often in the Kaśikhaṇḍa (as in chap. 26, verses 80 and 114, chap. 55. 44). This pilgrimage may be very briefly described as follows:—The pilgrim starts from the Manikarnikā-ghāṭ and going along the bank of the Ganges arrives at the confluence of the river Asi with the Ganges and halts for the day at a village called Khāṇḍava about six miles from Manikarnikā. The 2nd day’s march (for eight or ten miles) ends at the village called Dhūpacandī where he offers worship to the goddess of that name. On the 3rd day the pilgrim walks 14 miles to the village Rāmeśvara. On the 4th day he walks eight miles and reaches the village Sīvapura. On the 5th day he walks 6 miles and reaches the village Kapiladhārā, where the pilgrim offers oblations to his pītrī. On the 6th day he walks from Kapiladhārā to Varanāśaṅgama and thence to Manikarnikā, a distance of six miles. It is the practice for pilgrims to scatter grains of barley from Kapiladhārā to Manikarnikā. The pilgrim bathes, pays daksinā to the priest and then goes to the temple of Sākṣi-Vināyaka who is supposed to bear witness to the pilgrim’s having performed the Pañcakrośi-yaṭā.

1460. चतुर्दशवेष्टिप्रकृतिपूर्वकमण्डितं तिलादिकिः । तीयार्थस्यस्मिन्धर्मं ये सरसेऽभिः । गोग्निः ॥ स्त्रिः। वाणी। १२। ५९।
There are numerous other sub-tirthas in Banaras, some of which may be briefly noticed here. The Jñānavāpī may be mentioned first. The story of its origin is narrated in the Kāśikhaṇḍa, chap. 33. The Tri. S. (pp. 148–150) refers to it. It is said that when Śiva (Īśāna) saw the Viśveṣvara-linga a desire arose in him to bathe with its cool water. He dug a kunda with his trident to the south of the temple of Viśveṣvara and with the water therefrom he bathed Viśveṣvara-liṅga and Viśveṣvara granted the boon that the tīrtha would be superior to all tīrthas and that, as Śiva is knowledge (verse 32), the tīrtha would be called Jñānoda or Jñānavāpi. One of the most popular and the most frequented temple is that of Durgā. In chap. 72 (verses 37–65) of the Kāśikhaṇḍa there is a Durgāstotra called Vajra-pañjara which is referred to in Tri. S. p. 161. There is a temple of Bhairavanātha about a mile to the north of the temple of Viśveṣvara. He is the Kotwal or police Magistrate of Kāśi and wields a stone cudgel (of enormous thickness). His vāhana is a dog. Vide Kāśikhaṇḍa, chap. 30, for Bhairava. There are many temples of Gaṇeṣa. The Tri. S. (pp. 198–199) names 56 Gaṇeṣas and indicates their locations, following Kāśikhaṇḍa, chap. 57,59–115 (sat-pancaśad-Gaja-mukhān-etān-yāḥ saṁsmarisyati). In Kāśikhaṇḍa (57, 33) the name Dhundhi applied to Gaṇeṣa is derived from the root ‘dhudhi’ in the sense of ‘searching’ (anveśane dhudhir-ayam prathitosti dhātuḥ). Compare the Marathi verb dhundhe.

The Tri. S. discusses at some length (pp. 98–100) the question whether sins committed in all past lives are destroyed by entering Kāśi or whether it is only the sins committed during the present life that are destroyed. Some hold the view that sins committed in this life only are destroyed by visiting Kāśi and by bath in the various sacred spots the sins of previous lives are destroyed. Others hold that by entering Kāśi the sins of all past lives are destroyed, but bath at various sacred spots brings about only the cessation of the tendency to sin in different lives. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa puts forward several other views and says that wise men should hold the view that appears proper.

Many of the purāṇas lay down rules about how one dwelling in Kāśi should act. The injunction is that in Kāśi one should not commit the slightest sin, since the punishment is far more heavy. The Matsya (chap. 185. 17–45) and Kāśikhaṇḍa, chap. 96, narrate the story of Vṛṣa, who while wandering about for alms in Kāśi, did not secure alms and
being hungry and angry was on the point of cursing Kāśī in the words quoted below when Śiva coming to know his mind assumed the form of a householder, gave him the best of food and ordered Vyāsa not to enter Kāśiksetra as he was an irritable man, but allowed him to do so on the 8th and 14th tithis only. The Kāśikhaṇḍa 96. 12-80 and 119-180 speak at great length about how one residing in Kāśī should conduct himself.

Some miscellaneous matters in connection with Banaras may be set out here. Varānasi being a great tirtha, śrāddha for the benefit of ancestors should be performed there and if it is not possible to perform a śrāddha with all details, at least offerings of pīṇḍas should be made. The construction of maṭhas for those who practise penance there and endowing them with means for their maintenance are highly eulogized.

In the 12th century A. D. there was a Kapālamocanaghāt situated on the Ganges. In a grant published in E. I. vol. IV p. 110 dated sarvat 1178 (1122 A. D.) the Emperor Govindacandra bestowed a village on a brāhmaṇa named Vyāsa after bathing at the Kapāla-mocanaghāṭa in Banaras where the Ganges flows to the north. The story of Kapālamocana-tirtha is narrated in the Matsya-purāṇa, chap. 183. 84-103 and a reference is made to it in Kāśikhaṇḍa 33. 116.

It may be noted that in the Lingapurāṇa, pūrṇārdha, chap. 92 verses 67-100, in Padma, Ādihaṇḍa, chap. 34-37,

---

1461. तीर्थे खातिरेष्या पापो नगरे चाप्पायणेः || न श्राद्धः साध्यो विच्छेद्यो विच्छेद्यो विच्छेद्यो पापो नगरे चाप्पायणेः ||

1462. मद्यपि निष्ठानां तार्कणामस्त: सदा || निष्ठानां च तवैव दुःखौते कार्यमात्रात् हुज्जाते पितृवृहृतुं छात्तिचित्रिताः ||

1463. मद्यपि सप्तसिंह: कार्तिलास्यं योक्तौपि || जीवनोपायसंतुकालं सोपि सप्तसिंहः ||

1464. Dr. Altekar (pp. 28-29) notes that at present a ghāṭ and a tank near the Rajaghat station is known by the name Kapālamocanaghāṭ, that there exists a temple near this tank dedicated to Kapālamocanesvara and that the god must have been removed from the original place to the present habitation at some time during the last 700 years.

1464 a. Kūrma I. 32. 3-29 about Omkāra and other Liāgas are the same as Padma I. 34. 1-25 (with some half verses omitted) and Kūrma I. 33 is taken over bodily in Padma I. 35 and Kūrma I. 34. 2-16 are the same as Padma I. 37. 1-19 (with a few additions).
Kūrma I. 32. 1-12 and I. 35. 1-15 (tirthas) and in the Kāśi-khaṇḍa, chap. 10. 86-97, chap. 33, chap. 53. 27 ff., chapters 55, 58 and 61 numerous liṅgas and tirthas of Banaras are named. The Kāśi-khaṇḍa, chap. 73. 32-36 (quoted by Tri. S. pp. 264-265) mentions 14 of these as Mahāliṅgas, viz. Omkāra, Trilocana, Mahādeva, Kṛttivāsas, Ratneśa, Candresvara, Kedāra, Dharmeśa, Vireśvara, Kāmeśa, Viśvakarmeśvara, Manikarniṣa, Avimukta, Viśveśvara. It is provided in Kāśi-khaṇḍa 73. 39 that yūtrās of these main liṅgas should be celebrated every month from the 1st tithi onwards. In Kāśi-khaṇḍa 73. 45-48 there is another series of fourteen great liṅgas different from those in chap. 73. 32-36. Fourteen āyatanas are named in Kāśi-khaṇḍa 73. 60-62.1464 Twelve out of these are specified as liṅgas in Līṅgapurāṇa I. 92.67-107. In Kāśi-khaṇḍa chapters 83 and 84 are enumerated about 125 tirthas of Banaras. In chap. 94. 36 of the Kāśi-khaṇḍa 36 principal liṅgas are referred to (14 Omkārādi, 8 Dakṣeśvarādi and 14 Śailōṣādi). From considerations of space the other liṅgas and tirthas are not mentioned here. But out of all these Viśveśvara is said to give quick results.

It is laid down that every one residing in Kāśi must repair every day to the Ganges, take a bath in the Manikarniṣā and visit Viśveśvara.1465

What happens if a person commits sins outside Kāśi, comes to Kāśi and then dies, or if a resident of Kāśi commits sins in Kāśi but dies either at Kāśi or outside it? The Tri. S. after quoting several verses from the Kāśi-khaṇḍa, Padmapurāṇa and Brahmavaivarta states the following conclusions (p. 268). Sins committed elsewhere are destroyed by coming to Kāśi.1466 He who residing in Kāśi is always addicted to sins becomes a piśāca (goblin) for thirty thousand years, again dwells in Kāśi, secures highest knowledge and then obtains

---

1464 b. ५५ङ्गकृ त्वपि करणेऽक त्वथएऽमहोक्षमो नुभट्टे। विनव्यमये इप्रायां गोभेन। कुम्भकर्मकः। उपवास: निस्सैयो ज्ञाते। निगमिस्ते भवेऽनnect:। दुःक्षे:। ग्रहाणिः। दुप्पकल्याणेऽनेहाते॥ काशीं। ७३. ६०-६३ q. b. जिस्थमी। p. 263.

1465. विरल नारायणे तारं भक्तिभवसू। एका स्वस्तत्तत्ति: पिन्ने विबेदिनः। पर:। कारयन्न लोकप्रेमने:कालो हीमानन्देऽकाँ:। तयार्य स्वयो विबेदिः। एकाकाः समयम:। काशीश्राव्। १००, १०१ q. b. जिस्थमी। p. 266.

1466. अनुस्य विदितं पार्व नीलकान्तसन्पीतश्चादन:॥ कारयां मातान्न मातान्न भक्ति:॥ यातान्न॥ काशीवर्ष ३३.११५। Vide also काशी। ७५.२२। तेन्वृत्तै: कारयां तु वर्षं तलोकाऽचवर्षम्।।
mokṣa. Those who being residents of Kāśi commit sins have not to undergo the tortures of Yama whether they die in Kāśi or elsewhere. Those who after committing sins in Kāśi die there will be punished by Kalabhairava. Those who die elsewhere (after committing sins in Kāśi) first undergo torments inflicted by the ganas of Śiva called Yama, then undergo torments inflicted by Kalabhairava for thirty thousand years, are then born as mortal men, then die in Kāśi and secure release (from samsāra) at the end.

It is remarkable that the Kāśikāhanda states that a little to the north of Kāśi, Vīśṇu assigned a place for his residence called Dharmaksetra and that there Vīśṇu assumed the form of Buddha. This is a clear reference to Sārnath about five miles by road to the north of Banaras, where Buddha delivered his first sermon. The general rule for ascetics is that for eight months they must move from place to place and may spend the four months of the rainy season or two months in one place; but this rule is abrogated where ascetics enter Banaras and it is laid down that they should not leave Kāśi at all.

The Kāśikāhanda remarks ‘For devotees of Śiva who are full of faith there is, even in great calamities, no other remedy except the water of the feet of the image of God. Incurable diseases even, whether affecting the body outside or inside, are got rid of by the touch with faith of the water of (washing the image of) the deity.’ This reminds one of the miraculous cures believed to have been effected by the water of a pool at Lourdes in the first years of this century.

It would be far beyond the scope of this section to dilate upon the great traditions of learning associated with the name of Banaras. It is sufficient to refer to Alberuni (vol. I, p. 173) who observed that Banaras and Kashmir were the

---

1467. किंचिष्ठाक्रामार्दिवर्यं च मला दैवर्र चाकिश्रा। सर्वस्वते कालिवत स्वातः
धर्मस्वाभावान्तः तस्मां सोऽमलः कर्म सिद्धान्त भौमपति: तत्त्वं। च च. 58.71-72.

1467 a. अद्वैत मला विद्वार्यं वार्यां संवस्वान्तः तत्त्वमात्रान्तः। एकम् बलदुस्मा मासातः मासी वा
प्रतिस्थापनं अनुपदेश्यस्तु न विषयस्तृत्वं वा। मोक्षोऽवस्यवस्यातः प्राणां तु गतिः
वे। सर्वस्वते 184. 32-34 q. by काशिका on page 24. The same verses (with slight variations) are स्कन्दः, काशी. 86. 112-113. The general rule for an ascetic is stated in किंचिष्ठाक्रमार्दिवर्यं III. 9. 28 ‘एकत्र विनीतित्यथेऽपि गतिः। शरीरः। अद्वैते अद्वैतः
नायत्। काशीस्वरणं 67. 82-83.

H. D. 81
high schools of Hindu Sciences,' to Ain. A. vol. II. p. 158 'from time immemorial it has been the chief seat of learning in Hindustan' and to Kāśīkhanda, chap. 96. 121 that states that Kāśī is the home of learning (vidyānām sadanam Kāśī). Vide Prof. Altekar's 'History of Benares' pp. 23-24 and I. A. vol. 41 pp. 7-13 and 245-253 for some learned families of Banaras.
CHAPTER XIV

GAYĀ

Gayā occupies a unique place in the hearts of all pious Hindus even in these days. Hundreds of pages have been written about the history, the antiquities, the architectural remains of Gayā, the sacred places in and round about Gayā, the śrāddha rites performed in Gayā and about Gayāvals (the priests of Gayā). It is not possible to deal with this vast mass in this work. But it is impossible not to say a few words about the many conflicting views on certain important matters put forward by scholars for about three quarters of a century. Those who are deeply interested in the history and antiquities of Gayā should carefully read the following books and papers; Dr. Rajendralal Mitra’s ‘Buddha-Gayā’ with 51 plates (1878); General Cunningham’s ‘Mahābodhi’ with 31 plates at the end (1892); L. S. S. O’Malley’s District Gazetteer of Gaya, vol. XII and J. A. S. B. for 1903 LXXII, No. 3, pp. 1–11 on ‘Gayāśrāddha and Gayāvals;’ Indian Antiquary, vol. X pp. 339–340 for a Chinese Inscription at Buddha Gayā dated in a Chinese date corresponding to 1033 A. D. and pp. 341–347 for Inscriptions at Gayā, one of which is engraved in a temple of the Sun near a tank ‘Dakṣināmūrthaya’ near the Viṣṇupada, dated 1813 years after Buddha’s Parinirvāṇa; Indian Antiquary, vol. 16 pp. 63 ff Inscription of Yakṣapāla, son of Viśvāditya, which records the building of a temple for certain images in the 15th regnal year of the Pāla king Nayapāladeva who died in 1045 A. D., edited by Kielhorn; Dr. Benimadhav Barua’s ‘Gayā and Buddha-Gayā’ in two volumes (1934) with plates; Journal of Bihar and Orissa R. Society, vol. 24 (for 1938) pp. 89–111 where Dr. J. C. Ghose deals with ‘the antiquity of Gayā.’ Some of the remarks of Dr. Ghose are most unwarranted and cannot be accepted, such as holding ‘maganda’ in ‘Pramagandasya’ in Rg. III. 53. 14 as identical with Magadha and the explanation of ‘udantyāḥ’ in the Alt. Br. as ‘people of sunrise.’ Among medieval digests Gayā is dealt with in Kalpataru on Tirthās pp. 163–174, Tirthacintāmanī of Vācaspati pp. 268–328, Tristhalisetu of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa pp. 316–379, Tirthaprapkāśa pp. 384–452, Tirthendu-śekhara pp. 54–59, Tristhalisetu-sāra-santramaka of Bhaṭṭoji pp. 36–38.
The most important work on Gayā relied upon in such works as the Tristhali-setu and in modern times is the Gayāmāhātmya that occurs at the end of the Vāyupurāṇa (chapters 105-112 of the Anandāśrama ed.). Scholars differ about the antiquity of these chapters. Rajendralal Mitra assigned the Gayāmāhātmya to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. O’Malley was inclined to hold that the legend of Gayāsura was invented in the 14th or 15th century, principally on the ground that the Gayāwals profess the Vaiṣṇava faith established by Madhvācārya and acknowledge as their spiritual head the mahant of Hari Narasimhapura; vide J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII (1903) p. 4. To my mind there is hardly anything in this. The Gayāwals are notorious for their indolence, dissoluteness and ignorance and they are a dying race. O’Malley himself notes in the paper mentioned above (at p. 8) that originally the families of Gayāwals were 1484, that in Buchanan Hamilton’s time they numbered about 1000, that in 1893 a Gayāwal counted 128 families, that in the census of 1901 there existed only 168 males (as pure Gayāwals) and 153 females. Gayā is a place sacred to Vaiṣṇu and if the Gayāwals had to turn in medieval times for support to some great acārya they would naturally choose to align themselves with the Vaiṣṇava acārya Madhva rather than with Śaṅkara. Dr. Barua, after an elaborate examination of the several items of evidence, holds that the Gayāmāhātmya is not earlier than the 13th or 14th century A.D. (vol. I, p. 64 of ‘Gayā and Buddha Gayā’). From considerations of the space at my disposal I cannot examine in detail his arguments. His conclusion is vitiated mainly for two reasons. He relies too much on the dubious and unconvincing argument from silence. He examines the account of Gayā that appears in the Vanaprasta and compares it with the fuller account in the Gayāmāhātmya and arrives at the rather startling conclusion ‘The Gayā proper as known to the Epic (the Mahābhārata) is essentially a place sacred to Yama Dharmarāja, Brahmā and Śivaśulin, and Vaiṣṇu and Vaiṣṇavism has no place in it either as a name or as an idea. Except

1468. There is conflict about the dates of Madhvācārya’s birth and death. The Uttarādi-maṭha records give śaka 1040 (1118 A. D.) and śaka 1120 (1198 A. D.) as the dates of his birth and death respectively. This is said to conflict with the date given in Madhva’s own work, viz. that he was born in the month of Āśvin 4300. In a paper published in the Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. III for 1934 pp. 245 ff., the correct dates are said to be 1238 A. D.-1317 A. D.
Brahmayūpa, Śivalinga and Vṛṣabha there is no reference to any structural erection nor any iconic suggestion. In order to show how this conclusion is not at all justified the references to Gayā in the Epic and other Sanskrit works will have to be set out and compared with each other and with the Gayāmāhātmya. The second reason that vitiates Dr. Barua’s conclusion is the wrong interpretation that he puts on verse 12 of the Inscription edited by Kielhorn in I. A. vol. 16.

I shall now turn to the name Gayā and references to it or similar names from the Rgveda downwards. A Gaya, son of Platī, is the reputed author of two hymns of the Rgveda (X. 63 and X. 64). In Rg. X. 63. 17 and X. 64. 17 we have the words ‘astāvi jano divyo Gayena’ (the divine host was praised by Gaya). So Gaya was a proper name applied to a composer of Rgvedic hymns. In the Rg. the word Gaya has several other senses, which are not material here. In the Atharvaveda (I. 14.4) Gaya appears to be a wonder-worker or a sorcerer along with Asita and Kaśyapa. Even in the Vedic Samhitās Asuras, Dāsas and Rākṣasas are credited with tricks and magic. Vide Rg. VII 99.4, VII. 104.24–25 and Atharva IV. 23. 5. It is not difficult to imagine how a sorcerer Gayā could have been transformed into Gayāsura later on. Proceeding further, the Nirukta1469 while explaining ‘idam Viṣṇur-vi cakrame tredhā nidadhe padam’ (Rg. I. 22. 17) gives two very interesting interpretations, one explaining the verse as a natural phenomenon and the other explaining it from geographical or legendary points of view ‘He (Viṣṇu) puts down his foot in three ways. According to Śākapūrī, Viṣṇu plants his foot on the earth, in mid air (sky) and heaven; according to Aurnavābha, on Samārohaṇa, on Viṣṇu-pada and on Gayāsiras.’ Whatever the Vedic verse may mean, it is clear that two interpretations had arisen several centuries before Christ and if the usual dates about Buddha’s nirvāṇa are accepted Aurnavābha and Yāska both flourished before Buddha. Vide S. B. E. vol. XIII pp. XXII–XXIII for Buddha’s nirvāṇa being placed at 483 B. C. according to Ceylonese chronicle, while some western scholars would place it between 429–400 B. C. Gayāsiras is named in the Vanaparva (87.

1469. वेच्या निष्कास: पदम्। दुस्मिरिष्प्रक्षवेदिता शाक्कुष्के। समारोहे शिन्वप्रें गयासिति हृदि अोणवाहः। निरुक्त 12. 19.

1470. The Nirukta is placed not later than at least 500 B. C. by mo: Sanskrit scholars. Aurnavābha is earlier than the Nirukta. Vide History of (Continued on next page)
11, 95. 9), in the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra 85.4 (in the form Gayā-śirsā), Vāmanapurāṇa (22.20 as the eastern vedi of Brahmā), Skanda I. 2, 13.21 and even in the Buddhist books such as the Mahāvagga (I. 21. 1, S. B. E. vol. XIII p. 134) in which last it is said that after having dwelt at Uruvelā, Buddha accompanied by a thousand bhikkhus went to Gayāśīṣa (which is the Pali equivalent of Gayāśirṣa). Traditions of Gayā as a king of the territories round about Gayā are mentioned in Jaina and Buddhist works. The Uttarādhyayanasūtra (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 86 and note 3 there) states that he was son of king Samudravijaya of Rājagṛha and became the 11th Cakravartin. The Buddhacarita of Aśvaghosha states that Buddha visited the hermitage called a city of the royal sage Gayā, that the saint (future Buddha) fixed his dwelling on the pure bank of the Nairanjanā river (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p. 132, Canto XII. 87–88) and p. 193 (chap. XVII. 8 of the same work) and that Buddha went to the hermitage of Kāśyapa at Gayā called Uruvilvā. The same work (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p. 192) speaks of Dhammaṇavī where dwelt 700 ascetics whom Buddha helped to enter nirvāṇa. Viṣṇupada occurs in the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra 85.40 as a holy place very fit for śrāddha. In my opinion at least Aurṇavabha held that in a particular region there were three places on which according to the legends current in his day the foot-prints of Viṣṇu’s foot could be seen. Two of

(Continued from last page)

Sanskrit literature by Winternitz, vol. I p. 69 (English tr.). Scholars are not agreed about the exact location and extent of Gayāśīras. Rajendralal in ‘Buddha-gayā’ p. 19 says ‘Gayāśīras is not the Brahmaṇyoni hill but a low spur of it to the north-east about a mile in area forming the site of the old town of Gayā. This Gayāśīras is the most sacred spot in Gayā.’ Dr. Barua (vol. I, p. 246) ‘Gayā proper is still sandwiched between the Phalgu and a small set of hills containing some 25 hill-tops with Gayasira or Gayāśīra (Brahmaṇyoni) in the south-west &c.’ Both are, however, agreed that Gayāśīras is part of the ancient Gayā region. Vide S. B. E. vol. XIII, p. 134 n. 1 about Cunningham’s view that Gayāśīras is the Brahmanī hill near Gayā.

1471. I am not unmindful of the fact that in the Iron Pillar Inscription of a king called Candrā at Meherauli (nine miles south of Delhi) the last verse reads तैनमथ मृण्डधियुष्मिति त्योहसितिसिद्धितिः सम्बन्धेवल्पैं तिरी भवति विष्णुपञ्चः स्थापित: (Gupta Inscriptions, No 32 at p. 141). This shows that near Delhi there was a hill called विष्णुपञ्च. But there is nothing to show that there was a place called गयासिद्ध in it. Hence विष्णुपञ्च and गयासिद्ध being taken together point out to Gayā. The Inscription is undated but looking to the characters it would not be far wrong to assign it to a period near Samudra-

(Continued on next page)
these, Viṣṇupada and Gayāśiras are well-known; hence it would not be unreasonable to hold that ‘Saṃrāhoṇa’ is a place and has to be located somewhere near the other two. Saṃrāhoṇa means ‘mounting up’ or ‘ascending’. This word probably refers to the ascent of the hill that rises up from the river Phalgū. It is also possible that it is the same as the Udyanta hill echoing with the warbling (of birds).¹⁴⁷² I therefore hold that at least 600 years before Christ (and hence even before Buddha) there was a tradition about Viṣṇu’s footprints in at least two well-known places viz. Viṣṇupada and Gayāśiras (both in Gayā). Even if some other work does not mention any one of these it does not follow from mere non-mention that that spot was not so named or did not exist.

Let us now turn to the Vanaparva. Dr. Barua mainly relies on Vanaparva 84. 82–103 and 95. 9–29. But some preliminary remarks must be made before the two passages are examined.

The Nārādiya purāṇa (uttara, 46. 16) states that Gayāśiras extends from Krauṇcapada to Phalgutirtha.

Vanaparva chapter 82 sets out Pulastya’s replies to Bhīṣma’s question about tīrthas. First comes Puṣkara (verses 20–40), then Jambumārga, Tandulikāśrama, Agastyasaraḥ, Mahākāla, Kotitirta, Bhadravata (Sthānutirtha), Narmadā, Prabhāsa and several other tīrthas (not in any particular order but selected at random). In chap. 83 Kurukṣetra is described at some length.

Before discussing the most important passage of the Vanaparva (viz. 84. 82–103) we must see what precedes the description of Gayā. Dr. Barua and many of those that have written on this passage have not carefully considered the implications of verses 1–81 of chapter 84 and also of the following chapters. In Vanaparva 84. 1–81 the author makes Dhaumya name gupta. Therefore Viṣṇu’s footprint existed on a hill near Delhi in the 4th century A. D. There is no sound reason advanced why it could not have existed at Gayā about the same time or even earlier. Besides in the Rām. 11. 68.19 a viṣṇupada south of the river viśākṣa is mentioned.

¹⁴⁷² Dr. Barua regards शीतनाभित in Vanaparva 84. 93 as the name of a peak (vol. I. p. 246). But this appears to be wrong. It is an adjective of उष्ण (उष्णो) that immediately precedes. I have not come across any peak called शीतनाभित in any other work and Dr. Barua does not cite any other text in support of his view. उष्ण would mean ‘the hill of sunrise,’ not necessarily for the whole of Āryāvarta but in the place where both viṣṇupada and वपक्षिरछ were situated.
about 57 holy places (including such famous ones as Naimisha, Sakambhari, Gaṅgādvāra, Kanakhalā, the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Kubjāmraka) and then comes to speak of the sacred spots in Gayā. It is therefore clear that the intention of the author is not to speak exhaustively about any tīrtha. For this reason some tīrthas are described twice in the Vana-pārva. For example Naimisha is very highly praised in chap. 84. 59–64 and again in chap. 87. 6–7. The same happens with regard to Gayā in 85.82–103 and 87.8–12. We cannot at all presume

1473. The verses relating to Gayā in Vanaprastha are set out in full here: the garland of Naimisha, Sakambhari, Gaṅgādvāra, Kanakhalā, the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Kubjāmraka) and then comes to speak of the sacred spots in Gayā. It is therefore clear that the intention of the author is not to speak exhaustively about any tīrtha. For this reason some tīrthas are described twice in the Vana-pārva. For example Naimisha is very highly praised in chap. 84. 59–64 and again in chap. 87. 6–7. The same happens with regard to Gayā in 85.82–103 and 87.8–12. We cannot at all presume

1473. The verses relating to Gayā in Vanaprastha are set out in full here: the garland of Naimisha, Sakambhari, Gaṅgādvāra, Kanakhalā, the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Kubjāmraka) and then comes to speak of the sacred spots in Gayā. It is therefore clear that the intention of the author is not to speak exhaustively about any tīrtha. For this reason some tīrthas are described twice in the Vana-pārva. For example Naimisha is very highly praised in chap. 84. 59–64 and again in chap. 87. 6–7. The same happens with regard to Gayā in 85.82–103 and 87.8–12. We cannot at all presume
from the manner in which tirthas in Gayā are named and described that the writer of Vanaparva (chap. 84, 82-103) meant to be exhaustive as regards the holy spots in Gayā or the legends about Gayā. This conclusion is very much strengthened by the fact that in the Anuśāsanaparva three sacred spots in Gayā are mentioned which do not occur in Vanaparva 84, 82-103 viz. 'In Gayā a man becomes purified in Ąśmaprśtha (the same as Pretaśila), on the hill Nīrāvinda and of even a third brāhmaṇa murder in Krauṇcapada'.

These three, Ąśmaprśtha, Nīrāvinda and Krauṇcapadā, are in addition to those sacred spots that are mentioned in Vanaparva 84. In Vāyu 109, 15 a hill Aravindaka is said to be a peak of the Śilāparvata and Nārādiya (uttara 47, 83), Vāyu 108, 75 and Nārādiya (uttara 46, 16) mention the hill Krauṇcapada (Muṇḍa-prśtha was so called). Therefore it is clear that three important sites in the Gayāmāhātya are mentioned by the Anuśāsanaparva.

It was unfortunate that Dr. Barua confined his attention on the question of the antiquity of Gayā to merely three works viz. the Vanaparva chapters 84 and 95, the Agnipurāṇa chap. 114-116 and the Vāyupurāṇa chapters 105-112. He did not care to investigate all the other Purāṇas nor did it strike him that the explanation of three padas of Viśṇu furnished by Aurnavābhā probably referred to spots around Gayā alone. Other Purāṇas such as Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 38, 2-21), Garuda I chapters 82-86, and the Nārādiya (uttara chap. 44-47) contain much that concerns Gayā and all of them have many verses in common. The critical edition of the Mahābhārata (published by the B. O. R. I., Poona) reads 'sāvitrám padam' (chap. 82, 81) for 'sāvityāstū padam' of the Bombay edition. The reading of the critical edition is supported by numerous and ancient Mss. Further, the printed Padmapurāṇa (in Ādikhaṇḍa 38, 13) reads 'Sāvitrám padam' and thus lends support to the reading adopted in the critical edition. The words 'sāvitrám padam' may be taken to mean the foot-print of Viśṇu (Savitṛ). Dr. Barua goes very much further than the facts warrant when he says that there is no reference in the Vanaparva to any structural erection or iconic suggestion. It is clear that there must have been an image of Dharma, since the Vanaparva speaks of

1474. अध्यध्येण सप्तवन्यां च नितानि द्वे व परस्ति। तृतीयां कौशाकां च ब्रह्मार्यां विकृतप्रेण॥ अध्यासा 25. 42. नीलकण्ठ explains 'अध्यध्येण नितानि द्वे व परस्ति। तृतीयां कौशाकां च ब्रह्मार्यां विकृतप्रेण॥ अध्यासा 25. 42. नीलकण्ठ explains 'अध्यध्येण नितानि द्वे व परस्ति। तृतीयां कौशाकां च ब्रह्मार्यां विकृतप्रेण॥ अध्यासा 25. 42. नीलकण्ठ explains 'अध्यध्येण नितानि द्वे व परस्ति। तृतीयां कौशाकां च ब्रह्मार्यां विकृतप्रेण॥ अध्यासा 25. 42.
the pilgrim to Gayā having to touch Dharma (Dharmam tatrabhi-sarāsprśya). Besides, there is a reference to the footprints of a cow with a calf and to ‘Sāvitra pada’. All these would surely be things that have an ‘iconic suggestion’. Moreover, Dr. Barua forgets for the moment that, according to the Chinese traveller Fa Hien who visited India between 399–413 A.D., the Gayā of the Hindu faith was ‘all emptiness and desolation’ (vide Legge’s translation p. 87). It is possible that Gayā might have suffered from earthquakes before 400 A.D. (as it is a region that is liable to severe earthquakes even in modern times) and therefore no structural erection of the ancient city of Gayā (to which ancient Pāli works and the Lalitavistara p. 311 refer) might have been left in Fa Hien’s day. Gayā appears to have passed through several vicissitudes. Some centuries before the Christian era it was in existence and was a flourishing town. By 400 A.D. it had been reduced to desolation. But in the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang notes that the Hindu Gayā was a town with 1000 brāhmaṇa families (vide Beal’s B. R. W. W. vol. II p. 113). Later on when Buddhism waned and vanished, Gayā came to comprehend even Buddhist remnants, since the Vayupūraṇa speaks of Gayā as extending from Pretasilā to Mahābodhi tree (a distance of about 13 miles, according to Mītra p. 19).

Dr. Barua has also misunderstood verse 12 of the inscription at Gayā edited by Dr. Kielhorn in I. A. vol. 16 p. 63 ff. The verse\textsuperscript{1475} set out below may be translated as follows: That wise (prince Yaksapāla) caused to be constructed a temple for the images of Maunāditya and the other gods (mentioned in it), he dug up the famous Uttaramānasa lake and established a sattra (charity house for food) near the Aksaya (vaṭa’). This inscription of the reign of Nayapāla was

\textsuperscript{1475} मीनाकारंसहस्त्ततिकलाप्रहोणनारायणदृशिसत्मनलहास्वसतादुत्ताप्रायामहाकर्म स्थनोष्टि तथा चाध्याये। स पायास्वचारसदुविस्तिकं केश्वप्रस्तं सर्वाकार्याकत्तरनसरस ब्लन्तात् स्त्री तथा चाध्याये॥ verse 12 of the inscription of prince (Narendra) वक्षातः son of विशाखिनिद् edited in I. A. 16 at p. 65. Kielhorn translated this wise (prince) caused to be built a temple of the inhabitants of heaven called Maunaditya...He likewise had the famous Uttaramānasa tank dug and established a sattra (hall of charity) to last forever’, Dr. Kielhorn is wrong in his translation ‘to last forever.’ Dr. Barua read समसतं as one word and connects that one word with विनिधिनि (vol. I. p. 62n). One fails to understand how विनिधिनि (genitive plural) is to be construed with मसतं which according to Dr. Barua’s construction is only part of a compound word.
engraved about 1040 A.D. Dr. Barua thought that Uttaramānasā was dug up at that time and therefore Uttaramānasā tank is taken to be not older than 1040 A.D. and that it and many of the sacred spots must have been later and the Gayāmāhatmya which speaks of Uttaramānasā must be much later than the 11th century A.D. But Dr. Barua is entirely mistaken in this. If a tank was dug up for the first time at the time of the inscription, it is impossible that it should have been called 'khyāta' (famous). The tank can become famous some centuries after it was dug. Uttaramānasā tank is mentioned as a sacred spot in Vāyupurāṇa 77.108 (which verse is quoted about 1110 A.D. in the Kalpataru on tirtha at p.168), Vāyu 82.21, Agni 115.10. Therefore Uttaramānasā tank was well known at least in the 8th or 9th century A.D. What the inscription means is either that the famous tank had slitted up and so it was dug up or that it was made longer, broader and deeper in about 1940. That is all.

In my opinion the Gayāmāhatmya (Vāyu, chap. 105–112), though possibly later than the main text of the Vāyupurāṇa, cannot be placed so late as the 13th or 14th century A.D. It is really a patch-work from many sources of earlier times such as the Vanaparva, Anuśasananaparva, Padma I.38, the Nāradiya (uttara) chap. 44–47. Several verses and half verses of it are repetitions (such as the half verse ‘Gayāyam aksayam śrāddham japahomatapānsi ca’ Vāyu 108.35 and Vāyu 82.43 quoted as from Vāyu in Kalpataru on tirtha p.167, and Vāyu 110.29–30 are the same as Vāyu 105.37–38. So also Vāyu 82.31–33 are the same as Vāyu 110.51–53. Dr. Barua does not notice that in chap. 82 of the Vāyu (30–24) several sub-tirthas of Gayā are expressively mentioned viz. Brahmakunda, Prabhāsa, Pretaparvata, Uttaramānasā, Udici, Kanakhala, Dakṣiṇamānasā, Dharmānyya, Gadadhara, Mataṅga; so also chap. 77.97–108 mention Grīhrakūṭa, hermitage of Bharata, Mataṅgapada, Munda-pṛṣṭha and Uttaramānasā. Many of the verses occurring in the Gayāmāhatmya are found quoted in the Smṛtiandrikā.  

1476. Vide H. of Dh. vol.1. p.346 for the date of the Smṛtiandrikā.

The verses ब्रह्मकुण्ड...विनां (vide note 1484) and ब्रह्मकुण्ड...विनां (वाय 105.13) are nārādyas (उत्तर) chap. 44. 20 and 22; Vāyu 110.63–64 are equal to nārādyas, उत्तर, 45. 64–66; Vāyu 110.63–64 are the same as Nāradiya (uttara) 45.64–66; Vāyu 108.13–16 are the same as nārādyas (उत्तर) 45.2–4. Vāyu 110.4–5 are the same as Vanaparva 82.9–10. नारादर्याः (I, (Continued on the next page)
(about 1150-1225 A. D.) on Sāḍhaka and Āsauca (without name) as briefly exemplified below. I think that the Gayāmāhātmya is to be assigned to some date between the 7th and 10th centuries A. D.

Having disposed of the question of the date of the Gayāmāhātmya and the references to the sacred spots in Gayā in Vanaparva chap. 84, it is necessary to see how Gayā is spoken of in the other parts of the Mahābhārata and the smṛtis. In the Vanaparva itself references to Gayā occur in chap. 87 and chap. 95. Vanaparva, chap. 87, starts by saying that going towards the east (from Kāmyaka-vana where the Pāndavas dwelt for some time) the pilgrim would come to the Naimisa forest and the Gomati river. Thus it is said that in the east there is a holy hill called after Gayā and a holy pool called Brahmasaras; then comes a famous verse 1477 one should desire to have many sons if even

(Continued from the last page)

85. 2-22) contains most of the verses of Vāyu 110. 34-60. The notes below in this Gayā section will show that the Nārādiya and the Gayāmāhātmya contain scores of verses in common.

The स्वतत्त्वित् (University of Mysore edition) on आसोच has towards the end a section on गयाज्याकतिनि, several verses of which occur in वायु. A few verses are cited by way of illustration. The first two verses (स्वतत्त्वित्. p. 194) though ascribed to आदि ( = वायु 110. 2-3); the verses गोपनार्थ-क्तित (in स्वतत्त्वित्. on आसोच p. 199) are almost the same as वायु 111. 35 and 37; स्वतत्त्वित्. p. 197 the verse मकरे वत्सासे तु is the same as वायु 105. 48 and स्वतत्त्वित्. p. 199 the verse या सा वेतसा नाम is वायु 103. 44.

The Tirthācintāmaṇi of Vācaspati quotes many verses from the Gayāmāhātmya of the Vāyupurāṇa. Vācaspati’s literary activity lies between 1450 to 1480 (or 1500 AD at the latest). He treats the Gayāmāhātmya as on the same level as the other purāṇas. This position could not have been attained by the Gayāmāhātmya in a century or two. Therefore it must be much earlier than 1300 AD. A few examples of the citations of the Gayāmāhātmya by Vācaspati may be indicated here. On pp. 282-286 the तत्ततचित्त. expressly quotes from the वायु verses 18, 19, 26 of वायु. 105; वायु. 110. 2-3 are quoted as from वायु in तत्ततचित्त. p. 7; on pp. 280-283 numerous verses are quoted from वायुपुराण which are (with slight variations) the same as वायुपुराण 108. 13-23, 28-30; on pp. 284-285 from वायुपुराण are cited वायु 110. 9-15 and 19-20, 55-59; तत्ततचित्त. pp. 288-293 quote from the वायुपुराण 110. 17, 21-24, 30-32, 34-55; तत्ततचित्त. pp. 295-301 quote वायु. 111. 1-22 (with additions and variant readings); similarly the पुरावीक्ष्यायण on आदि and तत्ततचित्त. quote about 300 verses from गयामाहात्म्य and the किद्विनित् (pp. 356-359 &c.) several times refers to the explanations of verses from गयामाहात्म्य given by his predecessors. But space does not allow me to go into this subject at greater length.

1477. एक्षका बहुः: इत्यथा वेयोकिस्मि गयो ज्वेतु। ज्वेत व्यासाकेभ्रेये नीलाः वा उपुत्तुसुलेखः। महान्यो च तत्ततचित्त तथा वगसिरो दु: । भवति सौंधवेन्ति विभ्रेत्तर्याकरणो व: (Continued on the next page)
one (of whom) goes toGayā, or performs the Aśvamedha sacrifice or lets loose a nila bull' (the pitṛs may be gratified). Then Vanaparva chap. 37 goes on to refer to the holy river (mahānadi) Phalgū, the hill Gayāśiras, the Aksayya Vața, where food offered to pitṛs becomes inexhaustible. In Vanaparva 95 mention is made of Brahmasaras (where Agastya went to Dharma-rāja i.e. Yama, verse 12), of Aksayavatā (v. 14) which is an imperishable place of worship and where the fruit (of offerings made) is inexhaustible; it further states that king Gayā, son of Amūrtarayas,1477a performed a sacrifice in which food and fees in plenty were distributed (verses 18–19). Vas. (XI. 42) states: when a man goes to Gayā and offers food his ancestors become delighted like agriculturists that rejoice when there is good rain and pitṛs become (really) putrin (having a son) on account of such a son. The Visnudharmaśāstra, chapter 85,1478 mentions by name about 55 holy places that are most proper for śrāddha among which those connected with Gayā are Gayāśira, Aksayavața, Phalgū, Uttaramānasana, Matangavāpi, Visnupada, and winds up by quoting three verses as gāthās sung by pitṛs. Yāj. I. 261 states that whatever a man gives while in Gayā leads to inexhaustible rewards. Atri-smṛti (55–58) refers to a son's going to Gayā for the benefit of the pitṛs, to a bath in Phalgū and tarpara of pitṛs in the river, to seeing Gadādhara (Visnu) at Gayā and to Gayāśira. Śāṅkha (14. 27–28) refers1479 to several tirthas (one being Gayā) the offerings made at which

(Continued from the last page)

1477a. It is to be noted that the Rāmāyaṇa I. 32.7 states that Dharmāraṇya was founded by Asūrtarayas (probably a variant of Amūrtarayas), a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.

1478. कुलेक्षमकं स जन्मु: रघु ये न वस्त्राणासताक्षीरः। नववेदः भुवोर्वि भृततात विषयं। अये जायेत सागरंकं कुलेक्षमकं को विभक्तज्ञ:। गोविन्दे तो भास्व ये न: कुवांदे समाहितः। एवध:...सौंदर्य 85. 65–67. The verse अये is quoted in कल्पः on पोष p. 173.

1479. It is somewhat strange that Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Buddh gayā' vol. I p. 66) read तीर्थ वामरकाण्डे in Saṅkha and thought that Vāmarakāṇḍaka was a holy place (instead separating वा अमरकाण्डे).
become inexhaustible. The Likhita-Smti speaks of the importance of Gayaa as follows: In whosoever name a pinda is offered at Gayasiras, whether for oneself or for another, that person, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven that man secures release (from saiiisara). The Kurmapurana remarks that one should desire to have many sons so that if one out of them goes to Gayaa on some other business and offers sraddha, he thereby saves his pitrs and himself reaches the highest goal. The Matsyapurana (22. 4-6) quoted by the Kalpataru (on tirtha p. 163) speaks of Gayaa as pitritirtha and as the best among tirthas where Brahma himself dwells and also has the verse 'eszavya bahava putrah'.

In the Gayamahatmya (Vayupurana, chapters 105-112) there are about 560 verses. An attempt will be made here to give a brief summary of it and some of the important verses will be quoted. Chapter 105 is general and briefly indicates some of the main topics dealt with in the following chapters. It states that in Svetavarahalpa Gayaa performed a sacrifice and Gayaa was named after him, that pitrs hanker after sons because the son that goes to Gayaa saves the pitrs from hell. At Gayaa a man should offer pindas to his father and others and even to himself without sesame; all the five mortal sins like brahma-murder are removed by the performance of sraddha at Gayaa. A pinda offered after uttering the name and gotra of the recipient by the son or any other person in Gayaa leads that person to the imperishable brahma. Moksha is fourfold (i.e. results in four ways) viz. by knowledge of brahma, sraddha at Gayaa, death in (a fight for preventing) the seizure of cows and residence in Kuruksetra and sraddha at

---

1480. गयापि ते वल्किशिशालां पिण्डं ते विप्रेति। नकर्ष्या बिवं यातिस्मरिष्या मोहमातुः॥ आत्मोऽव भस्मायपि गयाङ्कुरेय यस्ततः॥ यज्ञायमां पात्यनिश्चलं ते नपेतं ब्रह्म शान्तं॥ लिंबितसूत्री वर्षां 12-13; compare अति 115. 46-47 द्वारा-प्रकाशने पिण्डं इत्यथा गयापिते। नकर्ष्याः....मातुः॥

1481. बाद. 105. 7-8. अति. 114. 41 'गयापि चाकचिरेष्यां वहंसं बहुदक्षिणं। गयापूर्वी तेन नामना।' Both are quoted by विनयासी pp. 340-341.

1482. Here occurs the well-known verse एक्ष्या चहर्ष: कुम्भ (बाद. 105.10) q. in n. 1477. A verse is quoted by the विनयासी p. 319 which defines what makes a son worthy of being so called: 'जीवनो च चाकर्षणात् ...विषव: दुस्त्राः॥' (quoted above in note 832).

1483. आत्मिकोऽहि वापि गयापूर्वी यथा यथा। एक्ष्या मां पात्यनिश्चलं तथे च ब्रह्म साध्यत:। नाम:मन्द: अक्षुरार्व्यं चिण्डपतंतति। बाद. 105.14-15; the half verse यज्ञाया ...प्रकाशम is अति 116.29.
Gayā renders the others unnecessary. Śrāddha may be performed at Gayā at all times, even in an intercalary month, on the anniversary of one’s birthday, or even when Jupiter and Venus are invisible or when Jupiter is in Leo. One should honour the brāhmaṇas (of Gayā) that were established there by Brahmā; when they are gratified all deities together with the pīṭhas are gratified. Tonsure and fast are to be observed at all tirthas except in Kurukṣetra, Viśāla, Viṣrāj and Gayā. An ascetic (sannyāsin) should not offer pīṇḍas (at Gayā) but should merely exhibit (hold up) his staff and should put it down on Viśṇupada. The (whole) Gayākṣetra is five kroṣas in extent and Gayāśiras is one kroṣa and all the tirthas of the three worlds are centered in these two. At Gayā one may offer (to pīṭhas) pīṇḍas by means of pāyasa (rice cooked in milk), boiled rice, barley flour, fruits and roots, the cake of sesame (after oil is extracted), sweetmeats or jaggery with ghee or with curds alone or with invigorating honey. In a śrāddha at Gayā, the procedure consists in preparing a seat for the pīṇḍas, the offering of pīṇḍas, the sprinkling of water again (on the kuśa grass), giving fees and declaration of dinner (to brāhmaṇas); but there is no invocation of pīṭhas, no curtains for privacy and no blemish due to śrāddha being seen (by undesirable persons or animals). Those who desire to reap the full fruit of śrāddha performed at a tirtha (like Gayā) must give up passionate longings, anger and

---

1484. ब्रह्मज्ञानं गणिष्ठां तथा सम्भवे विष्णुं तथा। वास: पुंसा कुश्तीश्वरे सुकिरणं चतुर्विद्या।
ब्रह्मज्ञानं ज्ञ कार्यं ... यथा पुंसा ... कार्यं ... गणिष्ठां चतुर्विद्या द्वादशविश्व।
वाः 105. 16-18; compare न काव्राजी गणिष्ठे क्रियेन द्वादशविश्व निर्मला:। अनु. 115.8.
ब्रह्मज्ञानं - ...चतुर्विद्या - is also नारदीय (उन्नत) 44.20. Both occur in अनु. 115. 3-4 and 5-6 (in reverse order) and the verse ब्रह्मज्ञानं occurs in वामनयुगम 33. 8.

1485. सुणं चौपाशं ... चरितं गणिष्ठ। वाः 105.25, q. in n. 1301 above where various readings also are noted.

1486. दुर्भ गंगोपुःक्रिययं गला न निष्ण्ड। दुर्भ ग्यानस विष्णुपदे चित्रमि: सह सुष्ण्डे। वाः 105. 26 and नारदीय II. 45. 31 q. by सी. म. p. 390.

1487. एककोङ गणिष्ठे कौसमे वर्णलिङ्ग। तस्मयं सम्रामं वेददीक्षे वाति सति वै। 105.29-30 and 106. 65 q. by विश्वासी म. p. 335; म. म. p. 391; अनु. 115. 42 has the half verse एककोङ and also नारदीय (उन्नत) 44.16. It had become the fashion to speak of famous tirthas as five kroṣas in extent.

1488. विष्णुस्त: विष्णुस्त: चुं: प्रायोगनेत्र:। द्वस्त: चाँसक्षुपृवार्यध्राध्वर्यम् चित्तिः। नांवहं न निष्ण्ड् न दोषो महिष्मय।...अर्यावतीति कठौ चित्तिः वातस्य प्राप्त:। तथा सदा वस्तूस्ते तत्सारामन्त्र न चित्तिः। 105. 37-39. The verses नांवहं ... हिंदुम्भवः, विष्णुस्त: ...विष्णुस्त: are repeated in वाः 110. 28-29.
avarice, observe celibacy, eat only one meal a day, should sleep on the ground (and not on a cot), should speak the truth, should be pure and intent on the good of all beings. The famous river Vaitaraṇī has come down to Gayā; one taking a bath in it and donating a cow saves 21 generations in his family. One should go to the Akṣayavaṭa and gratify the (Gayā) brahmaṇas. There is no spot in Gayā which is not a sacred place.¹⁴⁸⁹

Chap. 106 narrates the story of Gayāsura. Gayāsura, a very powerful asura 125 yojanas in height and 60 yojanas in girth, performed severe austerities for thousands of years on the mountain called Kolahala. The gods, anxious and tortured by his austerities, went to Brahmā for protection. Brahmā took them to Śiva who proposed to go to Viṣṇu. Brahmā, Śiva and the gods praised Viṣṇu, who appeared to them and said that they should, riding their respective conveyances, go to Gayāsura. Viṣṇu asked him why he practised severe austerities and said that the boon he would ask would be granted. He asked the boon that he should be purer than all the gods, sages, mantras, ascetics &c. The gods said ‘let it be so’ and left for heaven. All people who saw or touched Gayāsura’s holy body went to heaven. The capital of Yama became deserted and so he went to Brahmā who took him to Viṣṇu who asked Brahmā to request Gayāsura to give his pure body for the purpose of a sacrifice. Gayāsura agreed and fell down on the earth towards the southwest with his head on the north on Kolahala mountain and feet to the south. Brahmā collected materials and mind-born śvaks (about 16 are named) and performed a sacrifice on the body of Gayāsura. That body, however, was not stable but moved and hence Brahmā asked Yama to place on Gayāsura’s head a śilā (stone slab) that was in Yama’s house. Yama did so; yet Gayāsura’s body together with the śilā still moved. Brahmā asked Śiva and other gods to stand immovable on the śilā. They did so and yet the body moved. Hence Brahmā went to Viṣṇu and requested him to make the body and śilā stable. Viṣṇu gave his own mūrti and though it was placed on the śilā it still moved. Then Viṣṇu sat on the śilā in three forms viz. Janārdana, Pandarika and Ādi-Gadādharā, Brahmā in five forms (Prapitāmaha, Pitāmaha, Phalgiśa, Kedāra and Kanakeśvara), Vināyaka in the form of an elephant, the Sun in three forms, the Goddesses Lakṣīmi (as Śitā), Gaurī (as Maṅgalā), Gayatri

¹⁴⁸⁹. गयासूर न हि तत्त्वाने यन्त्र सीर्ये न विख्यते। बाल. १०५. ४६ = आर्य. ११६.२८.
and Sarasvatī. As Gayāsura was made stable by the first Gada (mace) wielded by Hari, therefore Hari was called Adigadadhara. Gayāsura complained ‘why am I deceived? I have given my pure body to Brahmā for the latter's sacrifice. Would I not have become stable at the mere word of Viṣṇu (why torment me with the mace?)’. Then the gods asked him to choose a boon. He chose ‘As long as the earth, mountains, the Sun, Moon and stars last, may Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and the other gods remain on the śilā! Let this sacred spot be known by my name. Let all tirthas be centered in the midst of Gayā which is five kroṣas in extent and in Gayāśiras which is one kroṣa and do good to people. May all the gods remain here in manifest forms (images &c.) and unmanifest forms (such as footprints &c.). Those to whom śrāddha with pindaś is offered may go to the world of Brahmā and all grave sins like brāhmaṇa-murder be destroyed at once.’ The gods said ‘Let it be so.’ Then Brahmā gave to the brāhmaṇas Gayā (with its extent of five kroṣas), 55 villages, well-furnished houses, desire-yielding cow and trees, a river flowing with milk, golden wells, heaps of food, but enjoined on them not to beg from any one else. But the brāhmaṇas, greedy as they were, performed a sacrifice for Dharma in Dharmāraṇya and begged him for fees. Then Brahmā came, cursed them and took away everything from them. When the brāhmaṇas bewailed that they had been deprived of everything and their livelihood should be provided for, Brahmā said that they would live on the charity of pilgrims to Gayā and those who would honour them would be honouring Brahmā.

Chap. 107 deals with the story of the śilā that was placed on the head of Gayāsura for making it stable. Dharma had a daughter called Dharmavratā. Dharma could not find a bridegroom worthy of her virtues and accomplishments and asked her to perform tapas for the purpose. She performed severe austerities (subsisting only on air) for ten thousand years. Marici, one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā, once saw her and asked her to become his wife. Dharmavratā asked him to request her father Dharma. Marici approached Dharma who

1490. ब्राह्म. 105. 60 mentions why Viṣṇu is called आदिकारक ‘अत्यधिक मद्यमी भीतो वल्लराय: सिंहकुंडः स्वतं हेमेष हरिणा तस्मादविजयताः’ च q. by जिंगली p. 338. In ब्राह्म. 109. 13 also a similar derivation is given.

1491. The story of the Śilā is briefly narrated in the Agnipurāṇa also (chap. 114. 8–22), often using the very words that occur in the Vāyuapurāṇa.
gave her in marriage to Marici, who took her to his hermitage and had one hundred sons from her. Once Marici being tired lay down for sleep and asked Dharmavratā to shampoo his feet. While she shampooed his feet Brahmā (her father-in-law) came there. She left off shampooing her husband’s feet and got up to receive with honour her husband’s father. In the meanwhile Marici awoke and not seeing his wife cursed her to be a śilā (stone slab) as she disobeyed his order by giving up the shampooing of his feet. She being innocent of any fault got angry and was about to curse Marici but said ‘Mahādeva will curse you’. She, standing in the midst of Gārhapatya fire, performed tapas and Marici also did the same. The gods led by Indra got anxious as usual and went to Viṣṇu who asked her to choose a boon. She prayed that the curse pronounced by her husband be annulled. The gods said that Marici being a great sage the curse could not be annulled and asked her to choose some other boon. She said that she should be a śilā more holy than all rivers, sages and gods and that all tirthas should stand in the slab of stone, that those who would bathe in the tirthas on the śilā and offer piṇḍas and śrāddha should be able to go to brahma-loka, that all holy rivers like the Ganges should always remain in her. The gods conceded what she prayed for and said that when she would become stable on the head of Gayāsura, they would all stand on the śilā.

Chap. 108 presents numerous divergences in the Mss. In the Ānandāśrama edition its contents briefly are: The śilā was placed on the head of Gayāsura and therefore there was union of two very holy objects, on which Brahmā performed Āsvamedha and when the gods came to receive their share of the sacrificial offerings the śilā said to Viṣṇu and others ‘promise that you would remain on the śilā and would bring about the release of pitṛs’. The gods agreed and they stayed on the śilā in the form of images and foot-prints. As the śilā was placed on the back of the head of the asura the hill was called Munda-prāṣṭha (lit. the back of the head) which gave Brahma-loka to pitṛs. Then the chapter speaks of a hill called Prabhāsa, of Rāmatīrthā near the place where the great river (Phalgu) and Prabhāsa hill meet, the hermitage of Bharata, of Mataṅgapada, of the bali to be offered to Yamarāja and Dharmarāja and to the dogs of Yama, viz. Śyāma and Śabala, of the Udyantaka hill near the left of Śilā, of Agastya-kūṇḍa, and numerous other holy places such as Grdhra-kūṭa hill, the her-
mitage of Cyavana, the river Punahpunā, Krau̇nca-pada, Janārdana on Bhāsmakūta.

The story of Gayāsura has puzzled Mitra and subsequent writers. Mitra holds that nothing appears more absurd or stupid than the story of Gayāsura who, he emphasizes, is not a demon or a vicious monster, but a devout Vaiṣṇava (‘Bodh-Gaya’ pp. 15–16). The story of Gayāsura is not unique. The Purāṇas abound in stories that appear to modern minds absurd and puerile. Besides, there were several asuras like Prahlāda, Bāṇa (devotee of Śiva) and Bali (who was an exemplary and pious king and a worshipper of Viṣṇu) that were not monsters but good and devout persons, and yet fought with gods. For example, Kūrmapurāṇa (I. 16. 59–60 and 91–92) narrates that Prahlāda fought with Nṛsinha; the Padma (Bhūmikhaṇḍa 1.8) calls him Mahābhāgavata but states that he first fought with Viṣṇu and entered Vaiśṇavitanu; while Vāmanapurāṇa (chap. 7–8) speaks of his fight with Naranārayaṇa. In Pali works (e.g. Aṅguttara-nikāya, part IV pp. 197–204) he is called Pahārāda and asurindra. Vide Aṅguttara-nikāya (text) vol. IV p. 197. For Bali who was grandson of Prahlāda, a good king and a devotee of Viṣṇu, vide Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 73, Kūrma I, 17, Vāmana (chapters 77 and 92). For Bāṇa, son of Bali and the fight of Bāṇa helped by Śiva with Kṛṣṇa, vide Brahma chap. 205–206 and Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 33, 37–38.

According to Dr. Rajendralal Mitra (in ‘Bodh-Gaya’ pp. 14–18) the story of Gayāsura is an allegory of the vanquishing of Buddhism by Brahmanism. O’ Malley thought (J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII part 3 p. 7 for 1904) that the Gayāsura legend represents an amalgamation or compromise of Brahmanism with the popular demonolatry which preceded Brahmanism. Dr. Barua criticizes both theories and appears to hold (vol. I, pp. 40–41) that the idea underlying the legend is to impress on people’s minds the high sanctity of the Gayā range of hills along the western bank of the river Phalgu, that Gayā figures nowhere in Buddhism, that Gayā 1492 or Namuci or Vṛtra is represented as a demon of darkness and as an enemy of Indra and that the Vedic word Trivikrama and the interpretation of Aurgavāha are the nucleus of the legend of Gayāsura. From considerations of space it is not possible to discuss these

---

1492. It is not clear whence Dr. Barua derived his information that in the Veda Gaya is represented as a demon like Vṛtra. In the Rg. at least Gaya is not a demon like Vṛtra.
theories here. To my mind it appears that Gayā had become a famous pitrīrtha centuries before Christ and that the legend of Gayāsura is a post facto attempt to account for the sanctity of the place and the numerous shrines and holy places that had sprung up round Gayā.

Chap. 109 deals with the questions how Ādi-Gadādhara abided in manifest and unmanifest forms, how his gadā (mace) was produced and how the tīrtha called Gadālola became a destroyer of all sins. There was a powerful Asura called Gada, who, when Brahmā requested, gave up his bones to Brahmā. Viśvakarmā, at the desire of Brahmā, fashioned a wonderful mace out of the bones. In the times of Svāyambhuva Manu an Asura named Heti, son of Brahmā, performed severe austerities for thousands of divine years. He secured from Brahmā and other gods the boon that he could not be killed by gods, dāityas, men or with such weapons as the discus of Kṛṣṇa and others. Heti conquered the gods and became Indra. The gods went to Hari and requested him to kill Heti. He asked for a powerful weapon and the gods gave him the mace manufactured from the bones of Gada and Viśṇu killed Heti with the Gadā. This story about demon Heti is mentioned in Agni 114. 26-27 and Nāradiya (uttara) 47. 9-11. Hari is called Ādi-Gadādhara because he was the first to wield that mace and stood on the sila on the head of Gayāsura, supported by the Gadā, in order to make (the head of Gayāsura) stable. He shows himself in the form of hills viz. the Munḍapṛṣṭha hill, the Prabhāsa and other hills. These and Aksayavāta, Phalgu and other rivers are the non-manifest forms of Ādīgadādhara. The Viṣṇupada, Rudrapada, Brahma-pada and other padas are the non-manifest and manifest forms of Gadādhara.¹⁴⁹³ The image of Gadādhara is purely a mani-

¹⁴⁹²a. Vide note 1490.

¹⁴⁹³. The principal rivers, hills, padas are enumerated here in one place. Unless otherwise expressly mentioned the chapters and verses in this note refer to the शान्तपुराण. The holy rivers are: कस्य सम्बन्धादेशम् (अधि. 115, 25), पुष्करिणी (these two, भाग 109. 17), मधुकर (106. 75), अविश्वास (from उद्वेष्टित hill, 108. 59), कविताः (108. 58), वैशाख (105. 44 and 109. 17), नेमकर (112. 30), आसामाह (अधि. 116. 5). Some of these are mere streams. The sacred hills and peaks are; गन्धक्षेत्र (109. 36, अधि. 115. 26 and 44), शुद्धकुट (108. 12, 109. 14), मतास (108. 13 and 16, 109. 14), बुध (वाक्य 84. 93, भाग 108. 59, 109. 15), ब्रह्मकुट (109. 15), अरविन्दक (109. 15), मणिकुट (111. 22, अधि. 115. 25), रुपकुट (109. 15), वेशनकुट (109. 15),

(Continued on the next page)
fest form. Asura Heti was killed by Viṣṇu and went to Viṣṇuloka. When the body of Gayāsura was made stable Brahmā sang a hymn of praise to Viṣṇu who asked Brahmā to choose a boon. Brahmā said ‘we (gods) shall not abide in the śīla without you, but shall remain therein together with you if you have a manifest form.’\textsuperscript{1494} Viṣṇu said ‘be it so’ and Viṣṇu stood on Gayāsiras in the Ādīgadādhara form and as Janārādana and Puṇḍarikākṣa. Śiva also praised Viṣṇu (Vāyu 109. 43–50). The Vāyu speaks at several places of ‘vyaktāvyakta’ symbols of the deity (chap. 109. 20 and 43–45). What is meant is Viṣṇu is non-manifest in Phalgu, vyaktāvyakta in Viṣṇupada and manifest in images and statues (vide Tristhalisetu p. 365, pratimāsvaṃprapi vyaktāḥ).

Chap. 110 deals with Gayāyātrā. To the east of Gayā is a great river (Phalgu). (If it is dry) one should dig a pit for water and take a bath, should perform tarpana and śrāddha according to one’s own recension of the Veda, but without arghyā (water for showing respect) and āvāhana (invoking). In the after-

(Continued from the last page)

\textsuperscript{1494} Verses 2–3 and 4–5 of Vāyu 110 are quoted above in notes 1293 and 1264 respectively.
noon the pilgrim should go to the Prretaśilā, take a bath in the Brahmakunḍa, offer tarpana to the gods and perform śrāddha of his sapindas on the Prretaśilā with the mantras set out in Vāyu (110.10–12) and offer pindaśas to his ancestors. In Āṣṭakās, in Vṛddhiśrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of death, one may offer a śrāddha separately to one's mother but on all other occasions with her husband. To the sapindas other than one's paternal ancestors he should offer śrāddha to the south (of the place where he offers to his father &c.) viz. should spread kuśas and once offer water mixed with sesame and should offer them a pinda made of barley flour and repeat the mantras (Vāyu 110.21–22). The pindaśas to be offered at Gayāśiras may be in size as big as one's closed hand, or an undried āmalaka (myrobalan) fruit or of the size of sami leaves. By means of these he saves seven gotras viz. that of his father, of his mother, of his wife, sister, daughter, paternal aunt and maternal aunt. Water mixed with sesame and pindaśas are offered to all persons on the maternal grandfather's side, to all bandhus, to all infants, to persons cremated or not cremated, to persons that were killed by lightning or robbers or that committed suicide in various ways and to those who may be undergoing torments of Hells of various kinds and those who have become beasts or birds or insects or trees owing to evil deeds (Vāyu 110, verses 30–55). The verses of most comprehensive character about offering water have been cited in n. 1237 p. 550 and on pp. 616–617 above.

Chap. 111 deals with the order in which the several tīrthas are to be visited. The full pilgrimage lasts for seven days. In chap. 110 it has been stated as shown above that on entering Gayā, a pilgrim takes a bath in the Phalgu water, performs tarpana and śrāddha, then on the same day he goes to the Prretaśilā (which is a part of the Śilā as stated in Vāyu 108.15) and performs a śrāddha there and offers pindaśas with boiled rice and ghee (Vāyu 110.15). On doing

1495. अहकातिः स देही ष गयानं व स्तेहनि। मातुः बाहुः गुणत्र कुशंकुष्ठं पतिना सह। चाक। 110.17 q.in. सदिधम्। p. 389 (reads अमहकातिः), सदिधम्। p. 298.

1496. मुद्दिःमद्याभिः स आहानिनिमत्रादि। दीर्घेषच्च विष्णुः पुराङ्गी। उद्धेत्वं मधुमेव कुष्ठ्य गयायुद्धे। विनिमयंः समावयनं भविन्यं सत्यवत्स्य। पुष्पमेवमन्नुः सतं च चोः चकोः। चाक्र। 110.25–26. The चिरस्तेदीः p. 327 explains 'अर्थ माकौवें सतान्तनवाय। भार्यकौः चिरस्तेदीः। भवित्वविविदितितवधः। मादन्त स्त्रोत गाण्यानी रक्टयुः त दस्यात् स्वताः। एतद्वेशं मोहानाशकांचरं सतं कुसूं निबठ्या तत्तथा: गुप्ता:।'
this the persons for whom this is done become free from the position of pretā. It is stated (in Vāyu 108. 17–22) that one should bathe in the Rāmatīrtha which is near the place where Phalgū meets the Prabhāśā hill. By bath in Rāmatīrtha and offering of śrāddha and pīṇḍa there the persons for whom this is done become pītra (being already free from pretatva by the śrāddha on pretasīla). On a hill on the south of Pretasīla one should offer a bali (food offered with kuśa, sesamne and water) to Yamarāja and Dharmarāja and to the two dogs Śyāma and Śabarā. On the next day after entering Gaya (i.e. the 2nd day), the pilgrim should proceed to the Pretaparvata (Vāyu 110.8) and take a bath in the Brahmakūpīḍa and perform tarpana, śrāddha and giving of pīṇḍas mixed with sesame, ghee, curds and honey to his ancestors (father, grandfather &c.) with the mantras ‘pīta pitāmahāscaiva’ (Vāyu 110. 23–24). Then the pilgrim should offer on kuśas, water, sesame and pīṇḍas to persons related in various ways with the mantras ‘asmat–kule mṛtā yena ca &c., (Vāyu 110. 34–55). He should then invoke the gods to be witnesses to the fact of his having come to Gaya and become free from the debt to the ancestors (Vāyu 110. 59–60). It is stated in Vāyu 110.61 that at all sacred spots in Gaya the offering of pīṇḍas should be done in the same way as at Pretaparvata.

On the third day of entering Gaya one has to perform Pañcatārthī rites (Vāyu 111. 1 ff.). The pilgrim first bathes in Uttaramānasā, offers tarpana to gods, gives water and śrāddha and pīṇḍas to his ancestors with the mantras (Vāyu 110. 21–24). The fruit of this rite is the inexhaustible gratification of the pītras. Then the pilgrim goes to the three tīrthas which constitute Daksīṇamānasā, viz. Udīcītīrtha (on the north), Kanakhala (in the middle) and Daksīṇamānasā.

1497. On netarpita and phalguṇ, the visṛṣṭā p. 355 remarks ‘netarpitam gataxpaṇḍitam gataḥ gataxpaṇḍitastu rājyaḥ; phalguṇam netarpitām sthūlām iti śakṣayat’.

1498. Svarṣṭhānae gataḥ śyālaśīyān dha nārayaṇa netarpitamārtham kṛyācāryaḥ ca kramāḥ (Vāyu. 110. 61).

1499. The five tīrthas are Uttaramānasā, Uddāṅgatiṁś, Kaṇṭha, Vaiśnavaśān and Phalguṇ. The visṛṣṭā p. (360) that one has not to take a bath in each of these i.e. there are not five baths on this day, Phalguṇ is the same as Gayaśiras and is defined in Vāyu 111.22 ‘narakadāravṛkṣādāraṇādaya uttaramānasā’.

1500. The vāgīsīra. The visṛṣṭā p. 359 reads Śubhaśīravāṇaśāramārthapīṭhadrśayam itbhāvāya itbhāvāya vrthāh kāsṭhā. 83. 4 is ‘nāgajānaḥ... tūrṇeḥ’.
(on the south). At each of these three there is a śrāddha. Then the pilgrim goes to the Phalgutirtha, which is the best of all (Gayā) tirthas. The pilgrim performs tarpana and śrāddha with piṇḍas on Phalgu. This śrāddha at Phalgu results in mukti for the performer and also for those for whose benefit it is performed (muktr-bhavati kartāṇam piṇṭām śrāddhatatḥ saddā, Vāyu 110. 13). It is stated that Phalgu is Ādi-Gadāhara himself in a fluid form.\(^{1500}\)

By bath in Phalgu and seeing Gadāhara a man saves himself, ten ancestors and ten descendants. Then he worships Gadāhara by a bath with pañcāmīta after bowing\(^{1500a}\) to Vāsudeva, Saṅkarsana, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Viṣṇu, Śrīdhara. On the 2nd day of the Pañcatirthe rites (i.e. 4th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should repair to Dharmāraṇya which is so-called because Dharma performed a sacrifice there. Then the pilgrim should bathe in the Mataṅgavāpī (which is situated in Dharmāraṇya), then he should perform tarpana, śrāddha and piṇḍadāna at the well called Brahmātirtha and also in the space between Brahmātirtha and Brahmayūpa; then bow to Brahmā and Dharmāeśvara.\(^{1501}\)

He should bow to the Mahābodhi tree (i.e. the sacred pippala) and perform śrāddha also underneath it. Agni 115. 34–37 and Nāradaṇya (uttara) 45. 104 refer to these tirthas. On the third day of the Pañcatirthe rites (i.e. on 5th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should bathe in Brahmasaras and perform śrāddha with piṇḍas between the Brahmakūpa and the Yūpa (sacrificial post) raised by Brahmā when he performed a sacrifice. By this śrāddha the pilgrim saves his pītras.\(^{1502}\) He should go round the Brahma-yūpa and bow

---

1500. गडार्धचारकं रिलोऽि फल्गुद्रमिन्द्रायां। स्वर्य हि ज्ञापमन तरामालालक्षिकं बिदुः। वायुः 111. 16.
1500 a. Pañcāmīta consists of milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar. With these the image of Gadāhara is to be bathed. Vide नाराय (उत्तर) 43. 53 'व्यक्तमत्वं च स्नातस्मेचां तु लितितमात्रेषः.'
1501. Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' vol. I. p. 22 note) holds that Dharma and Dharmāeśvara refer to Buddha, while O'Malley (in J. A. S. B. vol. LXXXII for 1904 part 3, p. 5) takes Dharma to mean Yama. I am inclined to agree with O'Malley. Padma, Srṣṭikhaṇḍa 11. 73, states that there are three aranyas for piṇḍadāna viz. Puṣkarāraṇya, Naimişāraṇya and Dharmāraṇya,

1502. It may be noted that the three verses (Vāyu 111. 27–29) addressed to mañcāshīśānta do not occur in सिस्तली in p. 361, which gives two other verses instead viz. चतुष्टिविवर्त्तय द्वारय सर्वदा चतुष्टिविवर्त्तये। बौधिस्तिकाय मद्याय अनवाधय नमो नमः। एकादशोऽसि स्थायं वस्त्रारकास्तमतः। नारायणयस्ते हृदयां कुशंतिङ्गस्तिनिष्ठ विश्रद्ध।।

The सिस्तली remarks that in some mss. even these two are not to be found,
to Brahmā. There are mango trees near Gopracāra established by Brahmā. By watering a mango with water from the Brahmasaras the pitṛs attain mokṣa. Here follows the verse (‘eko muniḥ’ &c.) quoted above (n. 1493). Then a bali should be offered to Yama and Dharmarāja, then to the two dogs of Yama, then he should offer a bali to crows and then bathe (in Brahmasaras). This is briefly a summary of Vāyu 111. 30–40. Some of these details are mentioned by Agni 115. 34–40 and Nārādiya (uttara) 46. Then on the 4th day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i.e., 6th day from entrance into Gayā) the pilgrim should take an ordinary bath in the Phalgū and should then perform śrāddhas at the several padas on Gayāśiras which is near Phalgutirtha. Gayāśiras extends from KraunCAPEA up to Phalgutirtha. Śrāddha offered here (on Gayāśiras) becomes inexhaustible.1503 Here Ādi-Gadādhara abides in the form of Viṣṇupada. By performing a śrāddha with pindaś on Viṣṇupada (which is a footprint on a slab deemed to be of Viṣṇu) the pilgrim saves one thousand families and takes them and himself to the blissful, inexhaustible and never-ending world of Viṣṇu. Then Vāyu 111. 47–56 deal with the rewards of śrāddhas performed at Rudrapada, Brahmmapada and 14 other padas expressly named by it.1504 'For whomsoever by name a pilgrim offers a pinda on Gayāśiras, that man, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven he secures mokṣa.'

On the 5th day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i.e., the 7th day from entering Gayā), the pilgrim should bathe in the sacred place called Gadālola.1505 By performing śrāddha with pindaś at Gadālola he takes his pitris and himself to the world of Brahmā. Then at the Akṣayavaṇa he should perform a śrāddha.

---

1503. कौशीपाले हिंदुस्तानीय यात्रा भारतवाण यासिरावाण्यासारे। वायु 111. 44. कौशीपाले is the hill Gopracāra as stated in Vāyu 108. 75 कौशीपाले हिंदुस्तानीय यात्रा भारतवाण यासिरावाण्यासारे। तस्य राजालिहितो। वायु 111. 75.

1504. The विवरण p. 366 remarks that there is no separate śrāddha on Gayāśiras apart from the śrāddhas on Viṣṇupada and the other padas. विवरण p. 366 remarks that there is no separate śrāddha on Gayāśiras apart from the śrāddhas on Viṣṇupada and the other padas. वायु 111. 73. Agni 115. 47 has the latter half. Gayāśiras is the centre of Gayā and the most holy spot in it.

1505. This tirtha was so called because Ādi-Gadādhara washed his mace in the water there after smashing the head of demon Hetti with it. ब्रह्मदेवता एका नाथी ज्ञानी महादेवणे महादेवणे तस्य विशुद्धयेते। वायु 111. 75. ब्रह्मदेवता is in the stream of the river Phalgū.
and honour the (Gayā) brāhmaṇas established by Brahmā with offerings and food. When they are gratified gods together with pātras become gratified. Then the pilgrim should bow to the Aksayavatā and worship it with a mantra and also bow to worship Prapitāmahā. Agni 115. 69–73 and Naradiya (uttara) chap. 47 also refer to these.

The Tristhāliṣetu (p. 368) remarks that the above are the fixed rites for seven days in Gayā, that other tirthas may be visited according to one’s convenience if one stays in Gayā for half a month or a month; that the śrāddha at the Pṛetaśilā is to be the first and that at the Aksayavatā is to be performed at the end, and that although there is variation between the order in which tirthas are to be visited on the several days according to the Vāyupurāṇa, the Agnipurāṇa and other purāṇas, yet as the Vāyupurāṇa is most detailed as regards Gayā rites, the order therein should be followed and that one not knowing the order may visit the tirthas in any order except Pṛetaśilā and Aksayavatā. Gayāyātra, chapter 112 of the Vāyupurāṇa, refers to king Gayā who performed a gajña and who got two boons, one about the restoration of the Gayā brāhmaṇas to favour and the other that Gayāpurī be named after him and who then went to Viṣṇuloka. Then it narrates the story of king Viśāla (verses 7–15) who being sonless performed pindaṅdāna on Gayāśrīra and thereby saved his three ancestors, got a son and also himself went to heaven. Then another story is told (verses 16–20) of a deceased person, who was in the condition of a preta, offering one-sixth of his property to a trader and asking him to perform Gayāśrāddha with the rest of his wealth and who on account of the śrāddha at Gayā became free from the condition of preta. Then verses 20–60 mention several other tirthas of Gayā such as Gayatritirtha, Prāci-sarasvatitirtha, Viśālā, Leelihāna, the

1506. Compare 'ये दुर्गान्युजः विष्णु पर्वतमात्रा नाना: हुस्तङ्गमैथुनन्: अरोडः। स्तंभस्तमतिकार नरस्थिरायरं गतिः।' अथः. 114. 39–40.

1507. संतानकचारुकोषायोऽविश्वासपूकारः श। अयोग्याण्वये न निरोग्याण्वये श। कलो माग्यंप्रां तोला दैव तेजसवादः। तिर्यस्तस्तम्भयं च कन्दे भ्रमणायमहुः। भाष 111. 83–84: अरुढ़ं बल्बाहेत कुर्मीद ब्राह्मणानां च भोजनम्। एकामिष भोजिते तिष्ठे दश्रिविवास्ति भक्तिः। श्री दुर्गापुरिं सुविनयोऽविश्वासपूकारः। एते विश्वासपूकारः। अथः. 115. 71–73.

1508. ग्रामस्थानोऽथ ग्रामे गणपतीं महाफला। अथः. 115. 74 q. by जीतान्ती। p. 368.

1509. Both the stories occur in अयोग्याण्वये 115. 54–63, नास्तीयं (उच्चर) 44. 26–50, महाद. 1. 84. 34–43, and the first about king विशाल in वराहदेश 7.12ff.
Several sub-tirthas at Gayā

The Agnipūrāṇa (chap. 116. 1–34) has a long list of tirthas at Gayā that is quoted by the Tristhalīṣṭu pp. 376–378, which are passed over here.

Though the number of tirthas at Gayā is very large, the majority of pilgrims do not visit them all. Visits to three places are absolutely necessary for every pilgrim to Gayā, viz. Phalgu river, Viṣṇupada and Akṣayavaṭa, at all of which worship has to be done with milk, water, flowers, sandalwood paste, tāmbūla, lighted lamp and piṇḍas to ancestors have to be offered. The Viṣṇupada temple is built over the footprint of Viṣṇu on the rock to the west of the river Phalgu. The old town of Gayā was built round Viṣṇupada and it is the largest and most important temple in Gayā. The footprint (about 16 inches in length) deemed to be God Viṣṇu’s is inside an octagonal basin plated with silver. Pilgrims of all castes (except untouchables) surround the basin and cast their offerings inside the basin, though for a substantial payment the priests clear out all people, shut the door for a minute or two and allow a very orthodox or a rich person to make his offerings without being disturbed by anyone else. There are 45 vedis (or sacred places) at which the leisurely pilgrim may offer piṇḍas in the Gayākṣetra which extends from about five miles to the north-west of Old Gayā town to about 7 miles south of it. Though the ancient Buddhist works and Fa Hien and Hiouen Thsang make a distinction between Gayā and Uruvilvā or Uruvela where Buddha attained Enlightenment after six years of severe tapas, the Bodhi tree (Mahābodhitaru) was recognized by the Gayāmāhātmya as one of the sacred places which Hindu pilgrims should visit and is so regarded even now. When the Hindus appropriated Buddhist sacred places to themselves it is difficult to say. The Bodhi tree is the oldest historical tree in the world. A branch of it is said to have been transplanted to Ceylon in the times of the great Emperor Aśoka (about 250 B.C.)

1509 a. शरणातीर्थ नमः गौतमी तथा नमः। शरणातीर्थार्य शरणातीर्थार्य व शरणातीर्थार्य।

112. 60 q. by लिंगिणि p. 328 (reads 'बद्रय छुसितावस्थी', तिष्ठिती p. 372. This occurs in नरसिंह (उद्य) 47. 39–40. शरणातीर्थ—probably refers to the pillar with the figure of an elephant near the Gadādhara temple at Gayā.
and at Kandy in Ceylon a pippala tree is even now shown as that transplanted tree or the successor of that branch. The Gayāśīra\textsuperscript{1510} is a set of rocky hills such as Gayāśīra, Mūndapṛṣṭha, Prabhāśa, Grdhrakuṭa, Nāgakūṭa, ranging over one krośa (about two miles).

It has been already stated above (p. 666) that the rites at the Aksayavāta are the last in the pilgrimage to Gayā. The Gayāwal priest binds the thumbs or hands of the pilgrim with a garland of flowers and receives his fees. He gives sweetmeats to the pilgrim as prasāda, applies tilaka to the pilgrim’s forehead, touches the pilgrim on his back, pronounces the word ‘suphala’ (the pilgrimage has been fruitful or successful), declares that the pilgrim’s ancestors have gone to heaven and blesses the pilgrim. It must be noted that there is a special class of priests called Dhāmin, who alone (and not the ordinary Gayāwals) have the right of officiating at five vediś viz. at Pretasīla, Rāmasīla, Rāmakunda, Brahmakunda and Kākabali, that are situated on or about the two hills Rāmasīla and Pretasīla (vide Bengal District Gazetteers, vol. 12 for Gayā p. 66). They are regarded as inferior in status to the regular Gayāwals.

One important question on which there is great divergence of views among the medieval digestes is about the ancestors to whom śrāddha is to be offered at Gayā. In the Vāyu and other Purāṇas it is frequently said that he who performs śrāddha at Gayā becomes free from the debt due to the pīrs\textsuperscript{1511} or that what is offered to the pīrs at Gayā, Dharmapṛṣṭha, Brahma-saras, or on the Gayāśīra and under the imperishable Vaṭa tree becomes inexhaustible. In most of these passages the plural of the word ‘pīr’ is used. Therefore it follows that śrāddha is to be offered in Gayā to three paternal ancestors. And on account of a verse attributed to Gauṭama,\textsuperscript{1512} the three male maternal ancestors also are to be offered śrāddha. The difference arises with

\textsuperscript{1510} Gayāśiras and Gayā were according to Buddhist works well-known places in Buddha’s days. Vide the Mahāvagga I, 21. 1 (S. B. E. vol 13 p. 134) cited above (on p. 646) and Aṅguttara Nikāya (text) vol. IV, p. 302 ‘एकं च सर्वं भगवं गम्यं च विहरति गम्यं च’.

\textsuperscript{1511} आद्यः व्यवस्थितं विद्युतान्तः स्वामिर्। श्राद्ध 105. 30; vide also श्राद्ध 108. 60 and 90, 109. 41: ‘गर्भनाय ध्रौष्टेऽव च सर्वं भध्यतं तत्। महापर्व वेद विद्युंता वर्षस्य वस्तमन्यय कालसिद्धिः । गर्भरेयु मातकृ च तत्। गर्भरेयु ४४५५, गर्भरेयु १८३४२-४३. This last is ascribed to बुध्मनवियय by कालसिद्ध (on सौर) p. 167.

\textsuperscript{1512} पितामह चो जुरेजये तत्कालमहा अवधि। अवधिषेषं कालस्य विशेषार्थं फ्रेजें। इति गौतमविशे। चित्रयति p. 349, quoted also in स्वरंदरसनार p. 56.
reference to the wives of these six male paternal and maternal ancestors. The Agnipurāṇa proposes an option (115. 10) that the devatās in Gayāśrāddha are nine or twelve. When they are to be nine, the śrāddha is for three paternal ancestors, three male ancestors of the mother and the wives of the latter three male ancestors, while there is a separate śrāddha for the mother, paternal grand-mother and paternal great-grandmother. If there are to be twelve devatās in Gayāśrāddha, then all the wives of the paternal ancestors and of maternal ancestors would be included in one śrāddha. Aparārka allowed an option (as in Agni) in Gayāśrāddha. According to the Smṛtyarthaśāra and Hemādri the Anvaṣṭakā-śrāddha and Gayāśrāddha for the paternal ancestors and that for the wives of these (i.e., mother, paternal grandmother &c.) must always be separate, but the śrāddha for the mother's paternal ancestors and their wives should be one (and therefore the devatās will be nine). Yama (verse 80) appears to hold that the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother are always to be associated with their respective husbands in śrāddha. Some held that the devatās of Gayāśrāddha were only six viz., the three male paternal ancestors and three male maternal ancestors. The Tri. S. ultimately remarks that the usage of the country should be the deciding principle. The Prajāpati-smṛti (183–184) has some rather contradictory views as to when there would be 12 or 9 or 6 devatās in a śrāddha. When there are twelve devatās, the saṅkalpa at the Pretaśilā-śrāddha which is the model of all the śrāddhas at the other sacred spots in Gayā (with suitable modifications) will be as noted below.

It should be noted that there are certain special characteristics of Gayāśrāddha. There is no tonsure (Vāyu 83).

---

1513. तत्त्वान्यकालिन्यं श्रीण्यं भावं पृथवेन। गणमहात्मयां हु दुष्पधि सति वा महृत्तिसिद्धि सिद्धि। अधार्यक ध. 432; सरहद. I. 84. 24 is ‘भाबं हु नवदेवेन भूराणं हालान- हैत्यकं। अनवदेवेन हु शैतं च गणानं यस्वासरे॥’

1514. तत्त्वान्यकालिन्यं पृथवेव ज्ञतं। मातमहास्तम् सप्तसिद्धम्। स्मृत्यज्ञासार: pp. 59–60; vide विष्णुवीर्य: p. 349 for the view of हेमाद्रि.

1515. अव्र के विनितृष्णामातसहिधिसत्यं ब्रह्मदेवेनमातो!...अव्र सत्व मूल- हृष्टतित्र भ्रान्तार्थ: व्यवहारं सामायविविधार्थार्थः। विष्णुवीर्य: p. 349. रुद्रस्वर: in his श्रीर्याभावात् notes that this is the नृष्ण view.

1516. ओष्ठ। अव्रकृत्वोऽव्रिणं पितृवितृष्णामनामहनामातकाद्रकेदवर्त्या। अव्रकृत्वोऽव्रिणं मातृपितृविवेकामहनामातकाद्रकेदवर्त्या। अव्रकृत्वोऽव्रिणं मातृमहस्मात्सहिर्विहृक्ष्णतिस्थिति। अव्रकृत्वोऽव्रिणं मातृमहस्मात्सहिकृतिहृक्ष्णतिस्थिति। मृत्युविवेकः मृत्युविवेकः मृत्युविवेकः मृत्युविवेकः मृत्युविवेकः ज्ञाति। तत्त्वान्यकालिन्यं प. 287. These twelve are specified in सरहदार्यं I. 84. 45–47.
and note 1485 above). One must honour the Gayūwals alone, and
not other brāhmaṇas, however learned they may be; one should
not consider the family or character or learning of Gayū brāhmaṇas (vide p. 579 above and note 1313). But it has to be
remembered that Nārāyanabhatṭa1517 did not accept this for all
śrāddhas at Gayū, but only as to the śrāddha under the Aksaya-
vatā, since the Vāyu (111. 79-80) again refers under Aksaya-
vatā to the worship of Gayū brāhmaṇas and since following the
maxim of 'caturdākaraṇa' laid down in Jai. III. 1. 26-27 the
later specific provision narrows down the wide words used in
the earlier passage. At Gayū one could offer pīṇḍa to oneself
but without sesame.1518 The Tri. S. (p. 350) observes (rely-
ing on Vāyu) that when a man offers a pīṇḍa to himself, it
should be in the hands of the image of Jana-dana on Bhasmakūṭa1519
and that the pilgrim to Gayū can offer a pīṇḍa to himself only
when it is certain that he has no son or other adhikārin for
offering śrāddha. Further, any one related or unrelated, could
offer a pīṇḍa1520 to anybody, as laid down in Vāyu 'Whether
it is one's own son or the son of another (who offers), in
whosoever name a pīṇḍa is let fall at Gayū, that man attains
everlasting Brahmana. It is desired that anyone may offer a
pīṇḍa to anybody after uttering that person's name and gotra
and the latter reaches the highest goal.'

There are several works, printed and in mss., that deal with the
procedure of Gayūśrāddha. There is the Gayūśrāddha-paddhati of
Vācaspati printed at the Chandraprabha press, Benares city, the
Tirtha-yātra-tattva of Raghunandana (which contains a Gayū-

1517. गयावान् द निर्देशं अवि कालं एव हिन्दा भोजया इति हैमालिं। वर्य हू मद-प्रकाशितादित्वं विषयोपजे ज्युजयो ख्यातयावयस्करणे दुः प्रभुतात्तुपर्ययङ्गोपसहाययाये-
दानवह्यासार्थियं न गयासार्थामात्र। एवं च नित्यायात्मग्राह्यं अति। नित्यारायणोऽपि p. 352.

1518. आलममस्तु महाइसे सत्यं तीक्ष्णं थात्मानवः। विषयाक्षयं ज्युजयं चाचाचाचाचष्टम थात्मानवः। वाः। 83. 34 q. by सिद्धान्ती। p. 350 from स्थापितवाली। vide also वाः। 105. 12 and अति। 115. 68। 'सित्यान्तर मददेयं: तत्त्वं कुलार्ये। आलममस्तु तथा
देवो अर्न्णो लोकस्वार्थं'।

1519. जानान्तीयो भलकुट्टे कर्तर हस्तं थ विश्वं। विश्वात्मकन्तरसात्मकेऽक्षुनातीतिकाः निविष्ठाणं। 'जीवो कुलसमीति सत्ते एव विनिष्ठाणं।' वाः। 108. 85। vide विनिष्ठाणं जातिरेतु थ विनिष्ठ इत्यतलक्ष्या नसः। एवं विनिष्ठ इत्यतलक्ष्या नसः। जानान्तीयो भलकुट्टे कर्तर हस्तं थ विश्वं।
प्रति निष्ठाक्ताय महामद्यक्षुनन्तरिताय।'। compare नाराय (उत्तर) 47. 62-63 for very similar verses.

1520. आलममस्तु मददेयं। विनिष्ठाणं निविष्ठाणं। विषयाक्षयं ज्युजयं। वाः। 83. 38।
paddhati) published in Bengali characters. Then I consulted two mss. viz. the Gayā-śrāddha-paddhati of Raghunātha son of Mādhava (D. C. ms. No. 93 of 1891–95) and the Gayāśrāddha-vidhi of Vācaspati (D. C. No. 245 of 1887–91). The procedure in the Tirthayātṛa-tattva of Raghunandana is set out here briefly without actually citing in full the Vāyupurāṇa passages which it quotes profusely. Raghunandana appears to follow the Tirtha-cintāmāṇi closely as some of the notes will show. After the pilgrim enters Gayā he should first make an appropriate saṅkalpa1521 for a bath in Phalgu, take the clay from the river, apply it to his body and bathe. Then he should perform tarpana1522 to the twelve male and female ancestors (specified in note 1516 above). Then he should declare a saṅkalpa that he would perform Gayāśrāddha with the words ‘Om! adyetyādi Gayātirtha-prāpti-nimittaka-śrāddhamaham kariṣye’. Then he should perform a pārvaṇa-śrāddha (described above pp. 485–505) excepting the āvāhana and arghya rites. If the pilgrim be unable to perform all the details of śrāddha, he may offer only pīṇḍas. Then on the same day he should go to the Pretaśilā which adjoins the west bank of the river Phalgu and is to the north of Gayā and perform śrāddha there as follows: he should perform the purification of the ground, sit down on it, perform ācamana, face the south, wear the sacred thread in the apasavya form, recite the verses (Vāyu 110, 10–12 ‘Kavyavālo...śrāddhenānena sāsvatim’), contemplate on his pītris, perform prāṇāyāma, sprinkle water on the materials for śrāddha after remembering Puṇḍarikākṣa (Viṣṇu), make the saṅkalpa (set out in note 1516). He should go through the whole procedure of śrāddha up to the payment of daksinā to brāhmaṇas. After this he should sit to the south of the altar (where he performed the śrāddha), should wear the sacred thread in the apasavya form, face the south, place on the ground three kusas and after reciting the mantra (Vāyu 110, 10–12) should make an invocation once in the form of offering an añjali of water mixed with sesame, then honour the father with pāḍya (water for washing the feet), recite the two verses

1521. आयु: । अवस्यावर्ति अवयवप्रवणवस्त्रविभरत्तातिकाय: फल्यनीचर रत्नामाधू कत्स्ये।। This is the सृक्ष्य in श्रीयुतिः ch. p. 286 and श्रीयुतानत्कत p. 2.

1522. रघुनान्दन sets out the formulas of tarpana for Sāmavedins and Yajurvedins ‘त्रयादेवस्त्रविभरत्तातिकाय: अवयवप्रवणवस्त्रविभरत्तातिकाय: फल्यनीचर रत्नामाधू कत्स्ये।। एव अवयवप्रवण त्रयादेवस्त्रविभरत्तातिकाय: फल्यनीचर रत्नामाधू कत्स्ये।। रघुनान्दन p. 3. The first is set out by श्रीयुतिः p. 286 also.
(Vāyu 110, 20–21 'ā brahma...tilodakam' with om prefixed), perform invocation as before of the father and others with water in folded hands and should offer a piṇḍa to his father of pāyasa or other material mixed with sesame, water and honey. with the words 'Om, adya amuka-gotra pitar-amukadevaśarman, eṣa te piṇḍaḥ svadhā'. In this way he should offer piṇḍa to the remaining eleven devatās, viz. paternal grandfather and others (or eight or five according to usage). He should donate a fee according to his means. Then he should sit to the south of the place he so far occupied, spread on the ground kuśas having roots but with tips turned to the south, should repeat the mantras (Vāyu 110, 10–12), perform on those kuśas once an invocation in the form of an añjali of water mixed with sesame, repeat the two verses (Vāyu 110, 22–23 'Pitā pitāmaha...mupatisthatām' with om prefixed) and should offer one piṇḍa made of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, kuśas, ghee, curds, water and honey to all the twelve devatās (ancestors) together. Then follows what is called Śoḍaśikarma, which is as follows: Nineteen spots for piṇḍas should be made (each to the south of the preceding) and should be smeared with pañcagavya one after another; then he should spread over each kuśas with their tips to the south, should invoke on the kuśas the persons intended with the mantras (Vāyu 110, 30–32 'asmat-kule mṛtā......tilodakalḥ'), should worship them by offering sandalwood paste and the rest, (and if he is performing the rite of śoḍaśi on a spot sacred to a specific deity then worship that deity also with an appropriate mantra), should then offer once as before an añjali of water mixed with sesame and offer piṇḍas beginning from the first spot, each piṇḍa being offered after reciting each of the 19 mantras (Vāyu 110, 34–55, omitting 110.44 'asipatra o', 110.46 'ānekayātanā-saṁsthabh ye nītā o', and treating 52–53 as one mantra and 54–55 as one mantra)\textsuperscript{1522b}. He should offer 19 piṇḍas

\textsuperscript{1522 a.} It should be noted that om is to be recited before each verse intended as mantra here and below.

\textsuperscript{1522 b.} The Tir. C. (pp. 290–292) slightly differs. It does include Vāyu 110. 46 and treats the three verses (Vāyu 110. 51–53) as one mantra. It is difficult to understand why the writers of digests did not say that the śrāddhaśoḍaśi should be performed with only 18 mantras from out of the 21 or 22 verses with option to the reciter. Where the mantras exceed the number required, Jaimini X. 5.14 states: 'अनुष्ठान तु संस्कारादिकृत: स्पर्शरूपाकर्मवत्तात्.' Raghunandana reads the five verses (51–55) somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāṇa, though the sense is not much affected.
of the size already stated and made of the material already mentioned with the sacred thread in the apasavya form. Raghunandana explains that although there are nineteen pindas still this is called śrāddhasādāśī as a technical term.\textsuperscript{1523} It would be noticed that all the mantras refer to males in the words ‘ye’, ‘te’, ‘tebhyaḥ’. So this is ‘Purṇa-sādāśī’. There is a ‘strī-sādāśī’ also which only involves changing the words of the mantras in the masculine to words in the feminine gender as indicated in the Vāyupurāṇa itself.\textsuperscript{1524} Otherwise there is no difference between the two (purṇa-sādāśī and strī-sādāśī). The note below states the mode in which both males and females are to be invoked and gratified.

Water should be sprinkled over all pindas three times with a vessel full of water mixed with sesame. The mantras repeated at the time are quoted below in the note.\textsuperscript{1525} Then he prostrates himself on the ground and should dismiss (send away) them (the persons invoked) with the words ‘O father and others! forgive me.’ Then wearing the sacred thread in the savya form, he should sip water (perform ācamana) and recite with his face to the east the two mantras (Vāyu 110. 59–60 ‘sāksiṇāh santu,’ and ‘agatosmi Gayāṁ’). If a pilgrim is unable to carry out all this lengthy procedure, he should at least offer pindas on Pṛetasīla, by making a saṅkalpa (like the one in note 1516 saying ‘pindadānam’ for śrāddham’). He should wear the sacred thread in the apasavya mode and repeat the verses in Vāyu (110. 10–12 and 110. 59–60) and should perform according to his sūtra the various items such as drawing lines on the altar meant for placing pindas, spreading kuśas, sprinkling down water on the pindas, the offering of pindas, re-sprinkling

\textsuperscript{1523} उपलब्धितो चोखन्ते पारिभक्तिकं प्राप्तमधुत्। सीर्ष्याचार्यात् प्र. 8. When a person inquires of another how many mango trees or fruit the latter has got the latter may reply they are five, even if actually they may be six or seven.

\textsuperscript{1524} एवाश सर्वमभृतं स्त्रीलिङ्गां षड्मुखं स। विषवादः द्यायाधारूर्वी विधीं नागान्विताकामान्। वाराह. 110. 56 q. in विज्ञानी प. 356. एवं च अस्मकोऽक्षुतं चुता च चेतापात्मकमनवादादार्थम् तिर्थामणि सर्वयुः द्विपर्यम्यं सर्वस्मात्सन्निश्चितयुहुः प्रत्य, अपनः पुंशोत्तवक। द्वितिष्ठत् सर्वं। भीतित्व। p. 292. So instead of the sarvāḥ ‘अस्मकोऽक्षुतं चुत’ च च निष्किर्ते (गाय. 110. 34), in the श्रीलिङ्गी the sarvāḥ will be अस्मकोऽक्षुतं सुता यास्य सर्वत्र नागान्विताकामान् न निष्किर्ते। तासात्मुद्रः प्रप्नयं इव विषवा द्वितिष्ठत्।। विज्ञानी प. 357 refers to this श्रीलिङ्गी.

\textsuperscript{1525} अभ्यसू। एवं च च तेषांसाताःपि प्राप्तं च भूत कालसमाप्तमात्र कालसमाप्तमात्र। तुध्यस्त मन्त्रसमाप्तः भवसमाप्तः खोल्ल द्यायाधारूर्वीपीणीयमणि सर्वस्मात्सन्निश्चिताय। सर्वोत्तवकात्मकं यास्य श्रीर्ष्याचार्यात्। तीर्थां प्र. 293, तीर्थां प्र. 10–11.
water, holding one’s breath, loosening the knot of one’s garment, offering a thread and sandalwood paste.

Then the pilgrim should descend from the hill (Pretasila) to the ground below and should bathe in the deep pool well-known as Ramatirtha 1526 (which is in the form of Prabhāshāmrada) at the meeting place of the great river (Phalgu) with the Prabhāsa hill after making a saṅkalpa (as given in the footnote) and after repeating the mantra ‘janmāntaraśatam’ (Vāyu 108.18). He should then perform tarpana and perform śraddha or (if unable to offer śraddha) offer only piṇḍas according to the procedure of his own gṛhyasūtra. He should offer as done in the Pretasila śraddha twelve piṇḍas to the father and the others, the single inexhaustible piṇḍa and the śodaśi-piṇḍas. If he cannot go through all these, he may perform any one of them. Then he should make a saṅkalpa and should offer obeisance to Rāma with the mantra ‘Rāma Rāma’ (Vāyu 108.20). When a pilgrim performs this bath, śraddha and piṇḍadāna his pitṛs become free from the condition of being preta (Vāyu 108.21). Then he should perform obeisance to the refugent Prabhāśeśa (Śiva). He should offer obeisance to both Rāma and Prabhāśeśa with the mantra ‘āpastvamasi’ (Vāyu 108.22). Then he should offer a bali of boiled rice to Yama with the words ‘this is a bali, om! bow to Yama.’ Then on a hill called Naga situated to the south of Prabhāsa hill and on the middle of Pretasila he should recite the verse ‘dvau śvānau’ (Vāyu 108.30) and offer a bali made up of some kind of cooked food with the words ‘this is a bali to Yamarāja and Bhramarāja (Dharma-rāja?); salutation.’ This offering of bali is obligatory (on every pilgrim); the rest may be done according to one’s ability. This finishes the rites on the first day (i.e. the day of entering Gayā).

On the 2nd day of entering Gayā the pilgrim should bathe in Phalgu, perform his daily duty of tarpana and worship of gods and then in the afternoon bathe in Brahmakunḍa 1527 situated in the north-east corner which touches the root of Pretaparvata, that is at the distance of a gavayūti from Gayā and that (Brahmakunḍa) is situated to the north-west of Gayā.

1526. अष्टेति । अनात्ताकार्य साधुज्ञानश्रवणतं कर्तव्यं कन्तकमलेश्वरायमातिते घनम् कारिकेऽ। तृतीय च. प. 294, तृतीय पाठालय प. 11-12. The मन्त्र ‘ज्ञानस्तरं’ (भाव. 108.18) is quoted by both.

1527. The ब्रह्मकुण्ड at ब्रह्मकुण्डानि is अष्टेति । अनात्ताकार्य निष्कासिन इन्द्रात्तिमातिति- मक्षात्मात्मिकाम: अलेक्ते भास्य सर्व- कारिकेऽ। तृतीय पाठालय प. 13.
The śrāddha performed here is believed to be performed on the altar of Brahmā (i.e., where Brahmā performed his Aśvamedha). Then he should wash with the face to the south throw on Pretaparvata barley grains mixed with sesame with the mantra ‘ye kecit’ (Vāyu 110.63 q, both by Tir. C. p. 297 and by Raghunandana) and offer an añjali of water mixed with sesame with the mantra ‘a-brahma’ (Vāyu 110.64).1528

On the third day after entering Gaya come the rites of Pañcatirthi described above (pp. 663–666). The pilgrim bathes1529 in the Uttaramānasa with the mantra ‘uttare mānase snānam’ (Vāyu 111.2–3). He should offer one añjali with the verses (Vāyu 110.20–21) and perform śrāddha. After this śrāddha he sits to the south of Uttara-mānasa, spreads kuśas with tips towards the south, offers water with sesame and offers to all together one pīḍa of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, kuśas, honey, curds and water. Then he bows to and worships the Sun’s image on Uttaramānasa with the mantra ‘namostu bhānave’ (Vāyu 111.5). Then he repairs to Dakṣinamānasa in silence and there takes a bath in Udīcī tirtha, in Kanakhala and then in Dakṣinamānasa with the mantra (Vāyu 111.9–10) and then performs salutation and worship to Dakṣinārka, then makes a bow to Maunārka, then goes to Phalgu tirtha situated to the east of Gadhāhara and takes a bath and performs tarpāṇa and śrāddha there; then he worships Pitāmaha (with Vāyu 111.19), visits Gadhāhara and worships (with Vāyu 111.21), then again goes to the five tirthas, at each of which he bathes and performs tarpāṇa. Then he bathes the image of Gadhāhara with pañcāmṛta. Raghunandana notes that the bathing of Gadhāhara with pañcāmṛta is obligatory, while the rest may be done according to one’s ability. This finishes the rites of pañcatirthi.

The various tirthas to be visited after Pañcatirthi have been mentioned above. It is not necessary to repeat them here. The special mantras from the Vāyupurāṇa cited by Raghun-

1528. It may be stated once for all that there is a saṅkalpa appropriate to each bath, that a bath in a sacred place is followed by tarpāṇa, that śrāddha is performed as on Pretasīlā with all details beginning from invocation and ending with making the gods bear witness. Therefore these items will not be repeated hereafter and only the special provisions in each case will be pointed out.

1529. The तत्रुत्त्य स उपदेश्यं पवश्चधर्मकृत्यमेता स तस्मि सत्त्विनिधितवः अपूर्वकः उत्तरस्य स च नामस्य कुरिष्ये.
nandana will alone be specified here. After bath and śrāddha at Mataṅgavāpī, the pilgrim should go to Mataṅgeśa to the north of Mataṅgavāpī and recite Vāyu 111. 25 (pramāṇam devatāḥ santu &c.). When pouring water at the root of the mango tree established by Brahmā the pilgrim repeats Vāyu 111. 36 (ānram brahma–sarodbhūtam &c.). When bowing to Brahmā, the mantra is Vāyu 111. 34 (nāmo brahmāne &c.). The bali to Yama is offered with Vāyu 111. 38 (Yamarājadyāharmaṇajau &c.). The bali to the two dogs is to be given with the mantra (Vāyu 111. 39) and that to the crows with Vāyu 111. 40 (Aindra–vāruṇa–vāyavya &c.). As regards the padas the pilgrim should begin with Rudrapada and perform śrāddha there and then proceed to Viṣṇupada and worship Viṣṇu with five upacāras1530 with the mantra ‘Idam Viṣṇur-vi cakrame’ (Rg. I. 22, 17). To the south of the vedī of Viṣṇupada he should perform the śrāddhaśoḍaśī (described above pp. 672–673) up to Vāyu 110. 60 (anrṇoṣham-rṇatrayāt). About an ascetic, vide above p. 655.

Then Raghunandana briefly touches upon the śrāddhas to be performed at the several padas and remarks that the last śrāddha at the padas is that at Kaśyapapada. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 76 as the mantra for bath in Gadāloľa-tirtha. Then he states that the śrāddha at the Akṣayavatā is to be performed on the north side of the Vata near its bottom. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 82–83 (ekāṃava &c.) as the mantras for bowing to the Akṣayavatā. Further, he speaks of śrāddhas to be performed at several sub-tirthas, such as Gāyatri, Sarasvatī, Viśālā, the hermitage of Bharata, Mūḍapṛṣṭha. Then he prescribes that the pilgrim should cross the Vaitarani (situated to the east of the Devanadi which is near Bhasmakūṭa) with the mantra (Vāyu 105. 44, yāsa Vaitarani nama &c.). After referring to several other tirthas such as Gopacāra, Gṛhtakulyā, Madhukulyā, Raghunandana recommends that the pilgrim should visit Pāṇḍuśila (which is in Campakavana near Pitāmaha) and perform śrāddha there. He notes that the four rivers and streams called Gṛhtakulyā, Madhukulyā, Devikā and Mahānadi1531 (Phalgu) are called Madhusravā when they meet the Śilā (Vāyu

1530. For the five upacāras, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 729–730.

1531. In the बायुपुरण when speaking of वायु the word महानदी occurs frequently (as in 112. 30, 110. 6), but it refers to फल्गु. On बायु, 110. 6 (तत्र गायत्रीसे च पुरुषोक्ति महानदी। तत्र तोर्य समुखास्य स्तात्तत्त्विन्न नित्यि जले) the निःस्वामी p. 352 observes ‘महानदीि फल्गु एवं मामप्रेयस्य। तोर्य समुखास्यि’
112.30) and a bath, tarpana and śrāddha thereon yield immense results. Then are mentioned several other tirthas such as Daśāsvamedha, Matangapada, Makha-kunda (near Udyanta parvata), Gayākūta. Raghunandana winds up by providing that on Bhasmakūta the pilgrim should place with his right hand in the hand of Janārada a pīṇḍa mixed with curds (but without sesame) and on doing so recite five verses (Vāyu 108, 86–90, 1532 'esā pindo mayā' &c.). Then Raghunandana quotes sixteen verses about Mātrṣodāṣī (which do not occur in Vāyupurāṇa and are passed over here).

We have to distinguish between Gayākṣetra, Gayā and Gayāsiras or Gayāśirṣa. The Vāyu, Agni and Nāradiya all assert that Gayākṣetra is five krośas (in extent) and Gayāsiras is one krośa. It had become the fashion to speak of famous tirthas like Kāśi and Prayāga as paṇcakrośa. But so far as the Vāyupurāṇa is concerned the Gayākṣetra is about 13 miles in length from Pretaśilā to Mahābodhi tree as shown above. Gayā is said to be two krośas and a half in extent in all directions from Mundaprśṭha1534. Gayāsiras is smaller than Gayā and is identified with Phalgutirtha (vide note 1499). Gayā and Gayasisa (Pāli for Gayāśirṣa) are well known to ancient Buddhist texts (Mahāvagga I. 21.1 in S. B. E. XIII p. 136, Anguttaranikāya, text vol. IV. p. 302). Vide n. 1510.

Four of the most important and holy tirthas have been dealt with at some length so far. It is not possible in the space allotted to the section on tirthas to pursue the same procedure as regards other famous tirthas. It is proposed to devote a few pages to each of half a dozen or more tirthas and then to give a somewhat comprehensive list of tirthas with a few references in the case of each. But before proceeding further reference must be made to certain popular groupings of tirthas. There is a group of seven cities that are deemed to be very holy and

1532. Raghunandana reads the five verses somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāṇa, though the sense is not much affected.

1533. यथाक्रोनं गणार्थेषु क्रोणेऽकं गणार्थः। गायु. 106. 65, अभि. 115. 42, नारायण (उत्सर) 44. 16.

1534. द्रुपदद्वार पूर्वसिम्ब दलिते पथिवेष्ठिते। सांव श्रोताः सामव मनः स्वति परिचितसिद्धम्। गायुपारण Q. by विश्वसिद्ध p. 342. The printed गायु (105, 28–29 'द्रुपद कुणवं पूर्वसिम्बं') appears to have a corrupt reading.
the bestowers of moksha. They are Ayodhya, Mathura, Maya (i.e. Haridvara), Kaśi, Kaśi, Avantika (i.e. Ujjayini), Dwārakā. In some works it is Kanti and not Kaśi that is mentioned. Badarinātha, Jagannātha Puri, Rāmeśvara and Dwārakā—these four are styled Dhāma. There are said to be twelve Jyotirlingas of Siva, according to the Śivapurāṇa viz. Somanātha in Saurāstra, Mallikārjuna on Śrīśaila hill (in Karnkul District and about 50 miles from the Krishna station on the G. I. P. Railway), Mahakāla (in Ujjayini), Paramesvara in Omikāra-kṣetra (an island in the Narmada), Kedāra in the Himālayas, Bhimāśankara (north-west of Poona at the source of the Bhimā river) in Dākini, Viśvēvara in Banaras, Tryambakesvara on the banks of the Gautami i.e. Godāvari (near Nasik), Vaidyanātha in Cāṭabhūmi, Nāgēśa in Dārukāvana, Rāmeśvara in Sivasukha and Ghrāneśa in Śivasalya (i.e. the modern shrine at the village of Elura).

1535. अयोध्या मधुरा मधुर माता काशी काशी खाण्विनका। एति पृथवम् सोऽकः पूसिलोध्रमोनम्। न्म। बज्जग IV. 40. 91: काशी काशी न मायाकुंज्य क्षपयसः स्वरावपि। मंत्यावतिका वैता सति पुरुषो मोहस्ता। स्त्रयुजु, काशीवर्षु, 6. 68: काशीवर्षी काशीवर्षी काशीवर्षी काशीवर्षी। गामपुरी न मधुम इऽन्त: सति द्विखलिनः। काशीवर्षु 23. 7: अयोध्या द्विखलिनः काशीवर्षी। द्वितीय लोऽणो सेतुत सहायतिष्ठिनः। साधुवर्षु (सकलवर्षु) 38. 5-6. In the Śvetasa, Ngaravarga 47. 4 Kāśī occurs as capital of Rudrasena and in Brahmānda III. 13. 94-97 Kāntipurī is described as possessing a place for Vyāsa's contemplation, a Kumāradhāra and Puṣkariṇī. If the reading अयोध्या is to be accepted there are divergent views about its location, some holding it to be the ancient name of Khatmandu the capital of Nepal, while A.G. identifies it with Kotivali 20 miles north of Gwalior.

1536. धूमिलां पाणि निशाणे तेषाः संचलन न विचित्रते। चतुष्टीको लोकों अधीरें ग्रहायते। उत्तरपिवान तदनुला भारते परस्परार्थ। कैद्वीर्या यत्तुस्वेदस्वेदार्थी रघुकण्ठाः। वातावरण च विचर्णे आध्यायक वित्तीये। येघ्नाय विद्वानो नागेश्वर काशाने। सत्तुरूप सर्वेश्वरेन च विचित्यपि। ब्रह्मावति नाममुखी नागालयाम च प्रज्ञे। सर्वप्रकाश्विनी वर्षसत्तिलिकृष्ठ नागेश्वर। स्वर्यालय IV. 1. 18, 21-24. There is divergence of views about the identification of some of these, viz., about शीक्षर (Dey p. 5), वैष्णव (Dey p. 50 showing it is either Deoghar in the Santal Pargana or in Paraligrama near Satara), वाल्कावाल (Dey, pp. 53-54). Each यूपिस्तिनु has यूपिस्तिनु (vid. शिवदर्षण IV. IV. 34. 42). The वाल्कावालसुरुण (ब्रह्मांड) I. 6 51 has 'काशीविश्वेषर्नित्वो विद्वानो नागेश्वरे। तत्र तत्र ज्ञिने योगसत्तिलास्मात् महासानः।' Vide 'the Cave Temples of India' by Ferguson and Burgess p. 367 n. 1. In JBBRAS, vol. X, pp. 4-6 the verses about the twelve Jyotirlingas and their locations are set out from morning Sottra.

1537. For Ghranesvara or Gristanesvara at the village Elura, vide A. S. W. I, vol. III pp. 82-83. The famous Kallasa temple at Ellora is not the Ghrāneśvara liṅga.
7 miles from Devagiri or Daulatabad). The Śivapurāṇa (Kotidruda-samhitā) chap. 1 names the twelve Jyotirlingas and chapters 14-33 narrate the legends connected with the twelve lingas. The Skandapurāṇa I (Kedārakhaṇḍa) chap. 7 verses 30-35 enumerate several lingas including most of the twelve Jyotirlingas. The Bāharapatyasūtra (edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas) mentions eight great tirthas each of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Śakti, that yield all siddhis. 

1537 a. अहं कैम्बलकेष्वः। बद्रिकासारत्रगृहम-पुष्पोत्सवम-धारकाविलाचकम-अनसुतनविरूद्ध-विसर्जनः। अहो श्रमिः। अभिमुक्तमहाबारसिद्धि-रामेगुणम्। ! यस्मि रामेति नन्द-मालाचरणप्रज्ञेतः। श्रीमान् अहो ब् इत्यावधिमुक्त-वर्षेण-कामसिद्धित्वा। अहो श्रमिः। एवमहायय्यः। सर्वेष्विनिर्विकार्यः। बांधुपर्यतनम् III. 119-126.
CHAPTER XV

KURUKŚETRA AND SOME OTHER FAMOUS TĪRTHAS

KURUKŚETRA (25 miles east of Ambala) is a very sacred tract, the history of which is lost in the mists of antiquity. In the Rgveda X.33.4 there is a reference to a king Kuruśravaṇa, son of Trasadasya. The Atharva-veda mentions a Kauravya husband (probably a king) who had a talk with his wife. In the times of the Brāhmaṇas Kurukśetra had become a very holy land. The Śat. Br. (IV.1.5.13) narrates the legend that the gods performed a sacrifice in Kurukśetra and at first excluded the two Aśvins from any share in it (S.B.E. vol. 26 p. 275). The Maitrāyani Samhitā (II.1.4., devā vai sattramāsata Kurukśetre) and the Tai. Br. (V.1.1., devā vai sattram-āsata teṣām Kurukṣetram vedir-āsita) also say that the Gods performed a sattrā in Kurukśetra. The idea underlying these passages appears to be this. The Vedic people of the Brāhmaṇa period held yajñas to be the dharma par excellence, as stated in Rg. X.90.16 (yajñena yajñam-ayajanta devāstāni dharmāni prathmānyāsan). Kurukśetra was the centre of Vedic culture in the Brāhmaṇa period and sacrifices must have been performed there on a large scale. Hence it was called dharmakṣetra and as gods were supposed to have attained their position by what men believed to be dharma (yajña, tapas &c.) it is stated that gods performed sattras in Kurukśetra. The same Brāhmaṇa mentions a Kauravya king Bahlika Prātipiya (XII.9.3.3, S.B.E. vol. 44 p. 269). The Tai. Br. (I.8.4.1) informs us that the Kuru-Paṇcālas went towards the east in winter (diśra) and to the west in summer which was the worst season. The references in the Ait. Br. are far more instructive. The legend about Kavaṣa in which Sarasvati helps the sage has already been referred to above (p. 559 n. 1254). The Ait. Br. (8.1 or II.19) calls that place, where Sarasvati came rushing, 'Parisaraṇa'. In another place the Ait. Br. tells us that in its time Nyagrodha (Ficus India) was called Nyubja in Kur-

1538. कुक्रवर्णमातृवर्ण राज्यां व्रजस्वयम्। सति कः विपत्तात्सि। छ. X. 33.4. कुक्रवर्णम् may mean literally 'beard or famous in the land of Kuru'.

1539. कुक्रवर्ण कुक्रवः कौरवपतियं जापया। अध्वेदी 20, 127.8.
Elsewhere the Ait. Br. speaks of the countries of the Kurus and Paṇcālas together with the Vaśa-Uśinaras (38, 3 = VIII, 14). The Tai. Ā. narrates that the gods performed a sattrā and Kurukṣetra was their altar (for the sattrā). The southern side of that Vedi (i.e., Kurukṣetra) was Khāndava, the northern side was Tūrghra, the hinder part was Pariṇāb, and the country of Maru (desert) was the rubbish pit. This shows that Khāndava, Tūrghra and Pariṇāb were border parts of Kurukṣetra and the Maru district was somewhat away from Kurukṣetra. The Śrautasūtras of Aśv. XII, 6, Lātyāyana X. 15 ff, and Kātyāyana 24, 6, 5 ff closely follow Tāṇḍya and other Brāhmaṇas and mention several holy places at which parts of the Sārasvata sattras were performed such as Plākṣa Prasravana where Sarasvati starts, the Vaitandhava-hrada of Sarasvati, the tract called Pariṇāb in Kurukṣetra, Yamunā flowing through the country of Kārapacava and the country of Triplaksāvaharāṇa.

In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (I, 10, 1 ff) occurs the story of Uṣastī Cākrāyāṇa who, when the Kuru country was struck by hailstorms, lived with his very young wife in Ibbyagrāma and went begging for food.

The Nirukta (II, 10) explains that Devāpi and Śantantu mentioned in Rgveda X, 98, 5 and 7 were historical persons and were brothers, sons of Rṣṭiṣena, a king of Kuru. Pāṇini (IV, 1, 151 and IV, 1, 172) explains the formation of the word Kauravya from ‘Kuru’, the first in the sense of ‘apātya’, the second in the sense of ‘king’.

1540. तत्रतत्त्वभास्माद्युष्मन्येऽर्थोऽत्मा अन्वयाय स्वर्ण इति हर्षेवणेनतांभान्ये कुस्तो ते ह श्रद्धाया श्रमयानां तेनाः हर्षेवण्येविजयाताः। ए. मा. 35.4 = VII. 30.

1541. प्रव न समानसत्। तेस्य कुस्तो ते विद्वाचुतिः। तस्य काष्ठवा दिक्षिणार्थ आसीत। तुर्षुपुत्रार्थः। परिणामयाः। मस्त उदकः। ते. आ. V. 1. 1. Is uśastī an older form of uṣastī? uṣastī, modern Sugh on the old Jumna, is about 40 miles from Thanesar and 20 miles to north-west of Saharanpur.

1542. Vide काठ. ओि। घामासे भागमासे वसन्ने वधमानाश पल्लि दुर्घिनो तीर्ण। द्वृष्टवयेवोऽर्जुनविद्याः। अत्रे काठायेवेऽति। इति भाष्योऽः। अवभूमयमयश्च। पुनर्मणार्यचञ्जन महत्। अपरं रथं नेत्रमयश्चिनमिति। कुस्तो ते परिणाः श्रेष्ठोऽग्राह्यस्यमन्यमविच्चिनममाला महति। अत्रेय न रथस्वतीर्णोऽः। अवभूमयमयश्च। पुनर्मणार्यचञ्जन महति। 24. 6. 5-7, 10, 33-34, 38-39. Similar sutras occur in भाष्यार्थात् X. 15.1, X. 17. 12, X. 18. 13, X. 19.1, 4-5, 8-9. अवभूमयमयश्च। XXIV. 6. 33 refers to the 2nd year and XXIV. 6. 34 to the third year of the सरस्वतसत्र.

1543. तत्त्वभास्माद्युष्मन्येऽर्थोऽत्मा अन्वयाय स्वर्ण इति हर्षेवणेनतांभान्ये कुस्तो ते ह श्रद्धाया श्रमयानां तेनाः हर्षेवण्येविजयाताः। निष्कृत II. 10.

1544. कुस्तो क्षिप्रोऽष्टी। कुस्तो क्षिप्रोऽष्टी। एि। IV, 1. 151 and 172.
The Mahābhārata frequently speaks of the high sanctifying virtues of Kurukṣetra. It appears that the territory to the south of Sarasvati and to the north of Dṛṣadvatī was included in Kurukṣetra and that those who resided therein were as if residents of paradise. Kurukṣetra appears to be called Brahmapārtha in Vanaprastha 86.6. According to the Vāmanapurāṇa Kurujāṅgala is the country between the Sarasvati and Dṛṣadvatī, while Manu (II, 17, 18) defines Brahmapārtha as the country created by God between the two divine rivers Sarasvati and Dṛṣadvatī, states that Brahmarṣideśa which is slightly less than Brahmapārtha comprises Kurukṣetra, the countries of Matsya, Pāṇcāla and Sūrasena. From these passages it is clear that Brahmapārtha is the holiest country in Āryāvarta and that Kurukṣetra was almost like it; we have seen that in the times of the Brahmans the most sacred Sarasvati flowed through Kurukṣetra and that the place where Sarasvati disappeared in the desert was called Vinašana and was itself a very holy place. Originally the land called Kurukṣetra is said to have been the Vedi (sacrificial altar) of Brahmapārtha, then it came to be called Samantapāṇcaka (or syamanta—in some passages) when Paraśuṛāma made five pools of the blood of kṣatriyas in revenge for his father’s murder, which were subsequently turned into holy pools of water by the blessings of his pītṛs and lastly it came to be called Kurukṣetra when king Kuru, son of Saumitra, ploughed the land with a golden plough for seven krokas all round. Kurukṣetra is so called after king Kuru. Kuru is said

1545. दानिशेम सरस्यधप दक्षस्वरुपं स च। ये वसन्ति कुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति जिविषये॥ वनमव 83.3. The same verse is वनमव 83. 204–205.

1546. सरस्यधपस्वरुपं कुक्षाङ्गुलीम। वामन 22.47; सरस्यधपब्रह्मपूर्वेऽनं नाशोपयंस्त्रम। तेन देशितमेव ब्रह्मपूर्वे मथुरमन। कुक्षेश्वर च मथुरायान प्राप्त्वा। कुक्षेश्वर एव प्राप्त्वा सावहायाविदेशो। मथुर 11.17 and 19. The extent of countries varied from age to age. After Buddha was divided into North and South. At the time of Buddha the capital of Pañcāla was Kanoj. Sūrasena is the country of which Mathurā was the capital. अन्तर्यां may mean ‘slightly less than’ or ‘not inferior to or not different from.’ The verse सरस्यधपब्रह्मपूर्वेऽनं occurs in नादीव (उत्तर) chap. 64.6.

1547. अद्यतन महान विद्वानस्ति रमण्यन्ति सुभवन। कुक्षण च यस्मः कुक्षस्वरुपः तद्यस्तव। स्वरुपम। वामन 22.59–60. According to वामन 22.18–20 there are five vedis of Brahmapūrva viz. समन्वयोऽक्ष (उत्तर), मथुराय (सक्षम), ग्यावशिष्ट (पूर्व), विचाय (दक्षिण), दक्षक (साप्तलीची). Vide वामन 22.20 and पत्र IV. 17.7 for the form समन्वयोऽक्ष.

1548. According to the विश्वसुराण the genealogy is आज्ञानं अनं सन्तरणं कुर्व, about whom it says ‘य हृदि वर्षं व प्रका प्रकाशित’ (IV. 19. 74–77).
to have asked of Indra the boon that the territory he ploughed
might be 'Dharmakṣetra' (domain of righteousness) and that
those who may bathe or die there may reap a rich harvest of
merit. The war between Kurus and Pāṇḍavas was fought
there. It is spoken of as 'Dharmakṣetra' in the opening verse
of the Bhagavad-gītā. Kurujāṅgala is said to be a very fit
country for śrāddha in Vāyu (77, 93) and Kurma II, 20, 33 and
37. 36–37. In the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiouen
Thosang speaks of the country, the capital of which was Śthān-
vīśvara (modern Thanesar which is the heart of Kurukṣetra)
as the 'land of religious merit' (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I p. 184).

The extent of Kurukṣetra is said to be five yojanās in
radius (in Vanaparva and the Vāmana Purāṇa). A some-
what corrupt verse occurs in the Mahābhārata and some
purāṇas about the limits of Kurukṣetra viz. the territory
between Tarantu and Karantuka and between Macakruka
(image of a yakṣa) and the Rāma-hradas (pools made by Para-
surāma)—this is Kurukṣetra, Samantapaṇḍaka and the nor-
thern vedi of Brahmag. The result is that Kurukṣetra is reff-
ered to under various names viz. Brahmasaras, Rāmahrada,
Samantapaṇḍaka, Vīnaśana, Sannihāti (vide T. Pr. p. 463).
For the boundaries of Kurukṣetra, vide Cunningham's A. S. R.
of India, vol. XIV pp. 86-106 where he notes that Kurukṣetra
was 30 miles to the south of Ambala and 40 miles to the north
of Panipat. In the remote past Kurukṣetra was the centre of

1549. पाण्डवेश्याश्च कहुँ धर्मकृष्ट सततमुः। न्यातानां च बुधानां च महापुरुषांतः।

1550. नदीं पञ्चप्रायोत्तर समाप्तद्विश्वेषोऽवंत्रना। कुरौवः वषोऽवंतः क्रीतं महामहायमः।
नानास 129. 22; सामजगम् च तुष्णद्वाणो ध्रेष्टुम् च वर्गः। समस्तपार्थके नाम परं जयः।
अस्मान्त्राधुरुः पञ्च पञ्चा च सच्चेः। गानन्दु. 22. 15–16. The nārādhīp
(उस्त्र. chap. 64. 20) states 'पञ्चप्रायोगिः वर्षायमन्त्राद्वाम्। स्त्रसस्तपार्थां
षावकुष्कं श्राद्धायं'।

1551. तद्राशुराशुरकपोष्टतरं सार्धाः ्तां मन्दकरं। एवंकृष्णभतस्मं
पञ्चप्रायोगिः पञ्चप्रायोगिः विद्वेषेभ्यं। नन्दवत व 83. 208, तद्वपवेन 53. 24. पर्व.
1. 27. 92 (reads तद्राशुराशुरकपोष्टतरं), q. by कल्याणं (अनंता) p. 179 (from the महाभागवतं).
वनर्ग 83. 9–15 और 200 show that कर्तव्य was a yāsa appointed as one of the
श्राद्धालोक of कुशांत्रे by God Viṣṇu. Should we not separate the first word as
tद्राशुराशुरकपोष्टतरं and अर्थात्? In the नाराधीप (उस्त्र. chap. 65. 24) we have तद्राशु
as a sub-
tिर्थā under कुशांत्रे. Vide सीताभाषा pp. 464–465 for explanation of this verse.
A. G. p. 334 quotes this verse. In Archaeological Survey Reports for India
vol. II p. 215 Cunningham quotes the verse as तद्राशुराशुरकपोष्टतरं and
reminds that Ratuṅka is the Ratan Jākṣa (वञ्च) at the north-east corner of
the circuit of Kurukṣetra, four miles to the east of Thanesar.
all the activities and the culture of the Vedic people. Gradually the Vedic people spread towards the east and south and the country between the Ganges and Jumna and later on Videha (or Mithilā) became the centres of Indian culture.

For reasons of space it is not possible to dwell at length on the greatness and sanctity of Kurukṣetra as described in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Vanaprava 83 starts by saying that all beings that are in Kurukṣetra are freed from all sins and that he also who always says ‘I shall go to Kurukṣetra, and I shall reside in Kurukṣetra’ is freed from sins.¹⁵⁵² ‘In this world there is no place holier than this. Even the particles of dust driven from Kurukṣetra by the wind take a great sinner to the highest goal’¹⁵⁵³. Even the Ganges is compared to Kurukṣetra (vide note 1334 ‘Kurukṣetrasamā Gaṅgā’). The Nārādiya avers¹⁵⁵⁴ that planets, constellations and stars are subject to the danger of falling down (from the sky) in course of time, but in the case of those that die in Kurukṣetra there is no falling on the earth again (i. e. they would not be born again).

It is a remarkable fact that though the Vanaprava in chap. 83 enumerates several tirthas on the Sarasvati and in Kurukṣetra, they do not at all tally with the tirthas mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrautasūtras (except Vinaśana which is mentioned in Vanaprava 83.11 and probably Saraka which may be identified with Parisaraka of the Ait. Br.). This means that the Vanaprava account of Sarasvati and Kurukṣetra is later by some centuries than that in the Śrautasūtras. The Nārādiya (uttara, chap. 65) names about one hundred tirthas in Kurukṣetra. It is not possible to set out all of them. But a few words may be said about some of them. First comes the lake called Brahmasaras or Pavana-hrada (Vanaprava 83. 85, Vāmana 49. 38-41, Nārādiya, uttara 65. 95) on

¹⁵⁵² ततो चतुर्थः राजेश्वर कुक्षेश्वरमभवतस्य। पारंपी विश्वास्यन्ति तद्भवः। सत्तां भवतः॥ कुक्षेष्वर गात्रवान्ति कुक्षेष्वरं सत्सप्तसः। य एवं सत्तां भवतः सत्सप्ताः॥ मुष्टे॥ भनवरे 83. 1-2. The commentator शशिकण्ठ furnishes a fanciful derivation of कुक्षेष्वर (on भनवरे 83. 6) ‘कुक्षति घातिति कुक्ष पापं तसं शेषणांत आर्यते इति कुक्षेष्वरं धारणिकर्तेत्। मूष्टपरिवर्तनान्तरं ज्ञानसब्दं।’ सर्वांना अतो यं धार्मिकाः ते समस्ता रामकुक्षेष्वरद्वादतः। तेनम् पारंपी समस्तवृष्टाः। Vide विश्वेष्यन्ति p. 463.

¹⁵⁵³ नात्स्तरां दुर्गवृत्तेः स्वाम्य भविष्यति।... पारंपी कुक्षेष्वरं दायुणां सत्सप्ताः॥ भवति कुक्षेष्वरमभवतस्य। नपरित्य दायुणां सत्सप्ताः॥ शतां 53. 17, 22 q. in कामः (on भनवरे) p 178. The verse पारंपी also occurs in भनवरे 83. 3.

¹⁵⁵⁴ यहनाभिधस्त्रेन्यां कारौश पतनग्राह्यम्। कुक्षेष्वरसुतानां हु न पूः। पतनं भवतः॥ नान्दीय II. 64 23-24। यामन 33. 16 (last राठा is पतनं नैं नविन्यन्त्रे)।
which Kuru stayed as an ascetic. A. G. (pp. 334-335) remarks that the lake is 3546 feet long east to west and 1900 feet wide north to south. The Vāmanapurāṇa (22, 50-55) describes it at some length and says that it was half a yojana in extent. Cakratīrtha (mentioned by Vāmanapurāṇa 42, 5, 57, 89 and 81, 3) is popularly supposed to be the place where Kṛṣṇa took up the discus for attacking Bhīṣma. Vyāsasthali (named in Vanaprava 84, 96, Nārādiya, uttarārdha 65, 83 and Padma I, 26, 90-91) is the same as modern Ba(th)ali, 17 miles to the south-west of Thanesar where Vyāsa resolved to die on the loss of his son. Asthipura (Padma, Adi. 27, 62) is on the west of Thanesar and south of Aujaaghat where the bodies of the warriors killed in the Great Bharata war were cremated. Cunningham in Archaeological Survey Reports of India vol. II, p. 219 states that Cakratīrtha is the same as Asthipura and that in Alberuni’s time it was the most famous shrine in Kuruṇḍetra. Prthūdaka on the Sarasvati is very highly spoken of in Vanaprava 83, 142-149. ‘They say that Kuruṇḍetra is holy, that Sarasvati is holier than Kuruṇḍetra, that the sacred spots (on Sarasvati) are holier than the river Sarasvati and that Prthūdaka is holier than all the other tirthas on Sarasvati. There is no tirtha that is better than Prthūdaka’. The Salyaprava remarks that whoever, while intently engaged in repeating holy texts, abandons his life at Prthūdaka on the northern bank of the Sarasvati would not be troubled by death next day (i.e. he would be free from birth and death). The Vāmanapurāṇa (39, 20 and 23) calls it Brahma-yonitirtha. Prthūdaka is modern Pehova in the Karnal District in Panjab, 14 miles to the west of Thanesar. Vide E. I. vol. I, p. 184 for the Pehova inscription from the temple of Garibnath dated in sañvat 276 (of the Harsa Era) i.e. 882-883 A. D., which records the agreement of certain pious horse-dealers to impose on themselves and their customers certain.

1555. सरस्वत विन्दुरं द्वात् सद्भद्धेण छुमयः। व्यासीप्रेमिति कथायं लैलकथा मनोलमः॥ यूगम्। II, 37, 29; vide भ्रात्रायं III, 13, 69 for a similar verse.

1556. द्वात् कुष्ठेऽगुनेऽकुष्ठेऽकपिलस्तम्भः। सरस्वतयुक्ति सीरोपेयं युक्तान्येको युक्तः॥ युक्तान्येकं तथादिम्। वसवं 83, 147, भालिका 152, 11 (first verse), वर्ण (आदि, 27, 33, 34, 36) q, by कुष्ठ (on सीरो) pp. 180-181. The बालभुज 22, 44 says ‘तत् प्राप्त भवेऽहनुऽत्तुत्वं भुवस्तृकं पापहरं विवं च। द्वाजो नभेण भावसदत्तं व्यास्ता जलायुजरं उत्पत्तं जलायुजरं।’

1557. सरस्वतेऽत्तरे तत्तवे वस्तेऽत्तरे तत्तवे। प्रथृस्ते जन्तन्त्रो नैन्त अस्त मन्यं तपेतु। वसवं 39, 33-34; बालभुज 39, 19 has the same verse (last pāda is read as नैन्त मन्यं भेष्ट)
taxes and tithes for the benefit of some priests and temples, one of which was the temple of Viṣṇu in his Yajñavarāha avatāra built at Prthūdaka.

The Vāmanapurāṇa (34. 3 ff) and Nāradiya (uttarārdha 65. 4–7) enumerate seven forests existing in Kurukṣetra as very holy and as destroyers of all sins, viz. Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakīvana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Sitāvana. Vide A. S. R. for India, vol. 14 pp. 90–91 for the vanas. In the Śalyaparva (chap. 38) it is said that the world is encompassed by seven Sarasvatis, then they are enumerated and their locations are specified viz. Suprabhā (in Puṣkara, where Brahmā engaged in a great sacrifice remembered her, verse 13), Kañcanākṣī (in the Naimiṣa forest, v. 19), Viśālā (invoked by Gaya in the Gayā country, verses 20–21), Manoromā (in Auddalaka’s yajña in Uttarakosala, verses 22–25), Sureṇu (in Rṣabhadvipa in Kuru’s yajña, verses 26–27), Oghavati (called by Vasiṣṭha in Kurukṣetra, verses 27–28), Vimalodā (when Brahmā again performed a yajña in the Himālaya). In the Vāmanapurāṇa 34. 6–8 seven rivers in connection with Sarasvati are said to be very holy (but nine are actually enumerated) viz. Sarasvati, Vaitarāṇī, Āpāgā, Gaṅgā-Mandākini, Madhumśravā, Ambunadi, Kauśikī, Drśadvati and Hīrānvati.

Kurukṣetra was also called Sannihati or Sannihatyā. Vide those words in the list of tirthas. The Vāmanapurāṇa (32. 3–4) says that Sarasvati springs from a plakṣa tree, that after piercing many hills it enters Dvaitavana. Vāmana (32. 6–22) contains a eulogy of Sarasvati by Mārkaṇḍeya. Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I p. 261) states that the river Sarasvati falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somnāth. There is a small but holy stream called Sarasvati, that rises in the Mahīkantha hills and after crossing the south-east corner of Palanpur Agency passes by Siddhapura and Pāṭan, flows underground for some miles and then enters the Rūn of Cutch (Bom. G. vol. V. p. 283).1557a

MATHURA

Till now it has not been possible to trace an express Vedic reference to Mathura, the chief city of the country of Śūrasena. But its existence from at least the 5th century B. C. appears

to rest on firm ground. It is stated in the Āṅguttaranikāya (I.167, ekam samayam āyasmā Mahākaccāno Madhurāyam viharatī Gundāvane) and Majjhima (II.84 same words) that Mahākaccāyana, a famous disciple of Buddha, assiduously preached in Mathurā the principles of his Master. Megas thenes appears to have known Mathurā and its connection with Heracles\(^{1558}\) (Hari-Kṛṣṇa?). The word ‘Māthura’ (meaning a resident of Mathurā, or born in or coming from Mathurā) occurs in Jaimini’s Pūrva-mimāṃsā-sūtra.\(^{1559}\) Though Pāṇini’s sūtras do not expressly mention Mathurā, the latter is included in the Varanādi-gaṇa (Pañ. IV.2.82). Pāṇini is, however, aware of Vāsudeva and Arjuna (IV.3.98), the Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi clans of Yādavas to which Kṛṣṇa belonged (IV.1.114) and probably knew the name Govinda (III.1.138 and vārtika ‘gavi ca vindeḥ saṁjñāyām’). Mathurā is several times mentioned by the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali who\(^{1560}\) in a famous passage refers to dramatic representations, paintings and stories which depict the destruction of Kaims by Vāsudeva. He also cites a quarter of a verse about the killing of Kaimśa by Vāsudeva as a well-known past event. Whether the town Saurya mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 2 on Pāṇini II.4.7 (Sauryam ca Ketavatā ca Saurya-Ketavate) is the same as Mathurā is doubtful, even though the Uttarādhyayanasaṭṭhītā speaks of Mathurā as Sauryapura (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 112). The Ādiparva (221.46) indicates that Mathurā was famed for excellent cows

---

1558. Vide McCrindle’s ‘Megas thenes and Arrian’ p. 201 where it is said that Heracles was held in special honour by the Saurasenoi tribe (Sūrasena) which possessed two large cities, Mathurā and Kleisobora (Kṛṣṇapura?), while Ptolemy calls it ‘Modoura of the gods’ (vide McCrindle’s ‘Ancient India as described by Ptolemy’, ed. of 1927, p. 124).

1559. स्वायोगाध्याय हि माधुरवचः। ते भ. I. 3. 21 on which भव सर्व स्वायत्त्वमिति मधुरायम् इति मधुरायम् मधुरायम् मधुरायम् निरस्थत्वम्। The तत्रस्तविक (p. 251) finds fault with the words underlined.

1560. न तेऽको वेदवतो दुःखपर्यं व भवति मधुरायम् च। महाभाष्य vol. I. pp. 18, 19 and 244; सत्सङ्गोऽपि ते बतात्तभवति दद्यथा। मधुरापरमित्व मधुरावत्। पादातिरिक्त इव पादातिरिक्त। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 192 (on पा. I. 2. 1) and vol. III. p. 299 (on पा. VII. 2. 62, तत्त्व 3). Vide note 1409 above where मधुर cloth is said to be inferior to कालिक cloth and my paper on ‘Ancient cities and towns mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya’ JBBRAS vol. 27 pp. 39-42 (1951) for other references. ते तावः तोभामिकम् नामेति तत्त्व 3 तत्त्व 4 मधुरप्रतिलिखि। कैविदिनस्य भवति कैविदिनस्यमन्त्रयम्। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 36 on पा. III. 1. 26 and तत्त्व 15; कैविदिनस्य विद्य इति सन्यध्ययेत्। ज्ञान कैविदिनस्य विद्य इति कैविदिनस्य। महाभाष्य (vol. II. p. 119 on पा. III. 2. 11).
in those days. When Harîsa and Dimbhaka, brave command-
ers of Jârâsandha, drowned themselves in the Jumna and when
Jârâsandha sorrowfully went to Magadha Krṣṇa says 'we shall
again joyfully reside in Mathurā' (Sabhāparva 14, 41-45).
Ultimately Krṣṇa is said to have left Mathurā owing to the
constant attacks of Jârâsandha and established the Yâdavas in
Dvârakâ 1561 (Sabhāparva, 14, 49-50 and 67). The Brahma-
purâṇa, on the other hand, states that the Vṛṣnis and Andha-
kas on the advice of Krṣṇa left Mathurā through the fear of
Kâlayavana. Vide also Vi, V. 23, 8-15. The Vâyu (88, 185)
states that Śatrughna, the brother of Râma, killed the demon
Lavaṇa, son of Madhu and established Mathurâ in Madhuvana
while the Râmâyana (Uttara-kânda 70, 6-9) informs us that
Śatrughna took twelve years to make Mathurâ a fine and pro-
sprous city. In the Ghaṭa-jâtaka (Fausböll, vol. IV, pp. 79-89
No. 454) Mathurâ is called Uttara Madhurâ (to distinguish it
from Madhurâ of the Pândyas in the south) and the story of
Kâma and Vâsudeva is narrated, which differs in some
material points from the Mahâbhârata and the Purânas. In the
Raghuviraṇya XV.28 it is mentioned as Madhurâ and as founded
by Śatrughna. Hieuon Thsang states that in Mathurâ
there existed in his day three stûpas built by Aśokârâja, that
there were in Mathurâ five Deva temples, 20 saṅghārāmas
(Buddhist convents) with 2000 Buddhist priests (Beal's
coins of Ancient India' 1936, p. CXVI) states that the coins of
the Hindu kings of Mathurâ cover the period from the begin-
ing of the 2nd century B.C. to the middle of the first century
B.C. For some ancient coins from Mathurâ, the Cambridge
History of India, vol. I, p. 538 and plate V (No. 5-10) may be
referred to. An interesting and informative work is 'Mathurâ'
by F.S. Growse (2nd ed. 1880). Inscriptions contribute important
evidence about the history and antiquity of Mathurâ. 1562 The
famous inscription of Khâravela (E. I. vol. XX, at p. 79)
includes among the exploits of that king of Kaliṅga the retreat
of the Yavana king Dinita to Madhurâ (i.e., Mathurâ). Several

1561. वचः वैभव जयासंघायममत्ताचा। मधुरा सामपरिपत्त्वं लक्ष्यम् हरितभविन्तु प्रसिद्धि।
सभा 14. 67; सतो हृदयपुष्काः कृष्णं दुरस्तिश्च महामलिंग। समते मन्यते प्रस्तुततन्त्रयम्
भविजय। कृता विनिशचं वचं प्रतिपद्यते च चर्चा। विनिशच मधुर्यं स्वायं स्मारत्यं:
विनिशचदर्शितं। कुलस्थानं हरिवर्धिनं निर्माणिश्चर्च। मधुरा 14. 54-56.

1562. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's learned paper on 'Mathurâ in Ancient
Inscriptions of such Kușāna rulers as Kaniska, Huviska and others relating to Mathurā have been published of which the following may be mentioned: Inscription on a Nāga image at Mathurā of ‘Mahārāja-rājatirāja Kanikkha’ in sāṃvats 8 (E. I. vol. 17, p. 10) 1563; the Mathurā pedestal Inscription of Kaniska in the 14th year (E. I. vol. 19 p. 96); inscription on the pedestal of the image of a seated Bodhisattva at Mathurā in the reign of Huviska in sāṃvats 33 (E. I. vol. 8 pp. 181–182); Inscription of a king Vāsu (rest of the name lost) of the year 74 (E. I. vol. 9 p. 241) and of the time of Śoḍāsa (E. I. vol. 9 p. 246); seven Brahmi inscriptions from Mathurā and its vicinity (E. I. vol. 24 pp. 194–210). There is further an interesting inscription recording the dedication of a stone slab in the temple of Nāgendra Dadhikarna by Nandibala and other sons of some actor (Śailāśaka) brothers of Mathurā (E. I. vol. I. at p. 390).

From the Visūpu-purāṇa VI. 8. 31 it follows that an image of Hari had been installed in Mathurā before that purāṇa was composed. The Vāyupurāṇa1564 informs us in a prophetic vein that seven Nāga kings will rule over Mathurā, Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha before the Guptas. Alberuni’s India (vol. II. p. 147) states that Mathurā (Mathura) is crowded with brāhmaṇas.

From the above brief historical sketch it would appear that Mathurā was, five or six centuries before Christ, a flourishing city where the epic Hinduism prevailed, that later on Buddhism and Jainism dominated it, that there must have been a revival of Hinduism under the Nāga and Gupta emperors, that in the 7th century A. D., when Hiouen Thsang wrote, Hinduism and Buddhism were equally prominent and that in the 11th century A. D. it was completely dominated by the Brahmanic faith.

The Agnipurāṇa furnishes the strange information that Bharata at the command of Rāma killed three crores of the sons of Śailūṣa in the city of Mathurā1565. Mathurā has been


1564. नव सांकाल्य (नामाल्य) मोहनवत दुर्गी जमापनी दुःपा: मथुर च दुर्गी दुष्यान नाम भोगवत सत वै। अहुष्को प्राणेऽ च नारकेन समपत्याः। एवं जे जमापनिः सन्तोषे हुंकवतः। वर्ष 99. 382–83, Br. III. 74. 194. Vide Jayawal, ‘History of India’ (150–350 A. D.) pp. 3–15 for the Nāga dynasty.

1565. अनुपुष्पुष्पकाः काचिनिकाः भरतोपज्जितः। कोदिन्येऽ च श्रेयस्युवाच निनिस्ते: श्रेयः। ज्ञेयं दुश्यास्ये त्रिनिनास्तिनित्रित्वात। आदि II. 8–9. भुद्वा also means an (Continued on the next page)
the centre of Kṛṣṇa worship and of Bhāgavatism for over two thousand years. The Varāha-purāṇa devotes about one thousand verses to the greatness of Mathurā and its sub-tīrthas (chap. 152–178). The Bhājan-nārādiya, chapters 79–80, Bhāgavata X and Viṣṇu-purāṇa V–VI devote much space to Kṛṣṇa, Radhā, Mathurā, Vrindāvana, Govardhana and Kṛṣṇa’s exploits there.

For want of space only a few verses about Mathurā will be set out here. The Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 29. 46–47) says ‘Yamunā gives mokṣa when united with Mathurā; Yamunā gives rise to great merit in Mathurā and when united to Mathurā it bestows devotion to Viṣṇu’. In the Varahapurāṇa (152. 8, 11) Viṣṇu says ‘There is no place either in the nether regions or on the earth or in mid air as dear to me as Mathurā. Mathurā is a famous kṣetra of mine that confers mukti; no place is to me higher than it. It is my birth-place and it is lovely, commendable and dear to me’. The Padma says ‘Mathuraka is a name extremely dear to Viṣṇu’. The Harivaniṣa contains a fine description of Mathurā, one verse from which may be quoted here ‘Mathurā is the hump (i.e. the most eminent spot) of Madhya-desa, it is simply the abode of the goddess of wealth, it is the horn (i.e. the most prominent part) of the earth, there is nothing like it and it is endowed with abundant wealth and agricultural produce’.¹⁵⁶⁶

The tract round about Mathurā is said to be 20 yojanas in extent and the city of Mathurā was in its midst.¹⁵⁶⁷ The Varahapurāṇa and the Nārādiya (uttarārdha) chapters 79–80 mention numerous tīrthas in and about Mathurā. It is not possible to enumerate them here. A few important ones will be noticed briefly. Both Varāha (chap. 153 and 161 6–10) and Nārādiya (uttarārdha 79. 10–18) mention twelve forests near Mathurā viz. Madhu, Tāla, Kumuda, Kāmya, Bahula, Bhadra, (Continued from the last page)

actor. Has this anything to do with a dispute between the followers of Bharata, the reputed author of the Nāyāśāstra, and other actors? The Nāyāśāstra chap. 17. 47 (G.O.S.) prefers the dialect of Sūrasena for dramas. Vide my ‘History of Sanskrit Poetics’ p. 40 (1951).

¹⁵⁶⁶. तत्तत्त्वावरुः काम विश्वारिकत्तब्धम्। पप. IV. 69. 12; सत्वेश्चतथ कुरु ग्राम तस्मात्स्वां कैलाम्। श्रीव हरिश्चं। स्वालथे महत्तपनानास्वाधित् हरिपरस्विन। विन्दु ५७. २–३,।

¹⁵⁶⁷. निशानिवेशनानां तु सामुरां परिष्कार्य। तस्माते महात्र नाम हृदि कविन्कृतं। यज्ञवप्रेम उत्तर ७९. ३०–३१.
Khādīra, Mahāvana, Lohajaṉga, Bilva, Bhāndīra and Vṛndāvana. There are also 24 upavanas enumerated by Growse on 'Mathurā' (p. 76) which are not mentioned by the Purānas but only by later works. Vṛndāvana was the north-west of Mathurā on the Yamuna and was five yojanas in extent (Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 6. 28–40, Nāradiya, uttarārdha 80. 6, 8 and 77). It was the scene of Kṛṣṇa's adventures and love-making. The Padma IV. 69. 9 speaks of it as a portion of Vaikuntha on the earth. The Matsya (13. 38) identifies Rādhā in Vṛndāvana as Devī Dākṣāyani. In Kalidāsa's day it had great fame. In Raghuvāṃśa VI, while describing Suśeṣa of the Nipa family, king of Śurasena, Vṛndāvana is said to be no less charming than Caitraraṇa, the park of Kubera (verse 50). Then there is the Govardhana hill, which Kṛṣṇa lifted up on his little finger to afford shelter for seven days to the cowherds and their cattle against the heavy rains sent down by Indra (Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 11. 15–25). It is stated in the Varāhapurāṇa (164. 1) that Govardhana is about two yojanas from Mathurā to its west. This appears to be tolerably correct as at present it is 18 miles from Vṛndāvana. The Kūrma (I. 14. 18) says that the very ancient king Prithu performed austerities here. The details given in the Hari-varaṇa and the Purānas are sometimes confused and misleading. For example, in the Harivāṃśa (Viṣṇuparva 13. 3) it is stated that Tālavana is to the north of Govardhana on the Yamuna, while it is south-east of Govardhana. Kalidāsa refers to the caverns of Govardhana (Raghuvāṃśa 6. 51). Gokula is the same as Vraja or Mahāvana, where

1568. The एष्ट्रि (पातल 75. 8–14) puts an esoteric interpretation on भुवन, सोपिस and कालिन्धि. The गोपस्थल्य are योगिनिः, काळिन्धिः is सुहुस्त्र, क्रस्य is सर्वथपर्क and so on.

1569. Dey (p. 42) regards the identity of the modern Vṛndāvana which is only 6 miles from Mathurā (in the opposite direction to Gokula) with the ancient Vṛndāvana described in the Purānas as extremely doubtful on several grounds, the most cogent being that ancient Vṛndāvana and Mathurā appear to have been situated on opposite sides of the Yamuna, while modern Vṛndāvana and Mathurā are on the same side of the river. But the references he gives for this last statement viz. Viṣṇupurāṇa 5. 16. 33 and Bhāgavatapurāṇa X. 39. 34 do not in my opinion bear out what he says. The Nārādiya (II. 80. 6–7) appears to say that Vṛndāvana is near Govardhana and along the Yamuna and Nandigrāma.

1570. यस्मि भुवना यस्मि भुवने सोपिसो विषे। ततस्मि भुवनासुपपपय्ययुपन्यम भुवने विषे। कलिन्धिकलितिसुतामन निवयनस्यकेचतस्याः। मात्यादि भुवनासुपपपय्ययुप्यस्व लोकेष्ववि बिषे। नारादी (उत्तर) 80. 104–105.
Krṣṇa was brought up in his early childhood by Nand-gopa who removed his habitation from Gokula to Vṛndāvana out of fear of what Kaṁsa might do. The great Vaiśṇava saint Caitanya visited Vṛndāvana (Caitanya-caritāmṛta canto 19 and 9th Act of the drama Caitayacandrodaya, both by Kavi-karnapaṭra or Pāramāṇandrāśa). In the 16th century Vṛndāvana became a centre of Caitanya’s bhakti movement owing to the strenuous efforts and learned writings of the Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana, particularly Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva. Vide Prof. S. K. De’s ‘Vaiśṇava faith and movement in Bengal’ (1942) pp. 83–122. Vallabhācārya, who was a contemporary of Caitanya founded new Gokula, one mile to the south of Mahāvana in imitation of the ancient Gokula. Caitanya and Vallabhācārya met at Vṛndāvana (vide Manilal C. Parekh’s work on Vallabhācārya p. 161). The old temples of Mathurā met the same fate at the orders of Aurangzeb as the temples of Banaras.1571

The Sabhāparva (319, 23–25) narrates that Jarāsandhī threw his mace from Girivraj (Rājgir in Bihar, the ancient capital of Magadh) and it fell in Mathurā at the distance of 99 yojanas before Krṣṇa and the place where it fell was thence called Gadāvāsāna. I have not come across this name anywhere else.

Growse describes in chap. IX pp. 222 ff. the temples of Vṛndāvana and in chap. XI Govardhana, Barsān, the birthplace of Rādhā, and Nandgaon. Vide also ‘Picturesque India’ by W. S. Caine pp. 253 ff. for Mathurā and neighbouring holy places.

PURUṢOTTAMATĪRTHA (JAGANNĀTHA)

Much has been written about Puruṣottamatirtha or Jagannātha, both in Sanskrit and in English. The following works may be consulted by those who desire to make a thorough study of the sacred place; W. W. Hunter’s ‘Orissa’

---

1571. Vide Elliott and Dowson’s ‘History of India as told by its own historians’ vol. VII p. 184, where a passage from the ‘Ma-Assir-i-‘Alamgīr’ is translated to the effect that ‘Aurangzeb commanded the destruction of the Hindu temple at Mathurā known by the name of ‘Dehra Kesu Rai’ (which according to that work had been built at a cost of 33 lakhs of rupees) and soon that stronghold of falsehood was levelled with the ground and on the same spot was laid the foundation of a vast mosque.’

There are four most important tirthas in Orissa, viz. Bhuveneśvara (or Cakratirtha), Jagannātha (or Śaṅkha-ksetra), Koṇārka (or Padma-ksetra), Yajpura or Jajpur (Gadākṣetra). The first two are still held in high esteem, while the last two are altogether neglected.

Among the Purāṇas, Puruṣottama-tīrtha is extensively dealt with in the Brahma (chap. 41–70, about 1600 verses), in the Brāhmaṇādhyāya (uttarārdha chap. 52–61, 325 verses). Among digesta, the Tīrtha-cintāmani of Vācaspati that devotes nearly one-third of the work to Puruṣottama-tīrtha (pp. 53–175) and that quotes about 800 verses from the Brahmapurāṇa on Puruṣottama, Raghunandana’s Puruṣottama-tattva (which is brief and mostly based on the Brahmapurāṇa) and the Tīrthaprayakāsa (pp. 561–594) may be mentioned. It is worthy of note that the Kalpataru (composed about 1110–1130 A. D.) does not describe Puruṣottama-tīrtha in its Tīrthakānda, though it speaks of a few little known tirthas like Lohārgala, Stutāsvāmin and Kokāmukha.

Raghunandana in his Puruṣottama-tattva quotes a verse

which as printed is corrupt) from the Rgveda that from the context appears to be addressed to some evil spirit (alakṣmi) and means ‘O evil spirit with a wicked looking chin (or that art difficult to be killed)! Have recourse to that far-off wood in the sea, that has no connection with human beings and go to distant lands with it’. Then he states that the Atharva-veda has a similar verse. Probably following Sāyana’s inter-

1572. तथा ्अर्द्धी यद्यं इत्यद्वितीय सिद्धिः पारे अर्द्द्विधाः। तद्वादनवतः दुर्योहा तेन याति परि स्वरूपम्।’ अस्त्य भवाय साक्षायानवनाभे। आदी विश्वविदेशं परिचारणं आर्द्व्यं निर्माणम्

रक्षितलोकं तद्वादनवतः दुर्योहा हेतुः। अर्द्वविद्विधम्। आदी त्रिविद्विधम् अर्द्वविद्विधम्। तद्वा

... स्वरूपम्। अर्द्वविद्विधम्। आदी त्रिविद्विधम्। आदी त्रिविद्विधम्। आदी त्रिविद्विधम्। आदी

... स्वरूपम्। आदी त्रिविद्विधम्। आदी त्रिविद्विधम्। आदी त्रिविद्विधम्। आदी त्रिविद्विधम्।

Rg. X. 155,3 अद्व्यं अर्द्वविद्विधम्। तद्वा रम्भूष्णो तेन दृढ्यं परि

स्तात्वर्गम्। सार्वज्ञान तद्वच्च सर्वात्मकभाषां मेवविद्विधम्। हृद्यं हृद्येऽ नं तेन

इन्द्रयानेति। आदी त्रिविद्विधम्। आदी त्रिविद्विधम्। आदी त्रिविद्विधम्। आदी त्रिविद्विधम्।

This interpretation of this verse viz. that it is addressed to an evil spirit (alakṣmi) and asks it to resort to a boat or a log of wood (as a scapageat) and to go to a far-off region where there are no human beings. This interpretation is natural and suits the context very well. I could not trace the verse in the Atharvaveda.
interpretation, Raghunandana connects this Rigveda verse with Purusottama, the image of which is made of wood.

It would be proper to set out as briefly as possible the story of Jagannatha contained in the Brahmapurana. In Bharatavarsha there is a country called Ondra situated on the shores of the southern ocean, which extends northwards from the sea up to Viraja-mandala \(^{1573}\) (chap. 28. 1-2). In that country there is a holy place, destroyer of sins and bestower of mukti, surrounded on all sides by sand and ten yojanas in extent (chap. 42. 13-14). There is the famous shrine of Purusottama in the country of Utkala the whole of which is very holy owing to the favour of the all-pervading Jagannatha (chap. 42. 35-37). Men who reside in Utkala are blessed like gods since Purusottama resides there. Chapters 43 and 44 narrate the story of Indradyumna who ruled at Avanti (Ujjayini) in Malava (modern Malva). He was a very pious, learned and good king who after reading all Vedas, sastras, epics, puranas and Dharmastra came to the conclusion that Vasudeva was the highest Deity, started from his capital Ujjayini with a vast army, servants, priests and artisans and came to the shores of the southern sea, saw the ksetra of Vasudeva, ten yojanas in breadth and five yojanas in length and encamped there. Formerly there was a Vata tree on the shores of the southern sea near which there was an image of Purusottama or \(^{1574}\) Jagannatha made of sapphire, which became embedded in sand and was concealed by creepers and plants. King Indradyumna performed Aśvamedha there, erected a great temple (prasadā) and was anxious to establish a suitable image of Vasudeva in the temple. In a dream the king saw Vasudeva who told him to go alone to the shore in the morning and cut the Vata tree growing just on the water line with an axe. The king did so in the morning and then two brahmaṇas (who were really Viṣṇu and Viṣvakarma) appeared. Viṣṇu told the king that his associate (Viṣvakarma) will manufacture the image. Three images of Karaṇa, Balarāma and Subhadra were made and given to the king and Viṣṇu further confirmed the boon that the pool called


\(^{1574}\) उत्तमः वृक्षः सरस्वतीमालाः पुष्पोत्सवम्। ब्रह्म. 45.52; अभिमानायसनेन पुष्पे विस्तपति पुष्पोत्सवम्। इत्यस्मात्प्रति चेत्ता मातिन सर्ववासिनिः। ब्रह्म. 45.71; इत्यथीत्तमाची विशेषत्वात्सां वाहित्तातृत॥ अन्तर्धार्मिकता तत्त्वा तस्मिन विष्णुपूर्व श्रेष्ठ॥ ब्रह्म. 58.3.
Indradyumna (where the king bathed at the end of his Aśvamedha) will be known by the king’s name, that whoever took a bath once in it would go to Indraloka, and that whoever offered pindaś on the bank of the pool would save 21 ancestors of his family. Then the king established the three images in the temple built by him.\textsuperscript{1575} The Skandapurāṇa contains a Puruṣottamamahātmya in a sub-section called Utkala-khaṇḍa in its section Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa, where the story of Indradyumna is given with some variations.

Stripping this story of the supernatural, it appears probable that the holy place Puruṣottama was called Nīlācala in very ancient times, that Kṛṣṇa worship was introduced from Northern India at that place, and that three images of wood were established in comparatively early times. It may be stated here that in the Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad\textsuperscript{1576} an Indradyumna is named among a host of cakravartins. The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 35. 27) makes a brief and colourless reference to Puruṣottama (tīrtham Nārāyaṇasyānyat-nāmā tu Puruṣottamam). Rajendralal Mitra (‘Antiquities of Orissa’) surmises that there were three periods in the history of the Puruṣottama-kṣetra, viz. early Hindu period, the Buddhist period and the Vaiṣṇava period (after the 5th century A. D. when Buddhism began to wane). He notices that from about the 7th century A. D. considerable temple records on palm leaves exist, but that the temple records for the Buddhist period are untrustworthy (p. 104) and that there are indications that Puri was probably a place of Buddhist sanctuary (p. 107). The indications of the existence

---

\textsuperscript{1575} Vide Hunter’s Orissa vol. I. pp. 89–94 for a somewhat different account based on Kapilasamhitā, the most important points of which are that Viṣṇu shows to Indradyumna as His image a log of wood thrown up by the ocean, that the images were being fashioned by the divine carpenter, that it was ordered that no one was to see them till they were ready and that in spite of this, the queen insisted on seeing them when they had been chiselled only up to the waist and when only stems stood in the place of the arms for the images of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, while the image of Subhadra had no arms at all. The present images are to this day in the same condition. The images are described by Rajendralal Mitra in ‘Antiquities of Orissa’ II. pp. 122–123. The story of Kṛṣṇa occurs in Nārāyaṇa, Upaniṣad 52. 41–93, 53–57, 58. 1–21, 60–61. Nārāyaṇa agrees very closely with the Brahmapurāṇa and seems to have borrowed its text from the latter.

\textsuperscript{1576} एवं नारायणवर्षेऽकार्यत: केवलः मुद्राखंडकेत्रोऽनुपूर्वकं कष्टपरः। नौध्य भाषणाक्षमिष्टपरिक्षिप्तवर्षेऽनुपूर्वकं कष्टपर: नौध्यास्मिव कष्टपर:। नौध्या कष्टपरः। I. 4.
of Buddhism in Orissa are the existence of Asoka's rock edicts on the Dhauli Hill (C. I. I. vol. I. pp. 84–100), the existence of many caves of the Buddhist period on the Khandagiri range about five miles to the west of Bhubanesvara, the procession of the car of Jagannatha which resembles the procession of Buddha's Tooth relic as described by Fa Hien (Hunter's Orissa, vol. I. p. 131–132) and the three crude wooden images of Krisna, Subhadra and Balarama which are hardly found anywhere else and which correspond to the three peculiarities of Buddhism viz. Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. Vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa,' vol. II, pp. 122–126 (where he gives wood-cuts showing the figures of the images and comparing them with Buddhist symbols and Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India,' pp. 510–511 (the remarks in which appear to me far-fetched). In J. R. A. S. vol. 18 at p. 402 (new series) Sewell thinks that the celebrated image of Jagannatha was originally one of the Trisulas or developed Taurus symbols.

At present the sacred enclosure of Jagannatha is a square surrounded by a massive stone wall 20 feet high, 652 feet long and 630 feet broad with 120 temples containing various forms of God, 13 being temples of Śiva, some more of Pārvati and a temple of the Sun. This clearly shows the catholicity of Jagannath. Almost every form of Hindu faith is represented here. Even the Brahmapurāṇa gives expression to this tolerant view when it says that the holy Purusottama-keśa forbids all the wranglings between Śaivas and the devotees of Viṣṇu.1576 The great Pagoda of Jagannatha has four chambers, the first being the Hall of Offerings (bhogamandira), the 2nd the pillared hall for music and dance (the naṭa mandira), the third the audience hall where pilgrims assemble (the Jaganmohana mandira) and the 4th the inner sanctuary. The great Pagoda of Jagannatha has a conical tower 192 feet high surmounted by a cakra1577 and a flag. The

1576 a. जैनभाष्यांलां द शास्त्रार्थपिलिस्कुमार. अरोग्यादिरेषरूपे निरोगी पुराणीके के निरोगी के प्रभाव पर महत्त्व। प्राचीन लिप्यभाषा ज्ञान तथा यथा देव श्रीमत श्री महाभारत ततो अरुणाचलों निर्माणमुक्तास्त्रूपे हरियंग्राम वर्व-पुनः तत्त्वज्ञानान्तः नाय्येश्वरान्तः विविधयस्मानी विभाग भिन्नः। परं वृद्धम: स स्रयं लिप्यद्विं लिप्यं: स महेश्वरं। भ्रामण 56. 64–66 and 69–70.

1577. The cakra surmounting the temple is mentioned in the Brahmapurāṇa itself 'सर्वो नाहिंतित कुण्डलम् अद्ययम् या समाजित। समाजसाधनविध्यन्तोऽद्यययमेव अत्यस्त्रुप.Is the pagoda thought to be a representation of the universe or a symbol of the five elements? The text mentions the pagoda's multiple chambers, each dedicated to different deities, indicating a rich and diverse religious symbolism. The presence of the cakra, or disc, at the top may represent the cosmic wheel of existence or a symbol of Vighna-śvara, the remover of obstacles. The pagoda's architectural style and its geographical significance highlight the cultural and religious heritage of the region.
temple is situated at the distance of about seven furlongs from the sea shore and stands on a mound about 20 feet above the level of the surrounding ground, the mound being dignified by being called Nilagiri (the blue hill). There is a large gate-way on each side of the enclosure, that on the east being the most magnificent. On each side of the entrance there is a colossal crouching lion and hence the door-way is called simha-dvāra (lion gate).

There are certain peculiar features of the great shrine of Jagannātha. In the first place, in the court of Jagannātha and outside the Lion Gate no distinction of caste is observed. Jagannātha is the god of all people. The second special feature is that the holy rice cooked as offering to Jagannātha is regarded as so sanctified that all barriers of caste are transcended, so much so that a Puri priest will receive the holy food even from a low caste Hindu. The feeling is that cooked rice when once placed before Jagannātha never ceases to be pure. Hence the Mahāprasāda is dried, is taken to all parts of India and at the periodical śrāddhas among Vaiṣṇavas a grain of this holy rice is invariably put on the cake as the most sacred article that can be offered to the Manes (vide Mitra’s ‘Antiquities of Orissa’, vol. II p. 199). The third special feature of Jagannātha is the car festival (rathayātrā) which is the most important of the 24 high festivals at Puri. The festival is described at length by Hunter in his ‘Orissa’, vol. I, pp. 131–134. The car festival starts on the 2nd day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha. The car of Jagannātha is about 45 feet in height, 35 feet square and is supported on 16 wheels of 7 feet diameter with 16 spokes and has Garuḍa as a crest; the 2nd car is that of Subhadra, which is a little smaller than Jagannātha’s car, resting on 12 wheels with 12 spokes in each and having a padma (lotus) as a crest; the 3rd car is that of Balarama resting on 14 wheels with 14 spokes in each wheel and has Hanūmān for crest. The cars are drawn by pilgrims and hired labourers from the temple to

1578. Hunter in ‘Orissa’ (vol. I, pp. 135–136) notes that only 21 classes and castes (including Christians and Mahomedans) are excluded, they being mostly flesh-eating and animal-life destroying castes. Even the washerman and the potter whom Hunter includes in the list are allowed to enter the outer court.

1578a. विद्यानिवास (in the middle of 15th century A.D. in Bengal) wrote a work called राज्यवास्तववस्तुप्रादशिक on 12 festivals in 12 months connected with अन्निकाय (vide No. 2429 in MM. Haraprasad Sastri’s Cat. of mss. vol. III.)
the country-house of Jagannatha (which is about two miles away) amidst the shouts and emotional songs of thousands of pilgrims. Owing to the references in English literature to the car of Jagannatha it is supposed by many that pilgrims used to throw themselves before the car in a religious frenzy and were killed. But there is hardly any truth in these suppositions. There might have been a few accidental deaths. Hunter in 'Orissa' (vol. I. pp. 133–34) scouts this idea of suicide under the car and Rajendralal observes (in 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II. p. 99) 'No Indian divinity has a more unenviable notoriety in English Literature than Jagannatha. It is certain, nevertheless, that human conception has never realized a more innocent and gentle divinity than Jagannatha and the tenets of his votaries are the very reverse of sanguinary or revolting. Never was opprobrium more unjustly cast on an inoffensive object than in this instance and none merited it less'. On the 10th day of the bright half begins the return of the car from the country house.

According to Rajendralal Mitra the oldest temple in Puri is that of Alabukesvara built by Lalatendu Kesari (623–677 A. D.), the builder of the tower of Bhuvanesvara; the next oldest is Markandesvara and next comes the great temple of Jagannatha (vol. II. p. 112). Mannohan Chakravarti in his paper on the 'date of Jagannatha temple in Puri' (J. A. S. B., vol. 67 for 1898, part 1 pp. 328–331) quotes two verses from the Gangavamsha copper plates of Orissa which state that Gangesvara alias Codaganga built the great temple of Purusottama 1579. As Codaganga's coronation took place in saka 999 (i. e. 1078 A. D.) according to M. M. Chakravarti, he put forward the view that the prasada of Jagannatha was built about 1085–1090 A. D. Dr. D. C. Sirkar (in 'God Purusottama at Puri' J. O. R., Madras vol. 17 pp. 209–215) points out that the celebrated Oriya Chronicle Mādala-pāñji attributes the construction of Purusottama Jagannatha not to Codaganga but to his great-grandson Anaṅga-bhima III, who also installed an image of Purusottama in a temple at Vārānasī-Kaṭaka (modern Cuttack).

---

1579. मासाय दुष्पोषलमप्र भुपति: को नाम कति वाचस्तेवास्यैवेश्वरमाय चक्षुः सत्ते: परि:। ते त्रस्तुष्ट स्वाच्छादनस्य अश्वन्नान्तिकम्। ये वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति। वर्त्तमान नस्ति।
which was desecrated by Sultan Firuz Shah (vide Elliot and Dowson’s ‘History of India’, vol. III, pp. 312–315). These Gaṅga kings built magnificent temples at Bhubanesvara (ancient Ekāmra), Konarka and Puri, which are the finest surviving specimens of North Indian Hindu Architecture. Mitra (‘Antiquities of Orissa’ vol. II, pp. 109–110) and Hunter (‘Orissa’ vol. I pp. 100–102) note that Ananga-bhima wanted to eclipse the grand tower of Bhubanesvara and renovated the temple of Jagannātha in 1119 (i.e. 1198 A.D.).

The temple of Jagannātha has an army of attendants. They are divided into 36 orders and 97 classes. At the head was the Raja of Khurdha who called himself the ‘sweeper of Jagannātha’ (vide Hunter’s ‘Orissa’, vol. I, p. 128).

As in Banaras, so here also there are five important tirthas, viz. the pool of Mārakandeyā, the Vata tree (identified with Kṛṣṇa), Balarama, the sea and Indradyumna pool. A few words may be said here about each. The story of Mārakandeyā is narrated in Brahmapurāṇa, chapters 52–56 and in Nṛsimha-purāṇa 10.21 ff (briefly). In chap. 56, 72–73 Viṣṇu asks Mārakandeyā to build a temple of Śiva to the north of Jagannātha and to construct a sacred pool which thenceforward was to become known as ‘Mārakandeyā’s pool’. The Brahmapurāṇa provides that the pilgrim should bathe in Mārakandeyā’s pool, dip his head thrice, utter a mantra (chap. 57, 3–4), then he should perform tarpana, go to the temple of Śiva (called Mārakandeyesvara) and worship him with the Mūlamantra viz. ‘Om naman Śivāya’, then with another mantra called Aghora and a Paurāṇic mantra. The pilgrim should, after a bath in Mārakandeyā’s pool and visit to the temple of Śiva, repair to the sacred Vata, circum-ambulate it.

---

1580. ‘मरकंदेया रघुराजगुप्तका’ मालाई कारणमातांकाश्रभीनेन धीमत: ॥

1581. मारकंदेयां वर्तकृष्ण रोपिणिः महाद्विमिः।
इन्द्रयुगमसर्वेऽप्राणिपरिपाचः
स्वरः। ॥ महान 60. 11.

1582. सूत्रमन्नमेऽसौमुद्ध सर्वेऽमारकंदेयाय चेत्सर्वसयं अपरिण च भो विमाः गृहसत्य प्राप्तबृहदेशः
निर्देशनः नमस्ते सर्वपल्लवः
ताहि मां लोकायत्य महाक्षेत्रम नमस्ते तयाऽ
ले ॥ महान 57. 7–8 = नारदिन (उ.) 55. 18–19. The सौ. वि. p. 88 states that the अंतोस्मत is ‘अन्यां अपरिणिः पौरिताः चौरास्यः’.
thrice, worship it with the mantra noted below. It may be
noticed that the Brahmapurāṇa 157.17 expressly states that
the Vaṭa is Viṣṇu Himself in that form (nyagrodhākritkam
Viṣṇum prānipatyaḥ). The Vaṭa is also styled Kalpavrksa
(Brahma 57. 12, 60. 18). The pilgrim should bow to Garuḍa
standing in front of Kṛṣṇa and then worship Kṛṣṇa, Saṅkarṣana
and Subhadra with mantras. The mantras for Saṅkarṣana are
verses 22-23 of Brahmapurāṇa chap. 57 and that for Subhadra
is chap. 57. 58. The mantra to be used in the worship of
Kṛṣṇa is either of 12 syllables (om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya)
or of eight syllables (om namo Nārāyaṇāya). Brahmapurāṇa
chap. 57 verses 42-51 specify the various rewards of seeing
Kṛṣṇa with devotion and wind up by promising mokṣa. A
bath in the sea at Puri is always commendable, but particularly
on the Full Moon day (Brahma 60. 10). Brahma chap. 62
deals at length with the bath in the sea (the whole of it except
one verse being quoted by Tir. C, pp. 126-128). The Indra-
dyumna pool has been mentioned above (pp. 694-95). The
pilgrim has to bathe in the Indrayumna pool, perform tarpana
for gods, sages and pitrės and offer pindaśa to his
ancestors (chap. 63, 2-5).

In the Govindapur stone Inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara
(E. I, vol. II, p. 330) of śāke 1059 i.e. (1137-38 A. D.) there is a
clear reference to Purusottama. 1586

The Brahmapurāṇa chap. 66 speaks of the Guṇḍicāyātrā
for seven days on the bank of the Indrayumna pool in a
maṇḍapa where reside (temporarily) Kṛṣṇa, Saṅkarṣana and
Subhadra. The Tir. C, which quotes the whole of that chapter
(pp. 157-59), calls it Guṇḍikā, while in the drama Caitanya-

---

1583. ॐ नमः भुज्ञमकारिणि। महाजपयाय न्यायाय जमेतु
    ते॥ अमरस्य सदा कल्य इद्धापतनम् वह। न्यायाय हर मे पाये कल्यानम् समेतते ते॥ ब्रह्म 57. 13-14 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 24-25 (with slight variations).

1584. नमसे सर्वे सुजि नमसे जुलसौरपये। चाहि मां पस्यतात्सि कार्यायाचि
    नमेतुते ते॥ ब्रह्म 57. 58 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 64.

1585. कि कार्युपरम्पराौ ज्ञानविचारकोऽः । ओ नमे नाराणायणे नमः
    सार्वयोगकोः॥ ब्रह्म 60. 24 = नारदीय (उ.) 56. 35; किं चात्म महन्नोक्तेन महात्मे
    तत्स्व भी हिसा। हृदय क्रमम् नरो भक्तया मोक्षं आभासी कुलेन्द्य।॥ ब्रह्म 57. 51 = नारदा
    (उ.) 55. 57.

1586. मला भ्रुङ्गोनोः (भम)वयो द्वयः अविनायधार्या भवत्वात्ते पयोसि तस्मातग्रन्तः
    महानेति । स्वर्णं वित्याभिप्रद्युतसेः करोदतिमेलोऽयोः: सहितस्य पञ्चे चिवोऽ
    साहाय्यस्य क्षणम्॥ verse 12 of E. I. II. at p. 334.
candrodaya the it is styled Guṇḍicā at the very beginning. It appears that Guṇḍicā is the summer house of Jagannātha about two miles from the great Temple. The word is probably derived from guṇḍi, which means a thick log of wood in Bengali and Uriya (vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II, pp. 138-139) and has reference to the legend of a log of wood that Indradyumna found floating in the sea.

It may be noted that religious suicide at Purusottama is referred to in Brahmapurāṇa: 'those who give up their body (life) in Purusottama-kṣetra after mounting up the Vata tree or do so between the Vata and the ocean reach without doubt mokṣa. A man abandoning life, either intentionally or unintentionally, either on his way to Purusottama or in the cemetery or in the country house (of Jagannātha) or in the streets (of Jagannātha) or even anywhere else there secures mokṣa. Therefore men desiring mokṣa should by all means give up life at that holy place'.

The Brahmapurāṇa winds up by saying 'it is thrice true that that kṣetra (Purusottama) is the greatest and highest

1587. सुत्वरूप। भगवत्र। अनुष्ठोलसंगम सुमिन्त्राणां यात्रण-जातिनानां। सर्वसंगम्य सर्वसनम्य सर्वसनम्य सर्वसनम्य। चैतन्यचक्रस्वरूप इ. (B. I. series). The metre requires that the first two syllables in the name of the Yātrā should be युनि and वा and वा may have been easily confused by the copyists of mss. The नादूप्रेय (उ.) chap. 61.40 ff quotes the whole of भर्तृ च, but reads सुनिच्छा. The ब्रह्मचारिणी reads 'सतान तत्सतान तत्र राज्य भविष्यति। युनिव (सुनिच्छा?) नाम पावत मे सर्वसंगम्याद्वितीय अर्द्धा मयाद्वितीय रित्यदेव मयाद्वितीय। भारतम् भारतम् संहितालोमादेवः। न नेत्रां दूरिन्दिकृती फलं ययं यत्तिरिज्ञम् 166, 8-9 and 12. Some writers such as Nīlāmbaridīsa in his 'Deul-tola' state that Guṇḍicā was the name of Indradyumna's queen (Mahtab's 'History of Orissa' p. 161). I owe this last reference to the kindness of Dr. Raghavan of Madras University.

1588. वेषें त्रस्त्वाभिरूपवत् ये पुष्यामुनि। फलद्वारं समासाय सुतास्ते नात्र संगमं। इतस्मयोंमें ये त्रस्त्वाभिरूपवत्। ते दूरिन्दिकृत तत्र दूरिन्दिकृत न संगमं। पुलि देवस्य देवस्य देवस्य देवस्य। इतस्मात्तुद्धयति तत्र वेषें संहिताय मौनांलोमादेवः। तत्स्तच्चगमनमें तत्स्तच्चगमनमें भिज्जितसायम्। वेषें च वेषें संहिताय मौनांलोमादेव:। ब्रह्म 177, 16, 17, 24, 25. The first three are quoted by श्री. चित्र. p. 175.

1589. सर्वं सर्वं पुनः सर्वं क्रेशं तत्सतां महतं। पुष्यावत्ते सहें द्वेशं समासायः। ब्रह्मचारिण्य सहें द्वेशं समासायः। यथा द्वेशं संहिताय मौनांलोमादेवः। ब्रह्म 70, 3-4 (= नारदः, उपराज्य 52, 25-26) quoted in श्री. चित्र. p. 56 which reads समासायः। सहें द्वेशं समासायः। तथा ब्रह्मचारिण्य सहें द्वेशं समासायः। ब्रह्मचारिण्य सहें द्वेशं समासायः।
tirtha. A person has not to lie again in the womb after once visiting Puruṣottama which is laved by the waters of the sea or by once attaining the knowledge of brahma.

The great Vaiṣṇava saint, Caitanya, settled permanently at Puri in 1515 A.D. at the age of thirty and spent eighteen years there till 1533 (when he died). He appears to have made a great impression on the Gajapati king Pratāparudradeva, ruler of Orissa (1497–1549 A.D.). In the drama Caitanya-candrodaya of Kavikarnapūra the king is shown to be so anxious for meeting the saint that he declares that he would die if the gracious glance of the saint did not fall on him.1590 This should be attributed to the inveterate habit of gross exaggeration rampant in most Sanskrit writers, particularly amongst devotees and followers of great saints. Caitanya came to be worshipped along with Viṣṇu as a deity in Puri and Orissa (vide Hunter’s ‘Orissa’ vol. I, p. 109). Kavikarnapūra in his drama (8th Act) makes Sarvabhauma say that there is no distinction between God Jagannātha and Caitanya, the only difference being that Jagannātha is ‘dārubrahma’ (Godhead manifested in a wooden image) and Caitanya is ‘nārabrahma’ (Godhead in human form).1591 The Caitanyacaritāmṛta (a poem) of Kavikarnapūra in cantos 14–18 deals with the devotional and ecstatic life of Caitanya at Puri and presents a vivid picture of Ratha and other festivals of Jagannātha in which Caitanya took a prominent part. I agree with Dr. S. K. De that there is no satisfactory evidence to show that Pratāparudra was actually converted into the new faith (‘Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal’ p. 67).

One regrettable feature of the great temple of Jagannātha is the existence of some obscene and lascivious sculptures that disfigure the walls of the temple and the presence of dancing girls with rolling eyes, to which pointed reference is made by all writers, particularly European ones (vide, for example, Indian Antiquary vol. I, p. 322, Hunter’s ‘Orissa’, vol. I pp. 111, 135). The presence of dancing girls is a legacy from the past. The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 65) in describing the special snāna (bath) festival of Jagannātha on the full moon day of

1590. अतःपरं जेस न पीखे मां न धारविप्ये वस्त्र आदमय च। चैतन्यचरित्रोदय 5th Act p. 187.

1591. ‘भवानू, जगम्पालर्ण भवानू कुमाचैतन्यचरित्रोदय सर्वास्तिनि क्रमचित्रित कथितेऽथ। अतो दाराः भवानू नरसह।’ सर्वास्तिनि 8th Act p. 167.
Jyeṣṭha mentions, along with the beating of drums and the music of the flute and the lute and the chanting of holy Vedic mantras, handsome veśyas as chowrie-bearers in front of the images of Balarāma and Kraṣṇa.\(^{1592}\)

**NARMADĀ**

Next to the Ganges the most sacred rivers of India are the Narmadā and the Godāvari. A few words about each of these may be said here.

An express reference to the Narmadā has not so far been traced in the Vedic Literature. The Śatapatha Br. (XII. 9. 3. 1) refers to one Revottaras who was a Paṭava Čakra and sthapati (a chief) and whom the Śrījayas expelled (SBE, vol. 44 p. 269)\(^{1593}\). Revā is another name for Narmadā\(^{1594}\) and it is possible to say that Revottaras was named after Revā. A vārtika on Pān. IV. 2. 87 derives the word Mahismat (as the name of a country) from ‘Mahiṣa’. This is generally identified with Māhiṣmati (on the Narmadā). So the name Narmadā was probably known to the author of the Vārtikas (about the middle of the 4th century B. C.). The Raghuvṛṣīka VI. 43 speaks of Māhiṣmatī as the capital of Anūpa on the bank of the Revā (i.e. Narmadā).

The Narmadā is frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas. The Matsya (chapters 186–194, 554 verses), Kūrma (Uttarārdha, chapters 40–42 verses 189), Padma Adikhaṇḍa (chap. 13–23, 739 verses, most of which are the same as in the Matsya) deal with greatness of Narmadā and the tirthas thereon.\(^{1594a}\) The Matsya (194, 45) and Padma (Adikhaṇḍa 21. 44) state that from the place where the Narmadā falls into the sea up to the Amara-kaṇṭaka mountain (where it rises) there are ten crores of sacred places, while the Agnipurāṇa (113. 2) and Kūrma II. 40. 13 raise the number to 60 crores and 60 thousand. The Nāradiya (uttarārdha chap. 77)

---

1592. सुनीतो वेदासदने मन्नवष्ट्दलतायादि: नानातोत्त्वो णुष्य: साम्राज्योपदेशिते:।

1593. संख्येच्छसदु पदयां चादेऽस्थितं रुवाः या अर्थवः। इत्यपथम: XII. 9. 3. 1.

1594. रेवत तु नरमदा गीतोत्त्वो मेकलकर्मकाः। अमरकोषा।

1594a. It may be noted that the earliest extant digest, viz. Kalpataru on tirthas (pp. 198–205) quotes verses only from the Matsayapurāṇa, chapter 186–189 (in all about 70 verses on Narmadā) and from no other source.
says (verse 1) that there are 400 principal tirthas on both banks of the Narmadā, but from Amara-kāntaka three crores and a half (verses 4 and 27–28).\footnote{1595} The Vanaparva (in chap. 188. 103 and chap. 222.24) mentions the Narmadā along with the Godāvari and other rivers of the south. In the same parva (chap. 89. 1–3) it is stated that the holy Narmadā is in the Ānarta country\footnote{1596}, that it is endowed with priyaṇa creeper and mango groves, that it has strings of Vānira fruit, that it flows to the west and that all the holy places in the three worlds come for a bath to the Narmadā. The Mātasya and Padma declare\footnote{1597} that the Ganges is holy in Kanakhala, the Sarvasvati in Kurukṣetra, but the Narmadā is holy everywhere whether in a village or in a forest and that the Narmadā purifies the sinner by its very sight while the waters of the Sarvasvati do so by three baths (on three days), of the Yamunā (by baths) in seven days and of the Ganges by a single bath. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (85,8) in enumerating a list of tirthas that are eminently fit for śrāddha includes the banks of the Narmadā throughout the whole length among them. The Narmadā is said\footnote{1598} to have started from the body of Rudra which is a poetic way of saying that it rises from Amarakāntaka that is said to be the abode of God Mahēśvara and his spouse (Mātasya 188.91). The Vāyupurāṇa declares that the holy Narmadā, the best of rivers, is the daughter of the pītṛ and the śrāddhas offered on it become inexhaustible\footnote{1599}. The Mātasya and Kūrma both say

\footnote{1595} Though रेखा and नर्मदा are generally used as synonyms it is found that the भागवतपुराण व. 19. 18 enumerates them separately (सापी रेखा तुरस्न नर्मदा) and the भागवतपुराण (13. 25 and 29–30) states that the Keva springs from विष्णु and नर्मदा from जूतपा. साधिते सिद्धिः पारात्मान भविष्यते वा. तत्त्व सुदृढत्वादिच रेखायां गानि सति च। नारायण (उ.) 77, 27-28; vide note 1268 above for similar etiology of the Ganges.

\footnote{1596} Ānarta appears to be the ancient name of Gujarāt and Kathiawār together. In the Udyogaparva Dwārakā is called Ānarta-nagari (7. 6). As Narmadā is said to flow through Ānarta it must be supposed that in the times of the Great Epic Ānarta included both southern Gujarāt and Kathiawār.

\footnote{1597} पुण्या कपालो गंगा कुरुक्षेत्र सरस्वती। अग्नि व यदि गृहये पुण्य सवेत्र नर्मदा। सरस्वती तौ महादेवान सरस्वती तु गृहुनाम्। अग्नि त गृहये पुण्य सवेत्र नर्मदा। मस्त्र. 186. 10–11 = पद्म, आदिकोष 13. 6–7 = कुम्भ II. 40. 7–8. Vide note 1271 above and compare नारायण (उपराष्ट्र 77. 30–31) for the 2nd verse.

\footnote{1598} नर्मदा सरस्वती अंडा स्वर्गदर्शिनः। तासर्पकर्णसूत्रानि स्थाराणि चराणि च। मस्त्र. 190, 17 = कुम्भ II. 40. 5 = पद्म (आदि. 17. 13).

\footnote{1599} पुण्या कपालो गंगा कुरुक्षेत्र सरस्वती। अग्नि व यदि गृहये पुण्य सवेत्र नर्मदा। सरस्वती तौ महादेवान सरस्वती तु गृहुनाम्। तत्र भाद्रानि दुष्टानि अस्वायम् भवन्तु। बाद. 77. 32.
that the river Narmadā has a course of complete 100 yojanas and its breadth is two yojanas\textsuperscript{1600}. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar seizes upon the length of 100 yojanas and says (on p. 199 note 4 of his edition of Kalpataru on Tīrtha in G. O. S.) that the Matsya is very accurate, since the length of the Narmadā is now found to be about 800 miles. But he forgets that the breadth is said to be two yojanas (i.e. 16 miles on the scale for a yojana adopted by him). It is not shown how and where (except at the mouth if at all) the Narmadā is 16 miles in breadth in its long course. Both Matsya and Kurma state that the Narmadā is (rises) from Amarakaṇṭaka which is to the western side of the country of Kalīṅga.\textsuperscript{1601}

The Viṣṇupurāṇa provides that if a man repeats day and night and whenever he has to go inside a dark place the mantra ‘Salutation to Narmadā in the morning! salutation to Narmadā at night! O Narmadā! salutation to you; save me from poisonous serpents’ \textsuperscript{1602} he has no danger from serpents.

It is stated in the Kurma and the Matsya that a man who commits suicide by entering fire or water or by fasting (on some of the tirthas on the Narmadā or on Amarakaṇṭaka) does not return (to this saṁśāra).\textsuperscript{1603}

The Narmadā is mentioned as Namados by Ptolemy (p. 102). One of the earliest inscriptive references to it occurs in the Eran stone pillar Inscription of Budhagupta in 165 of Gupta era i.e. 484–85 A. D. Vide C. I. I. vol. III. at p. 89.

Several rivers are mentioned as falling into the Narmadā such as Kapilā (on the south bank, Matsya 186. 40, Padma I. 13. 35), Viśālā (Matsya 186. 46 = Padma II. 13. 35–39), Eranḍī (Matsya 191. 42–43, Padma I. 18. 44), Ikṣu-nādi (Matsya 191. 49, Padma I. 18. 47), Kāverī (Matsya 189. 12–13,\textsuperscript{1604} Padma I. 16. 6).

\textsuperscript{1600} चौजनां चते सार्य शूपे सरित्वस्मृत्तम्। वित्तरारण तु राजेश्वर योजनाद्वय्यां यवत्। चुर्म II. 40. 12 = मत्स्य 186. 24–25. The अधि also (113, 2) gives the same measurements.

\textsuperscript{1601} काशिब्रजेश्वरवर्थवर्षे पक्षेश्वरकरकम्। शुपायम च विषु लोकोक्ति श्रमणिय यस्मात्। चुर्म II. 40. 9, मत्स्य. 186. 12.

\textsuperscript{1602} गर्भोऽयं नाम: मल्लमेधक्षे नामो निःसि। मल्लसु नामसु तुष्ये तारि मा विषयपरं। विषयपुराण IV. 3. 12–13.

\textsuperscript{1603} अमाशके तु च: कुचासचिन्तास्यं नशिक्ष्य। गर्भवासे तु राजेश्वरे न युक्तापि दुनायः। मत्स्य. 194. 29–30; परिष्क्रियकः च: मायान्त पवित्रवर्तकाः। वर्षेनविद्वात सर्वा बुद्धलोके महाद्वारे। मत्स्य. 186. 53–54.

\textsuperscript{1604} The northern branch of the Narmadā where the island Omkāra is situated is called Kāverī (Bom. G vol. 9 p. 295). Vide in the list under Omkāra.

H. D. 89
Many sub-tirthas are enumerated, out of which two or three may be mentioned here. One is Maheśvara-tirtha (i.e. Omkāra) from where Rudra is said to have burnt down with an arrow the three cities of Bānāsura (Matsya 188, 2 ff, Padma I, 15, 2 ff), Śukla-tirtha (highly praised in Matsya 192, 3 ff about which it is said that the rajaśi Čaṇakya attained perfection there), Bhrgu-tirtha (at the very sight of which a man becomes free from sin, a bath in which leads to heaven and death at which ensures non-return to saṁsāra), the Jāmadagnya-tirtha (where the Narmadā falls into the sea and where Lord Janārdana secured perfection). The mountain Amarakāntaka is a tirtha that dispels all sins including brāhmaṇa-murder and it is one yojana all round in extent (Matsya 189, 89, 98). The most important place on the Narmadā is, however, Māhismati, about the exact location of which scholars have differed. The general consensus of opinion is that Māhismati is to be identified with Omkāra Māndhata, an island in the Narmadā about 40 miles south of Indore. It has a long history. Moggaliputta Tissa is said in Buddhist works to have sent missionaries to several countries in the reign of Asoka (about 247 B.C.), one of which was sent to Mahiśamāndala. Dr. Fleet in his paper 'Mahiśa-māndala and Māhismati' (in J. R. A. S. for 1910 pp. 425-447) assigns cogent reasons for identifying Mahiśamāndala and Māhismati. Māhismati was well-known to the Mahābhāṣya, from a passage in which it follows that by a forced march a person starting from Ujjayini could reach Māhismati the next morning. Kālidāsa describes it as surrounded by Revā (Raghuvamśa VI, 43). Māhismati is mentioned as being on

1605. श्रुण्टिथै श्रवण्डम नगिराथ्यां स्वासिनंगमं । चएकोमो नाम राजयिः सिद्धं तत्र समाजः ॥ सत्त्वम् 192. 14 = प्रयोग. I, 19, 13-14 (reads चाविकयिः). श्रुण्टिथै is about 10 miles to the east of Broach. राजयिः probably means here राजः: ऋषि: and not राजा बलसौर्य.

1606. उपासते श्रुण्टिथैतु स्तों पत्र महेश्वरः। उपवसः चाविकयिः ।...तथा पापवा बस्ते...तस्मात् भविष्यते ब्रह्मवादयते। उपासते जीवं विद्वान्यं ॥ सत्त्वम् 193 49-50, 52.

1607. ततो महेश्वर राजेन्द्र नगिराधिपिः श्रवण्डमं । आज्ञातमविहितं स्वातं सिद्धं च जनामादिः ॥ सत्त्वम् 194, 34-35.

1608. विनीतकरणग्राम मथं हुहुत्तमिदं विषमादिः।...उपवसायिः परमो महाभाषाय दुर्योगं मन्त्रमायो विनीतकरणग्रामो विनीतकरणग्रामो विनीतकरणग्रामो। महाभाष्य on वारिक 10 (विनीतकरणग्रामो) on पा. III. 1. 26. विनीतकरण means when surprise or wonder is to be conveyed. It is surprising if a man were to say that starting from Ujjayini on foot he would reach Mahiśamāndala the next day at sunrise. The distance between the two would be more than 60 miles.
the Narmadā or Revā in Udyogaparva 19. 23-24, 166. 4, Anuśāsana 166. 4, Bhāgavata X. 79. 31, Padma II. 92. 32.

Another ancient city is Bharukaccha or Bhṛgukaccha (modern Broach) for which the entry in the list may be consulted.

GODĀVARI

No mention of Godāvari has so far been found in the Vedic Literature. In Buddhist works there are traditions about Bāvari, who was a purohitā of Mahākosalā and then of Pasenadi, who resided in Assaka's territory in the vicinity of Alaka on the Godāvari and who is said to have sent several disciples to Buddha at Śrāvasti (vide Suttanipāta, S. B. E. vol. X part 2 pp. 184 and 187). The Vārtika 'Sankhyāya nadi-godāvari-bhyām ca' on Pāñ. V. 4.75, expressly mentions Godāvari and has in view 'Saptagodāvara'. The two Epics and Purāṇas contain numerous references to it. The Vanaparva 1609 mentions it as a holy river in the south, abounding in gardens and full of water and resorted to by hermits performing austerities. The Aranyakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (13.13 and 21) speaks of the country well-known as 'Pañcavaṭī' frequented by herds of deer which is near the Godāvari and about two yojanas from Agastyā's hermitage. It is in the Brahmapurāṇa that the Godāvari and the subsidiary tirthas on it have been lauded at great length in chapters 70-75. The Tīrthasāra (a part of Nṛsiṁhaprāśāda) quotes about 60 verses from chapters 89, 91, 106, 107, 116-118, 121, 122, 128, 131, 144, 154, 159, 172 of the Brahmapurāṇa, which fact shows that the chapters on Gautami in the present Brahmapurāṇa were part of the Brahmapurāṇa at least some centuries before 1500 A.D. Vide my paper in J.B.B.R.A.S. for 1917 p. 27–28. The Brahmapurāṇa generally refers to the Godāvari as Gautami.1610 It is stated by the Brahmapurāṇa that the Ganges to the south of the Vindhyā mountain is called Gautami and to its north Bhāgirathī. The Godāvari is said to be 200 yojanas long and there are three crores and a half of

1609. परमावत्योऽये दुष्प्वय द्वितीय गोदावरी नदी। श्रावस्ती मधुजला तपसायाः परिविष्ट्यु। वार्त्तक 88.2: ततो द्वितीयाः तत्र मधुमुक्तफलंकः। वेदंसो मधुमुक्त: आमर्ग: पश्चात्त-भित्तिपत्त: । मीत्याय: समीपे च मैथिली तत्र लंकये ॥ शास्त्रीय III. 13. 13 and 21.

1610. विश्वस्य द्रव्ये गजुरु गौतमी सा निन्यायस्य। उसरे सापि विश्वस्य भर्गीरथु-भित्तिबस्य। मश्त: 78. 77 q. in सीर्यसार p. 45.
tirthas on it.\textsuperscript{1611} Daṇḍakāranya is said to be the seed (source or cause) of dharma and mukti and the country embraced by the Gautami is specially the holiest.\textsuperscript{1612} A verse occurring in several purānas states ‘These countries (of Madhyadeśa) are immediately next to the mountain Sahya: thereon is Godāvari and that country is the most charming in the whole world. There is Govardhana there which is (like) Mandara and Gandhamādana’.\textsuperscript{1613} Brahmapurāṇa (chapters 74–76) narrates how Gautama brought the Ganges from the matted hair of Śiva to Brahmagiri where he had his hermitage and how Gaṇeśa helped in the task by means of a ruse. The Naradapurāṇa (uttarārdhā 72) narrates that no rain fell for 12 years while Gautama practised tapas, that owing to famine all sages came to Gautama’s hermitage, that he brought Gaṅgā to his hermitage, that he sowed śāli grains in the morning and reaped the crop by midday, that this went on till there was plenty of rain and crops, that Śiva appeared to him, that Gautama prayed that Śiva should stay near his hermitage and that hence the hill on which Gautama had his hermitage came to be called Tryambaka (verse 24). Varāha (71. 37–44) also says that Gautama brought Jāhnava to Daṇḍaka and the river became Godāvari. The Kūrma (II. 20. 29–35) mentions a long list of rivers and other sacred places and winds up by saying that the Godāvari is pre-eminently a place for performing śrāddha. It is stated in the Brahmapurāṇa that for the removal of all kinds of distress two alone are declared (as the means) viz. the holy river Gautami or Śiva who is full of compassion.\textsuperscript{1614} The Brahmapurāṇa describes about a hundred tirthas on the Godāvari, such as Tryambaka (79. 6), Kusāvarta (80, 1–3), Janasthāna (88. 1), Govardhana (chap. 91), Pravarāsaṅgama.

---

\textsuperscript{1611} तिस्रः कोष्ठोपथकोडी व योजनानां जलावे। तीर्थानि स्वरूपाद्धुल सम्भविक्यति योतिस। जलम् 77. 8–9.

\textsuperscript{1612} चर्चीत्रो नृत्तिजेन भव्यकारणपुस्पत्ते। शिवाद्रिमातृसहिते वेसः पुष्प- तमोशमहन। जलम् 161.73.

\textsuperscript{1613} सप्प्रथायनन्तरे चैते तव योजनारी नही। पुष्पिकारप्रुष कुलार्यं स महेशी मनोभवः। पतं योजनार्यं नाम सबूरी गण्धांगमः। सत्यम् 114. 37–38 = जलम् 45. 112–113 (reads संहार चोर्यादेशं ह and नाम शुद्धायन निमित्तम्) = महर्षियने 54. 34–35 = जलम् II. 16. 43 (संहार चोर्यादेशं ह and तव योजनार्यं नाम दुर सम्बृहन निमित्तम्)। जलम् 27. 43–44 read संहार चोर्यादेशं ह and गोविंदरुपेऽ रस्मिः भागयत्वम भाक्षान्तम्। 1.

\textsuperscript{1614} सर्वैः सांप्योदय दुर्गमेव यक्षीतितस। गौतमी व पुर्वनन्दी सिपोरि वा तस्माः करः। जलम् 124. 93.
(106) and Nivāsapura (106, 55), Vañjarāsaṅgama (159) but they have to be passed over from considerations of space. A few words must, however, be said about Nasik, Govardhana, Pañcavaṭi and Janasthāna. Nasik must have existed at least 200 years before Christ. An Inscription on one pillar of the railing at Bharhut stūpa (about 200 B.C.) records the gift of Gorakṣitā of Nasik, the wife of Vasuka. This is the earliest certain historical reference to Nasik discovered so far. The Mahābhāṣya speaks of Nasikya as a city. The Vāyu-purāṇa (45.130) mentions Nāsikyā as a country. The Nasik Inscriptions in the Pañduleṇā caves (Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 544–639 and E. I. vol. VIII pp. 59–96 edited by Senart) establish that Nasik was a prosperous place in the centuries before and after Christ. Ptolemy (about 150 A. D.) mentions Nasik (Ptolemy p. 156). It is not possible for reasons of space to go into the detailed history of Nasik, its bathing places and pools, its temples, pilgrimages and rites of worship. For these one may consult the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 16 (for Nasik District). That volume states that there are about 60 temples in Nasik (pp. 503–512) and 16 in Pañcavaṭi and one the left bank of the Godāvari (pp. 512 ff.). But hardly any really old temple has survived. In 1680 A. D. twenty-five temples at Nasik were destroyed by the Deccan Viceroy of Aurangzeb. Almost all the large temples that adorn Nasik were built during the times of the Peshwas of Poona (1750–1818). Three temples are specially worthy of mention, viz. the Rāmji temple in Pañcavaṭi and Nāro Shankar’s temple (or Bell temple) on the left bank of the Godāvari near the first crossing and that of Sundara-nārāyaṇa in Aditwar Peth at Nasik (p. 503). The Sitā-gumphā (Sitā cave) in Pañcavaṭi close to some very old and tall Banyan trees that are believed to have sprung from the five trees that gave the name to the

1615. बिंदकर:चस्तलसरसीसवासस्वसनात:। अतो वदति सुनयो निवासस्बर-मित्यत:। पवर्या: पूरा वेषा: सुपीतलसे दरान वसु:। बत्रा: 106. 53–54. निवासस्वर is Newasa on the Pravara which falls into the Godāvari at the sacred place called Toka. The great Marathi poet and saint Jīvānśvara wrote his commentary on the Gītā at Newasa.

1616. Vide Bharhut stūpa (by Cunningham) p. 138 ‘नासिक-पोखरिकत्वणे द्राने बुद्वतं मारीणाय’ (No. 87).

1617. नासिकय नापसित्ति सद्वात्मालिपु पाल: करिपते। महाभाषय vol III. p. 42 on पा. VI. 1. 63. सहस्र occurs as one among many gaṇas in पा. IV. 2. 80. नासिकय is derived from नासिक (nose) and was probably so named because the nose of Sūrpaṇakhā was cut off by Laksmana there,
place is a much frequented place. Not far from the Sita-gumpha is the temple of Kalā Rāma, one of the finest modern temples in Western India. There are numerous bathing places and sacred pools (kuṇḍas) between Govardhana (6 miles to the west of Nasik) and Tapovana (1½ miles to south-east of Nasik). Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 522–526. The holiest spot in Nasik is the Rāmakūnda near the left bank of the Godāvari where it takes its first bend to the south. For the Kalārāma daily services and the rites pilgrims have to perform at Nasik, vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 517–518 and 529–531 respectively. Rāmanavami is one of the great religious festivals at Nasik.

Govardhana town occurs several times in the long and famous Nasik Inscription of Uśavadāta (No. 10 in Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 p. 569–70). As regards Pañcavaṭi the place still goes by the same name. It is to be noted that in the Rāmayana III, 13, 13 Pañcavaṭi is styled a desa (country). Janasthāna was in Daṇḍakāranyā according to the Sālyaparva 39.9–10, Rām. III 21, 19–20, Nāradiya-purāṇa II, 75, 30 and Agni 7.2–3. Pañcavaṭi was part of Janasthāna. Janasthāna is said to be four yojanas in extent, and it is further stated that it was so called because kings of the Janaka line secured mukti there through the favour of the Godāvari.

A bath in the Godāvari when Jupiter enters the sign of Leo has been regarded even up to the present day as very

1618. Nasik Cave Inscription No. 20 is (gift of Dhambhika village by the inhabitants of Nasik). Vide Bom. G. vol. XVI, p. 590, E. I. vol. VIII at p. 72. Inscription No 22 is sāvatvarāṇaṃ kāyavi sāvānaṃ saṅghamaṃ mahāśātanīṃ nema kālaṃ "this cave was caused to be constructed by the great minister who is (now) a rāmanā, an inhabitant of Nasik, in the reign of king Kṛṣṇa of the Sātavāhana family." Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 592. These two are the oldest inscriptions in the Pañḍulena caves dating from at least 100 B.C. Rāma: śaḥparvar śvaparvar nāhavanāh jayamāna śrīnīkaviśeṣān ushvaravatena... bhavatam em bhuḥvene gopavane ānappare āt jayaśāntapaṇamāṇi... pravatena... paariñākāvaye gopavane śravane śā differing in pārvarvarpravatena... śrāvikāvaliśāmānaḥ... sahānaven ekaśvāne viraśamadh prabsuveda jayamāna eva tavaṇe karatiṃva. Ins. No. 10 in Bom. G. vol. 16 pp. 569–70 and E. I. vol. VIII at p. 78. Suchāraṇa is at present a village near Nasik. Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 636 for a note on suchāraṇa.

1619. (Rāma) dhrn: śravaneśaḥ śravaneśaḥ kāriṣeṣaḥ; jahnāvanāḥ jahnāvanāḥ śravaneśaḥ gopavaneśaḥ. Apiḥ 7.2–3.

1620. Tathā gajanātānāḥ saṅghaṃ karatiṃeva śaktiśaṃ kāriṣeṣaḥ; evaśakta viśvakāriṣeṣaḥ; jahnāvanāḥ jahnāvanāḥ prakāriṣeṣaḥ pāntuṃ pagajanātānāḥ śravaneśaḥ; saṁghaporṣudhaḥ. Bhāṣa. 88. 22–24.
meritorious. The Brahma purana says that three crores and a half of tirthas that exist in the three worlds come for a bath in the Ganga when Jupiter is in Leo and that bathing in the Bhagirathi (every day) for sixty thousand years (is equal) to bathing only once in the Godavari when Jupiter is in the Zodical sign Leo. It is stated in the Varahapurana that when a man repairs to the sacred Godavari in simhastha year, takes a bath and offers tarpana (and sraddha) to his pitrs the latter go to heaven if they are in hell and they attain final release if they are already denizens of heaven. Jupiter is in Leo for one year once in twelve years. Crowds of pilgrims throng at Nasik in their thousands from all parts of India in the simhastha year.

KAñCĪ (modern Conjeeveram).

KAñCī is one of the seven holy cities of India (vide p. 678 n. 1535 above) and one of the most ancient towns in southern India. If we rely on the tradition recorded by Hiouen Thsang who stayed in KAñCī about 640 A. D. it would follow that Buddha frequented the region around KAñCīpura and that KAñCī had a stūpa about 100 feet high built by Aśokarāja (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II. p. 230). Hiouen Thsang informs us that KAñCī was 30 li (or about 5½ miles) in circuit, that in his day there were eighty Deva temples and that there were many heretics called Nirгранthas (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II. pp. 228–229). The next important datum is the mention of KAñCī-puraka (resident of KAñCīpura) in the Mahābhāsya on Vārtika 26 to Pāṇini IV. 2. 104 (Kielhorn, vol. II. p. 298). Several early records relating to the ancient history of the Pallavas of KAñCī (of about 250 to 350 A. D.) have been published, such as the Mayīdavolu plates of Yuvamaharāja Śiva-skandavarmān (E. I. vol. VI p. 84), the Hirahadagalli Inscription of the 8th year (E. I. vol. 1. p. 2), and the Talgunda Pillar Inscription of Kadamba Kākusthavarmān (E. I. vol. VIII p. 24). The

1621. अर्थ सिङ्गरुये थृंटे मोदामरीस्तन्त्र कर्याटे सिंहास्तन्त्र महापुरस्त्र। मोदामरीय याक्ष्यकां सिंहास्तसस्ववस्त्ववस्त्री न दू दोहीतसिंहास्त्र। यस्मिन्नुव्रुत्र p. 7.

1622. तिरस्को जोडनिकोटी व तीर्थानि घुननस्ये। तानि श्वायु सनमयानि यथृयां सिंहुषे थृङ्गे। पार्थिवंतवसालवानि भागीरथवसालवानि। सहितोय्यास्तन्त्रसिंहुके बुद्धस्तो। बुद्धव 175. 83–84; vide also बुद्धव 152. 38–39; सिङ्गरुये शूरो तत्ती यथृयां समाहिताः। श्वात्ता च विद्यानी तत्त मियूङ्यांप्रते तथाः। स्वयं सनमयानि पितारी निर्ये शक्तिः पाण्डु। स्नायुः: तिरस्करो युवागाधो न संभुः। वराह ७१. ४५–४६.
Allahabad Praśasti of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions ed. by Fleet p. 7) states that Samudragupta vanquished Viṣṇugopa, king of Kāṇcī (Kaṅceyaka), in the first half of the 4th century A. D. In the ‘Maṇimekhalai’ there is an elaborate description of the town of Kāṇcī where Maṇimekhalai ultimately attained to enlightenment (vide S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar’s ‘Maṇimekhalai in its historical setting’ p. 20). It is not necessary for the present purpose to refer to the numerous inscriptions about the Pallavas and Kāṇcī and the large number of papers contributed to learned Journals. Reference may, however, be made to the careful and scholarly work ‘History of the Pallavas of Kāṇcī’ by R. Gopalan (1928), which brings together all relevant data published up to the date of its composition.

Let us now turn to some passages from the Purāṇas about Kāṇcī. The Brahmāṇḍa asserts: 1623 ‘The two cities of Kāśi and Kāṇcī are the two eyes of Lord Śiva; Kāṇcī is a famous Vaiṣṇava kṣetra but it also brings about the presence of Śiva’. It is stated in the Bārhaspatya-sūtra (III. 124) that Kāṇcī is a Śākta-kṣetra and in the Devibhāgavata (VII. 38. 8) it is said to be a Devisthāna called Annapūrṇā. The Vāmana-purāṇa 1624 observes: the Jāti is the best among flowers, Kāṇcī the best among towns, Rambhā among women, the householder among persons of (the four) āśramas, Kuśasthali is the best among cities and Madhyadesa among all countries.

Kāṇcī is full of temples and shrines. The most famous are the Vaikuntha Perumal temple of Viṣṇu and the Śaiva temple of Kailāsanātha built by Pallava Rājasimha. This latter has a large hall supposed to contain 1000 columns. 1625 There is an old Jaina temple also.

**PANDHARPUR**

This is one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in the Bombay State. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims visit it.

1623. नेत्रभर्यं सहेष्ठयं काणी-काशीपुर्यपमृ। विभुपतिः बैलोद्भृं सिस्तानिषिद्य- कालकप्यं मयाण्य IV. 19. 15.

1624. पुरुषसु जाती नागर्षु काणी नारिषु रम्यामलिंगो युहवः। कुसाध्यो नेत्रभर्यमु पुरुषसु बैलोद्भृत सर्पवः च समयीः॥ चाम्ब । 12. 50. Vide ‘South Indian Inscriptions’ vol. I. pp. 8-24 for Inscriptions in Pallava characters of the 6th century A. D. in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāṇcī.

1625. W. S. Calne in his ‘Picturesque India’ p. 491 remarks that the pillars are only 540 when counted.
every year. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 (for Sholapur District) devotes pp. 415-482 to Pandharpur. This sacred place cannot claim very great antiquity. On the materials so far available it is difficult to decide when the shrine of Viṭṭhāḷa was established, but there is sufficient evidence to enable one to say that it was certainly in existence in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. 1626 The Padmapurāṇa (Uttara-khaṇḍa 176. 56-58) mentions the image of Viṭṭhala Viṣṇu on the bank of the Bhimarathi which has only two arms and is called Bindu-mādhava. The difficulty is about the date of this part of the Padmapurāṇa. In my opinion it is a late addition and cannot be placed earlier than about 1000 A.D. The modern town of Pandharpur lies along the right bank of the Bhima river. The chief temple in Pandharpur is that of Viṭṭhāḷa in the centre of that part of the town which is considered holy. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 describes at some length (pp. 417-424) the main temple of Viṭṭhāḷa and its adjoining parts. Behind the temple of Viṭṭhāḷa is the temple of Rākhumāi, the consort of Viṭṭhāḷa. There is a large staff of priests and attendants in the temple of Viṭṭhāḷa, the chief of whom are those called Badves (who are the most numerous body of the staff and who once claimed to be owners of the temple, but who are now held to be the trustees and guardians of the temple property and of the god’s jewels under a scheme of management framed by the High Court of Bombay). 1627 Except the Badves all

---

1626. Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar’s ‘Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism’ pp. 87-89.

1627. In Gangaram Babaji Badve v. Baji Shankar and others, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p. 182 at p. 186 the High Court declared that the Badves are not owners of the temple, idol and property and that they are the chief priests, managers, overseers and guardians of the idol, the temple and the property belonging thereto and that they are bound to keep order and to bid the Sevādihāris perform the duties which belong hereditarily to those priests. In Sakharam Bhimaji Benare and others versus Gangaram Babaji Badve and others, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1896 p. 644, the position set out above was accepted by both sides and a scheme of management was framed by the High Court (pp. 649-651) which provided for the creation of a Viṭṭhāḷa Fund, for the appointment of a committee of management consisting of five Badves to be elected every year, for the keeping of accounts by the Badves, and for the auditing of these accounts by a Devasthan committee and declared that any cash offering exceeding Rs. 500 was not to be appropriated by the Badves for their own use, but was to be expended for ornaments for the image and to be added to the Viṭṭhāḷa fund, if not so required.

M. D. 90
other attendants are called sevādhāris and they are of various grades, viz. the pujāris (who take the principal part in the worship of the God), Benaris (who repeat mantras and hymns at different services), paricārakas (who bring in a large silver dish the water with which the pujāri washes the image of the God and brings the lamp for waving it before the image at the evening and night services), haridās (who sings generally five verses in honour of the god at the morning, evening and night services), the dingres (who hold a mirror before the God at the early morning service after the god has been dressed and before the lights are waved), the divtes (the torch-bearers) who hold a lighted torch when the last night ceremonies are over and carry the slippers of the god in torch-light processions three times a year on the Full Moon days of Āṣāḍha and Kārtika and on the Dasrā night), the dange (who stands with a silver or gold-plated mace outside the ante-chamber at the morning, evening and night services). The goddess Rakhumāl has only one set of priests known as Utpāts, of whom there are over a hundred families.

The Bombay Gazetteer describes at length (pp. 427-430) the ordinary and special services in the temple of Viṭṭhobā which are passed over here. Their essence is that the god is treated as if he were some high human person requiring bath, dress, songs, sleep against fatigue and so on. One thing, however, may be noticed that no women singers or dancers are connected with this temple of Viṭṭhobā in contradistinction to many temples in the Deccan and South India.

The image of Viṭṭhal or Viṭṭhobā in the temple is about three feet and nine inches high and together with its base seems to be cut out of one block of trap. Its rough appearance is probably due to the effect of time. The image is standing with its arms akimbo and hands resting on the hips; the left hand holds a conch and the right a cakra (discus). On the image are carved but so slightly as to be hardly noticeable except on close examination a waist cloth and round the waist a waist-band the end of which hangs on the right thigh. The ornaments consist of a necklace and in the long ears are ear-rings which touch the shoulders. On the head is a long round-topped cap. Mr.

1628. In Gangaram Babaji and others v. Narayan Annaji, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p. 148 the High Court laid down with minuteness the rights, privileges and duties of the Benaris (the hymnists).
Kantak, the writer of the note on Pandharpur in the Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20, remarks (p. 424): “The dress and ornament of the image belong to a (time) little later than the Guptas, probably not later than the 5th or 6th century after Christ. As far as is known no other existing Vaiṣṇava temple in India has an image of Viṣṇu like the Pandharpur image, but there are two similar images of the third century after Christ in the Udayagiri brahmanical caves near Bhilsā ....... Like the Pandharpur image these are both standing figures with arms akāmbo and hands resting on the hips and a conch and discus in the hands”. Formerly pilgrims used to embrace the image and also touched the feet of the image. But since about 1873 the feet alone are allowed to be touched.

The Bombay Gazetteer (vol. 20 p. 431, note 2) states that the image of Viṣṇubā was removed to various places at different times to save it from sacrilege by fanatic Moslem invaders and rulers. About 500 yards east of Viṣṇubā’s temple in the bed of the Bhīma river is the temple of Pundlik, one of the most favourite places of worship in Pandharpur. This last temple is not that of a god. It only marks the spot where Pundlik, a great devotee of Viṣṭhal, spent his last days and died. Pundlik was probably a brähmana from Pandharpur, originally an undutiful son who ill-treated his parents, but who later repented on seeing the dutiful cobbler Rohidās, changed his ways and became a very dutiful son, so much so that tradition says that god Viṣṇubā came to visit him. Viṣṇubā and Pundlik have become so much coupled together that all pilgrims before beginning to dine and on other occasions shout the cry ‘Pundalika varade Hari Viṣṭhal’ 1629. The Bom. G. vol. 20 (pp. 432-434) describes the temple of Pundlik and narrates the traditional story about him.

1629. The writer in Bom. G. vol. 20 translates the words एवंजलिकर्तवे हरि विधाता as ‘O! Pundalika, grant us a boon, Hari Viṣṭhal!’ This translation does not appear to me to be correct. The cry is also in the form ‘एवंजलिक-पर्वत हरि विधाता’ (which is the correct one). In my opinion हरि विधाता is only a vocative and the correct form is एवंजलिकर्तवा (for अवर्त) and the whole cry means ‘O Hari Viṣṭhal! that didst grant a boon to Pundalika’. Mr. A. K. Priyolkar kindly pointed out to me an abhaiga from Sri Jānanevaranājanmabhāgā (ed. by Sri Vīnāyakswā Sākhare, 1927) which runs as follows ‘स्तुतिया-वेदित्व सों एवंजलिकर्तव्य तो न बारिः’ (p. 48) and another of Kānhopātra (from ‘Sri-santa-gāthā’ edited by Sri Nānāmahārājā Sākhare, śake 1831) ‘अग्नि एवंजलिकर्तवा अग्नि विषु दुं गमिषा’ (p. 142).
Pages 434–468 of Bom. G. vol. 20 describe the several temples and shrines at Pandharpur such as those of Viṣṇupada, Trimbakeshvara, Candrabhaṅga, Janabai’s cell, which are all passed over here. The river Bhūma is styled Candrabhaṅga within Pandharpur limits and its water is believed to possess sin-purifying power.

Several important and controversial questions arise in relation to Viṭṭhabā’s temple at Pandharpur; viz. the date when the image of Viṭṭhabā was installed in the temple at Pandharpur, whether the present image is an old one or a substitute, what the ancient name of Pandharpur was, the derivation of the word ‘Viṭṭhal’. As regards the first question it may be stated that there is not enough evidence to establish with certainty the time when the image was established. But some of the items of evidence may be briefly set out here. In I. A. vol. 14 pp. 68-75 Prof. K. B. Pathak published an inscription on a copperplate found at Beḍḍigere (about eleven miles south-east from Belgaum), the inscription being dated in śaṅke 1171 (1249 A.D.), in which Pandharpur is called Paṇḍarikasthaṇa on the Bhumarathi (at p. 74) and Viṭṭhabā is called Viṣṇu and which records the grant of a village in Venugrama district (Belgaum) to a number of brāhmaṇas as a minister of Yādava king Kṛṣṇa (or Kanhar in the inscription) in the presence of god Viṣṇu (p. 74) i.e. before the image of Viṣṇu or Viṭṭhalā. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in ‘Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism &c.,’ (p. 88) and in ‘History of the Deccan’ (2nd ed. p. 115–6) refers to an inscription on stone dated śaṅke 1192 (1270 A. D.) in Pandharpur itself, in which Bhānu, son of Keśava, is represented as having performed the Aptyāyama sacrifice in Paṇḍurangapura ‘on account of which crowds and Viṭṭhalā were greatly pleased’. There is another earlier inscription in the temple of Viṭṭhabā on three sides of a stone beam in a sopā beyond the maṇḍapa (porch) of 16 pillars, the script being Devanāgarī and the language being partly Sanskrit and partly Canarese. It was issued in śaṅke 1159 (1237 A. D.) by Hvoyala king Somesvara and records the grant of an agrahāra to God Viṭṭhaladeva who resides in a great village called Paṇḍarage situated on the Bhumarathi river and who

1630. Besides the Sholapur Gazetteer (Bom. G. vol. 20) the following may be consulted. I. H. Q. vol. 11 pp. 771–778 (paper by Prof. B. A. Saleore on ‘the Antiquity of Pandharpur’), Mr. G. H. Khare’s monograph in Marathi on ‘स्त्रीलिंग आति पर्याय’, and Dr. Krishna’s Archaeological Survey Reports of Mysore for 1929 pp. 197–210.
made the heart of sage (muni) Puḍḍarika expand (with devotion). Vide Bom. G. vol. 20 pp. 419-420 and pp. 4-6 of Mr. Khare’s monograph (on medieval references). The Mysore Archaeological Survey Report for 1929 (pp. 197-210) publishes a copper-plate inscription issued by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Avidheya which records a grant of Pāṇḍaraṅga-palli and four other villages situated to the east of Mahadeva hill to a brähmaṇa named Jayad-viṭṭha. This grant was confirmed about 830 A. D. by Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Śarvarasa (i. e., Amoghavarsa I). The editor Dr. Krishna is of opinion that the date of the inscription must be 516 A. D. (ibid. p. 203). Therefore the important conclusion follows that Pandharpur was known to Canarese people as Pandarage and was also called Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli. This inscription does not expressly refer to god Viṣṭhala, but the donor’s name Jayad-viṭṭha contains the part Viṣṭhala which is most probably an early form of Viṣṭhala.

In a work called ‘Viṣṭhalabhūṣaṇa’¹⁶³¹ by one Gopālācārya about eleven verses are quoted from Hemādri on Tīrtha which are quoted below¹⁶³². Briefly they state: an excellent tīrtha ex-

¹⁶³¹ This was printed in Sakal 1808 (1886-87 A. D.) at the Bombay City Press. For Puṇḍrīk’s story, vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 433.


I am highly obliged to Pandit Bālācārya Khuperkar of Kolhapur for sending to me these verses from the copy in his possession. In the T. S. p. 7 the verse Puṇḍrīkāḥ mahatārthā is quoted from the Kūrmapuraṇa; on p. 9 of T. S. verses Bṛhaṭaṇḍram...tākṣyakūṭa are quoted from the Skandapuraṇa, as also verses Aha-śāstra...śāstra are quoted from the Śāstra of the Śāstra. Such readings are very useful and valuable. In a ms. of Pāṇḍaraṅga-palli kindly lent to me by Pandit Lākṣmanāstrī of Wai, ‘Aha-śāstra (tīrtha-śāstra) and Puṇḍrīkāḥ, kṣreṣṭe are the readings. In a ms. of Pāṇḍaraṅga-palli in the possession of Pandit Khuperkar, the same verses occur with a few additions. That is

(Continued on the next page)
ists on the southern bank of the river Bhaimal and there is also a rare but fine image there; it is called Paundarika-kṣetra and the greatest of gods viz. Pāṇḍu-rāja worshipped by the whole kṣetra resides there. It is three times holier than Puṣkara, six and ten times holier than Kedāra and Vārānasī respectively. Pāṇḍarika practised severe austerities at the end of Dvārakayuga in the 28th Kaḷpa and always devotedly attended upon his parents. God Kṛṣṇa who was making a herd of cows graze on Govardhana hill became pleased with him for his devotion to his parents, Kṛṣṇa who wields a stick for driving cows, who has bracelets rendered bright by (the colour) of the umbrella (shade), who is adorned with a head-gear (mukuta) and a sikha (a loop) scintillating with the lustre of many jewels, who was very charming and had armlets studded with jewels, who does not (appear to) wear any dhoti, but has his loins covered with nickers, who is set off by a girdle of three strings tied on his waist and who stands with arms akinbo and appears possessed of three lines on his belly. Though a ms. of the Tīrtha portion of Hemādri’s work has not yet been recovered, there is no reason to doubt that the verses were taken by Gopālācārya from Hemādri’s work, particularly when almost all those verses are quoted by the T. S. (about 1500 A. D.) from the Skandapurāṇa and Kurmapurāṇa. As Hemādri composed his work about 1260 to 1270 A. D. and as the verses quoted by him are cited from the Skandapurāṇa, it follows that several centuries before 1260 A. D. Pandharpur was known as a tīrtha, that the devotee and saint Pāṇḍarika (Marāthi ‘Pundlik’) also was so known then and that the image of Vīthobā was essentially the same in appearance as it is now. That Pandharpur had risen in sanctity and importance in the 15th century follows from the fact that both the great Vaiṣṇava saints, Caitanya and Vallabha, visited it. Vide Prof. S. K. De’s ‘Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal’ p. 71 for

(Continued from the last page)
reads अन्तःगुद्वेः for यवन्द्रेण, विश्वदत्तिकाकलेंद्र: कार्यायन: शास्त: and शास्तिकालिक: नावांगायुपुर: चातुर्विनमः चिन्ते मात्रांमित:—makes no sense. It has to be noted that यवन्द्रेण or अन्तःगुद्वेः is mentioned separately from कार्यायन: and therefore यवन्द्रेण or अन्तःगुद्वेः was something different from किर्मश (waist-band). Probably the original reading was विनिगस्थानालावें स्वदेशेण यवन्द्रेण for विनिगस्थानालावें, where स्वदेश conveys very little sense.

1633. This probably is a reference to the silver shade under which the image of Vīthobā stood (Som. G. vol. 20 p. 423).
Caitanya’s visit and ‘Śri Vallabhācārya’ by Manilal C. Parekh (pp. 56–59) for Vallabhācārya’s visit.

It has been already shown from the Bombay Gazetteer that there is a tradition about the image having been removed several times and brought back. On pp. 16–25 of his work Mr. Khare cites various passages from medieval writers in Sanskrit, Marathi and Canarese and comes to the conclusion that the present image is not only not the ancient one but that it was not there in the 17th century, since the characteristics of the present image do not tally with the description contained in the poems of saint Tukārām. I do not agree with his conclusions. He has overlooked several weighty considerations. He has relied upon inferences drawn from the presence of Afzulkhan and the bigoted emperor Aurangzeb in the Deccan. I have cited above (pp. 632, 692) references to the demolition of North Indian temples and images on the orders of Aurangzeb, but Mr. Khare has been unable to show any direct reference to the demolition of the temple or the image of Viṭhōba on the orders of any Moslem king or officer.\(^{1634}\) We cannot rely on mere inferences or not properly authenticated letters or verses. Besides, the present image is so much worn that unless one very carefully

---

1634. It may, however, be stated that there is some evidence that efforts were made to demolish the temple of Viṭhōba by some Moslem king of Bidar and that the Badves (the guardians of the Pandhāri temple) fearing destruction of the image removed it and concealed it somewhere else. In a Marāṭhi work called ‘महाराष्ट्रशहीदवाच्या पूर्णकृत’ by Mr. Narayan Krishna Gadre (1903) p. 168 verses are cited from a life (completed in 1667 i.e. 1745 A.D.) of one Chāṅgā Madheśa (who died in 1627 i.e. 1503 A.D.) written by his descendant Śūmāji Gosāvī Vaiṣājkhele (who was 11th in descent from Chāṅgā Madheśa). The Marāṭhi verses are:

\[\text{१५५} \text{। सेवरीचा राजा भासकी पाताला। बाजारासी बढू उठिचे} ग्वजवररं जिन्हे लिते} \text{तिते} \text{राजिचे} ग्वजवररं जिन्हे लिते} \text{तिते} \text{राजिचे} \text{काळीम शासक महाद्वार लोकदृश। सातमास एकी कोन्हे यासीं सुंदर रिहाजावणे आधारिते।} \text{यस हो ठिची बढवणी} \text{। verses 52–55 of the 7th chapter of the life. This was written two hundred and forty years after the alleged vandalism. Besides the same work mentions in verse 94 (chap. 7) that Chāṅgadeva thought that the mosque should be demolished and a new temple (a complete replica of the old one) should be built. Similarly, in सिद्धार्थशतिवाच्यं part 1 p. 68 (published by the Bhārata-thāṇā-saṅgodyak- maṇḍala of Poona) there is a letter dated in 1581 śaka (i.e. 1659–60 A.D.) in Marāṭhi which states that Shivaji killed Afjalkhan who had removed the image of Viṭhōal at Pandharpur and that at Tuljāpur. The letter is not properly authenticated and is not a reliable piece of evidence. I am obliged to Mr. G. H. Khare of Poona for drawing my attention to these two pieces of evidence,} \]
scrutinizes, it would be difficult to pronounce what articles it holds or what dress it wears. Therefore, there is great scope for differences of opinion on the characteristic features of the present image. Conceding for argument that the tradition about the removal of the idol is true, that does not establish that the present image is different from the one that existed in the 13th century or before. The present image has an elongated head dress which some may construe as a simple mukuta (crown) with a rim: but the pujāris and common people regard it as a Śivalinga and the rim as the rope of the śikya that is carried on the back (by cowherds). The present image has ear-rings (as Mr. Khare admits) but they are so long that they rest on the shoulders. The present image has aṅgadas (armlets) on the upper arms (and that is the description in the Skanda-purāṇa quoted by Hemādri). The present image has ornaments on the wrists (which the passage from the Skandapurāṇa also mentions). There is a girdle with three strings on the waist of the present image (in Sk. also we have 'trīvyṛtenānukālena kaṭibaddhena or kaṭibandhena rājitaḥ'). The present image 1635 does not clearly show that a dhoti was worn (and therefore one reading of the Skanda says that it is 'dīgvāsāḥ') but the Skanda adds that the image has arms akimbo. In my opinion the description in the Skandapurāṇa (which must be held to be at least not later than about 1000 A.D.) tallies in essential particulars with the present image; therefore it follows that sufficient evidence has not been adduced to show that it is comparatively a new image and the proposition of Mr. Khare that it is a different one from the original should be held not proved. In the descriptions given by Tukārām and others (p. 22 of Mr. Khare's book) actual, legendary and ideal elements are mixed up. For example, Tukārām states that the god has 16000 wives (Mr. Khare's book

1635. Persons not familiar with ancient images or statues in stone might think that an image or statue is naked (dīgvāsāḥ) when as a matter of fact the sculpture itself shows that the image wears a dhoti and waistband and yet its private parts are shown as visible, probably because it was the intention of the sculptor to indicate that the garment was made of the finest texture and was transparent. For example, in 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' by Vincent Smith, there is a figure of a Bodhisattva (on p. 143 No. 94) which is clearly draped in a dhoti and waistband and the private parts of which are yet visible. The Viṣṇu image from Mathurā (Plate VI) in a paper on Gupta Art in Journal of U. P. Historical Society, vol. 18 pp. 101–134 shows similar characteristics.
p. 22 'Baila sola hajara' &c.). But Tukaram does mention the facts that the arms are akimbo, that there is no dhoti (digambara), and mentions the existence of a sikya, a stick, also a girdle and ornaments. Lastly, Mr. Khare does not attach sufficient importance to two facts, one being that about 1873 two Gosavis damaged the image which was later re-installed and pilgrims were forbidden from embracing it. It is quite possible that some of the features already indistinct were lost in these happenings (vide Bom. G, vol. 20 p. 430). Besides, for hundreds of years the image has been washed with pañcamrta (milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar) and water at least once every day and sometimes several times a day. It is not difficult to imagine that the characteristic marks became blurred by these continual baths.

Some other matters require to be dealt with. The image is variously called viz. Pānduraṅga, Paṇḍhari, Viṭṭhal, Viṭṭhalanātha and Viṭṭhabā.

Viṣṇu assumes in Prakrit the forms Viṇhu, Viṇnu, Veṇhu, Veṇa and others. In Canarese Viṣṇu becomes Bīṭṭi, Bīṭṭiga, Viṭṭa &c. The changes in names do not necessarily follow the rules laid down in Prakrit or Canarese grammars, which rules themselves are often based on meagre data and Mr. A. K. Priyolkar in his learned paper on 'Bhagat Namdeo of the Sikhs' in the Journal of the University of Bombay vol. VII part 2 (1938) points out (p. 24) that in the Ādi Granth of the Sikhs, in the hymns of Namdeo, God is addressed as 'Bithal' or 'Bithalu' (p. 24), that, in the Gujarati poems of Narsinh Mehta and Mirabai, God is addressed as Viṭṭhala (p. 35) and Viṭṭhala is employed by these saints meaning only Viṣṇu and not the deity at Pandharpur. The learned Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya, author of Viṭṭhala-ṛu-mantrasāra-bhāṣya, derives the word Viṭṭhala as (Viṭṭha+la) 1636.

As regards the name of the kṣetra it appears that originally it was called in Canarese Paṇḍarage, of which Paṇḍuraṅga is a sanskritized form. When Puṇḍlik, the devotee of Viṭṭhal, became famous the sacred place came to be called Puṇḍarikapura (as in Kūrma) and Paṇḍarikapura (as in Skanda). Vide note 1632 above.

1636. ‘विद्वे वेदर्थ ज्ञान तेन द्रूप्यं तत्र त्यति स्वीकृति।’. Vide विद्वेदर्थस्य शास्त्रार्थम्, D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70 dated 12th 1731 (1809 A. D.) quoted in H. of Dh. vol. I p. 464 n. 1161.

H. D. 91
The pilgrims to Pandharapur may be divided into two classes, regular visitors and occasional visitors. The first class comprise those called Vākaris (lit. those who keep the fixed times). The Vākaris are of two sorts viz. those who attend every month and those who attend twice a year (on the 11th of Āśāḍha-sukla and Kārtika-sukla). This cult of vākaris has been a great leveller. In theory and to a large extent in practice it ignores caste exclusiveness. A brähmana vākarī falls at the feet of a śūdra vākarī. There are certain observances binding on all vākaris (for which, vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 471). The vākarī carries a rosary of Tulasi (basil) beads, foregoes flesh-eating, observes a fast on ekādaśī, carries an ochre-coloured paṭāka (swallow-tailed banner) and is to speak the truth (and not to cheat) when engaged in his daily occupations.

Some people think that the image of Viṭḥobā is really Buddhist or Jain, There is hardly any evidence for this. When such Marāṭhi poets and saints as Ekanātha, and Tukārām speak of Viṭḥobā as Baudhāvētārā they have Viṣṇu in mind,¹⁶³⁷ whose 9th avatāra was Buddha according to the Purāṇas and medieval writers.

The question of the attitude that modern Hindus should adopt towards holy places and pilgrimages will be briefly dealt with at the end of the next chapter on the list of tīrthas.

---

¹⁶³⁷ One of एकनाथ's अभंग is 'नव्या चैते स्वरूपम। तया नाम बौद्धप्रथ' सनान तया द्वारिं। तिलकानि स्मरन्ति। पुष्पलीकासात्ति उम्म। धनन धर्म विद्वेद्योम। in एकनाथमहाराजाच्या अभंगांची गाथा (published by Rajaram Tukaram, Bombay, 1903) p. 344 No. 1048; 'बौद्धभवतार माहिमां अत्यं। शैवपुरवं निन्दा दरिशोवं।' No. 4160 of the तुकारामभावाच्या अभंगांची गाथा p. 522 (published by Bombay Govt., 1950). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 720-723 for discussion about the time when Buddha came to be looked upon as an avatāra of Viṣṇu.
CHAPTER XVI

LIST OF TIRTHAS

This is merely a list of tirthas from the point of view of Dharmaśāstra and not a treatise on the Ancient Geography of India. The result is that many countries and towns that have no importance or claims as tirthas have been altogether omitted. Baudhā and Jain works on tirthas have only rarely been referred to. Many of the Purāṇas enumerate the mountains and rivers of dvipas and uṛgas other than those of Jambudvipa and Bhāratavarsa such as Hariyavarsa, Ramyakavarsa, Krauñcadvipa, Sāmalidvipa, but they have been excluded from this list. The Brahma purāṇa (chap. 26 verses 8–33) contains a string of over 520 tirthas without hardly any certain indication of their location and the Bhīṣmaparva in chap. 9 mentions about 160 rivers with practically no indication about their location in most cases. Similarly, the Garuda (I 81, 1–31) enumerates about 200 and Padma (VI, 129) contains 108 tirtha names. In Banaras alone I have listed about 350 sub-tirthas. But there are about 1500 shrines and temples in Banaras alone. These have not been included. Each great tirtha has numerous sub-tirthas as in the Varāha-purāṇa under Mathurā, in Brahma-purāṇa under Gautami, in Vāyu-purāṇa under Gayā. Through sheer weariness or inadvertence some of these must have been left out by me and some were left out purposely on account of the absence of any importance. Besides, several tirthas that are regarded as sacred by modern people are not so treated in the Epics or purāṇas and are not even mentioned in them; many of these have been omitted in this list. Our authorities are often very vague about the location or extent of tirthas. Moreover, a number of tirthas scattered in different parts of India bear the same name (e.g. vide under Agnitirtha, Koṭītirtha, Cakratirtha, Varāhatirtha, Somatirtha). I am under great obligations to Cunningham’s ‘Ancient Geography of India’ (ed. of 1872) and to Nundo Lal Dey’s ‘The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India’ (1927). I have had occasions to differ from both, particularly from the latter. But, the space at my disposal being very limited, I could not enter into even brief discussions
in support of my views. It would look ungrateful to find fault with the work of Dey; but it must be said that he relies too much on rather old and antiquated authorities and has not cast his net over a wide area. Often times he mentions no original authorities (vide, for example, Cakrārthā on p. 43). He is very vague in his references. He hardly ever cites the number of the verse on which he relies and often omits to specify even the part or section of the work relied upon. For example, at p. 13 as regards Avanti he mentions Pāṇini IV. 176, which should be IV. 1. 176. Further, he has omitted several well-known tirthas (e.g. Daśāśvamedhi). He is sometimes wrong in what he says. On p. 54 he states that Kiskindhā-kāṇḍa 43 refers to Devadārūvana as a proper name, but there the context (‘lodhipadmaka-śandesu devadārūvanesu ca’ in verse 15) shows that what is meant is ‘forests of Deodar trees’.

On p. 73 he says Bharatavarsa was first called Haimavatavarsa, but the passage of the Liṅgapurāṇa (I. 49. 7) on which he relies (idam haimavatam varṣam Bhāratam nāma viśrutam) does not bear that out. There is no reference to a prior account here and all that is meant is that Bhāratavarsa is connected with Himavat, as a previous passage (I. 47. 23 Himādradakṣiṇam varṣam Bhāratāya nyavedayat) expressly states that Bhāratavarsa is to the south of Himālaya. In Śalya 44. 52 Sarasvati is called Haimavati, but that does not mean that Haimavati was the name of Sarasvati in far-off ages. It simply means that it ‘rises in Himavat range.’ Only a comparison of the list prepared by me with Dey’s work will show the difference in details between the two. I should not undertake that task and leave it to scholarly readers.

I have carefully read the two Epics and most of the Purāṇas. But I do not cite exhaustive references to all the texts where a particular tirtha is mentioned. I feel satisfied with mentioning two or three. Owing to the several restrictions imposed upon myself this list cannot claim to be thoroughly exhaustive. But I hope that it is comprehensive enough and far larger and more informative than any list of tirthas presented by any scholar so far. There is ample scope for industrious scholars to improve upon and to add to this list. I have included important tirthas from Kashmir and given copious references to the Nilamata-purāṇa, the Rāja-taraṅgini and the Hara-carita-cintāmaṇi. I am highly obliged to the Kashmir Report of Dr. Bühler (published as a special number for 1877
by the B B R A S, to Stein's notes in his translation of the Rāja-taraṅgini and his memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kashmir published separately (and also embodied in the 2nd volume of the translation of Kalhāna's work). All the names of tīrthas are transliterated into the English alphabet and arranged according to the English mode of spelling. For the Mahābhārata references are given to the oblong Bombay edition and by citing names of pravasas, but in the case of the Rāmāyaṇa Roman figures I to VII are employed for the Bāla, Ayodhyā, Araṇya, Kīśkindhā, Sundara, Yuddha and Uttara kāndas respectively. For the Rāmāyaṇa I have used the edition brought out by the Madras Law Journal Press in 1933. Among Purāṇas the Anandāśrama editions of the Agni, Brahma, Brahmavaiśvarta, Matsya, Vāyu and Padma have been relied upon and as to the rest of the Mahāpurāṇas the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press editions have been used (except in the case of the Nṛsīṁhapurāṇa of which the edition of Messrs. Gopal Narayan & Co. and the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, of which the Nirpayasāgara edition of the bare text have been referred to). The Skandapurāṇa has been a source of great trouble and labour. Owing to the limited time at my disposal I have not been able to digest thoroughly the ninety thousand and odd verses of that purāṇa, though I have very carefully gone into the Kāṣṭhakaṇḍa and some other khaṇḍas. Besides, there are two separate recensions of the Skanda and large portions of it appear to be apocryphal and later additions. The seven big sections of the Skanda viz. Mahēṣvarakhaṇḍa, Vaśiṇava, Brāhma, Kāśi, Āvantya, Nāgara, Prabhāsa are indicated by Roman figures from I to VII and the sub-sections by Arabic figures. Some of these sub-sections have further sub-divisions into Pūrvārdha and Uttarārdha.

I have made endeavours to locate the tīrthas as far as possible. Inscriptions have been drawn upon in several cases for locating the tīrthas and for their antiquities and history. The principal Sanskrit authorities (except Kalhāna) are often very vague as compared with even foreign writers like Hiouen Thsang, Alberuni and Abul Fazal. Where I was not myself sure I have given references to the texts alone, and in some cases to the views of Cunningham, Day, Pargiter and others. If the same name happens to be given to different tīrthas located at different places, I have indicated the several different places bearing the same name by employing the capital letters
A, B, C and so on. I may state that I have hardly ever remained content by borrowing references to Sanskrit authorities given by my predecessors, but have seen personally each reference to Sanskrit works except where I expressly state from whom I borrow a particular reference. Sorensen’s Index of the Mahābhārata and the Vedic Index of Macdonell and Keith have been used in several places. I have also derived material help from the volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer and from the several volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer. The same may be said about Wilson’s translation of Viṣṇupurāṇa (ed. by Hall, 1864–1877), Pargiter’s notes to his translation of the Markanḍeypurāṇa, Dr. B. C. Law’s paper on the ‘mountains and rivers of India’ in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 and Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri’s ‘Studies in Indian Antiquities’ (1932), and the paper on ‘Ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad’ in I.A. vol. 54. I have consulted only a few Māhātmyas of tirthas. Recently, Prof. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshit of Madras has published a useful work ‘The Purāṇa Index’ (volumes I and II covering over 1400 pages) which collects material from five Purāṇas only viz. the Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Vāyu and Viṣṇu. The two volumes reach up to the Sanskrit letter ‘ma’ only. I, for my part, do not agree with much that he says about the age of the Purāṇas in general and of the five Purāṇas (which he has digested) in particular, but this is not the place to go into that question. Besides, his work has to be used with some caution. In several places the work is misleading. To take only a few examples. On p. 547 he lists ‘Godduma’, makes the remark ‘fit for śrāddha’ and cites four references from the Viṣṇupurāṇa alone. One may prima facie think that Godhumā is here some place fit for śrāddha. As a matter of fact in all the references from the Viṣṇupurāṇa ‘Goddhumā’ means ‘wheat’ and nothing more, which no doubt is fit food for śrāddha. But other fit things such as ‘ikṣu’ (declared to be fit for śrāddha by Vāyu 78. 7–8) are not included at all. On p. 123 Ašokavana is not a proper name, but only a forest of Ašoka trees, as the preceding word ‘draksāvana’ (in Vāyu 38. 68) indicates. So also Kamala-prabhava (not ‘prabhava’ as printed on p. 316 of vol. I) is not a river (in Matsya 163. 62, Ānandāśrama ed.) but is only an adjective of the word Šopa that follows. On p. 316 of vol. II he states that the river Pārā rises from Rāyavān, but the Matsya 114. 24 on which he relies says it springs from Pāriyātra. On the same page he gives the entry ‘Pāravāratata sacred. So
List of tirthas

Mata'. This makes no sense. Pārāvārataṭa would mean 'the shore of the sea'. What is really meant is that Devī is styled or worshipped as Pārā on the bank of the Pārā river (Pārā Pārātaṭe mata). He does not compare the readings of the several printed editions of the five purāṇas. Besides, the information furnished is very meagre. If the whole had been printed in a compact form far more information could have been given in the same number of pages.

In some places I have indicated the rewards promised for bathing in the tirthas; but I have not done so in every case. The purāṇas promise one or more of the following rewards viz. the same merit as the performance of Aśvamedha or Vaijapeya or other solemn Vedic sacrifices or reaching the highest worlds such as those of Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva, the destruction of the gravest sins such as brāhmaṇa murder, the same merit as arises from gifts of a thousand cows &c.

Many of the doubts and difficulties about the identification of several tirthas can, if at all, be solved only by means of actual journeys to various places and investigations on the spot. That is a task which would require for its proper accomplishment a team of workers. A single individual can hardly attempt such a task with his own resources.

This list will, it is hoped, be of some use in elucidating several problems such as the questions about the relative antiquity of the purāṇas, the dates of several Sanskrit works which mention the tirthas and the questions about borrowing on the part of purāṇas among themselves and from the Mahābhārata.
Abbreviations employed in this list alone

AC.—Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra (ed. by Bötheingk, 1847).
Ādi—Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata
Ag.—Aguhupuṇā.
A. G.—Ancient Geography of India, by Cunningham (1871).
A. I.—Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian (Mc Crindle).
Ain. A.—Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazal, translated by Blochmann and Jarrett in three volumes (1873-1894).
Al.—Alberuni’s ‘India’ translated by Dr. E. C. Sachau, 2 volumes, 1886 (London).
Anu.—Anuśāsana-parva of the Mahābhārata.
A. S. R.—Archaeological Survey of India Reports.
B.—Brahmapuṇā.
Bār. S.—Bārhaspatya-sūtra edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas.
Bh.—Bhāgavatapurāṇa.
Bhav.—Bhaviṣyapuṇāṇa.
Bhī.—Bhāmaparva of the Mahābhārata.
Bom. G.—Bombay Gazetteer volumes.
Br.—Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.
Br. S.—Brhatsambhitā with Utpala’s com., edited by Sudhākara Dwivedi.
BV.—Brahmavaivarta-puṇāṇa.
Dey.—Nundolal Dey’s ‘Geographical Dictionary of India’ (1927).
G.—Garudapurāṇa.
Go.—Godāvari river
h.—hill
HC.—Haracaritatcintāmaṇi of Jayadratha (Kāvyamālā ed.)
I. G. I.—Imperial Gazetteer of India volumes.
K.—Kūrmapuṇā.
Kal.—Kālīkāpurāṇa.
K. R.—Bühler’s Kashmir Report (extra number of BBRAS Journal for 1877)
L.—lake
L.—Līṅgapuṇāṇa
m.—Mountain
M.—Matsyapuṇāṇa
Mb.—Mahābhārata
Mbh.—Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (ed., by Kielhorn in 3 volumes).
Mār.—Mārkaṇḍeya-puṇāṇa
N.—Āśā-nārādiya or Nārādiyapuṇāṇa.
Nr.—Niśāṅkha or Narasimha-puṇāṇa.
P.—Padmapuṇāṇa.
Pargiter.—Translation of Mārkaṇḍeya-puṇāṇa with notes.
Ptolemy.—Mc Crindle’s ‘Ancient India’ as described by Ptolemy with notes by Majumdar Sastri (Calcutta, 1927).
r.—River.
R.—Rājatarangini (edited and trans. by Dr. Stein).
Rām.—Rāmaṇya.
S.—Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata.
Sāl.—Salyaparva of the Mahābhārata.
Sān.—Sāntiparva of the Mahābhārata.
SK.—Skandapurāṇa
SM.—Stein’s Memoir on maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir.
T. K.—Kalpataru on tirthas (G. O. S.)
T. P.—Tirthapakṣa of Mitramitra, part of Vīramitrodaya
T. S.—Tirthasāra, part of Niśāṅkha-prasāda (Sarasvatibhavan series, Benares).
U.—Udyogaparva of the Mahābhārata
V.—Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata.
Va.—Vāyupurāṇa
Vām.—Vāmanapurāṇa.
Var.—Varāhapurāṇa.
VD.—Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.
V. Dh. S.—Viṣṇudharma-sūtra (ed. by Jolly).

Vi.—Viṣṇupurāṇa
Vik.—Vikramāṅka-deva-caritā of Bilhaṇa (ed. by Bühler).
V. S.—Vārānasī.
Wilson—Translation of Viṣṇupurāṇa, edited by Dr. Hall (1864–1877).
LIST OF TIRTHAS

A
Abjaka—(under Go.) B. 129. 137 (it is the heart of Godāvari)
Acalā—(r. in Kāśmīra) HC 10.256 (near Anantahradā and Kārkoṭahradā)
Acalēśvara—L. I, 92. 165
Accodā—(r. rising from Accodaka lake) M 121. 7, Vā 47. 6, Br. II. 18. 6 and III. 13. 80
Accodaka—(a l. at the foot of mount Candraprabhā) Vā 47. 5-6 and 77. 76, M 14.3 and 121. 7, Br. III. 13. 77
Acravatī—(r. falling into Sarayū) one of the ten great rivers mentioned in ‘Questions of Milinda’ (SBE vol. 35 p. 171). It is Raptī in Oudh on which Śrāvasti was situated. Var. 214. 47
Acyutasthala—Vām. 34. 47. Vide under Yugandhara.
Ādārā—held to be same as Vinaśāna by many scholars. Vide under ‘Vinaśāna’. The Kaśikā on Pān. IV. 2. 124 (Janapadatadavadhyośa) appears to hold Ādārā as a Janapada and Br. S. 14. 25 does the same.
Ādīpāla—(a h. under Gayā). Vā 108. 65 (Ganesa is there in the form of an elephant across Muqḍapṛṣṭha), 109. 15
Adititīrtha—(under Gaṅgā). N. II, 40. 90
Ādityasya ārāma—V 83. 184, P. I. 27. 70
Ādityatīrtha—A (on Sarasvati) Sal. 49. 17, Devala q. by T. K. p. 250; B (on r. Sābhramati) P. VI 167. 1 (near confluence with sea).
Ādityāyatana—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 77, K II. 41. 37-38, P. I. 18. 5 and 72.
Ādityesā—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 5
Agastyapāda—(under Gayā)—Ag. 116. 3, Vā 111. 53
Agastyasaras—V. 82. 44. It may be noted that Agastya is the reputed author of the Tamil language and the teacher of the author of the Tolkāppiyam, the oldest grammatical work extant (on Tamil). Vide JRA S. vol. 19 pp. 558-559 (New series)
Agastyāśrama—Vide Dey p. 2 for eight places so called (but he does not state authorities for all). A (on r. Durjayā) V 96. 1 (where demon Vaiśapi was killed by Agastya); B V. Dh. S 85. 29, P. I. 12. 4, V. 19. 198 (near Paśkara); C (near Prayaṭa) V 87. 20; D (near Gokarna) V 88. 18; E (near Janasthāna and Paścavaṭī about five yojanas from Sutikṣṇārāma) Rām. III. 11. 38-42, Raghu. XIII. 36. There is an ancient shrine of Agastya about one mile from Akola village in Nagar District beyond the Praravā river; F (near the sea in Pāṇḍya country) Ādi 216. 3, 88. 13, 118. 4, 130. 6—of the five Nārītirthas), Rām. IV. 41. 16 (on Malaya) and Bh. X. 79. 167.
Agastyatīrtha—(in Pāṇḍya country) V 88. 13
Agastyaśaṭa—Ādi 215.2
Agastyesvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 191.5; B (liṅga in VS) L q. by T. K. p. 116
Aghoresvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 60
Agnidhāra—(under Gayā) V 84. 146, Ag. 116. 31.
Agniṃḍa—(on Sarasvati) Vām. 51.52, Var. q. by T. K. p. 215.
Agniprabha—(under Gaṅḍakī) Var. 145. 52-55 (its water is hot in winter and cold in summer.)
Agnipura—Anu. 25. 43. Dey p. 2 says it is Māhismatī. Vide Raghuvamśa VI. 42
Agnisaras—A (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 34-36; B (under Lohāragala) Var. 151. 52
Agnisatyapada—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 7
Agniśaras—(along the Yamunā) V. 90. 5-7
Agniśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 66, 71
Agnitirtha—A (on the southern bank of Yamunā) M 108. 27, P. I. 45. 27; B (under VS) K. I. 35. 7, P. I. 37. 7; C (under Go.) B 98. 1; D (on Sarasvatī) Sal. 47. 13-14, P. I. 27. 27; E (on north bank of Sābhramati) P VI. 134. 1; F (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 63
Ahaṅ—V. 83. 100
Ahalyāśrada—(near Gautama’s āśrama) V 84. 109, P. I. 38. 26
Ahalyatirtha—A (under Godāvarī); B. 87. 1; B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 84, M. 191. 90-92, K. II. 41. 43
Ailāpatra—A dikāla-nāga (guardian of western quarter) in Kāsmīr. NM1118 (modern Ailaputur)
Airāvatī—(The Hydraotes of Arrian, A. I. p. 190, Rāvi in the Punjab?). A r. on the border of Madrādesa rising in the Himālaya. M 115. 18-19, 116 1 and 6 and Devala q. by T. K. p. 249. Dey p. 73 is wrong in taking (in M 116.1) Haimavati as a proper name, since in M 116. 6 the same river is called ‘the eminent daughter of Himavat’
Ajābala—(under m. Sripārvata). L. I. 92.153
Ajitūga—Vā 77. 48 (srāddha here is highly efficacious and here the shadow of gods is seen on parvan days)
Ajesvara—(a liṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 136
Ajiravati—a r. referred to in Pān. VI. 3. 119. Probably the same as Aciravatī above
Ākāśā—(under VS) K. I. 35. 3, P. I. 37. 3
Ākāśagāla—A (under Gayā) Vā 112. 25, Ag. 116. 5; B (on m. Sahya) Nr 66.33 (sub-tirtha of Amālaka)
Ākāśalīṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 51
Akrūra—(under Mathurā) Var. 155. 4-5 (name of a hamlet between Mathurā and Vrāndavana)
Aksavāla—(modern Achabal, a large village at west foot of a ridge which lines the Kutahar Pargana in Kāsmīra) R. I. 338, SM p. 180 (it has five springs). NM has the name Aksāpāla
Aksayyakaraṇa Vaṭa—(in Prayāga). Vide p. 614 above and AG p. 389 for Hiouen Thsang’s reference to it, V 87. 11, P. VI. 25. 7-8 (Viṣṇu is supposed to lie on its leaf at the end of the katpa).
Aksayya vaṭa—A (in Gayā, about half a mile from Viṣṇupada) V. 84. 83, 95. 14, Vā 105, 45, 109.16,111. 79-82 (Viṣṇu in the form of a child lies on its end when the whole world is one mass of water). Ag. 115. 70, P. I. 38. 2; B (under Go. to the north of Vindhyā) B. 161. 66-67; C (on Narmadā) BV. III. chap. 33, 30-32 (where Pulastya performed tapas).
Alābutirtha—(under Viraja) B. 42. 6
Alakanandā—Ādi 170. 22 (Gaṅgā is so called among gods). Acc. to Vā 41. 18, K. I. 46. 31, VI. II. 2. 36 and II. 8. 114 it is one of the four streams of the Ganges and reaches the sea with seven mouths. Ādi 170. 19 speaks of the seven mouths, N. (II. 66. 4 ff.) states that the Ganges is called Alakanandā after it reaches the earth and begins to follow Bhagiratha’s chariot. Bh. IV. 6.24 and V.17.5. The Bhagirathī is joined by Alakanandā at Devaprayāga and the combined stream is then called Gaṅgā. N. II. 67, 72-73 say that Bhagirathī and Alakanandā meet near Badarika-
śrama. According to I. G. I. vol. XV p. 60 there are five sacred confluences of the Alakananda with other rivers viz. with Bhāgirathī (Devaprayāga), Nandaprayāga, Karnaprayāga (confluence with Pindar river), Rudraprayāga (confluence with Mandākinī), Viṣṇuprayāga. Vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 pp. 2 and 140.

Aleśvara—see Brahmeśvara.

Alīrīthra—(under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 37.

Āmalaka—A (under Stutavāmin in U. P.) Var. 148. 67 ff; B (between Brahmagiri and Vedagiri peaks of the Sahya m.) TS p. 78.

Āmalakagrāma—(on m. Sahya) NR. chap. 66. 7 ff q. by T. K. p. 254. Dey p. 4 suggests that it is on the north bank of the Tāmrāparṇī.

Amarakabradra—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. P. 53.

Amarakāntaka—(m. in the Bilaspur District of Central Provinces). Vide p. 705–6 above. Vā (77. 10–11 and 15–16), V. Dhh. 85. 6 highly eulogise śrāddha on this m. M 188. 79, P. I. 15. 68–69 state that the 2nd of the three puras of Bāga burnt by Śiva fell on this m. K.II.40.36 (high merit of visiting it when there is an eclipse of the sun or moon)

Amarakeśvara—Liṅga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53

Āmardaka—Vide T. S. pp. 21–30 quoting SK. It is a Sivaksetra, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas and is so called because sīns are crushed here (āmardeyāni pāparī tasmād-āmardakam matam). On p. 22 of TS there is quotation from SK that in the four yugas it was respectively called Jyotirmaya, Mukti, Sparsa and Nāgavarā. It is said to be a liṅga on p. 22, Vide Victor Cousins’ ‘Medieval temples of the Dakhan’ pp. 77–78 for a description of the temple of Nāga-nātha and plates CXIII–CXV for the great temple and portions of the wall and pillars of the porch and of the Hall. This is probably the same as Āvāndhyā Īgānātha (Aundha in Survey of India maps) about 25 miles north-east of Parabhani in the Hyderabad State.

Āmaraśā—A (on Narmadā) M. 186. 2; B (liṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 37

Amareśvara—A (on m. Nisadhā) Vām. q. by T. K. p. 236; B (under Sriparvata) L. I. 92.151; C NM 1535, Rāj. I. 267 yātra to famous cave of Amaranātha where Śiva is worshipped in liṅga-shaped ice-block. This pilgrimage is now most popular in Kānīka. Ain. A. vol. II. p. 360 describes it and states that from New Moon the image increases in size for 15 days and decreases with waning moon

Ambījanma (to east of Saraka) V. 83. 81 (it is Nāraditīrtha)

Ambarisesvara—(under VS) L.q. by T. K. p. 118

Ambikātīrtha—L. I. 92. 166

Ambikāvana—(on r. Sarasvati). Bh. X. 34. 1–2

Amlu—(a very holy r. in Kuruksetra) Vām. 34. 7

Amoha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 103, P. I. 18. 96–99 (Tapseśvara was so called and there were boulders as big as elephants)

Āmrātakēśvara—(under VS) M. 22. 51, 181.28, Ag. 112. 3

Amśumati—(r.). Rg. VIII. 96. 13–15 (on which stayed an asura called Kṛṣṇa). According to Bṛhad-devatā (VI. 110) it was in the Kuru country; Rām. II. 55. 6 (near Yamunā).

Ānanda—Vide under Nandītāta.

Ānandapura—(under VS) K. I. 35. 15, P. I. 37. 18.

Ananta—a Vaiṣṇava-kṣetra acc. to Bārhaspatyasūtra III. 120, Br. III. 13. 58.

Anantabhave or Anantahara—HC X. 253, 256 (now called Ananta-nāga, about one krośa from Madava-
List of tirthas

vartanāgā in the middle of the 
Vitastā river in Kāśmirā.
Antatanāgā—(not far from Punyodā). 
NM 1401–2. It is called Islamabad 
now and at the foot of the western 
extremity of the Mārtanda plateau 
in Kāśmirā. SM p. 178
Antatākṣavāna—(Padmanābha in Tra-
vancore) P. VI. 110.8, VI. 280. 19
Antatārthi—(under Mathurā). Var. 
155. 1
Anarakā—A (under Kuruksetra) Vām. 
41. 22–24; B (under Narmadā) M. 
193. 1–3, K. II. 41. 91–92; C (to 
the west of Yamunā) also called Dhar-
marājatirtha—K. I. 39.5, P.I. 27.56
Anarakēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. 
K. p. 113.
Anājaka—Var. 215. 89
Anasūyā-līṅga—(north of Gopre ḱa, 
under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 42
Andhā—(a nāda). Bh. V. 19. 18, Devi 
Bhāgavata VIII. 11. 16 (andhaśonau 
maṁśadau); Dey (pp 7 and 47) 
says it is the river Chāndan or 
'Andhelā' which falls into the Gaṅgā 
in Bhagalpur
Andhakāśa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 
p. 65.
110–113
Aṅgabhūta—(a tirtha sacred to piṭṛs) 
M. 22.51
Aṅgārakunda (under VS) L q. by T. 
K. p. 56
Aṅgārāvāhika—M. 22.35
Aṅgārēśvara—A (under VS) L. q. by 
T. K. pp 55 and 98; B (under Narmadā) M 190.9, P. I. 17.6
Aṅgārakēśvara—A (under Gaṅga) Ag. 
116.29; B (under Narmadā) K. II 
41.6
Aṅgārēśa (under Narmadā) M. 191.59 
(probably the same as above)
Aṅgirasatīrtha (under Narmadā) K. 
II. 41. 31–33, P. I. 18.50
Aṅgīrāseśa (under VS) L. q. by T. K. 
p. 117
Anītābhā (r.) K. q. V. 53.9
Aṅjaliṅgārāma—Anu. 25. 52
Aṅjana (a m. near Brahmagiri, under 
Go.) B. 84. 2. Vide under Pāi-
śācatīrtha; Br. S. 14.5 says Aṅjana 
is m. in the east
Aṅjasi—(r.) Rg. I. 104. 4
Aṅkola (under Narmadā) highly praised 
in M. 191. 118–122. Probably 
modern town of Ankleśvar in Broach 
District. A. G. p. 322 identifies 
Aṅkūrēśvara with Anklesar on left 
bank of the Narmadā. Vide I A. 
54 pp. 11–12
Aṅkūrēśvara (under Narmadā) M. 194.1
Annakūṭa (under Mathurā) Var. 164. 
10 and 22–23 (Govardhana was 
called Annakūṭa)
Antakesvara (under VS) L. q. by T. 
K. p. 75
Antarvedī (holy land between Gaṅgā 
and Yamunā) SK. I. 1.17. 274–275 
(where brahmabatya due to the 
killing of Vṛtra fell)
Antasila (r. rising in Vindhya) Vā. 
45. 103
Antikēśvara (under VS) N. II. 49. 6–9
Aṅūpā (r. rising from Rūsnavat m.) Br. 
II. 16.28
Anyatār—plaksā-name of a lotus lake 
in Kurukṣetra (Śat. Br. in SBE, 
vol. 44 p. 70)
Aṅpā—one of the seven (or nine) very 
holy rivers under Kurukṣetra—V. 
83. 68, Vām. 34.7, P. I. 36.1–6 and 
Vām. 36. 1–4 (one krośa to the east 
of Mānuṣa), NM 158. Is it the same 
as Aṅpā? Vide A. G. p. 185 where 
it is identified with the Ayak Nadi, a 
small stream rising in Jammu 
hills to the north-east of Sialkot. 
Cunningham (ASR of India, vol. XIV pp. 88–89) says that Aṅpā or Ogha-
vati is a branch of the Chitang.
Aṅpām—prapatana—Anu. 25.25
Aparanandā—(near Hemakūṭa) Ṛddi. 
215.7, 110.1, Anu. 166.28. Dey (p. 9) 
says it is the same as Alakanandā.
Āpastambatīrtha (under Go.) E. 130.1


holds it identical with Bāhūdā, but the passage from Devala (on T. K. p. 249) shows that Arjunīyā and Bāhūdā are separately enumerated

Arkaṣṭa—same as Koṇāka

Arkaṣṭhala-kunḍa (under Mathurā) Var. 157.11, 160.20

Ārṣabha—see under Rṣabha

Ārṣiṣenārama—Anu. 25. 55

Arūṇā-sarasvatiśaṅgama—three miles to the north-east of Pṛthūdaka—P. I. 27. 39, Sal. 43.30–31 and 42, Vām. 40.43

Arūṇā—(m. on the other or west side of Kailāsa where Bhava dwells) Vā. 47. 17–18, Br. II. 18.18

Arūṇā—(r. between Sarasvatī and Dṛṣṭadvati near Pṛthūdaka) Sal. 43. 30–35, Sarasvatī joined itself to Arūṇā to cleanse the rākṣasas of sins and Indra of brāhmaṇa murder; B, (a branch of the Kauśikī) V. 84.156; vide Journal of A.S. of Bengal, vol. 17 pp.646–649 on the seven Kosis in Nepal of which the Arūṇā is the most important; C, (under Go.) B. 89. 1, P. VI. 176. 59. Vide. Bom. G. vol. XVI p. 463 for Arūṇā stream.

Arūṇā-varūṇā-śaṅgama—(under Gautami) B. 89.1 and P. VI. 176. 59

Arundhati-vaṭa—V. 44.31, P. I. 32. 6

Arūṇīa—(underVS) L. q. by T. K. p 60

Āravārta—The Amarakaśa speaks of it as the holy land (puṇyaḥpuṇa) between the Himavat and Vindhya mountains. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 11–16 for detailed discussion of the extent of Āravārta according to different works and at different times

Aṣāḍha—liṅga (under VS ) L. q. by T. K. p. 93

Aṣāḍhitthirtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 30

Aṣāliṅga—(under Sriparvata) L. I. 92. 148.

Asī—(r. under Banaras) also called Suṣkanadī. Vide pp. 637, 637 above.
List of tīrthas

Asiknī—(a r. now called Chenab) Rg. VIII. 20. 25, X. 73. 5. Nirukta IX. 26 observes that it was so called because its water was dark-coloured; later it was called Candrabhāgā. This was the Akines of the Greeks. Vide Bh. V. 19. 18

Asikunḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 163. 13; Var. chap. 166 deals with the efficacy of Asikunḍa

Asita—(a m. in the west) V. 89. 11–12 (on this m. Cyavana and Kakṣasena had their āśramas).

Asitā—(r. where yogācārya Asita dwelt). A place fit for śrāddha, Vā. 77. 32, Br. III. 13. 39

Asitāgiri—(where yogācārya Asita dwelt) Br. III. 13. 39

Aśmanvati—(r.). Rg. X. 53. 8. The Āśv, gr. (I. 8. 2–3) provides that the first half of the verse is to be employed as a mantra when a newly married girl boards a boat and the latter half when she crosses the river and gets down. Dey p. 13 says that it is the river Oxus. He assigns no reasons and I do not accept his view.

Aśmapṛṣṭha—(a holy stone slab in Gayā, even now called Pratāṣṭalā). Ann. 25. 42

Aśokātīrtha—(near Sūrīraka) V. 83. 13

Astamana—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 191

Aṣṭavakra—(four miles from Haridvāra) Ann. 25.41. Vide Dey p. 12

Asthipura—(under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 27.62. It is to the west of Thaneswara and south of Anjasa-ghāt. Here the bodies of the warriors slain in the Bharata war were collected and cremated. Vide A. S. R. vol. 14 pp. 86–106 and A. G. p. 336 where it is mentioned that Hiouen Thsang was shown bones of very large size.

Aṣurīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67

Aśvamedha—(under Frayāga) Ag. 111. 14

Aśvaśīras—(in the story of Nala). V. 79. 21

Aśvatīrtha—A (not far from Kānyakubja) V. 95.3. Anu. 4.17, VI. IV. 7.15 (where sage Ṛṣikī gave 1000 horses as bride-price to Gādhī for the latter’s daughter Satyavati), Kālikā 85. 51–57; B (under Narmadā) M. 194. 3, P. I. 21. 3; C (on Go.) B. 89. 43 (where the two Aśvins were born)

Aśvatthātīrtha—K. II. 35.38—where Nārāyana resides in the form of Hayaśīras (location is not clear)

Aśvinī—Anu. 25. 21 (on the Devikā river)

Aśvinos-tīrtha—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83.17, P. I. 26. 15 (same words as in V.).

Aśvīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52

Aṭvātīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 30

Aṭibala—(Mahābalesvara in Satara District) P VI. 113.29

Aṭmatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 117.1

Aṭreyatīrtha—(on north bank of Go.) B. 140.1

Aṭri’s āśrama—(after Citrahūta) Rām II. 117 5

Aṭriśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43

Aṭṭabāśa—A (m. in Himālayas) Vā. 23. 191; B (a tīrtha sacred to pītra) M. 22.68; C (a liṅga in VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 47

Andālakātīrtha—V. 84. 161

Audyānākatīrtha—P. I. 38.68

Aujasa—(under Kurukṣetra) V. Dh. S. 85. 52, Vām. 22.51 and 57.51

Aupamanyaya—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 97

Ausaja—A—V. Dh. S. 85.52 (Śrīpurāka, acc. to com. Vaijayanti). Jolly (SBE, vol. 7. p. 259 gives a different reading Aujasa, and queries whether it may not be Ausīja; B (a boundary of Samantapaścaka) Vām. 22. 51 (Rantukād Aujasam cāpi)
Aśānas—a (an eminent tīrthā on Sarasvatī) same as Kapālamocana. V. 83.135, M. 22.31, Śāl. 39.4 and 16-22, P. I. 27. 24-26, Vām. 39.1 and 14 (where Uṣanas got sidhhi and became planet Venus), 42.24
Aūrāraparvata—Vā. 77.29
Avadhūta—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 93
Avakīrṇa—(under Kurukṣetra and Sarasvatī) Vām. 39. 39-35 (story of Baka Dālbiya who begged of Dhrtraśtra and when condemned by the latter made the whole of Dhrtraśtra's country an āhuṭi in Pṛthidaka), Śāl. 41.1, P. I. 27. 41-45 (where it is Darbhin who is mentioned as bringing the four seas)
Avanti—A (country of which Ujjayinī was capital) Pān. IV. 1.176 ('stṛiyām—avanti—kunti—kurubhyas-ca'), Raghunādana VI. 32; S 31.10 (Vin- dānuvidāvavyato), Udyaoga 166.6 (same words as in S); B Avanti (river starting from m. Pāryantra) Vā. 45.98, M. 114.24, Br. II. 16.29; C (the capital of Mālava, Ujjayini) B. 43.24, Ag. 109.24 (Avanti paramam tīrtham), N. II. 78. 35-36 (several names such as Viśālā, Amarāvati, Kusāsbalī, Kanakaśāgā, Padmāvati, Kumudvāti, Ujjayini). Vide also L. I. 92.7-8 and B. 194.19 (Sāndipani, teacher of Kṛṣṇa, dwelt in Avantipura). The Meghadūta (I. 30) speaks of Ujjayini as Viśālā; Kāśikhaṇḍa 7.92 'papād—avanti sa viśvam—avantiṣī nigadyate t yuge yugeśyanāmni kalāvujjayanitī cau'.
Vide under Mahākāla
Avāṣodā—(r.) Bh. V. 19.18
Avighnāśīrṇa—(on north bank of Go.) B. 114.25
Avimukta—(same as Kāśī) V. 84. 79-80, Vi. V. 34.30 and 43. Vide pp. 618-642 above
Avimuktesvāra—(ließ in VS) L. I. 92.6 and 105, N. II. 49. 53-55 (where cocks are honoured)

Ayodhyā— (in Fyzabad District in U. P.) on the Ghāgrā. One of the seven holy cities (vide p. 678a above). It is also a place of pilgrimage for Jains, as some of their saints were born there. Aṭharavaeda X. 2. 31 and Tai, A. I. 27.2 (aśācakrā navadvarā devānāṃ pīr-Ayodhyā ī tasyāṃ hiranyayāḥ kosāh svargov loko Jyotiśāvṛṭah), V. 60. 25-25 and 70. 2 (capital of king Ruparana and of Rāma), Br. IV. 40. 91, Ag. 109. 24 (Ayodhyā pāpanāśā). According to Rāma. I. 5. 5-7 the country of Kosala had Sarayu flowing through it; Ayodhyā, 12 yojanas long and three broad, was Kosala capital founded by Manu. Kosala was one of the 16 mahājanaṇḍadas of India in ancient times (vide Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. IV. p. 252). Later on, Kosala was divided into two, viz. Uttarā Kosala and Daksīnā Kosala divided by the Sarju or Ghāgrā river. The Raghuvamśa holds Ayodhyā to be capital of Uttarākosala (VI. 71 and IX. 1). Vide also Vā. 88. 20 ff. for a long line of kings of Ayodhyā from Ikṣvaku and P. V. 208. 46-47 (for Daksīnā Kosalā and Uttarā Kosalā). Sāketā is generally identified with Ayodhyā. Vide T. P. p. 496 (gives its boundaries from SK) and under Sāketā. Dr. B. C. Law contributes a well-documented and learned paper on 'Ayodhyā' to J. of the Ganganath Jha. R. Society, vol. I. pp. 423-443
Ayogasiddhi—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 98
Ayonīṣāṅgama—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 58

B
Babhurtīrṇa—(where the Mahi river falls into the sea) SK I. 2. 13. 107
Badari—(a holy place on Gandharāmadana where there was the hermitage of Nara and Nārāyana) V. 90.25-32, 141.23, 177.8, Sānti 127.2-3, Bh. IX. 3. 36 and XI. 29. 41 (Nārāyaṇā-
**List of tīrthas**

Bhuhavana—(under Mathura) Var. 157.8

Bhunetra—(a tīrtha on the Narmadā to be visited on trayodāsi) M 191.14

Bābyā—(r. rising from Sahya) Br. II, 16, 35.

Bakulāsaṁgama—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 133. 27.

Bakulavana (or Bahulao)—(5th vana out of 12 under Mathurā) Var. 153. 36. Vide p. 690 above

Balabhadrālīga—(under VS.) L. q. by T. K. p. 46.

Balākā—Anu. 25. 19 (kanyākūpa upasprayā Balākāyām krododakah)

Balakēśvara—(under VS.) L. q. by T. K. p. 43.

Balakēśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191.19

Bālapa or Bālapendra—(on bank of Sābhramati) P. VI. 145.1, 24 and 37 (a Rāvikṣetra)

Balesvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 148

Balkunḍa—(under VS.) L. q. by T. K. p. 76

Bāṇagāgā—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 144.63 (Rāvanā exposed it by shooting an arrow to the south of Someśvara)

Bāṇatīrtha—A (under Go.) B.123. 214;
B (under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 9-10

Bāṇesvara-līlā (under VS) SK, Kāśi-khaṇḍa 33. 139, L. q. by T. K. p. 48

Bānjulā—(probably same as Vānjulā, which see) Br. II. 16. 31 (Baṅjuḷa from Rākṣa), Br. II. 16. 34 (B. from Sahya), Br. II. 16. 37 (B. from Mahendrā)

Bārhaspatya-tīrtha—(under Go.) B. 122. 101

Bhadra—A (one of the four branches of the heavenly Ganges) Vi. II. 2. 34, Bh. V. 17. 5, Vām. 51.52; B (the river on which Harihara is situated) Nr. 65. 18

Bhadradho—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52

Bhadarīkā—A. Vām. 2. 42-43; B. (near Mahendrā m.), P.I. 39. 13, V. 83. 13; C. (somewhere in southern Gujarāt).

Vide E. I. vol. 25 Ellora plates of Dantidurga (pp. 25, 29)

Bhadarikāśrama—A. (Badrināth in Garhwāl, U. P.) Var. 141 (7 verses from it are quoted in T. K. pp. 215-216); Parāśarasmyti I. 5 states that Parāśara, father of Vyāsa, resided in this āśrama; M. 201. 24 says Mitrā and Varuṇa practised tapas here; Vi. V. 37. 34 (this āśrama was on Gandhamadana and was the abode of Nara-Nārāyaṇa), Br. III. 25. 67 (same as in Vi); N. II. 67 (describes it at length and specifies the sub-tīrthas); N. II. 67. 26 (says it is on Viśāla river); Bh. VII. 11. 6; B (at a short distance from Madhuvana on Yamuna) P VI. 212. 1 and 43.

Badarīvāna—P. I. 27. 66

Badarīpācana-tīrtha—V. 83. 179, Sal. 47. 33 and 48. 1 and 51 (Vasiṣṭha had his āśrama here).

Bagalā—(a Deviśṭhāna). Vide under Vaidyanaṭhā.

Bāhūdā—(a river near Sarasvatī). Anu. 165, 27, P. I. 32.31, N. II. 60.30, B. 27. 26, M. 114.22 and Vā. 45.95 (say it rises in Himavat). V. 84. 67 and 87, 27, Vide Dey. p. 16 for differing views on identification. and Fargiter (pp. 291-292 note); Vā. 88. 66 states that Yuvanāśva cursed his wife Gaurī who became Bāhūdā. Amaraṅkāsā gives Saitavāhini as a synonym of Bāhūdā and Kāraśvāmin comments that it was brought down by Kārtavīrya (who was called Bāhuda, one who donated much).
Bhadrakālaśāvara—(ṣāddha here leads to highest goal) M. 22. 74
Bhadraśālī—Acc. to Bār. S. III. 128 she dwells on Vindhyā
Bhadракālihādra—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87
Bhadrakāraṇāhāra—Ag. 109. 17
Bhadraśaivā—(a fit place for ṣāddha) V. 84. 39, K. II. 20. 35, SK VII. 1. Arbuda-khaṇḍa—chap. 8, 1–2 (līṅga on a pool of that name on Arbuda m.)
Bhadraśīrthora—A (under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 54; B (under Go.) B. 165.1, M 22. 50
Bhadratūṅga—V. 82. 80
Bhadraśāvā—(6th out of 12 vanas of Mathurā) Var. 153. 37, 161. 7
Bhadrāvāta—V. 82. 50, P. I. 12. 10, Var. 51.2 (on the north side of the Himālaya) and 98. 6
Bhadrāvati—(one of the four original streams of the Ganges, the other three being Sītā, Alakanandā and Sucaksūḥ) Br. III. 56. 52
Bhadreśa—A (on north bank of Narmadā) M 22. 25, K. II. 41. 4; B (under VS) L. I. 92. 136, L. q. by T. K. pp. 52, 68
Bhagavat-adī—The Ganges. Bh. V. 17.1–9
Bhāgirathī—M 121. 41 (which is one of the seven streams that started from Bindusaras and which following Bhagirathā's chariot reached the sea)
Bhairava—(a tirtha) M. 22. 31
Bhairaveśvara—(under VS) L. I. 92. 137
Bhāṇḍahrada (under Mathurā)—Var. 157. 10
Bhāṇḍāra—(under Mathurā) Var. 153. 43 (the 11th out of 12 vanas), 156. 3; vide p. 691 above
Bhāṇḍiraka Vata—(near Vrindāvana) Bh. X. 18.22, X. 19.13
Bhāṇḍaśirthora—(under Narmadā) M. 191.52
Bhāṇḍārtha—(under Go.) B. 138. 1, 168.1
Bhārabhuṭeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 93
Bhārabhūti—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 18, K. II. 42. 25, P. I. 21.18
Bharadāvājāśrama-Rām. II. 54. 9–10, VI. 127. 1 and 17, V 102. 5–6. Vide Citrakūṭagiri. For a discussion of the real site of this āśrama, vide Journal, Ganganath Jha R. Institute, vol. III pp. 189–204 and 433–474 (Shri R. M. Shastri)
Bharadāvājāśirthora—(see Agastyāśirthora) Ādi 216.4
Bharatasya-āśrama—A (under Gayā) Br. III. 13.105, M. 13.46 (Devi is here called Lakṣmī-Āṅganā), Vā 77. 98, 108. 35, and 112.24; B (under Kauśikī) K. II. 37.38, P. I. 38.48
Bharateśa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66
Bhārgaveśa—(under Narmadā) M. 192.1, P. I. 19.1
Bhartṛṣṭhāna—V 85. 60, P. I. 39.56 (where god Mahāsena is 'nityasannihita'). Same words in both V and P
Bhūrṇāravana—(in the country of Matsya) Rām. II. 71.5
Bharukaccha—(modern Broach) S. 51.10 (the inhabitants of Bharukaccha brought as presents to the Pāṇḍavas horses from Gāndhāra i.e. the country about Peshawar), Ptolemy and the Periplus call it Barygaza. It was called Bhṛgupura and Bhṛgu-kaccha also (the latter in SK, Kāśikāhāna 6.25). A Valabhi copperplate of Dharasena IV in Valabhi samvat 330 (648–9 A. D.) was issued from a camp at Bharukaccha. There is a Supparaka Jātaka, No 463 where Bharukacca is mentioned as a seaport (ed. by Cowell)
Bhāsmāgātraka—L. I. 92.137
Bhasmakūṭādri—(under Gayā) Vā. 109. 15
Bhāskarakṣetra—(Konārka) Mit. on Yaj. III. 17 quotes a verse ‘Gāhāgāyām Bhāskarakṣetre &c.’ (q. on p. 574 above); T. C. p. 16 and Pṛayaścittattva (p. 493) say that Prayaṅga is Bhāskarakṣetra, while T.S. p. 20 says it is Konāditya or Konārka. This is the correct view, M. 111. 13 and K. I. 36. 20 say ‘Prayaṅga is Pṛajāpatikṣetra.’ Vide p. 574 above, Dey p. 32 simply follows Pṛayaścittattvav Bhāvatīrtha—(under Go.), B. 153.1
Bheḍādevī—(near Gaṅgodbheda) the modern Budarābor, west of Śrīnagarā, in Kāsmīra; NM 1522
Bhedagiri—(sanctified by the Gaṅgodbheda spring) R. I. 35, SM. pp. 186–187
Bhillatīrtha—(on south bank of Go.) B. 169.1
Bhīmā—(r.) same as Bhīmarathī, rising from Sabhya m. and tributary of Kṛṣṇā). Devala q. by T. K. p. 250. Its source is adorned by the temple of Bhīmāśankara, one of the twelve Jyotir-līṅgas and it falls into the Kṛṣṇā river 16 miles north of Raichur
Bhīmādevī—(modern village Brāṇ in Phāk Pargana on east shore of Dal lake in Kāsmīra) R. II. 135, HC. 4. 47
Bhimavāmin—Rock in Kāsmīra worshipped as embodiment of Gaṇeśa, SM. p. 148
Bhimātīrtha—Ag. 109.12
Bhīmāyāḥ sthānam—V. 82. 84, Dey p. 33 identifies it with Takta-l-Bahai, 28 miles to the north-east of Peshawar
Bhīmeśvara—(tīrtha sacred to Pitṛs under Narmadā) M. 22. 46 and 75, 191. 5, K. II. 41. 20 and II. 44. 15, P. I. 18. 5
Bhīmācāṇḍika—(under VS) M 183. 62
Bhīmeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66
Bhogaṭā or Vāsukītīrtha—A (under Prayaṅga). It is called the altar of Pṛajāpati; V. 85. 77 (tīrtham Bhogaṭā caiva vedir-ṛṣā Pṛajāpatheḥ), M. 106. 46 and 110. 8, Ag. 111. 5, N. II. 63. 95; B capital of Kakustha of the Ikṣvāku race; Kal. 50.4
Bhrgu—āśrama (on the north bank of Narmādā) SK I. 2. 3, 2–6
Bhrgukaccha—(on the north bank of Narmādā), vide under Bhurukaccha; Here Bali performed Asvamedha; Bh. VIII. 18.2
Bhrgukūṇḍa—(under Stutavāmin) Var. 148. 48
Bhrgutīrtha—(under Narmādā) M 193. 23–60, K. II. 42. 1–6, P. I. 20. 23–57. Dey p. 34 says it is Bheraghat containing temple of 64 Yoginis, 12 miles to the west of Jabalpur; V. 99. 34–35 (at this place Paraśūrāma regained his energy taken away by Rāma)
Bhrgtuṅga—(an āśrama on a mountain where Bhrgu practised penance). A—Vā. 23. 148 and 77. 82, V. 84. 50, 90. 23, 130. 191; B V.Dh.S. 85. 16, K. II. 20. 33, M. 22. 31 (a place very fit for śrāddha), which is near Amarakaṭaka acc. to Nanda Paṇḍita and acc. to others in the Himālaya; C (on the eastern bank of the Gaṇḍak) Var. 146 45–46; D (in Gurjaradeśa) SK, Kāśikhaṇḍa 6. 25; E (near Vistāra and Himāvat) Vā. 81. 33
Bḥraspatikūṇḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 55
Bṛṛgūsvara-līṅga—(under VS) SK, Kāśikhaṇḍa 33. 129 and L. q. by T, K. p. 84
Bṛṛmicaṇḍēsva—(under VS) Ag. 112.4
Bṛṛmitīrtha—Ag. 109. 12
Bhūtalayātīrtha—(under Sābramati) P VI. 158. 1 (where r. Candana becomes prācī). Vām. 34. 47 mentions it, but its location is uncertain

Bhūtesvara—A (in Kashmir, now called Buthiser) NM 1309, 1324, 1327, R. I. 107. II. 148. HC 4. 85. This is included in Nandiksetra. Bhūtesa Siva’s residence is on a mountain spur which stretches south-east from Haramukha peaks. Ain. A. vol. II. p.364 refers to it; B (under VS) K.I. 35.10, P. I. 37.13; C (under Mathurā) Var. 169.19

Bhuvanesvarā—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56

Bilapatha—(from where the Vitastā or Zelhum starts) HC 12. 15–17. Vide under Nilakunda

Bilvācala—A Vaśgava-kṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 120

Bilvaka—(a very fit place for śrāddha) V. Dh. S. 85.52, M. 22. 70, K. II. 20.33, Anu. 25. 13, N. II. 40.79

Bilvapatraka—P. VI. 129.11 (one of the 12 tīrthas of Siva)

Bilvavana—(10th out of the 12 vanas of Mathurā) Var. 153.42

Binduka—V. Db. S. 83. 12 (some editions read Bilvaka)

Bindumādhava—(in VS) M. 185. 68, SK IV. 33.148, N. II. 29.61, P. VI. 131. 48

Bindusaras—A (on Maināka m. near Badari) V. 145.44, Bhī. G. 43–46, Br. II. 18. 31, M. 121. 26 and 31–32 (where Bhagiratha, Indra and Nara-Nārāyaṇa practised taṇḍas), Bh. III. 21–33 and 39–44 (description); B (under VS) Siva bathed in it and the kaṇḍala of Brahmad that had stuck to his hand dropped from it and it became Kāpālamocanatīrtha) N. II. 29. 59–60; C (under Ekāmra) B. 41. 32–54 (it is so called because Rudra collected drops of water from all holy places and filled it therewith); D (in Kāmira) it is a dīkṣāla in the east of the country, according to NM 1116–1117.

Bindutīrtha—same as Pañcanada which see.

Bodhitāra—(the Bo tree at Buddha Gayā) P.VI. 117.30. Vide under Mahā-bodhitāra. At the Bharbūt stūpa (about 200 B. C ) there is a bas-relief showing the Vajrāsana throne of Buddha with the view of the Bodhi tree and an inscription ‘bhagavato Sakamunino Bodhi’; vide ‘Mahābodhi’ by Cunningham, p. 3. The Bodhi tree is said to have been cut down by king Saṅkika of Bengal in 600 A. D., but restored about 620 A.D. by king Pāṇavarman. Vide A. G. pp. 453–459 for Bodh Gayā and p. 459 for Bodhītāra.

Brahmagiri—A. (m. from which Gāndhārī rises on which Gautama had his hermitage) B. 74. 25–26, 84. 2, P. VI. 176, 58; B (the biggest peak of Sahya and as a tīrtha under Kṛṣṇa-venyā) T. S. p. 78

Brahmabhārata—Bh. X. 28, 16–17 (probably used in a secondary sense), Br. III. 13, 52

Brahmakṣetra—(Kurukṣetra) V 83. 4.6, Vā 59. 106 and 107 and 97, 5

Brahmakūṭa—A (under Badari) Var. 141. 4–6; B (under Lohargala) Var. 151. 71 (where four Vedadhārás fall from Himālaya); C (under Gayā) Vā 110. 8

Brahmakūpa—(under Gayā) Vā. 111.25 and 31, Ag. 115, 37

Brahmanadī—(Sarasvatī is so called) Bh. IX. 16. 23

Brahmanakaṇḍikā—(a tīrtha in Kāmira) NM. 1499, 1501

Brahmanastīrtha—V. 83. 113, P. I. 27.2 (Brahmanāh sthānam), P. I. 38. 20

Brāhmanī—(probably the Bāmanī, that falls into the Chambal) V. 84. 58

Brāhmaṇīkā—(near Nāmiṣa forest) P. I. 32.22

Brahmānsuvāra—(under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26. 67
List of tirthas

Brahmapada—(under Goṇiṣṭhramaṇa) Var. 147. 36
Brahmaputra—same as Lauhitya, which see
Brahmāranyya—(under Gayā) P. I. 38. 5
Brahmasaras—A (near Thanesar) Vā. 77. 51, M. 22. 12, Vām. 22. 55–60 and 49. 38–39. This lake is known by various names, viz. Brahmasaras, Rāmahrada or Pavanarasas &c.; B (under Gayā) V. 84. 85 (dharma-rāṇyopadeshitā) and 95. 11, Anu. 25. 58, Ag. 115. 38, Vā. 111. 30.; C (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 37–39; D (under Sāṇândîrā) Var. 150. 20
Brahmašāras—(under Gayā) K. II. 37. 38, N. II. 44. 66 (there is Brahmayūpa there)
Brahmasthāna—V. 83. 71, 85. 35, P. I. 27. 2
Brahmasthūpā—P. I. 39. 33
Brahmatāresvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 88
Brahmatirtha—A (under VS) K. I. 35. 9, II. 37. 28, P. I. 37. 9–12 (Viṣṇu established it in the name of Brah- mā); B (under Gayā) P. I. 38. 69, N. II. 45. 102, Ag. 115. 36; C (under Go.) B. 113. 1 and 23, Br. III. 13. 56; D (on Sarasvatī) Bh. X. 78. 19
Brahmatūṅga—Ag. 109. 12, P. I. 24. 28
Brahmatunḍahara or Brahmatūṅga-hrada—Br. III. 13. 73, Vā. 77. 71–73 (urāḍhba, japa, homa yield inexhaustible results here)
Brahmavallī-tirtha—(under Sābhra-mati) P. VI. 137. 1
Brahmavālukā—V. 82. 106, P. I. 25. 13
Brahmāvarta—A (holy land between Sarasvatī and Drādvadā) Manu II. 17, Kal. 49. 71. The Meghadūta I. 48 (Nīr. ed.) shows that Kurukṣetra was part of Brahmvārta. It is a holy tirtha, V. 83. 53–54, 84. 43, M. 22. 69, Ag. 109. 17; B (under Narmada) M. 190. 7, 191. 70, P. I. 17. 5
Brahmayoni—A (on Sarasvatī)—same as Pṛthūdaka, Vām. 39. 20 and 23; B (under Gayā) V. 83. 140 and 84. 95, P. I. 27. 29, N. II. 47. 54, Vā. 108. 83 (brahmayonim praviṣṭāthā nirgac-ched yastu mānavaḥ i param brahma sa yātihi vimukto yonisahkātaḥ). Vide AG. p. 458 which states that a small temple now occupies the site of Aśoka’s stūpa and p. 646 note 1470 above
Brahmayūpa—(under Gayā) Vā. 111. 31–33, Ag. 115. 39
Brahmesvaralīnga—A (under Śrīparvata) K. II. 41. 18, L. I. 92. 139–160 (also called Alesvara); B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115
Brahmodara—Vām. 36. 7–8
Brahmodaya—(to the south of Vāg-mati) Var. 215. 102
Brahmodbheda—Var. 215. 91
Brahmodumbara—V. 83. 71
Brhadvana—(near Gokula where Nandagopa kept his cattle) Bh. X. 5. 26, X. 7. 33
Budbudā—(t. rising in the Himālaya) Br. II. 16. 25–26
Budhesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 55, 97

C
Caitraka—M. 110. 2
Caitraratha—(a vana) Vā. 47. 6 (on the banks of the Ačchodā river), Br. II. 18. 7. Here Devī is called Madotkāṭā; M. 13. 28
Cakra—(near Sarasvatī) Bh. X. 78. 19
Cakradhara—(Viṣṇusthāna in Kāśmīra, now known in a corrupt form as Tskdar or Chākhdhar) R. I. 38. It is a tirtha of great sanctity, about a mile to the west of Bijbhor (ancient Vijayasāvara). Vide K. R. p. 18 and SM. p. 171 (Cakradhara and Vijayēśa–Śiva are two images located close to each other). HC calls it Cakratīrtha (7.61) and also Cakra-dhara (7. 64)
Cakraśhitā—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 3
Cakrasvamin—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145. 38 (cakrāṅkitaśilas-tatra drśyante)
Cakratirtha—A (under Sauratirtha) Var. 137. 19; B (under Āmalaka-grāma) Nr. 66. 22; C (under Setu) SK. III. Brahmakhanda, chap. 3–5; D (in Kāśmir) also called Cakradhara (which see); E (on Go.) B. 86 1, 109. 1, 134. 1 (6 miles from Tryambaka)—though thrice mentioned, it appears to be one tirtha; F (under Mathura) Var. 162. 43; G (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 5, 57. 89, 81. 3; vide A, G. p. 336 and under Asthipura; H (under Dvārakā) TP. pp. 536–537, Var. 159. 58
Cakrāvaka—(a tirtha sacred to pitṛs) M. 22. 42
Cakrāvara—(under Mandāra) Var. 143. 36–38 (a deep lake)
Cakresvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52
Cākṣus—(r. from Himālaya, a branch of Gaṅga) M. 121. 23, Vā. 47. 21 and 39, Br. II. 16. 20, Bh. V. 17. 5. Dey p. 43 holds that Cākṣus is the river Oxus or Amu Daria and relies on Matysya 120–121 (of Ānandāśrama edition), which however does not help at all. It is strange that Dey on p. 13 also holds that Āsmanvatī is the river Oxus
Cakṣus—tirtha (on south bank of Go.) B. 170. 1
Camasa or Camasodbheda—A (where Sarasvatī appears again after disappearing in the desert) V. 82. 112, 130, 5 (esa vai Camasodbheda yat ra drśyā Sarasvatī), P. I. 25. 18; B (under Prabhāsa) Sal. 35. 87, V. 88. 20
Camatkārapura—(same as Ānandapura in modern Ahmedabad District) SK. VI. chap. 1–13
Campā—A (city on the Bhāgirathī four miles to west of Bhagalpur and one of the six great cities of the times of the Buddha) V. 84. 163, 85. 14, 308. 26, P. I. 38. 70; M. 48. 91 (originally it was called Mālinī but later was called Campā after king Campa). According to the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta the six great cities are Campā, Rājagaha, Śravasti, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Benares (SBE vol. XI. p. 99 and p. 247). Vām. 84. 12 mentions Čāmpeya brāhmaṇas. Campā is in the Varanādi-gaṇa (Pān. IV. 2. 82); B (river sacred to pitṛs) M. 22. 41, P. V. 11. 35 (between Āñga and Magadha, acc. to Dey p. 43). It was the capital of Lomapāda and of Karna
Campakāraṇya—(modern Champaran in Bihar) V. 84. 133, P. I. 38. 49. Vālmīki’s hermitage was near Sangrampur in the Champaran District
Campakatirtha—(where Gaṅga flows to the north) N. II. 40. 86
Campakavan—a (under Gayā) Vā. 37. 16–22
Cāṅcalā—(r. rising from m.śayavat) M. 114. 26
Cāṇḍavegā—(r. sacred to pitṛs) M. 22. 28
Cāṇḍavegāsambheda—M. 22. 28, K. II. 44. 16, P. VI. 131. 67
Cāṇḍesā—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 162. 1
Cāṇḍikeśvara—L. I. 92. 166, Vām. 51. 50
Candrabhāgā—(A) the river rises in the Himālayas in two streams, one is called Candrā (which issues from a large snow-bed on the south-east side of Bāra Lācha at a height of over 16000 feet), the other called Bhāgā rises on the north-west slopes of the pass. The two join at Tāndī and the united stream is known as Candrabhāgā or Chenab. The five rivers of the Panjab are: Vitastā (Jhelum, the Hydaspes of the Greeks), Vipāsa (Beas, Hypasis of Greeks), Satadru (Sutlaj), Candrabhāgā and Irāvati. In ‘Questions of Millinda’ (SBE vol. 35 p. 171) Candrabhāgā is one of the ten great rivers
IV]

List of tīrthas

of India. V. Dh. S. 85. 49, S. 9. 19, M. 13. 49, Anu. 25. 7, N. II. 60. 30, NM. 159 and 162, HC. 12. 44. Vide Asiknī; B (under Narmadā) M. 191. 64, K. II. 41, 33, P. I. 18. 61; C (joins Tāpi) P. VI. 70. 44; D (that joins Sābhramatī) P. VI. 148. 12, 149.1; E (same as Bhīmā, a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā)

Candraṃ-sātīrtha—(on Ārīkaparvata) V. 125. 17

Candrapāda—(under Gayā) Br. III. 47. 18–19

Candrapura—(a city in Kāśmīra) NM. 1138 and 1156–7 (Mahāpadma Nāga flooded that city and there came into existence a lake, one yojana in length and breadth)

Candra tīrtha—(at source of Kāverī) K. II. 37. 23; B (under VS) P. I. 37. 14, K. I. 35. 11; C (under Narmadā) M. 193. 75, K. II. 42. 15, Br. III. 13. 28

Candra vaśa—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18

Candra vātī—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 310 (Dīti became this river, as Yamunā became Vītāsī)

Candreśvārā—(on Candrabhāgā river and to the east of Dugdheśvārā, on Śābhramatī) P. VI. 149.1; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 49

Candrīkā—(r. Candrabhāgā, modern Chenab) M. 22. 63

Carmākhya—(under VS) K. I. 35. 4

Carmaṇvātī—(r. modern Chambal that rises about 9 miles south-west of Mhow and falls into the Yamunā 25 miles south-west of Etawah town) Ādi. 138. 74 (Drupada ruled over southern Paṇcāla up to Carmaṇvāti), V. 82. 54, Droṇaparva 67.5 (the name is due to the heaps of the hides of animals killed in Rantideva’s yajñas), P. I. 24. 3, Meghadūta I. 45 (refers to Rantideva); the word Carmaṇvātī occurs in Pāṇ. VIII. 2.12

Carmakoṭa—M 22. 42

Catūḥ-samudrika—(a kūṭa under Ma-thurā) Var. 158. 41

Catūḥ-srotā—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 17

Catūrmukha—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 28

Caturtheśvara—(under VS) N. II. 49. 65

Caturvedeśvara—(under VS) SK, Kāśikhaṇḍa 33, 130

Chāgalānḍa—(a very fit place for śrāddha) M. 13. 43 (where Devī is called Pracāndā), 22. 72

Chāgaleśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 119

Chāyākṣetra—(sacred to Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 100 (town park of Mahālakṣmīpura is so called)

Chinnapāpakṣetra—(on Go.) P. VI. 174. 15

Cicci kātīrtha—(under Go.) B. 164.1

Cidambara—(see under Minākṣi) Devībhāgavata VII. 38. 11. It is famous for its great Śiva temple and contains the ‘air liṅga’ i.e. no liṅga is actually visible but a curtain is hung before a wall and when visitors enter the curtain is withdrawn and the wall is exhibited. The temple has a hall of more than 1000 monolithic pillars

Cintāṅgadeśvara—(under VS) P. I. 37. 14

Ciramocanatīrtha—(in Kāśmīra) R. L. 149–150 (mentions the Kanakavāhinī, Nandiśa and this tīrtha together). It is the confluence of the Kanakavāhinī and the river Sind, NM 1538–1545 (so called because the seven sages left their bark garments here and then went to heaven), SM p. 211

Citābhūmi—(Vaidyanātha or Deoghar in Sonthal pargana containing the temple of Vaidyanātha, one of the twelve jyotirliṅgas) Śivapurāṇa I. 38, 55, Vide Dey p. 50.

Citraguṇṭeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102
Citrikīta—(hill, 65 miles southwest of Prayāga in Banda District of Bundelkhand and a railway station on Jhansi-Manikpur branch) V. 85, 58, Rām. II. 54. 28–29 and 93, 8 (ten kroṣas from Bhrādvājāśrama) Rām. II. 55.9 (it is pīṭārththa, I. 56. 10–12, M. 22.65 and Anu I. 25. 29, N. II. 60. 23 and 75. 26, Ag. 6. 35–36 (near Mandakini r.) and 109. 23, P. I. 39. 54, Raghuvānśa XIII. 47; Meghadūta calls it Rāmagirī.

Citrikītā—(r. rising from Ṛkṣaparvata) Vā. 45. 59, M. 114. 25 (where Mandakini and this r. are both mentioned as rising from Ṛkṣavat)

Citṛṅgadatirtha—(under VS) K. I. 35.11, Vām. 46. 39 (Citṛṅgadesvarāliṅga)

Citṛṅgavadana—(under the Sābhramatī) P. VI. 141. 1

Citṛṅevāra—(under VS) L. q. by K. T. p. 97

Citropalā (r.) B. 46. 4–5 (rising from Vindhya and called Mahānādi)

Citropalā—(probably same as the preceding) Bhī. 9. 34, M. 114. 25 (rising from Ṛkṣavat), B. 27. 31–32 (rising from Ṛkṣapāda)

Cyavanasyārama—A (under Gayā) N. II. 47. 75, Vā. 108. 73. In Rg. I. 116.10 Cyavana is said to have been rejuvenated by Āśvins; Sat. Br. 1.5.1–16 (SBE vol. 26 pp 272–276 he married Sukanyā, king Saryāta’s daughter and became young by a bath in a pool); B (under Narmadā) V 89, 12, 121. 19–22; V. chapters 122–124 contain the story of Cyavana, Sukanyā and the Āśvins. V. 102, 4 narrates that the Kāleyas devoured one hundred munis here. Dey p. 51 gives four different places as Cyavana’s hermitage. Cyavana was son of Bṛrgu and the Bṛrgus are often associated with the region about the mouth of the Narmadā

Cyvanēvāra—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66

Dadhicatirtha—V 83.186, P. I. 27.73–74 (where Sārasvata stayed and became prince of perfect men, Siddhirāj)

Dadhicēśvāra—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43

Dadhikarṇēśvāra—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 94

Dākini—(Bhimāsāṅkara) see note 1536 Daksaprayāga—N. II. 40. 96–97

Daksatirtha—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 46. 2 (to the south of Sthānuvaṭa), Vām. 34. 20 (Dakṣāśrama and Dakṣenivāra)

Dakṣenivāra—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 75

Daksīṇa-gaṅgā—A (Godāvari in B. 77. 9–10, 78. 77; B Kāverī (in Nr. 66. 7); C Narmadā in SK, Revākhaṇḍa 4. 24; D Tuṅgabhadrā (in Vīk. 4.62) Daksīṇa-Gokarṇa—Var. 216. 22–23

Daksīṇa-Māṇasa—(a tank under Gayā) N. II. 45. 74, Ag. 115. 17

Daksīṇa-Mathurā—(Madurā in the Madras State) Bh. X. 79. 15

Daksīṇa-palicanada—V. Dh. S 85. 51 (the com. Vaijayanti says that the five rivers are Kṛṣṇa, Venā, Tuṅgē, Bhadrā and Kōnā)

Daksinaprīyaṅga (known as Mokṣaśeṣit in Saptagrama in Bengal) ‘tat- Daksinoprīyaṅgam tu Gāṅgā Yamunāśeṣaḥ | snāṇāt tatrākṣayam punyam Prayāgā iva labhyate’ quoted by Gāṅgāvāyāvalī p. 296, which is itself quoted by T. P. p. 355. Dey p. 52 says that it is Triveni on the north of Hughly in Bengal.

Daksīṇa-sindhu—(a tributary of the Chambal) V. 82. 53, P. I. 24. 2, Meghadūta I. 30

Dālbhyāśrama (hermitage of Baka Dālbhya, half a yojana from where Rāma and Lakṣmana were in the company of Sugriva and his hosts) P.VI. 46. 14–15.

Dāmin (masculine noun) V 82. 71–75. Dāmodaraṅga—a spring in Kāśmīra, which is the upper hamlet of village
Daśārāṇa—(r. rising in m. Rāṣṭra, on which śāṭhāna, japa, dāna most efficacious) M. 22, 34, K. II. 37, 35-36, Vē. 45, 99, 77, 93. Wilson (vol. II. p. 155) says that it is now called Daśān, which rises in Bhopal and falls into the Betwa. Mbh. cites Vārāikas 7 and 8 on Pān. VI. 1. 89 which explain the formation (vol. III. p. 69). Daśārāṇa is a word meaning a country having ten forts or a river (Daśārāṇa) having ten waters.' The Vārāikas are ‘pra-vāt-satara-kambalavasanānām carṇe’ and ‘ṛṇadāśābhhyām ca’. Meghadūta I, 23-24 show that the capital of the Daśārāṇa country was Vidiśā (modern Bhilsā) and the Vetravati (Betwa river) was near it. It is the Dosarou of Ptolemy (p. 71). Br. S. 10. 15 says that Saturn in Uttarāṣādhā destroys Daśārāṇas.

Daśāvamedhika or-medhaka or-medha—A (a tirtha on the Gaṅgā) V. 83, 14, 85, 87, Vē. 77, 45, Br. III. 13, 45, K. II. 37, 26, M. 185.68 (in VS); B (under Prayāga) M. 106, 46; C (under Gayā) Ag. 115. 45, N. II. 47, 30; D (under Narmadā) M. 193, 21, K. II. 41, 104, P. I. 20. 20; vide Bom. G. vol. II. p. 348 for its sanctity; E (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 23; F (under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26. 12; G (under Go.) B. 83. 1; H (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 116.

Dattātreya-linga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113.

Daurvāsak—a (under VS) K. I. 35. 11.

Devadāruvana—a (in the Himālayas near Badrīnāth) Anu. 25. 27, K. II. 37, 53-60, II. 39. 18 and 66, M. 13. 47 (Devī is called Pūṣṭi here); B (Anūdana in the Nizām’s dominions) P. VI. 129. 27; C (near Vījaya-divara in Kāśmīra) H. C. 10. 3.

Devāyana—(under Go.) B. 160. 1

Devagiri—a hill under Mathurā) Var. 164. 27, Bh. V. 19. 16.
Devabrada—A (under Gandakî) Var. 145. 71, Anu. 25. 44; B (under Kṛṣṇa-Venā) V. 85. 37
Devabrādā—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 146. Devakūṭa—(sacred m.) V. 84. 141, P. I. 38. 57.
Devalēsvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 92
Devaparvāta—(probably Aravali hills) Deva q. by T. K. p. 250
Devapatha—V. 85. 45. P. I. 39. 42
Devaprabha—(under Gandakî) Var. 145. 59
Devaprayāga—in Tehri State. Vide Alakanandā above (it is confluence of Bhāgirathī and Alakanandā); vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 p. 214
Devāryanā—(a forest on r. Lauhitya) Vā. 47. 11 (devāryanam viśokam ca tasya tīre)
Devāśā—(Viṣṇu is worshipped under name of Trivikrama here) Nr. 65. 15 q. by T. K. p. 252
Devatīrtha—A (on north bank of Go.) B. 127. 1; B (under Narmadā) M 191. 24, 193. 81, K. II. 42. 16, P. I. 18. 24; C (under Sābhramati) P. VI. 161. 1
Deveśa—(under VS) P. I. 37. 9
Deveśvarā—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65
Devikā—A (r. rising in Himālaya and belog after Sindhu and Paūcananda and before Sarasvati) V.82. 102–107, 222. 22 (4 yojanas in length and one-half yojana in breadth), B 27. 27, Vā. 45. 95, Anu. 166. 19, Vām. 81. 5. The VI. IV. 24. 69 says that Īrāvyas, Mlecchas and śūdras will rule over the banks of the Sindhu, Dāvikorvi, Candrabhāgā and Kāśmīra. Here ‘Dāvikorvi’ means as Sridhara says, the country on the Devikā; B (r. that joins Gandakī) Var. 144. 83, 112–13 (Devikā nāma devāśaṃ prabhāvāc ca tapasyatām 1 niy amārthā samu-

dbhūtā Gandakāyā militā śūbhā), Var. 214. 48; C (under Gayā) Vā. 112. 30, 77. 41 (Vṛṣa-
kūpa for śrāddha on), Br. III. 13. 41. Anu. 25. 21 and 165. 19, K. II. 37. 25, P. I. 25. 9–14, N. II. 47, 27, VI. II. 15. 6, Vām. 78. 37—all these extol Devikā, but it is not clear what river is meant. NM 152–153 say that it is holy like Irāvati, is identified with Umā and located in Madra i.e. between Rāvi and Chenab. Pān. (VII.3. 1) expressly mentions the river Devikā and the Mbb. thereon gives the illustration ‘Dāvikākūḷāḥ śālayaḥ’ (paddy grown on the banks of the Devikā is so called). Pānini probably mections some river in the Panjab. Dey p. 55 says that the southern portion of Sarayū is called Devikā or Devā. Vām. 84. 12 refers to Devikātirtha brāhmaṇas, SK. VII Prabhāsa-māhātmya, chap. 278. 66–67 speak of Mūlasthāna (modern Multan) as situated on the Devikā; P. I. 25. 9–14 (5 yojanas long and 1 yojana wide). In VI. II. 15. 6 the city called Viranagara is said to be situated on the bank of the Devikā and as founded by Pulastya. Devikā is not Sarayū, as in the Anu. 165. 19 and 21 they two are separately named. Br. S. 11. 35 says that a certain malignant Kētus would strike down even Devikā in the north. Pargiter (tr. of Mār, p. 292) identified it with the river Deog or Deogh in the Punjab, Dr. V. S. Agrawala with the Vular lake in Kashmir (J. U. P. H. S. vol. 16 pp. 21–22) and Mr. Jagannātha (in J. U. P. H. S. vol. 17 part 2 p. 78 supports Pargiter. With respect I agree with Mr. Jagannātha.

Devikātāta—(Devī is called Nandī here) M. 13. 38
Devipithas—eight are enumerated in Kālikāparāṇa 64. 89–91
List of tirthas

Devikūta—Kal. 18. 41, where the feet of Sati’s corpse fell
Devisthāna—Devi-Bhāgavata VII. 38. 5-30 (enumerate numerous Devi-
thānas such as Kolāpura, Tulajāpura, Saptasāgara). The Matsya (13.26-54) enumerates 108 Devisthānas.
Dhanadesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70
Dhanuḥpāta—(under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66, 33.
Dhanvīrūpā—(r. rising in Pāriyātra m.) M. 114. 24.
Dhānyatīrtha—(under Gomati) B 120.1
Dbārā—(r.) P. I. 28. 26, M. 22. 38
Dharanītīrtha—(śrāddha most efficacious here) M. 22, 70.
Dhārāpatanaka-tīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 154. 8
Dhārātīrtha—(on north bank of Narmāda) M. 190. 6
Dharmadhāra—(under VS) N. II. 51.14
Dharmānanda—same as Paucananda, which see.
Dharmaprasthā—(under Gayā) V. 84.99
Dharmaprasthā—(4 miles from Bodh-
Gayā) P. V. 11. 74, N. II. 44. 54-55 and 78, K. II. 37. 38
Dharmarājatīrtha—(on the western bank of Jumānī near Prayāga) M. 108 27, P. I. 45. 27
Dharmāryanā—(under Gayā) V. 82. 46, Anu. 166. 28-29, Vā. 111. 23, Vām. 84. 12 (brahmaṇas of Dharmāryanā), Ag. 115.34, N. II. 45. 100; vide Dr. Barna on ‘Gayā and Buddhagaya’ vol. I. pp. 16-17 for the view that it is part at least of the precincts of the Bodhgaya temple representing the jungle of Uruvelā or Uruvilvā of Buddhist Literature. Rām. I 32. 7 states that Dharmāryanā was founded by Asūrtarajas, a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmapī; vide p 661 about Gayā; B (near Mahākāla) P. I. 12. 6-8; Br. S. 14. 2 mentions it, but location is uncertain.
Dharmāstresvara—(under VS) Sk. IV 33. 133
Dharmasālā—(under Gayā) Vā. chap 107 and Ag. 114. 8-28. Vide above pp. 657-58 for the story
Dharmatīrtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 4, Ag. 109. 16, K. I 35. 10, P. VI. 135. 17
Dharmāvati—(river that falls into Sābhramati) P. VI. 135. 16
Dharmesvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53; B (under Gayā) N. II. 45. 103, Vā. 111. 26
Dharmadhāva—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 44-46
Dhautapāpa—vide Pāpapranāsana
Dhautapāpā—(r. rising in Himālaya) M 114. 22
Dhautapāpesvara—liṅga (under VS) SK IV. 33. 156
Dhavaleśvara—(on north bank of Sā-
bhramati) P. VI. 144. 7 ff (supposed to be established by Indra)
Dhenuka—(under Gayā) V. 84. 87-89, P. I. 38. 7-10, N. II. 44. 68
Dhenukāranya—(under Gayā) Vā. 112. 56, Ag. 116. 32
Dhenuvāṭa—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 40-43
Dhruva-tapovana—P. I. 38. 31
Dhūmāvati—V. 84. 22, P. I. 28. 23
(Dhūmavanti)
Dhundhi-Vināyaka—(under VS) L.q. by T. K. p. 126 and Sk. IV. chap 37. 33 (give the etymology of ‘Dhundhi’; for 56 Gaṇesās, vide p. 638 above
Dhūtapāpa or Dhautapāpa or Dhauta-
pura.—A (on Narmadā) M. 22, 39, 193. 62, K. II. 42. 9-10; B (at Gokarna) Br. III. 13. 20 (Rudra practised tapās here); C (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 12, N. II. 47. 35. D (under Stutasvāmin) Var. 148. 58 (less than five āśīras from Stutasvāmin), T.K. p. 223, A.G. p. 401 says that Dhopāpapura is on the right bank of the Gomati (popularly
Gumtī) 18 miles to the south-east of Sultanpur; E (near Sāngameśvara in the Ratnagiri District) vide I.G.I. vol. XXII. p. 50.

Dhūtapāpā—A (r. in VS); vide p. 636 above; B (r. rising in Himālaya) Vām. 57. 80, Br. II. 16. 26

Dhūtavāhinī—(r. rising in Rṣavanta m.) M. 114. 26

Ḍṇḍipunyakara—(śī for śrāddha, probably in Deccan) M. 22. 77

Dīpēśvara—(under Narmāḍa) M. 191. 38, K. II. 41. 25-27 (it is Vyāsa-tirtha-tapovanā)

Ḍiptoda—(probably the same as Bhrugūtirtha) V.99. 69 (where Bhrugī, great-grand-father, and the father of Paraśurāma performed most severe penance)

Ḍirgaśattra—V. 82. 108-110, P. I. 25. 15-16

Ḍirgā-Visū (under Mathurā) Var. 163. 63

Ḍivākara—liṅga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65

Ḍivakuṣa—puṣkariṇī V. 84. 118, P. I. 38. 35

Ḍroṇa—(m. in Bhāratavāra) M. 121. 13, Bh. V. 19. 16, P. VI. 8. 45-46

Ḍroṇāśaramapada—Anu. 25. 28 q. by T. K. p. 256. (reads Dranadharmā)

Ḍroṇēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66,

Ḍroṇi—(r.) M. 22. 37 (śrāddha on it inexhaustible).

Ḍrumakṣetra—L. I. 92. 129 (probably near Kurukṣetra).

Ḍruva-tapovanā—P. I. 38. 31

Ḍruvatirtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 152. 58 and 180. 1

Ḍṛṣādvati (r.). Vide p. 682 above. In Rg. III. 23.4 it is mentioned along with Āpayā and Sarasvatī as a holy river for the worship of Agni. V. 90. 11, Manu. II. 17 (calls it devanāḍī), N. II. 60. 30, Bh. V. 19. 18. It is identified by some with the Ganges and by others with the Chittang (Cambridge History of India, vol. I. p. 80). No trace of the river appears in any modern name. Cunningham’s identification of it with Rākṣi river 17 miles to the south of Bhānesar has much to recommend it (A. S. of India, vol. XIV. p. 88).

Ḍrumacanḍesvara—(a liṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 136


Ḍurdhāresvara—(on Sābhramati) P. VI. 146. 1 ff.

Ḍurgā—(acc. to Bār. S. III. 128 Durgā dwells on Vindhyā).

Ḍurgā—sābhramatisāṅgama—P. VI. 169. 1

Ḍurgā—(r. rising from Vindhyā) Vā 45. 103, Br. II. 16. 33.

Ḍurgātirtha—A (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 14-15; B (under Go.) B. 132. 8.

Ḍvāḍaśītya-kunda (under Badari) Var. 141. 24

Ḍvaita-vana—Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 9 (Dvaita lake named after king Dvaitavana of the Matsyas); V. 11. 68. 24. 10 (commentary gives a fantastic etymology), 237. 13 (it had a lake), Śal. 37. 27 (visited by Balarāma on Sarasvatī), Vām. 22. 12. 47. 56 (it was near Śāntihatyā pool).

Ḍvārakā—A—the name of this holy city does not occur in the Vedic Literature but the references to it in the Mahābārata and the Purāṇas are plentiful. It is one of the seven holy cities. Vide p. 678. It appears that there were two Dvārakās, one more ancient than the other. The ancient Dvārakā was situated near Kodinār. A little mound which rises on the sea-shore between the mouths of the rivers Śomat and Singāyāra
three miles from Kodinar is surrounded by the ruins of a temple which popular Hindu belief declares to be the original Dvārakā, where Kṛṣṇa resided and whence transferred himself to Dwārakā in Okhanyaḍala. Vide Bombay Gazetteer, vol. VIII. (on Kathiawar) pp. 518–520 for Kodinar and p. 552 for Mīla Dwārakā. It was founded by Kṛṣṇa (with Raivataka as a park and Gomanta as a hill) owing to constant invasions and harassment by Jarāsandha; it was two yojanas long and one yojana broad. Vide Sabhāparva 14. 49–55. The Var. (149. 7–8) makes it 10 yojanas long and 5 broad. Vide p. 688 above under Mathurā. B (14. 54–56) says that the Vṛṣnis and Andhakas left Mathurā through fear of Kālayavana, took counsel with Kṛṣṇa, ran to Kuṣasthali and built up Dwārakā: Vi. V. 23. 13–15. B 196. 13–15 say that Kṛṣṇa begged of the ocean a strip of twelve yojanas, built Dwārakā with large parks, mansions and strong walls and established the people of Mathurā there. When Kṛṣṇa passed away, the city was flooded by the sea and swept away, as stated in a prophetic vein by Mausala-parva 6. 23–24 and 7. 41–42, B 210, 55 and 212, 9. Vide also Vi. V. 38.9 (the whole of Dwārakā except Kṛṣṇa’s palace was swept by the sea) and BV IV. 129. 44 (except Rukmini’s palace). It is called the capital of Anarta (Udyoga 7. 6) and was first called Kuṣasthali (Sabhā 14. 50). Vide M 69. 9 = P. V. 23. 10, B. 7. 29–32 and Ag. 273. 12 (Kuṣasthali being the earlier name of the capital). The present Dwārakā is near Okhā in Kathiawar. The Harivāmaṇa II (Viṣṇuparva) chapters 58 and 98 deal with the founding of Dwārakā. Some ancient Jain works like the Uttarādhyāyanasūtra (SBE. vol. 45 p. 113) mention Dwārakā and Raivataka park (Girnar). The Jātakas also refer to Dwārakā. Vide Dr. B. C. Law’s work on ‘India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism’ pp. 102, 239. The Prabhasakhaṇḍa of the SK has a sub-section on Dwārakā in 44 chapters and over 2000 verses for the glorification of Dwārakā. It says the reward that is secured by (pilgrimage to) Vārāṇasi, Kurukṣetra and Narmadā can be secured at Dwārakā in half a twinkles (4. 52): “Pilgrimage to Dwārakā is the 4th means of mukti. Man secures mukti by acquiring correct knowledge about Brahman or by dying at Prayāga or by mere bath in Gomati near Kṛṣṇa” (SK. VII. 4. 4, 97–98). The BV. (Kṛṣṇa janamakhaṇḍa, Uttarārdha chap. 103) has a hyperbolical description of the creation of Dwārakā, which is said to have been one hundred yojanas in extent. There is a work called Dwārakā-pattalaka compiled by Binābī (the only Ms. of which is the one at B.O.R.I. in Poona) which has been published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri (1940). The Ms. is dated sanhvāst 1574 (1518 A. D.). It summarises the Dwārakā-māhātmya in SK. A pilgrim on reaching Dwārakā first worships Gaṇeśa, then Balarāma and then Kṛṣṇa; he visits Rukmiṇi’s temple on the 8th, 9th or 14th tithi, then visits Cakra-tirtha, then Dwārakā Gaṇgā, then Saṅkhoddhāra, then lathes in the Gomati. The temple of Dwārakā-nātha is on the north bank of the Gomati creek. The main temple has five stories, is about 100 feet high from the ground and is surrounded by a conical spire rising to about 150 feet. Vide Dr. A. D. Posalkar’s paper in the Dr. B. C. Law presentation volume I. pp. 218 ff. for further information on Dwārakā.
B (there is Dvārakā in Indraprastha) P. VI. 202. 4 and 62


Dvāravatī—Same as Dvārakā. It contained the temple of Nāgēśa, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas. The Kāśikhaṇḍa (7. 104–105) states: 'since in this city there are entrance gates for all the four varnas it was named Dvāravatī by the learned. Where even the bones of beings are marked with the sign of the wheel (discus), what wonder is there if the hands (of men) are marked with the figures of a conch or wheel?'. In a Dvārakā-mahātmya stated to be taken from the Skanda-purāṇa (D. C. Ms. No. 49 of 82–83, copied in sanīvat 1529 i. e. 1472–73 A. D.) it is stated that Mathurā, Kāśi and Avantī are easy of access (sulabha), but Ayodhyā, Māyā and Dvārakā are difficult of approach in the Kali age and in Ms. D. C. No. 63 of 1875–76 it is said at the end that the city is called Dvāravati because it is the way to mokṣa. It is identified by Yule and others with Barake of the Periplus (Ptolemy pp. 187–188.)

Dvīdevakula—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 158

Dvīpa—(probably the island at the mouth of the Ganges) Nr. 65. 7 q. by T. K. p. 251 (where Viṣṇu is worshipped as Ananta Kapila)

Dvīpėśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 80, P. I. 18. 38 and 23. 76

E

Ekadbāra—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 136. 12

Ekahamsa—V. 83. 20

Ekāmra—(in Utkala, Orissa, about 20 miles from Cuttack). This is Rudra-tīrtha. Ekāmra is the ancient name, the modern one being Bhuvanesvāra. It was also called Kṛttivāsa. B (chap. 41. 10–98) describes and glorifies this tīrtha, all those verses being quoted in T. C. pp. 176–180. It is said to be the destroyer of sin, equal to Benares, and as having eight subtīrthas and it was so called because in former ages there was one mango tree (B. 34. 6 and 41. 10–93) Vide Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 231–241 and Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II. pp. 56–98 for history, description, daily services and festivals &c. The chief temple is 160 feet high from the base to the top of the kālaśa. In the Bhuvaṇēśvara Inscription (edited by Dr. L. D. Barnett) in E. I. XIII p. 150 it is stated that Candrikā, daughter of the Gaṅga king Aṇāga-Bhima and widow of Haihaya prince Paramardin, built a temple of Viṣṇu at Ekāmra. In that inscription among other matters there is a laudation of Utkala, of the sanctuary of Ekāmra and of the lake Bindusaras (mentioned in B. 41. 53–54). The date of the inscription is doubtful. But it is between 1101–1200. There is a vast number of temples and shrines here. Vide Archaeological survey of India Report for 1902–3 pp. 43–44, Purusottamatattva (Jiv. I. p. 573) where Ragunandana quotes several verses of B. chap. 41. There is Ekāmrapūrāṇa in five amās (parts) and 70 chapters (vide Mitra's Notices vol. IV pp. 138–140 No. 1561 for detailed analysis of contents and Ekāmra Candrikā which is a guide to pilgrims visiting Bhuvaṇēśvara and contains extensive quotations from Kapilasamhitā, Ekāmrapūrāṇa, Sivapūrāṇa and other works (vide Mitra's Notices, vol. IV. pp. 136–137 No. 1560 for analysis of contents).

Ekavīrā—(under Go) B. 161. 3
Elāpura—(probably modern Ellora) M. 23.50 (a place very fit for śrāddha). A.G. p. 319 identifies Elāpura with modern Veraval in Kathiawar. Talegao copper plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja I dated śaka 690 (768-769 A.D.) indicate that the king built the famous Kailāsanātha temple in imitation of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī (E. I. XIII. p. 275); vide also E. I. vol. XXV. p. 25 (Ellora plates of Dantidurga of śaka 663 i.e. 741-42 A. D.)

Eraṇḍīmarāmadāsānaga—M. 194. 32, K.II. 41. 85 and II. 42.31, P.I. 18.41

Eraṇḍītīrtha—(r. tributary of Narmadā in the Baroda territory, called Uri or Or) M. 191. 42, 193.65, P.I. 18.41.

G

Gabhastā—(under VS) SK. VI. 33. 154

Gabhiraka—(a l. under Mandāra to the south) Var. 143. 42

Gadākunda—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145. 49

Gadālola—(a pool at Gayā on east side of Brahmayoni) Vā. 109. 11-13, 111 75-76, Ag. 115.69; see above p. 665

Gajāhvaya—(same as Hastināpura)

Svargā-rohanaparva 5. 34

Gajakarna—(one of many piṭṭtīrthas) M. 22. 38

Gajakṣetra—a Sivakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 122.

Gajāśālā—(south of Mānasa lake) Vā. 36. 24

Gajasāhvaya or Nāgasāhvaya—(same as Hastināpura) Vi. V. 35. 8, 19, 30-32, Vām. 78. 8, Bh I. 4. 6 (com. explains ‘gajena sahita āhaya nāma yasya); Br. S. 14. 4 calls it ‘Gajāhvaya.’

Gajēśvara—(under Śrīśaila) L. I. 92.156

Gālava—Vide Pāpaprapāsana.

Gālavesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 98

Gallikā—(r. same as Gandāki) P. VI. 76. 2 (where the Sālagrāma stones are found), VI. 129. 14

Gambhirā—A (a r. that joins Vitastā below Vijayesvara) H.C. X. 192, SM. p. 170. Stein in note on R. VIII. 1063 says that it is the name of the lowest portion of the Viśākā river before it falls into Vitastā; B (r. in Central India) Meghadūta I. 40; Br. S. 16.15 mentions Gambhirikā r. It falls into the Siprā.

Gānapatyatīrtha—(near Sābhramati on a hill called Viṣṇu) P. VI. 129. 26, VI. 163.1.

Ganatīrtha—A (one of many tīrthas where śrāddha leads to highest goal) M. 22. 73; B (under Sābhramati) P. VI. 133. 24

Gandāki—(rises in Himālaya and falls into Ganges at Sonepur in Bihar). It is the Kondochates of Arrian (A. I. p. 188). Ādi. 170. 20-21 (one of the seven great rivers that destroy sin), s. 20. 27, V. 84. 13, V. 222. 22 (Gandāshāhvaya is probably the same as Gandāki), P. I. 38. 30, IV. 20. 12 (it has pebbles marked with cakra). The river is said to have sprung from the perspiration on Viṣṇu’s cheek in Var. 144-106, Br. II. 16. 26. Viṣṇu gave a boon to it that he would always remain inside her in the form of Sālagrāma stone (Var. 144. 35-58) Gandāki, Devikā and a r. from Pulastyāśrama make Triveni (Var. 144. 84). It is known in Nepāla as Sālagrāmi and in U.P. as Nārāyaṇī.

Gandhavatī—A (sacred r. near Ekām-raka, rising in the Udayagiri hills, though the Śīvapūrṇa says it rises in the Vindhyas). See ‘Antiquities of Orissa’ by Mitra, vol. II. p. 98; B (a small tributary of Siprā) Meghadūta I. 33

Gaṅgā—Vide pp. 580-596 above

Gaṅgādvāra—(the same as Haridvāra) V. 81. 14, 90.21, 142. 9-10, Anu. 25. 13, K. I. 15, 41 and 47 (here Dakṣa’s sacrifice was destroyed by Vira-bhadra), II. 20. 33 (as one of the
best places for śrāddha), V. Dh. S. 85, 28, Ag. 4. 7 (Vāmana approached Bali here), P. V. 5. 3 and V. 26. 103. It is a Saivaṇēketa acc. to Bārā, S. III. 129; M. 22, 10 (mentions Gaṅgādevāra and Maṇḍapuri separately in the same verse)

Gaṅghatāli—(r.) Vā. 77, 74, Br. III. 13, 76

Gaṅdhamādana—(m. on which Badriṇāth is situated) Nr. 65. 10 q. by T. K. p. 252; Vi. II. 2, 18 (to the south of Meru), Mār. 51, 19, V. 140. 22, 158. 38, Vi. V. 24. 5 (location of Nara-Nārāyaṇārāma), M. 13. 26

Gaṅnharvakundā—(under Mathurā) Var. 163. 13

Gaṅharvanagar—q. by T. K. p. 247

Gaṅhaharitārtha—(under VS) P. I. 37, 13, Sal. 37, 10 (near Gaṅgāśrotā on Sarasvatī)

Gaṅgh—Gaṇḍakī-saṅgama—T. P. p. 357

Gaṅgh—Gaṇḍakī-saṅgama—T. P. p. 358

Gaṅghahradā—P. I. 27. 63 (under Kurukṣetra), V. 83. 201, Anu. 25. 34

Gaṅgh—Kausīkī-saṅgama—T. P. pp. 357-358

Gaṅgh—Maṇuṣa-saṅgama—(near Kaśmīra) NM. 1457

Gaṅgāvat—(under Narmadā) P. I. 20, 16 (near Gaṅgānavara)

Gaṅgāsīgara-saṅgama—V. Dh. S. 85, 28, M. 22. 11 (it is 'saravatīrthamaya'), P. I. 39, 4, T. P. pp. 355-356 (for Maṅhamaya)

Gaṅgh—Sarasvatī-saṅgama—V. 84, 38, P. I. 32, 3

Gaṅgh—Sarayū-saṅgama—Raghuvaṁśa VIII. 95, T. P. p. 357

Gaṅgh—vadana-saṅgama—(under Narmadā) M. 193, 20

Gaṅghvarāna-saṅgama—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 45

Gaṅgh—Yamunā-saṅgama—(i. e. Praṇāga, which see) V. 84, 35

Gaṅghdevāra—A (under VS) N. II. 49, 45; B (under Narmadā) M. 193, 14

Gaṅgodhbeda—V. 84, 65, M. 22, 25, P. I. 32, 29, Ag. 109. 18

Gaṅgārrotās—(on Sarasvatī) Sal. 37, 14

Gaṅgāvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191, 82

Gaṅrhapatayapaḍa—(under Gayā) Vā. 111, 50

Gartesvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 169, 19, 176. 6

Gaṅuda—(under Go.) B. 90, 1

Garudakesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 67

Gaṅr—(r.) Bhī. 9. 25. It is probably the Gouraios of the Greek writers. Vide Ptolemy p. 111

Gaṅrīśa—(sacred to Lalitā) Br. IV. 41. 98

Gaṅrīśkharā—A—V. 84, 151, M. 22, 76 (fit place for śrāddha); B (a tirtha near Kaśmīra) NM 1448-1449 (where Umā who was in complexion like a blue lotus became fair by practising tapas)

Gaṅrīthīra—(under VS) M. 22, 31, K. I. 35, 3, P. I. 37, 3

Gautama—(on Mandara m.) P. VI. 129, 8

Gautamanāga—(in Kaśmīra, to the north of Anantānāga and on the way to Bavan) S M. p. 178

Gautamārāma—(near Tryambakesvara) P. VI. 176. 58-59

Gautama-vana—V. 84, 108-110

Gautamesvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 22. 68, 193. 60, K. II. 42. 6-8, P. I. 20. 58; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115

Gautami—(Godāvari). Vide pp. 707-711

Gaṅgām-bhavana—P. I. 26, 46

Gaṅgh—A—see pp. 643-679; B (one of the five dhārās at Badarikārāma) N. 11. 67. 57-58

Gaṅgākārakā (under Gayā) Ag. 115. 53

Gaṅgānīkramaṇa—Nr q. by T. K. p. 252 (Visṣu’s guhya name is Hari there).

Gaṅgāsīras—(hill named after riṣarṣi Gaya) V. 95. 9, 87, 11, Vā. 105, 29 (it is one kroṣa in extent), Vām. 22, 20
Gayāśīrṣa—(a set of rocky hills near Gayā town) V.Dh. S. 85,4; Buddha went to Gayāśīrṣa near Gayā with 1000 bhikṣus; vide Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 (S. B. E. vol. XIII p. 134). Vide pp. 646 and 668 above
Gayātīrtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 5.
Gāyatrīsthāna—V. 85. 28
Gāyatṛśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70.
Gāyatṛtiṁśa—(under Gayā) Va. 112. 21.
Ghanāsbaranaka—(under Mathurā) Var. 154. 15
Ghanākarṇahradā—(to west of Vyāṣesā under VS) N. II. 49. 28-29, L. q. by T. K. p. 86.
Ghaṭesvara—M. 22. 70
Gravharo or-rā (modern Gogra or Ghagra, a holy river that rises in Kumaon and is the great river of Oudh) P. II. 39. 43, M. 22. 35 and P V. 11.29 (both the latter have the same words ‘nadan tāu Soṇa-Gharharau’). Vide TP p. 502 for Sarayū-Gharghar-saṅgama. The combined waters of Gogra and other rivers including the Sarayū are called Gogra or Sarjū from Bahrampur. Vide I. G. I. vol. 12 pp. 302-303.
Ghaṭesvara—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 159. 3
Ghaṭotkaca—(under VS) K. I. 35. 8, P. I. 37. 8.
Gṛhtakulā—(a r. under Gayā) V 105. 74, 112. 30.
Girikarnika—M 22. 39 (Dey p 65 identifies it with Sabarmati).
Girikūja—P. I. 24. 34 (where Brahmā resides).
Girikūṭa—(under Gayā) N. II. 47. 75.
Girinagara—(modern Junāgad in Kathiwar). The hill near it was called Ujjayanta or Urjayanta in former times, but now it is called Girnar. Dey has a long note (pp. 65-66) on it. The pādukās (stone with footprints) of Dattātreya are shown on a spur of the hill. As there are Aśoka’s edicts engraved here it follows that it was a well-known place in the third century B.C. The Junāgad Inscription of Rudradāman (150 A. D.) mentions it in the very first line (E.I. vol. VIII. p. 36 at p. 42). Vide under Vastrāpatha.
Girivraja—Capital of the kings of Magadha from Jarāsandha and his son Sahadeva; called Rājagṛha in Buddhist times. It is about 62 miles from Patna. Dey has a very long note on it (pp. 66-69); S. 21. 2-3 (it was surrounded and guarded by five hills called Valhara, Vipula, Varāha, Viṣabhā, Rājigiri). Vide under Rājagṛha. Rām. I. 32. 7 states that it was founded by Vasu, a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.
Cobbileśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 94
Gocarmesvara—(under Śripārvata) L. I. 92 152
Godāvari—Vide pp. 707-711
Godhana—(m) Br. II. 16. 22
Gograha—(under Viraja in Orissa) B. 42. 6.
Gokāmuka—(m) Bh. V. 19. 16.
Gokarṇa—A (a place sacred to Siva on the western coast about 30 miles south of Goa in the Kumbā Talukā of North Kanara District) V. 82. 24, 88. 15, 277. 55; Ādi., 217. 34-35 (āgyam paśupateh, sthānam dārāṇādeva muktidam), Vā 77. 19, M. 22. 38, K. II. 35. 29-32, Br. III. 56. 7-21 (described as 13 yojanas in extent in verse 7), Vāma. 46. 13 (liṅga set up by Rāvana), Br. III. 57-58 and N. II. 74 (narrate story of its
being flooded by the sea and of people going to Parasurāma for succour). Vide Epi. C. vol. VII Shikarpur No 99 (of 1113 A. D.) where Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla’s tributary is styled ‘lord of Gokarṇapurā.’ The Līṅgapurāṇa speaks of two Gokarnas (I. 92. 134–135), Kūrma II. 35. 31 mentions Uttaragokarna and the Varāhapurāṇa (213, 7) mentions a southern and a northern Gokarna; B (on Sarasvati) Var. 170.11; C (under Mathurā) Var. 171–173; D (under VS) L. q, by T. K. p. 113. M. 13. 30 says that Devi is styled Bhadrakārnikā at Gokarna.

Gokarnahrada—V. 88. 15–16

Gokarnesāvara (on a peak of the Himālaya) Var. 215. 118.

Gokula—(a mabārānya). Vide Vraja. P. IV. 69. 18, Bh. II. 7. 31.

Gomāṇḍalesāvara—(under Śṛiparvata) L. I. 92. 162 (established by Nanda and others)

Gomanta—(a hill). A—M. 13.28 (Satī is called Gomati; on Gomanta); B (a hill in the Sahya range near Karavirāpura, Kraṇuścūpura and near river Vena) Harivamśa. (Viṣṇuparva 39. 11 and 19–20); C (hill near Dwārakā where Kṛṣṇa and the Vṛṣnis migrated from Mathurā through fear of Jarāsandha’s attacks) S. 14. 54, V 88. 15–17, N. II. 60.27. Pargiter’s identifications (p. 289 note) are unsatisfactory.

Gomatī—(r.) A. In Rg. VIII. 24. 30 and X. 75. 6; it is invoked between Kubhā and Krumu (in X. 75. 6); hence it is probably modern Gomāl a western tributary of the Indus; B (a river near Sarasvatī) V. 87. 7, P I. 32. 37, Vām. 63. 61 and 63. 2; C (near Dwārakā), SK. VII. 4. 4. 97–98 and 5. 32, P. IV. 17. 69–70 and VI. 176. 35–36; D (the Gunti in Ondh, rising in Himālaya and falling into the Ganges below Benares) M. 114. 22, Br. II. 16. 25, Rām. II. 49. 11


Gopāḍrī—(m, in Kashmir, in the immediate vicinity of Śrīnagar near its southernmost corner, now known as Takht-i-Sulaiman) SM p. 157. R I. 341 (mentions Gopāḍrī which is modern Gopkār on the Dal lake); vide K. R. 17

Goniṅkramaṇa—(also Gösthālaka) Var. 147. 3–4 and 52

Gopīśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 18 (where Kṛṣṇa sported with gopīs)

Gopacāra—(a site under Gayā) Vā. 111. 35–37 (where there is a grove of mango trees), Ag. 116. 6

Gopatrāta—(Guptar in Fyzabad in Oudh) V. 84. 70–71 (where Rāma gave up his physical body along with his army and servants), Vām. 83. 8, N. II. 75. 71, Raghuvamśa XV. 101

Gopreksa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 42, P. I. 37. 16, N. II. 50.43 (Gopreksa)

Gopreksaka—(liṅga under VS) L. I. 92. 67–68

Gopreksesvara—(under VS) Sk. q. by T. K. p. 131

Goraksaka—Var. 213.93

Gorathagiri—(in Magadhakṣetra) S. 20. 30

Gotiṅthā—A (in Naimiṣa forest) V. 95.3; B (under Prayāga) M 110.1; C (under VS) K. I. 35.13; D (under Narmadā) M. 193.3, P. I. 20.3; E (under Sābharamati) P. VI. 156.1

Gouvardhana—A (a hill near Mathurā) M. 22. 52, K. I. 14.18 (where Prīthu practised austerities), P. IV. 69. 39, Var. 163.18, 164.1 and 22–23, Vi. V. 11. 16. Vide p. 691 above; B (a town under Gautami established by Rāma) B. 91.1, Br. II. 16.44. Inscription of Usavādāta near Nasik mentions Gouvardhana several times (Bom. G. vol. 16 p.569), Vide p. 710 above.
List of tirthas

Govindatirtha—(under Go.) B. 122, 100; P. I. 38. 50 (appears to be near Campakārāṇa)

Grdhraukṣa—(a hill under Gayā) Vā. 77. 97, 108. 61, 111. 22, Ag. 116. 12, N. II. 45. 95 and 47. 78; B (on the confluence of Sarasvatī and Sudhā, where Parasūrāma’s hand stained with blood became clear) NM 1394-5

Grdhravana—K. II. 37. 38

Grdhra-vaṭa—A (on the Grdhraukṣa hill of Gayā) V. 84. 91, Ag. 116. 12, P. I. 38. 11 (bhasmanā śanana there), N. II. 44. 72, Vā. 108 63; the tree does not now exist; B (under Sūkra-kaṭetra where a Grdhra became a man) Var. 137. 56

Grdhresvara-liṅga—(under Gayā on Grdhraukṣa) Ag. 116. 11, N. II. 47. 78

Guhēsvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102

Gurukulyatirtha—(on Narmadā) SK. I. 1. 18. 153 (where Bali performed Aśvamedhas)

H

Hamśadvāra—(near Kashmir) NM 1464

Hamśakunda—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 46

Hamśapada—(near Viśakhayūpa) Vām. 81.10

Hamśaprapatana—(under Prayāga) V. 85.87, M 106. 32 (to the east of Gangā and north of Pratiṣṭhāna), K. I. 37. 24, P. I. 39. 80, Ag. 111.10

Hamśatīrtha—A (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 30, N. II. 47. 30; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 72; C (under Sālagrāma to its east) Var. 144. 152-155 (explain why so called.). Vide Yakṣatīrtha.

Hamūmatīrtha—(under Go. on north bank) B. 129. 1

Hārakunda—(near Hārapura) L. I. 92. 164

Haramukta—(Harmukh in popular language in Kāśmīra) NM. 1320, 1322, 1231; peak of the Himālaya

on the east of which is lake Kālodaka and which is itself near Uttarā-mānas. Vide H. C. IV. 87-88 and Vik. 18. 55. Al. (vol. I p. 207) says that the Jallām rises in the mountain Haramakot, where also the Ganges rises. Vide Stein’s note on R. III. 448.

Haramunda—(a tirtha near Kāśmīra) NM 1455

Haridvāra—(same as Gangādvāra and Māyapuri) It is in the modern Saharanpur District in U. P. and on the right bank of the Ganges. It is one of the seven holy cities (vide pp. 501 and 678) P. IV. 17. 66, VI. 21. 1, VI. 22. 18, VI. 135. 37 (Māṇḍavya practised penance here). See Beal’s BRWW vol I. p. 197, where Hsiouen Thang states that men of the five Indies call it the Gate of Gāṅgā and that hundreds and thousands of people gather to bathe and wash. I do not agree with Cunningham (A. G. p. 535) that Haridvāra is a comparatively modern name, since Alberuni mentions only Gangādvāra. Both SK. IV and P. IV mention Haridvāra and it cannot be said that they both are later than Alberuni (i. e. 1030 A. D.). Probably Gangādvāra was a more popular name in the 11th century than Haridvāra. Al. (vol. I. p. 199) tellus us that the source of the Ganges is called Gangādvāra.

Haribara-ḳṣetra—A (on Tuṅgabhadra) Nr 65. 18 (q. by T. K. p. 253), P VI. 176. 46 and VI. 183. 3, Var. 144. 145 (also called Devāṭa); it is on the boundary between Mysore State and Bombay State; B (the junction of the Gandaki with the Ganges at Sonepur, where Gajendramokṣa took place) Var. 144. 116-133, Vām. 85. 4-76 places the story of Gajendramokṣa on mountain Trikūta

Harikēśevāra—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 113
Harikēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 84 (probably the same as above)
Hariścandra—A (tīrtha under VS) M 22,52 (very fit place for śrāddha) 181.28, Ag. 112.3; B (on south bank of Go.) B 104,86 and 88
Hariścandra—(a m.) Devala q. by T. K. 250
Hariścandraśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 117
Hariparvata—(hill in Sṛṅagarā)—same as Śārikāparvata or Pradyumnapītha. K. R. p. 17, Vik. 18. 15
Hārita-tīrtha—(eminent place for śrāddha) M 22. 68 (beyond Vasiṣṭhatīrtha)
Haritakivana—Vide Vaidyanātha p. 678 and n. 1536 above
Harītēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 120.
Harīyūpīyā—(a r.) Rg. VI. 27. 5. Probably in Kuruśetra.
Harodbheda—(fit place for śrāddha) M 22. 25
Harṣapāṭāḥ—(Saṃhitā at Kaśyapa’s prayer became H. in Kāmīra) N M 309
Hastatīrtha—(v. l. Hamsatīrtha) K. II. 42. 13 (on Narmāḍa)
Hāṣṭīnapura or Hāṣṭīnāpura—(capital of Kurus, named after king Hastīn, great-grandson of Bharata Daśyantī,.). It is to the north-east of Delhi. Ādi 95, 34, Rām. II. 68. 13 (Hāṣṭīnāpura), Vi IV. 21. 8, Bh. IX. 22. 40. After it was swept away by Ganges, Nicānu, grandson of Janamejaya, made Kauśāmbi his capital. Pāṇ. VI. 2. 101 (na Hāṣṭīnāphālaka-mārdeyāḥ) appears to know it as Hāṣṭīnāpura. The Mbh. (vol. I. p. 380 on Pāṇ. II. 1. 16) offers the illustration ‘anu-Gaṅgam Hāṣṭīna-
puram’.
Hastipādēśvara—(a Sātiṅga to the east of Sthānunāṭa) Vāṃ 46.29
Hastipālesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 76
Hāṭaka—(removes sins of crores of murders) P. IV. 17, 67
Hāṭakesvara—Vāṃ, 63.78 (on Saptagodāvara)
Hayamukti—(under Mathurā) Var. 160.23
Hayaśiras—(fit place for śrāddha) Br. III. 13.46, Vā. 77.46
Hayatīrtha—M. 22.69
Hemakūṭa—(another name of Kailāsa, which see) Bhi. 6, 4, Br. II. 14.48 and 15.15 (Himavat and Hemakūṭa distinguished)
Hetuśeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 92
Himālaya—see Himavat
Himavat—in Rg. X. 121.4 and A. V. IV. 2.5 the plural is used (Viśve himavantaḥ). But in A. V. 4.2 and 8, VI. 24.1 the singular is employed. In Kenopanisād III. 25 Umm Haimavati is mentioned. In V. 158.19, Udyoga 11.12 and Pāṇ. IV. 4.112 Himavat is mentioned and in K. II, 37. 46–49 its length is given as 1080 yojana. It is the Varasaparvata of Bharatavarṣa and the other seven chief mountains mentioned in note 1260 are ‘Kulaparvatas’.
M. 117–118 contain fine descriptions of trees, flowers, birds and beasts on it. Himālaya occurs in non-vedic works, e. g. Gitā X. 25. Himavat meant the whole mountain range stretching from Assam in the east to the mountains west of Panjab. Mār. 51.24 states that Kailāsa and Himavat stretch from east to west and are situated between two seas and that Himavat is to the north of Bharatavarṣa (which has seas on south, west, and east) like the string of a bow (Mār. 54.59)
Himavat—arāṇya—Devīpurāṇa q. by T. K. 244
Hīraneśthi—(carried a girl to Kosala.) Vāṃ. 34.8 (one of seven or nine very holy rivers), 64.11 and 19,90.32, Anu 166.25, Udyoga 152.7 (in Kuru-
List of tīrthas

kṣetra, where Pāṇḍavas pitched their camp), 160.1, Bhī. 9.25

Hiranyabāhu—(The Erannoba of Greek writers, river Sona). Vide A.I. p. 68. It falls into the Ganges near Bankipore. Arrian (A. I. p. 186) regards Erannobaos and Sonos as distinct. It was called ‘golden armed’ probably owing to the colour of the sand in its bed or because particles of gold were found in it.

Hiranyakabindu—(on m. Kālānjara) V. 87.21, Anu. 25.10

Hiranyadvipa—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 68, P. I. 20. 66

Hiranyagarbha—(a liṅga under VS) K. I. 35.13, L. I. 92. 76, P. I. 37. 16, L. q. by T. K. p. 48

Hiranyakasipulīgā—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43

Hiranyakṣa—M. 22.52 (most efficacious about dānas here)

Hiranyakṣesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 47

Hiranyāsaṅgama—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 135.1

Hiranyavāha—same as Sona and as Arrian’s Erannobaos, which was the third great river, the other two being Indus and Ganges (vide A. G. p. 452)

Hiranyavati—(r. on which stood the Sāla grove of the Mallas and the Upavattana of Kusinārā). SBE, vol. XI. p. 85. It is the same as the Gaṇḍakī. Vide A. G. p. 453

Hāḍini—(r.) Rām. II. 71.2 (Bharata coming from Kekaya country crossed it first and then Satadru)

Homatīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35.11

Hṛṣikeśa—(on the Ganges about 24 miles north of Hardivāra) Var. 146. 63-64 (Viṣṇu is deemed to stay there)

I

Ikṣu—A (r. from Himavat) Vā. 45. 96. Dey, p. 77 identifies it with Oxus. He equates Aśmanvati (p. 13) and Cakṣus (p. 43) with Oxus. Hence such identifications of his cannot be taken seriously; B (r. falling into Narmadā) M 191. 49

Ikṣumati—A(r. flowing through Kumaon and Kanoj). From Pāṇ. IV, 2, 85-86 (nadyām matup, madhvādibhyaś-ca) it follows that Pāṇini was aware of this river, as ‘Ikṣu’ is included in the madhvādī-gaṇa). Rām. II. 68. 17 (going from Ayodhyā one first meets Mālinī, then Gaṅgā at Hāṣṭinapura, then Kurukṣetra and then Ikṣumati), M 22.17 (favourite of the pitṛs and falls into the Ganges), P. V. 11.13; B (r. of the Sindhu-Sauvira country) Vi. II. 13, 53-54 (there was Kapila’s āśrama on it where the king of Sauvira came and asked what is most beneficial in this saṁśāra which abounds in pain and sorrow), Bh. V. 10. 1

Ikṣu—Narmadāsaṅgama—M 191. 49, K. II. 41.28, P. I. 18. 47

Ikṣudā—(r. rising in m. Mahendrap) M 114. 31, Vā. 45. 106 (reads Ikṣulā)

Ilāspada—P. I. 26. 73

Ilātīrtha—(under Go.) B. 108. 1

Ivalapura—(same as Maṇimati pūrī) V. 96. 4

Indirā—(r.) Vā. 108. 79

Indradhvaja—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 36

Indradhyumnasaras—A (under Purusottama, vide pp. 694-95, 700 above) B. 51. 29-30 ; B V. 199.9-11, Ādi 119.50 (beyond even Gandhamādana, where Pāṇḍu practised taṇḍas)

Indradhyumnesvara—liṅga of Mahākāla, SK. I. 2. 13, 209

Indrgrāmatīrtha—(on north bank of Sābhramati) P. VI. 144. 1

Indrakila—(m. beyond Gandhamādana) V. 37. 41-42, M. 22. 53 (sacred to pitṛs), NM 1443, Bh. V. 19. 16

Indraloka—(under Badari) Var. 141. 10-13

Indramārga—Anu. 25. 9 and 16, P. I. 27. 68

Indranādi—(r.) Vā. 43. 26
Indrāṇītirtha—N., II. 40. 93
Indraprastha—(the modern village of Indarpur in Delhi District on the Yamuna, Old Delhi). Ādi 217. 27. Munsala 7. 72, Vi, V. 38. 34 (Yādava Vajra was crowned king here by Arjuna after Kaśapa passed away), P. VI, 196, 5, 60, 75–76 (it extended up to four yojanas to the south of Yamunā), 200. 5 (it was in Khāndavavana), Bh. X, 58. 1, XI 30. 48, XI. 31. 25 Indraprastha is only one of five prasthas, the others being Sonepat, Panipat, Pilpat and Bāghpat
Indratirtha—(under Go.) B 96, 1
Indratoyo—(r. on Gandhamādāna) Anu. 25. 11
Indreśvara—A (under Sripavarta) L. I, 92. 152; B (under VS) L. q. by T. 71
Irāvati—(modern Rāvi river in Panjab called Hydroates by Greek writers). Nir. IX. 26 notes that the river Paruṣni invoked in Rg. X. 75. 5 was also called Iravati; Vdbh.S. 83. 49, M. 22, 19 (fit for śrādha), Vā. 45. 95 (rises in Himālaya), Vām. 79. 7. 81. 1, NM 149 (Iravati tathā pūnyā sarva-kalmaśānti). The city of Lahore stands on it. The Mbh. (vol. I p. 382 on Pan. II. 1. 20 cites as examples 'dvīravatīko deñāḥ, trīravatīko deñāḥ'. Vide under Candrabhūga.
Iravati—nadavālā-saṅgama—Vām. 79. 51. Īśānādhyaśita—V 84, 8.
Īśāna-liṅga—(under VS) L I, 92. 106 and 137 q. by T. K. p. 105
Īśāna-rākṣasa—(under Kedāra) Devipūrāṇa q. by T. K. p. 230
Īśāntirtha—(under Narmadā) P. I, 20. 69
Jagannātha—see under Purusottama
Jāhnavi—(name of Gaṅgā) Vā. 91. 54–58 (story of sage Jāhnu), N. II 41, 35–36 (Jāhnu drank it and let it off through his right ear), Br. III, 56. 48 (Jāhnu let it off from his belly), III, 66, 28.
Jahnurada—N. II. 40. 90
Jāgīśavayagūha—(under VS) L. I, 92, 53
Jāgīśavayesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 91
Jāla—a Sāktākṣetra, acc. to Bār. S. III. 124.
Jalabindu—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 16
Jālandhara—A (hill) M. 13. 46 (Devi was called Viśvanāthī on it), 22, 64 (hill sacred to piṭṛs); according to Kal. chap. 18. 51 Devī is called Cāndī on Jālandhara hill, whereon her breasts fell when Siva carried her corpse; B (a town on the Sutlej in the Panjab) Vā. 104. 80 (Jālandhara piṭha seen on the chest of Vedāpuraśa personified); one of the piṭhas of Lalitā is probably Jālandhara; P. VI. 4. 19–20, Br. IV, 44, 95 (Jālandhara). Vide A. G. pp. 136–139
Jālesvara—A (a Śivatirtha, one of the eight sthānas) M. 181, 28 and 30, K. II. 40. 35; B (under Narmadā) M. 186, 15 and 38 (a hṛada named Jālesvara), K. II. 40, 22, P. I 14, 3. Its utpāti in M 187; C (Jālesvara near Śālagrāma) Var. 144, 139–140
Jalpiśa—T. P. pp. 602–603 quoting Kālikāpurāṇa
Jambīra—campaka (under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 190
Jambukēśvara—(under VS) K. I. 35. 4, P. I. 37. 4, L. I. 92. 107, N. II. 50. 67 (where demon Jambuka was killed by Siva)
Jambulā—(r. rising from Rśapāda) Vā. 45, 100
Jambūmārga—A (an āyatana) Devala q. by T. K. 250, VI II. 13. 33 (on the Ganges); Devala q. by T. K. p. 250
separately mentions Jambūmārga and Kālañjara as āyatanas; B (near Kurukṣetra) V. 82. 41-42, 89. 13 (on Asita m.), Anu. 25 51, 166.24, M.22. 21, Br. III. 13. 38; C (near Puṣkara) P. I. 12. 1-2, Ag. 109.9, Vā 77.38.

Jambūnādi—(rising from Candraprabha lake on slopes of Meru-Mandara peak) Br. II. 18, 68-69, Bh. V. 16. 19.

Janaśakūpa—(under Gayā) P. I. 38 28, V. 84. 111.

Janaśekavāra—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 119.


Janesvara—(under Haranadā) P. I. 13. 11 (sacred to pitṛs).

Janesvarā—M. 22. 42.

Jayāvēsvarā—(or Jāyēvēsvarā) K. II. 43. 17-42 (near the sea Nandi performed recitation of three creases of Rudra); Ag. 112. 4 (under VS).

Jayāsandhēsvarā—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115.

Jātākunḍa—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 47 (to the south of Malayia mountain and north of the sea).

Jātismaraḥrātra—A (near Kṛṣṇa-Venā) V. 85. 38; B (uncertain location) V. 84. 128, P. I. 38. 45.

Jayanta—M. 22. 73, Vām. 51. 51.

Jayantikā—Br. IV. 44. 97 (one of the 50 pitās sacred to Lālita).

Jayapura—(in Kaśmīra, capital of king Jayāpīḍa, surrounded by water, also called Dvāravatī in imitation of Śrīkṛṣṇa’s Dvāravatī) R. IV. 501-511, K. R. pp. 13-16, SM. pp. 197-198 (marked by the present village Andarkot).

Jayāṭīrtha—M. 22. 49.

Jayāvāna—(modern Zevan in Kaśmīra) R. I. 220, Vik. 18. 70 (1 1/2 gavvūṭi from Pravarapura). Zevan is mentioned in Ain. A. (vol. II p. 358 as possessing a spring and reservoir considered sacred. Taksakanāga is worshipped to this day in the large limpid pool situated close to the village Zevan, Vide A G. pp 101-102 for the situation of Jayavāna; under Taksakanāga which is near Zevan.

Jayānī—P. I. 26. 16 (where there is Somatīrtha).

Jeṣṭhīla—(near Campakāranyā) V. 84. 134.

Jānatīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35. 6, P. I. 37. 6.

Jānaavāpi—SK. IV. 33 (describes the origin and greatness of it); see p. 638 above.

Jvālāmukhi—(a Deviśthāna) Devi-Bh. VII. 38. 6.

Jvālaśaras—(on Amarakaṇṭaka m.) Br. III. 13. 12.

Jvālaśavāra—(near Amarakaṇṭaka) M. 188. 80 and 94-95, P. I. 15. 69, 77, 78 (one of the Tripuras burnt by Śiva fell here). It appears that the reference is to jets of natural gas, which burn when ignited.

Jeṣṭhēśvāra—(modern Jyethir on the Dal lake near Śrīnagara in Kaśmīra) K. I. 113, NM 1323-24. This was a form of Śiva in a temple which was built by king Gopāditya of Kaśmīra. Stein in note on K. I. 113 states that there are three places in Kaśmīra called Jeṣṭhēśavāra. R. I. 124 says that Jalauka, son of Asoka, built a shrine of Jeṣṭhēśavāra, which would be the oldest temple in Kaśmīra.

Jeṣṭhapuṣkara—(on Sarasvatī) V. 200. 66, P. V. 19. 12, 18, 20 (it is said to be 2 1/2 yojanas long and a half yojana in width).

Jeṣṭhasthāna—(near Koṭiṭīrtha) V. 85. 62.

Jyotirāṭhā or—rathyā—(tributary of Śoṇa) V. 85. 8, P. I. 39. 8.

Jyotiṣmātī—(a tributary of Sarasvatī rising from a lake on Hemakūṭa) Vā. 47. 63, M 121.65, Br. II. 18. 66.
Jyotsnā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br. II. 18. 71

K

Kacāliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 112.

Kadalīnadī—(where dāna is most efficacious) M. 22. 52

Kadamba—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 52 (where Vṛṣṇis became purūṣed)

Kadambakhandā—(a kūnda under Mathurā) Var. 164. 26

Kadambeśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 161 (a liṅga established by Skanda)

Kādravati—a holy place for śrāddha, japa, soma etc.) Vā. 77. 82

Kailāpura—one of the 50 pīthas of Laliṭā) Br. IV. 44. 97

Kailāsaśikhara—a peak of the Himaśālaya 22000 feet above sea level, 25 miles to north of Mānasa lake) V 139. 41 (6 yojanas high), 153. 1, 158. 15-18, M. 121. 2-3; Br. IV. 44. 95 (one of the 50 pīthas of Laliṭādevi); vide Swami Pranavānanda's paper in J.U.P. H.S. vol. 19 pp. 168-180 and his book on 'Kailāsa Mānasarvāvata' and Sven Hedoin's 'Trans Himaśālaya' (1909). Vide Dey pp 82-83. Whether Kailāsa or the lake Mānasa is the source of four great rivers viz. Satlej, Indus, Brahmaputā and Karṇāli is a moot point

Kākahradra (eminently fit for śrāddha) Br. III. 13. 85

Kākāsilā—(under Gayā) Vā. 108. 76, Ag. 116. 4

Kakubha—(a m.) Bh. V. 19. 16

Kakudmati—(r. rising in Sahaya) P. VI. 113. 25 (Koyānā in Satara District). Vide under Kṛṣṇā and TS p. 79. The Koyānā falls into Kṛṣṇā near Karad in Satara.

Kālābhairava—(under VS) L. I. 92. 132


Dr. Agrawala in J. U. P. H. S., vol. 14 part 1, p. 15 says that it was part of Sāketa.

Kālakesava—(under VS) K. I. 35. 7

Kālakoṭi—in Naimiṣa forest) V, 95 3, Br. S. 14. 4

Kālānjara or Kālīnjara—A (hill and fort in Bundelkhand) V 85. 56, 87. 21, Vā. 77. 93, Vām. 84 (temple of Nilakaṇṭha on it); Kālānjara was the capital of the Chandellas; vide E.I. vol. I. p 217, E.I. vol. IV p. 153. For Kālānjaramanḍala, vide E. I. vol. 19 p. 18 (plate dated saṅkṣat 893). Ain. A. vol. II p. 159 speaks of it as 'a stone fortress situated on a heaven-reaching hill. It contains many temples and an idol is there called Kāla Bhairava, 18 cubits high, of which marvellous tales are related. Springs rise within the fort and there are many tanks.' Vide I. G. I. vol. VI p. 349; B (as an āyatanā) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250; C (under VS) K. II. 36. 11-38 (story of rājarṣi Sveta who constantly muttered Satarudriya), P. I. 37. 15; D (shrine of Śiva under Go.) B 146, 1 and 43 (also called Yāyata); E (said to be source of Narmāḍa called Kaliṇjar) and a Śiva shrine) SK, Kaliṅka-khanḍa q. by T. S. p. 98; F (under Mathurā) Var. 176. 18 (printed as Kālīnjara); G R. VII,1256 (some hilly district in Kāśmīra is meant)

Kālānjaravāna—M 181.27 (Kālīnjara, a Śiva-tirtha) q. by T. K. p. 241

Kalāpagrama—(probably near Bada-rikā) Vā. 91. 7, 99. 437 (Devāpi stays there and will be Kṛtyugapravartaka when Kaliyuga will end), Bh. X. 87. 7

Kalāpakā—(about 100 yojanas from Kedāra) SK. I. 2. 6. 33-34

Kalāpavana—P. I. 28.3
Kalaśākhyā-tīrtha—(where Agastya sprang from a jar) N II, 40, 87
Kālasarpis—(a mahātīrtha of Kaśyapa) K II, 37, 34, Vā 77, 87 (very fit for śrāddha), Br. III, 13, 98
Kālaśēvāra—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 99, P. I, 37, 7
Kālāśirtha—A (in Kośāla) V, 85, 11-12; P I, 39, 11 (both have same words); B (under VS), K I, 35, 2
Kalaviṅka—Anu 25, 43
Kālavimala—(one of five tīrthas in Kaśmīra) HC 4, 83
Kāḷēśa—(under Gayā) Ag 116, 23
Kāḷēśavāra—(under VS) L. I, 92, 136, L. q. by T. K. pp. 45, 72; B (under Narmadā) M 191, 85. In Br. IV, 44, 97 it is one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā.
Kāḷībhrada—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145, 45
Kāli—A (r. flows through Saharanpur District in U. P.) M. 22, 20, Vām. 57, 79; this river divides Nepal from Saharanpur; vide I. G. I. vol. XXII p. 102; B r. called Kāli Sind which falls into the Chamabal.
Kālika—(r. sacred to piṭṛs) M. 22, 36
Kālika-saṅgama—V. 84, 156, P I. 38, 63 (same words in both), Ag. 109, 20
Kālikaśikha—Devipurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 244
Kālikāramāna—Anu 25, 24 (on Vipākā) NM 148
Kālindī—(see under Yamunā) P I. 29, 1
Kāliyabrada—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 192, T. P. p. 515
Kāllolakesvara—(under Narmadā) K II, 41, 88
Kālmāśi—(Yamunā) S. 78, 16
Kālødaka (lake)—A Vdh. S. 85, 35 (acc. to Vaijayantī com.), Anu 25, 60; B (lake situated on eastern half of mountain Hāramukūṭa at 13000 feet above sea level) NM 1231-1233
Kālōdakā—(r. in Kaśmīra) Anu. 25, 60, NM 1545
Kalpaṅgrāma—(under Mathurā) Var. 166, 12 (shrine of Varāha in U. P. there); probably modern Kālpī.
Kāma—ā Śāktakṣetra, acc. to the Bār. S. III, 124.
Kāmadheuṇapada—(under Gayā) Vā 112, 56
Kāmagiri—(m.) Br IV. 39, 105, Bh. V, 19, 16, Devi-Bh. VIII. 11, 11.
Kāmākhyā—A (a Rudra-tīrtha on Devikā river) V 82, 105, P. I. 25, 12 (same words in both); B (a Devi-sthāna or temple of Tripurabhairavi on the beautiful Nilācala hill overlooking the Brahmaputra river) Devi-Bhāgavata VII. 38, 15, Kal. 64, 2 (explains the name and the whole chap. is māhātmya). This last is about two miles from Gaubati and was famed even in ancient times; vide TP pp. 599-601. Vide Shri B. Kakati’s paper on the Mother Goddess Kāmākhyā in ‘Sidhāsbhāratī’ part II. pp. 44 ff. In Kal. 18, 42 and 50 it is said that on Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa, the private parts of Sati fell when her corpse was carried by Śiva and Devī is known as Kāmākhyā there.
Kāmakōṣṭhaka (Kāmakotī)—Pītha of Tripurasundari—Kāmaśī. Br. IV. 5, 6-10, IV. 40, 16 (in Kānci), IV, 44, 94 (one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā), Bh. X. 79, 14 (Kāmakōṣṭha purīm Kāncim)
Kāmākṣi—(in Abhidatta) a Devi-sthāna established by Sumāda, P. IV. 12, 54-60
Kāmākṣi—(in the east) N II, 69 (for māhātmya)
Kamalākṣa—(here Devī is called Mahotpālā) M. 13, 34
Kamalalaya—M. 13, 32 (here Devī is called Kāmalā)
Kambalāśvatara—Nāgau—A (under Prayāga) M 106. 27, 110. 8, K. I. 37. 19 (on south bank of Yamunā), Ag. 111. 5; B two Nāgas (i.e. springs or pools) in Kāśmīra, NM 1052
Kambalāśvatarākṣa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102
Kambotikeśvara—(under Narmadā) P, I. 18. 60
Kambutirtha—(under Sābhramati) P, VI. 136. 1
Kāmeśvara-liṅga—(under VS) SK. IV. 33, 122
Kāmeśvarīpiṭha—(Kal. 84 describes the yātra)
Kāmika—(where Gandakī river joins Devikā) Var. 144. 84–85
Kāmodāpura—(on the Ganges) N. II, 68 (contains Kāmodāmāhātmya). Four maidens arose at the churning of the ocean viz. Rāma, Vāruṇi, Kāmodā and Vara, of whom Viṣṇu accepted three and Vāruṇi was taken away by the asuras; chap. 68. 18, it is 10 yojanas above Gaṅgādvāra
Kampana (r.)—V. 84. 115–116, Bhi. 9, 25
Kāmyaka—āśrama (of the Pāṇḍavas) V. 146.6
Kāmyaka-saras—S. 52, 20
Kāmyakavanā—(on the banks of the Sarasvati) V. 36. 41 (where Pāṇḍavas went from Dvaitavana), Vām. 41. 30–31; B (under Mathurā) 4th out of the 12 vanas
Kānādeva—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 92
Kanakā—(r. under Gayā) Vā 108. 80
Kanaka—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. 189
Kanakanandā—(a river to the north of Munda-pratīha at Gayā) N. II, 44. 62, Vā 77. 105 (Kanakanandā), K. I. 37. 41–43 (reads Brahmaprūṭha)
Kanakavāhīni (r. in Kāśmīra now called Kankanai flowing past Buthār i.e. Bhūteśvara) NM 1545, R. I. 149–150 (flows into river Sind). See SM. p. 211. NM (1539–42) says that the confluence of Sindhu and Kana-kavāhīni is equal to VS
Kanakēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 104
Kanakahala—A (on the Ganges about two miles from Haridvāra) V. 84.30, Anu 25.13, V Dh. S. 85.14, K. II. 37. 10–11, SK. I. 1. 2. 11 (where Rudra destroyed Dakṣayajña), Vā. 83 21, Vām. 4. 57; vide T. P. p. 377; B (under Gayā between Uttar and Dakṣiṇa Mānasa) Vā. 111. 7, Ag. 115.23, N. II. 46.46; C (under Narmadā) M. 183. 69, P. I. 20.67 (where Garuḍa practised ṭapas); D (under Mathurā) Var. 152.40–49 (where a barber Kāṃpīlya in Pāncāla country bathed in Yamunā and was born as a brāhmaṇa)
Kāncanākṣi—(r. near Naimiṣa forest) Vām. 83.2
Kānci or Kāncipuri—vide pp. 711–712 above. A—one of the seven holy cities, capital of the Colas and a Devisthāna called Annappāra. P. VI. 110.5, Devī-Bh. VII. 38.8, Br. IV. 5.6–10 and IV, 39.15, Bh. X. 79.14, Vā. 104.76, P. IV. 17.67, Bār S. III. 124 (a Śakta-kṣetra). In a new Inscription of Jayavarman I from Cambodia a king of Kānci appears to be referred to (vide ’Inscriptions du Cambodge’ edited by G. Coedes, vol. I p. 8 ’adhārmikajana—dhvāntam navodita-vivasvatā tākāncipura-nṛpa...rest lost); B (under Narmadā, P. I. 17.8 Kāntipurī—vide p. 678 note 1535 above. It may be noted that the text of the Ain. A. had Kāntī. Vide Ain. A. vol. III. p 305 n. 4, SK. IV. 7. 100–102, Māheśvara Khaṇḍa, sub-section Kedāra, 27.33 (the liṅga Allānanātha there)). Kāntipurī in the Mirzapur District was the capital of the Bhārāśivas. Jayaswal in ’History of India’ (150–350 A.D.) p. 123 quotes as from Vi. the passage
'Navanāgāh Padmāvatyām Kāntipurāyam Mathurāyām...bhoksyanī'. The Venk. ed. of Vi. omits the words 'Kāntipurāyam Mathurāyām' and Dr. Hall in Wilson's translation, vol IV p. 217 notes that one of his best ms's does the same, Kāntipurī occurs in Br. III. 13. 94-95.

Kānyāśrama—A (on the river Māliṇī in the Saharanpur District) V. 82. 45, 88. 11, V Dh. S. 85. 30, Ag 109. 10. In the Sākuntala Act I Kānyāśrama is said to be along the bank of the Māliṇī; in Sat. Br. 13.5.4. 13 we read 'Sākuntalā Nādapitaptarasā Bharatam dadhe,' on which the commentator Harīsvāmin states that Nādapita was the name of Kaṇva's āśrama; B on Carmanvatī, four miles south-east of Koṭā in Rajputana, Vide Dey p. 89

Kānyā (on the southern sea, same as Kumārī, Cape Comorin) Bh. X. 79. 17 (Kānyākhyām Durgādevim dadarā saḥ); see under Kumārī

Kānyāhrada—Anu 25.53

Kānyākubja—(one of the 50 pīṭhas of Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 94; V 87. 17 (where Viśvāmitra drank soma with Indra); M. 13. 29 (Devi is called Gaurī in Kānyākubja i.e. Kanoj); Anu 4.17, P. V. 35 (Rāma established image of Viśnu here on the southern bank of river Kālinādi which ultimately falls into the Ganges), P. VI. 129. 9. The Mbh. (vol. II. p. 233 on Pān IV. 1.79) mentions Kānyākubja. Rām. I. 32. 6 says Mahodaya was founded by Kuśaṇābha, son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā. The A. C. P. 182 states that Kānyākubja, Mahodaya, Kānyākubja, Gādhipura are synonyms (verses 973-74). Vide under Mahodaya and A, G. pp. 376-382; Ptolemy mentions it (p. 134) as Kanagara and Kanogiza,

Kānyākūpa—Anu 25. 19

Kānyā—samvedya—V. 84. 136, P. I. 38. 52.

Kānyāśrama—V. 83. 189, P. I. 12.5, 27. 75, 39. 35.

Kānyātirtha—A (near the sea) V. 83. 112, 85. 23, K. II. 44. 9, P. I. 39. 21; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 76, K. II 42. 21; C (in Nāṁisa forest) V. 95. 3, P. I. 27. 1

Kapālamocanatirtha—A (in VS) V. 83. 137, Sk IV. 33. 116, N. II. 29. 38-60 (Siva cut off one of Brahamā's head, which stuck to his hand from which he became free at this tirtha), Sal. 39. 8, M. 183. 84-103, Vām. 3. 48-51, Var. 97. 24-26, P. V. 14. 185-189, K. I. 35.15 (same story in these five purāṇas); B (on Sarasvatī, otherwise called Auśanasā) Vām. 39.5-14 (where sage Rādara got rid of the head of a rākṣasa sticking to his neck and killed by Rāma), Sal. 39.9-22 (same story of Rādara); vide ASR, of India vol, XIV pp. 75-76 for the situation of this (10 miles to the southeast of Sadho-rā, legend of Śiva being freed from sin of cutting Brahamā's head and description; C (under Avanti) N. II. 78.6; D (in Kāśmir, modern Degām in Šupīyaṇ pargāna) R. VII. 266 (and Stein's n), HC X. 249, XIV. 111; E (in Māyāpurā i.e. Haridvāra) P. VI. 129.28

Kapālesvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. 58

Kapārdiśvara (one of the guhyā liṅgas in VS) K. I. 32.12, I. 33.4-11 and 28-49, P. I. 35.1

Kapāṭesvara (on the southern side of the Kāśmir valley close to modern Kothera) R. I. 32, HC XIV. 34 and 135, NM 1178, 1202, 1329-1357 (legend how Śiva shows himself in the disguise of a piece of wood); SM pp. 178-179, Ain. A. vol. II p. 358 says 'in the valley of Kothar
is a deep spring...when its water decreases an image of Mahādeva in sandalwood appears.

Kāpila (under VS) K I, 35.9

Kapilā—A (a stream under Gayā) Vā. 108.57–58, Ag.116.5; B (river on the south side of Narmādā) M 186.40, 190.10, K. II. 40.24, P. I. 13.35 (same verse in last two). It joins Narmādā at Barwani in Central India.

Kapiladhārā—Vām. 84.24. Dey p. 4 (under Amarakaṇṭaka) says that the first fall of the Narmādā from Amarakanṭaka is called Kapiladhārā in Skandapurāṇa.

Kapiladvīpa—(Ananta is Viṣṇu's gṛhya name there) Nr 65.7 q. by TK p. 251 (which reads ‘Anantam kapilam dvipe’).

Kapilabhrāyda (under VS) V. 84.78, N II. 50.46, P. I. 32.41, L I. 92.69–70, N. II. 66.35 mentions under Harivāra a tirtha of that name.

Kapilanāgarāja—V. 84.32, P. I. 28.32 (same verse in both).

Kapilāsāgama—A (with Narmādā) M. 186.40, P. II. 18.1, VI. 242.42; B (under Go.) B 141. I and 28–29

Kapilatīrtha—A (under Viraja in Orissa) B 42.6; B (on north bank of Narmādā) M 193.4, K. II. 41. 93–100, P. I. 17. 7, V 83.47, T. S. p. 100; C (on the south bank of Go.) B 155. 1–2 (also called Āngirasa, Ādiya and Saimbikayya).

Kapilatīrtha—under Kapateśvara in Kāśmirā) HC 14.113

Kapilāvata—(near Nāgatīrtha and Kanakhalā) V. 84.31, P. I. 28.31

Kapileśalīṅga—under VS) SK IV. 33.158

Kapileśvarā-līṅga—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 57, 107; B (under Narmādā) P II. 85.26

Kapiś—(r. in Utkala i.e. Orissa) Raghu. IV. 38. May be identified with Kasai flowing through Midnapur.

Kāpiś—(r.) Pāñ. IV. 2.99 mentions it; it is the Kapisene of Greek writers.

Kāpota—(under Go.) B 80. 5 and 92

Kāpotakatīrtha—(under Sābhramati) P VI. 155, I (here the r. turns to the east).

Kapotēśvara—one (under Śripaṃvata) L. I. 92.156

Karahāṭaka—(modern Karad in the Satara District on the confluence of the Krṣṇā and the Koyanā) S. 31. 70, Vik 8. 2. It is mentioned in inscriptions from about 200 B. C. Vide Cunningham’s ‘Bharhut stūpa’ p. 131 for a donation of the guild of Karahākta, pp. 135 and 136 for gift of pillars by certain inhabitants of Karahākta. Coins of the Kṣatrapas ruling up to 300 A. D. were found at Karad, Vide Bom. G. vol. I part 1 p. 58; and Talegaon copperplates of Rājšrakṣa Krṣṇa Rajā I dated sāke 690 (768 A.D.) in E. I. vol. XIII p. 275.

Kārandhama (on the south sea) Ādi 216.3

Karanjatīrtha (under Narmādā) M. 190.11

Kāranta (Karanjetra) Vām. 22.60. Vide p. 683 above

Kārapacava (on the Yamunā) Paṅca-vimśa Br. 25.10, 12. Śv. Sr. XII. 6, Kātyāyana Śr. S. 24.6.10

Kārapāda (shrine of Śiva) Vam. q. by TK p. 235

Kārapavana (near source of Sarasvatī) Sal. 54.12 and 15

Karlovi (r. flowing through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra in Bengal and being the western boundary of Kāmarūpa) V 85.3, S. 9. 22, Anu. 25.12. The Amarakośa says that Karotyā and Sadānirata are synonyms. Acc. to Mār. 54.25 it rises in the Vindhya, while Vā. 45.100 says it rises in Rṣapāda. In Sm. C. I. p. 132 the
mantra in invoking the river begins
‘Karatoye Sadānir’ (thus identifying
the two)
Kāravāti (a place fit for śrāddha) Br. III. 13.92
Karavīra—A (modern Kolhapur) M. 13.41
(Karavīra Mahālaksmin) = P. V. 17 205, M. 22.76, Anu 25.44, P. VI. 108.3; E. I. vol. III p. 207, 210,
a grant of Śilāditya Vayyāditya of śaka 1065 mentions Kṣullakapura
which appears to be meant for Kolhapura. It occurs as Kollāpura in
Miraj plates of Jayasimha II (a Cālukya) in 1024 A. D. (E. I. vol.
XII p. 303, 306). Vide I. A. vol. 29 p. 280 for the spelling of the name;
B (capital of Bhramavarta on Dravādvati) Kālīkāpurāṇa 49.71, NM 147;
C (city in Sāhyaka near Gomanta hill)
Harivanaśa (Viṣṇuparva) 39. 50–64
Karavīraka-tīrtha—A (under VS) L. q.
by T.K p. 70; B (under Kubjāmra) Var. 126.48–51
Kardamāla—A (under Gayā) M 22.77,
Ag. 116.13, N II. 60. 24; B (under Sābhryamati) P VI. 165 7 and 10.
Kardamāskrama—(near Bindusaras)
Bh. III. 21. 35–37
Kardamlā—V. 135. 1 (where Bharata
was crowned).
Karkantha—Vām. 51. 52
Karkotakeśvara—(under Narmadā)
M 191. 36
Karmāvaroḥanā—(under Mathurā) Var.
q. by TK p. 190
Karmesvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 152
Karnāhrada—(near Gaṅgāsarvatanai-
saṅgama) P. I. 32. 4
Karnaprayāga—Vide under Alakan-
nāndā and U. P. Gazetteer, vol. 36
(for Garhwal) p. 172
Kārtikeya—A (Devī is called Yaśaskarī
here) M. 13.45; B (under Go.) B 81.
1, G. I. 81. 9.
Kārtikeya-kūṇḍa—(under Lohārgala)
Var. 151. 61
Kārtikeyapada—(in Gayā) Vā 109. 19,
111. 54
Kā siti—Vide pp. 618–642 above. It is
probably the Kassida of Ptolemy (p.
228). AC (p. 182) notes that Kā siti
Varanasi, Vārānasi and Śivapurī
are synonyms (verse 974)
Kāṣmira-vaṃśa—The ancient name
seems to have been Kāṣmira. The
Mbh (vol. II. p. 119) on Pān. III. 2,
114 employs this form (abhijānāsi
Devadatta Kāṣmiraṛgamisyaṁ). Kāṣmira
as the name of a country
occurs in the Sāndhavigaṇa
(Pān. IV. 3. 93). In NM the
country is called Kāṣmira in many
verses such as 5, 11, 43, 50, but
sometimes Kāṣmira also. Later
works also like H. C. 14. 45 employ
the form Kāṣmira; the Vik (18.
1 and 18) uses the form Kāṣmira.
NM (292–93) derives the name from
ka meaning water (kam vāri Harīgā
yasmād-deśād-asmād-apārthām Kāś-
mīrakhyam tato hyasya nāma loke
bhaviṣyati). Ptolemy speaks of it as
Kaspelria and states that the country
was situated below the sources of
Biadsep (Vitastā), Sandabal (Candrabhāgā) and Adris (Irāvati).
Vide Ptolemy pp. 108–109 and NM 43.
The Vanaprava speaks of the
whole country of Kāṣmira as holy
(130. 10). Ain. A. (vol. II p. 354
notes that the whole of Kāṣmira is
regarded as holy ground. Vide also
V 82. 90, S. 27. 17, Anu 25. 8.
According to a treaty in 1846 with
the Maharaja of Kashmir and
Jammu the territories of the Mahā-
rāja are ‘situated to the eastward
of the river Indus and westward of
the river Rāvi’ I. G. I. vol. XV
p. 72. The Kashmir valley is
approximately 84 miles in length
and 20 to 25 miles in breadth
(I. G. I. vol. XV p. 74). Stein
(SM p. 63) says that its extent is
confused to the great valley drained
by the head waters of the Vītāstā and to the minor slopes of mountains that surround it. Hiouen Thsang (Beal's B R W W vol. 1, p. 148) states that 'Kāśmīra kingdom is about 7000 lī (one lī being equal to about 5½ miles), that as the country is protected by a dragon it has always assumed superiority among neighbouring people, that they love learning and are well instructed and that (p. 149) the country was once a dragon lake and that afterwards it became dry'.

The words of Hiouen Thsang refer to an ancient legend according to which Kashmir was originally a lake (called Satisaras) 6 yojanas long and 3 yojanas wide and later became Satideśa (NM 64-66), that Uma herself is the country of Kāśmīra (NM 31), that the divine Vītāstā rising in the Himālayas is like the simanta (line parting the hair) of this holy land (NM 45). The legend runs that Viṣṇu conferred a boon on Vāsuki-nāga who prayed to Viṣṇu when Garuḍa began to devour all nāgas that he should stay in the Satideśa along with the other nāgas, that no enemy would kill any nāga (NM 105-107) and that Nīla was made king of nāgas in the Satideśa (NM 110). The residence of Nīla is the famous fountain near the village of Vērnāg in the Shahabad pargana. A certain demon called Jalodbhava grew in the Sāti lake and killed men (NM 111-123 and Vām. 81. 30-33). Nīla approached the sage Kaśyapa the father of all Nāgas, at whose intercession Viṣṇu asked Anantaśāra to pierce the hills and make the lake dry and then killed the demon Jalodbhava (R. I. 25). Then Viṣṇu asked the Nāgas to live in peace and harmony with men. Sāti became the river Vītāstā. Vide Kūrma IV. 43. 4. Nāga in Kashmir means the tutelary deity presiding over the several holy springs, pools and lakes in which Kāśmīra abounds. Both NM (1130-31) and R (I. 38) state that there is not a spot in Kāśmīra even as small as a grain of sesamum which is not a tīrtha and has not a nāga as its presiding deity. In Ain. A (vol. II. p. 354) Abul Fazl notes that there were in his day 45 shrines of Mahādeva, 64 of Viṣṇu, 3 of Brahmā and 22 of Durgā and that in 700 places there were graven images of snakes which were worshipped and about which wonderful stories were told. R (I. 72) and NM (313-314) say that the country of Kāśmīra is Pārvatī, that the king thereof should be deemed to be a part of Śiva and that none who desires prosperity should disobey (or disrespect) the king. R (I. 42) summarises in one verse the peculiar features of Kāśmīra viz. 'learning, lofty dwellings, saffron, water containing ice and grapes; these are common here, although rare in the three worlds'.

Kaśyapapada—(under Gayā) Vā. 109. 18, 111. 49 and 58

Kāṣyapatīrtha—A (called Kālasarpīḥ) Vā. 77. 87, Br. III 13. 98; B (under Sābhramati) P. VI. 157. 1

Kaśyapeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 75

Kaṭheśvara—(near Candrabhāgā) M. 191. 63-64

Kāṭyāyanėśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 120

Kauberā—one of the Sārasvatīrthas, Devala q. by T. K. p. 250

Kauberatīrtha—Śal. 47. 25 (where Kubera secured the lordship of wealth)

Kaumārātīrtha—(a lake) Br. III. 13. 86

Kaunaṭa—Vām. 51. 53
Kaundinyasarasa—(Kramasāra is so called in Kaśmira) NM 1481–1483


Kauśikahrada—(on r. Kauśikī) V. 84. 142–143, P. I. 38. 58 (where Viśvāmitra obtained the highest sidāhi).

Kauśikī—A (r. from Himālaya, modern Kusi) Ādi 215. 7, V. 84. 132, M 22. 63, 114. 22, Rām. I. 34. 7–9, Bb. IX. 15. 5–12 (Satyavati, daughter of Gāthi, became r. Kauśikī), Vām. 54. 22–24 (so called because it was the dark kōṣa of Kāli cast off by her when she became fair), 78. 5, 90.2, Vā. 45.94, 91. 85–88. This river was called Pārā by Viśvāmitra (Ādi 71. 30–32); B (under Gayā) V. 87, 13, Vā 108, 81 (Kauśikī brahmadā jyeṣṭhā). Here brahmadā is apparently an adjective of Kauśikī and not the name of another river as Prof. Diksitar (Puruṇa Index, vol. II. p. 507) thinks.

Kauśikī—Kokā-saṅgama—Var. 140.75–78

auśki-mahā-brada—Vā 77. 101, Br. III. 13. 109

Kauśikī—saṅgama (with Drśadvati) P. I. 26. 89, Vām. 34. 18. This seems to be another Kauśikī apart from the two mentioned above.

Kauśikī-tirtha—(under Narmāda) M. 194. 40

Kauśikyārunā—saṅgama—V. 84. 156, P. I. 38. 63

Kastubhēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 60

Kāverī—A (r. in south India rising in Sahya m.) V 85. 22, Anu 166. 20, Vā 45. 104. 77. 28, M. 22. 64, K. II. 37. 16–19, P. I. 39. 20, P. VI. 224. 3, 4 and 19 (is called Marudvṛdhā), Nr 66. 7 (says that Kāverī is Dakṣina-Gaṅgā); there is a fine description of it in the Tamil epic Śilappadikāram (X. 102 ff, pp. 160 ff of Prof. Diksitar’s translation); B (a r. rising in the Rajpipla hills and falling into Narmāda on its northern bank opposite Śukla-tirtha) M. 189. 12–14, K. II 40. 40, P. I. 16. 6–11 (Kubera got yaksāhīpatya here), Ag. 113. 3.

Kāverisāṅgama—(with Narmāda) Ag. 113. 3 and vide under B above.

Kāyasodhana—V. 83. 42–43

Kāyāvaroṇa—A (modern Kārvān, 15 miles south of Baroda and in the Dabhoi Taluka) Vā 23. 221–222 (here Nakulī or Lakulī, the founder of Pāśupata doctrines, flourished); M. 22.30, K. II. 44. 7–8 (state that this was a shrine of Mahādeva and the doctrines of Maheśvara were promulgated here). E. I. vol. XXI pp. 1–7 (Mathurā Inscription of Candragupta II dated in Gupta year 61 i. e. 380 A D. shows that Lakulī, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, flourished in the 2nd century A. D.; B (a Sivarādhana in Benares) M. 181. 26. In M. 13. 48 Devī is said to be styled Mātā in Kāyāvaroṇa)
Kedāra—A (one of the eight Śiva-tirthas in Benares) V. 87. 25, M 181. 29, K. I. 35. 12 and II. 20. 34 (a very flat place for śādha), Ag. 112. 5, L. I. 92. 7 and 134; B (in Tehri Garhval and called Kedāranātha) VDb. S.85. 17; it is 11750 ft. above sea level; there are five Kedāras, viz. Kedāranātha, Tuṅga-nātha, Rudranātha, Madhyamēśvara and Kalpeśvara. Vide U. P. Gazetteer, vol. 36 p. 173 (for Garhwal); C (in Kāsmīra) HC 8. 69 (one kroṣa below Vijayēśvara); D (under Gayā) N. II. 46. 46; E (of Kapiṣhala) P. I. 26. 69.

Keśava—A (in Benares) M. 185. 68; B (under Mathurā) Var. 163. 63 Keśinītīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 40

Keśitīrtha—(under Ganges) TP p. 515 Ketakīvāna—vide under Vaidyānātha, Ketumāla—(r. in the west) V. 89. 15 Khadgadhārātīrtha or Khadgadhārēśvara—P VI. 147. 1 and 67. Vide Bom. G. vol. IV p. 6 for description

Khadgapatucchanāga—(in Kāsmīra)
HC. X. 251 (about 1 kroṣa above Vijayēśvara-ksetra, now called Khanbal in Anantaṇāgā lārgaṇa)

Khadgatīrtha—A (under Sābrāmatī) P VI. 140. 1; B (under Go.) B 139. 1 (on the northern bank)

Khadiravāna—(under Mathurā) Var. 153. 39 (7th vana out of 12)

Khāḍitatīrtha—(under Sābrāmatī)
P. VI. 137. 12 (also called Vṛṣa-tīrtha)


Khāḍavaprastha—(a city) Ādi 61. 35, 221. 15, Bh. X. 73. 32 (where Kṛṣṇa, Bhima and Arjuna returned after destroying Jarāśandha)

Khatvāṅgeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 56

Khonamūsa—(in Kāsmīra) Birth place of poet Bilhaṇa and famous for saffron cultivation. Vīk. I. 72, XVIII. 71 (reads Khonamukha), SM p. 166 (modern Khunamoh, which has two hamlets).

Kilikileśa—(under Gayā) Ag. 116. 31

Kimdatta—kūpa—V. 83. 98

Kīṁśukāvana—Vā 38. 27-32 (between Vasudhāra and Ratnadhāra)

Kīṁśuluka—name of a m. acc. to Pāṇ. VI. 3. 117 (vanagiriḥ saṇjñayām koṭara-kīṁśulukādānām). The Kāṅkā mentions five forests (including Koṭaravāna) and six girls (including Kīṁśuluka), which cannot be identified with certainty.


Kimindā—P. I. 26. 74, V. 83. 79

Kīṁśukārīma—Anu 25. 23

Kiranā—(r.) Vām. 84. 5. Vide p. 636

Kīṁśeśvara-liṅga—(under VS) SK IV. 33. 155


Kīṁśidhahaṅgā—Vā, 54, 116 (probably the same as Kīṁśidhā).

Kīṁśidhapraṃvata—M 13. 46 (Devi is called Tārā on that m.)

Kokā—(r.) Var. 214. 45, B. 219. 20

Kokāmukha—(or Varāhaksetra, on the Trivenī above Nāthapura in Purṇea District) V. 84. 158, Anu. 25. 52, Var. 122 (is Kokāmukha-māhātya), 123. 2, 140. 10-13 (q. by T. K. pp. 213-214), B. 219. 8-10 (gods asked a damsel 'Kāśi bhadre prabhuh Ko vā bhavatā'ī), K. I. 31. 47, II. 35. 36
List of tīrthas

(IT is a Viśṇuṭīrtha), P. I. 38.65; Var. (140. 60–84) says that the kṣetra is five yojanas in extent and that there is an image of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation. Vide E. I. vol. 15 pp. 138–139 for an Inscription of Budhagupta recording the installation of Kokāmukhasvāmin, and Dr. B. C. Law Presentation Volume I. pp. 189–191, I. H. Q. vol. XXI p. 56.

Kokila—(under VS) P. I. 37.16, P. V. 11.10

Kolāhala—(a m.), Vā. 45.90, 106.45, Br. II. 16.21, Mār. 54.12, VI. III 18.73; same as Brahmayoni hill according to Dr. Mitra, Vide pp. 646, 656 above. According to the Ādi. 63.35 it is in Cedi country and barred the flow of river Suktimati.

Kolāpur—(modern Kolhapur, one of the Devvsthānas) Devī-Bh. VII 38.5, P. VI. 176.42 (where there is a shrine of Lakṣmī), 182.1 (at Kolhāpuram nāma nagaram Dakṣiṇāpathē) and 11. Acc. to Br. IV. 44.97, it is sacred to Lalitā. In a grant of Silāhāra Vijayāditya of 5ake 1065 (1143 A.D.) occurs the word Kṣullakahāra, which is another name of Kolhapur; E. I. vol. III. p. 207 at pp. 209–210. The grantor is described as 'one who has obtained the favour of a boon from goddess Mahālakṣmī'. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I. of 5ake 793 (871 A.D.) it is stated that the king, in order to ward off some public calamity, cut off his left finger and dedicated it to goddess Mahālakṣmī (E. I. vol. 18. p. 235 at p. 241). This Mahālakṣmī appears to be the same as that of Kolhāpur. Vide I. A. vol. 29 p. 280 for Kolāpurā.

Kolla—a Sāktakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 124

Kollagiri—Ag. 110.21, Bh. V. 19.16 Koṅkāra or Koṅkādītya—(in Odri t. i.e. Orissa, about 24 miles north-west of Jagannātha Puri). It means 'the sun of Kona'. Konākona appears to have been the ancient name. It is a most exquisite memorial of sun-worship. It contains magnificent ruins of a temple of the Sun, which was built by the Gaṅga king Narasimhadeva (1238–1264 A.D.). It is a glorious and most beautiful example of north Indian Hindu architecture ever erected. It had a tower over 180 feet in height and a porch (mandapa) in front of 140 feet high. See Mitra's 'Anti-quities of Orissa' vol. II pp. 145–156 and Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 288 and 'Sungod of Koṅkāra unearthed' (with illustrations) in Modern Review for 1945 pp 67–72. The Sun temple shows some of the finest animal sculptures executed in India. Vide B. 28, verses 2, 9, 11, 47, 65 and 29.1 and T. C. pp. 180 ff. It is probably the Kannagara of Ptolemy (vide Ptolemy p. 70).

Koṣālā—(r. near Ayodhya) P. I. 39.11, VI. 206 13, 207.35–36, 208.27. In a grant of Vākāśaka king Naren-drasena he is praised as honoured by the kings of Koṣālā (Kosala), Mekala and Mālava. Vide E. I. vol. IX p. 271.

Koṭāra-ṭīrtha—(under Sābhramaṭi) P. VI. 152.2 and 13 (associated with Aniruddha for whom Krṣṇa fought with Bāṇāsura).


Koṭikēvara—(under Narmadā) P I.18.36

Koṭisāvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K. 54; B (under Śripārvata) L. I. 92. 157; C (under Pāncanoṇḍa)Vām.34.29; is it the Koṭisāvara, which is a famous place of pilgrimage on the western shore of Kāchh, Close to the Indus and the ocean? A. G. pp. 303–4 and Bom. G. vol. V. pp. 229–231.
Kośītithra—A (near Prthūdaka) Vām. 51.53, 84.11-15 (where Śiva assumed one crore of forms for crores of sages eager to see Śiva); B (near Bharrṭsthāna) V. 55.61; C (under Prayāga) M. 106.44; D (under Mathurā) Var. 152.62, 154.29; E (under Narmadā) M. 191.7, K. II. 41.34, P I. 13.33 and 18.8 (a crore of asuras were killed there); F (on south bank of Go.) B. 148.1; G (near Gaṅgādvāra) V. 82.49, V. 84.77, N. II. 66.29; H (under Gaṅgā) Ag. 116.6; I (in Pañcanada) P I. 26.14, Vām. 34.28 (so called because Hara collected there the waters of crores of tirthas); J (in Kāśmīra near Bāramūla, modern Koṭīśar) K. R. p. 12

Koṭīvāya—(under Koṭāmuṣka) Var. 140.47-50, 147.40

Kramasāra—(a lake in Kāśmīra, called Viṣṇupada also) NM 1481-82

Kratūṭīthra—(under Narmadā) P I. 21.9

Krauṇḍapāda—(under Gaṅgā) Vā. 108.75-77 (a sage in the form of Krauṇḍa bird practised ṛtaṇas on it), N. II. 46.52, Ag. 116.7

Krauṇḍapāda—Anu. 25.42

Krauṇḍaparvata—(part of Kailāsa on which Manasa lake is situated) Tai. A. I. 31.2 mentions this m. (Sudarśane ca Krauṇḍe ca Maināge ca maḥāgirau), Rām. IV. 43.26-31, Bhi. 111.47 (pierced by the missle of Skanda), Sa.17.51 and 46.83-84.

Krauṇḍāraṇya—(three kroas from Jana-sthāna) Rām. III. 69.5-8

Kriyā (r. rising from Śrīdeva) Br. II. 16.29

Kṛkalasāthīrtha—(also called Nṛgatīrtha) T. P. p. 543, Anu. 6.38 and chap. 70; Rām. (VII. 53) narrates how king Nṛga became a chameleon.

Kṛmicandesvara—(one of the eight Śivasṭhānas in Banaras) M. 181.29

Kroṣodaka—Var. 215.87-88

Kṛpā—(r. rising in m. Śuktimat) M. 114.32, Br. II. 16.38

Kṛpāṭīthra—(on hill Mundaprśtha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1253, 1460

Kṛṣṇa—A (r. rising in Sahya at Mahābalesvara) B. 77.5, P. VI. 113.25, Vām. 13.30; B Vām. 78.7, 90.2 (Viṣṇu as Hayaśira on the river); compared to its length and modern importance the river Kṛṣṇa is rarely mentioned as Kṛṣṇa, but generally as Kṛṣṇa-Venya or Venya. It is the third largest river of the Deccan and southern India, the other two being the Godāvari and the Kāverī. In the Mahābalesvara mahāśmya (JBBRS vol. X. p. 16 five rivers called Gaṅgā are said to rise from the top of Sahya near Mahābalesvara viz. Kṛṣṇa, Venī, Kakudmāti(Koṇā), Śāvitrī (that falls into the Arabian sea near Bāṅkot) and Gayatri (supposed to combine with Śāvitrī).

Kṛṣṇa-gaṅgā—(under Mathurā) Var. 175.3

Kṛṣṇagangodbhavatīthra—(under Mathurā) Var. 176.43 (the whole chap. deals with its mahāśmya).

Kṛṣṇagiri—(m.) Vā. 45.91, Br. II. 16.22

Kṛṣṇatīthra—(near Kurukṣetra) Vām. 81.9

Kṛṣṇa-Venya—Bhi. 9.16, M. 22.45, Ag. 118.7, B. 27.35, Vā. 45.104; occurs in Emperor Khaṛavala's inscription in E. I. vol. XX at p. 77 as Kaṁha-bennā). The Anu. 166.22 mentions Venya and Kṛṣṇa-Venya separately. In the Alas plate of Rāṣtrakūta Govind II. dated śake 692 (769 A.D.) the confluence of Kṛṣṇavenya and Musi is referred to (E. I. vol. VI. 208).

Kṛṣṇa-Venya—(as one river and same as above) P. VI. 108.27 (confluence of Kṛṣṇa and Venya), VI. 113.3 and 25 (Kṛṣṇa is the body of Kṛṣṇa); Sm. C. I. p. 132 gives a mantra for the bath in Kṛṣṇa-Venya. Vide, TS pp. 67-83, of which p. 70 states that all
List of ārthas

IV] 771

rivers rising from Sahya destroy sires the moment they are remembered and that Krṣṇa-Venāyā is the best of all such rivers. Māhūli about four miles from Satara is at the confluence of Krṣṇa and Venā (which stands for Venāyā).

Krṣṇa-Venā (same as above two) M. 114. 29, Rām. V. 41. 9. In T.S. pp. 67–83 there is a māhātmya of Krṣṇavēni from SK.

Krūmā (r. rising in Malaya) Vā 45. 105, B. 27. 36, M 114. 30, Br. III. 35. 17, Bh. VIII. 24. 12, X 79. 16, XI. 5. 39, Vi. II. 3. 13, Dey p. 104 says that it is the river Vaiga on which Madurā is situated. See under Payasvī. The Bhāgavata says Manu practised penance on this river and helped the fish (avatāra) to grow.

Krtaśauca—M. 13. 45, 179. 87, Vām. 90. 5 (has an image of Nyśinnha), P. VI. 280. 18

Krūṭikāṅgāra—Ann. 25. 22

Krūṭikāra—Ann. 25. 22

Krūṭikāritha—(under Go.) B 82. 1

Krūṭigāma—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. P. 40

Krūṭigāva vālīgā—(in VS) K. I. 32. 12 (verses 16–18 explain why it is so called), P. I. 34. 10, N. II. 49. 4–9 (different names in different yugas, being the one in Tretā yuga)

Krumu—(r.) Rg. V. 53. 9 and X. 75. 6. It is generally held to be modern Kurram that falls into the Indus on its western side near Isakhel. Vide Dey p. 105 for other views.

Krṣṇa—(r. rising from Rṣyavat) M. 114. 25

Krṣesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 117.

Kṣipra—(r. rising in Vindhyā m.) M. 114. 27, Vām. 83, 18–19. Some printed works write it as Śipra (Vāyu 45. 98) or Śipra. The printed Matyas says that Kṣipra rises from Vindhyā, while in 114. 24 it mentions Śipra as rising from Pāriyātra m. The printed Brahma (chap. 27) mentions Śipra twice, one rising from Pāriyātra (verse 29) and the other rising from Vindhyā (verse 33). It is doubtful whether there were two rivers of the same name. The Brahmanda II. 16. 29 and 32 (Kṣipra in both places) is just like the Brahma.

Kṣiravati—(r.) V. 84. 68 (reached after Sarasvati and Bāhūda)

Kṣirikā—(where there is Nilakantha) Vām. q by T. K. p. 238

Kṣudhātīrtha—(under Go.) B. 83. 1

Kuberatūṅga—(a fit place for śrāddha) Vā 77. 78, K. II. 37. 31, Br. III. 13. 80

Kubhā—(probably modern Kabul river) Rg. V. 53. 9 and X. 75. 6. It is the Kophes of Ptolemy and Kophen of Arrian (A. I. p. 179). The Kabul river joins the Indus at Ohind, a few miles north of Attock. Pān. V. 1. 77 (Uttarapathaśrīhrama) mentions Uttarapatha (the road in the north that crossed the Sindhu near Attock)

Kubjaka—N. II. 60. 25, G. I. 81. 10 (Kubjaek Sridhara Hariḥ)

Kubjāmaka—(it had a hermitage of Raibhya near Gaṅgādvāra) V. 84. 40, M. 22. 66, P. I. 32. 5, VDh. S 85. 15, K. II. 20. 33, G. I. 81. 10 hold it a very eminent place for śrāddha. Var. 125. 101 and 132 and 126. 33 appear to identify it with Māyātīrtha (i.e., Haridvāra). Var. 126 contains a māhātmya of this place and 23 verses of it are quoted in T. K. pp. 206–208 without a single word by way of comment. Chap. 126. 10–12 explain why it is so called (a mango tree was seen by sage Raibhya as informed by God and he became bent in reverence). There is doubt about its exact
location. Var. 179. 26-31 aver
that Mathurā is superior to Saurara-
tirtha, which again is superior to
Kubjāmraka. Var. 140. 60-64 explain
how the holy place Ḫṛṣikēśa came
to be so called. On the whole it is
better to take Kubjāmraka as a sac-
red spot in Haridvāra itself or very
near it.
Kubjāśāgama—(with Narmadā) P. II.
92. 32
Kubjāśrama—(a Viṇgusthāna with
an extent of one yojana) K. II. 35.
33-35.
Kubjāvana—P. I. 39. 34
Kubjikāpiṭha—(where Sati’s private
parts fell while her corpse was being
borne by Śiva). Ālīkā 64. 53-54
and 71-72
Kuḍimalā—(a r.) M 22. 46 (śrāddha
performed here is very efficacious)
Kuṇū—(r. sprung from Himālaya)
M. 114. 21, Vā 45. 95, Br. II. 16. 25,
Vām 57. 80, B 27. 26; In M. 121.
46 the word ‘Kuṇū occurs as the
name of a people or a country after
Gāndhāras and Aurāsas. It cannot
be definitely identified with any
modern river,
Kukkuṭesvara—(under VS) L. q. by
T.K 98
Kulaṇḍapūna—V 83. 104, P I. 26. 97
Kuleśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 177.
55
Kuliś—(r.) Rg. I. 104. 4
Kulyā—(r.) Anu. 25. 56 q. by T.K
p. 247
Kumāra—P. I. 38, 61
Kumāra—dhāra—V. Dh. S. 85, 25, Vā. 77. 85, V. 84. 149 (which springs
from Pāṭama’s lake). Vām. 84, 23,
III. 13. 94-95 (near Vyāsa’s seat for
dhyāna and Kāntipurū)
umāra—kośālā-tirtha—Vā. 77.37
Kumārakoḍi—V. 82. 117, P I. 25. 23,
Ag. 109. 13
Kumāratūrtha—Nr. 65, 17 q. by T.K
p. 252
Kumāravadalinga—SK. I. 2. 14. 6 ff,
Vām. 46. 23
Kumārī—(Cape Comorin, where there
is a temple of Kumārī Devī in which
there is a fine image of the goddess
as a maiden). Ptolemy mentions
it as Koumaria while the Peripius
refers to it as Komar or Komarei; V.
88. 14 (in the plural as ‘Kumāryāh’
in the Pāṇḍya country). Vā. 77. 28,
Br. III. 13. 28. Br. II. 16. 11 and
M. 114. 10 state that the 9th dvīpa
of Bhāratavasara extends from Kumārī
to the source of the Ganges.
Sabara on Jaimini, X. 1. 35 asserts
that the word ‘Caru’ is used in the
sense of sthāni from the Himālaya
to the Kumārī country.
Kumārika—(on the Vitastā in Kāśmīra)
Vām. 81. 11
Kumbha—(a place fit for śrāddha) Vā. 77. 47
Kumbhakarnāśrama—V. 84. 157, P I.
38. 64 (same verse in both)
Kumbhakona—(modern Kumbhā-
konam) in Tanjore District) SK. III.
Brahmakhandā 52. 101
Kumbhāsvara—(under VS on
eastern bank of Varanā) Lq. by
p. 45
Kumudākara—(under Kumudākara)
Var. 126. 25-26
Kumudavati—(r. rising in Vā. 43. 26.
45. 102, B. 27. 33
Kundalesvara—A (under Narmadā) M.
190. 12; B (near southern gate of
Śrīparvata) L I. 92. 149
Kundavana—(third out of the twelve
vanas of Mathurā) Var. 153, 32
Kundesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K
p. 68
Kundina—Nr. 65. 19, Vām. q. by T.K
p. 239; also called Vidarbha (acc. to
A. C. p. 182 verse 979)
Kundiprabha—(under Śrīparvata) L I.
92. 148
Kundoda—(a hill near Kāśi) V. 87.
25-26
IV]  List of tirthas

Kuṇjañṭirītha — (under Narmadā) M. 194. 9
Kuraṅga—Anu. 25. 12
Kurujaṅgala—(Sīrhind in Punjab, fit place for śrāddha) M. 21. 9 and 28, Vā. 77. 93, Vām. 22. 47 (it is between Sarasvatī and Drāḍadvatī), 84. 3 and 17, K. II. 37. 36, Bh. III. 1.24, X. 86. 20. Vide p. 688 above
Kurujaṅgalāraṇya—Devipūraṇa q. by T.K. p. 244
Kuruṅksetra—Vide pp. 651–656 above. The Kuruṅksetra-māhātmya mentions 180 holy places in it, though popular belief is that there are 360. Vide A. G. p. 332
Kuśapalavāna—V, 85. 36
Kuṣastamba—Anu. 25. 28 q. by T.K. p. 246
Kuṣāsthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 16
Kuṣāsthalī—A (same as Dvārakā and capital of Ānarta) VI. IV. 1. 64 and 91, M 12. 22, 69.9, Vā. 86. 24 and 88.1, Bh. VII. 14.31, IX. 3. 28 (Revata, son of Ānarta, founded this city inside the sea and ruled over Ānarta), XII. 12.36 (Krṣṇa founded this city), Br. III. 61. 20 (in Ānarta). Vide p. 746 above; B (capital of Kosala, where Kuśa son of Rāma began to rule) Rām. VII. 107. 17, Vā. 88. 199; C (same as Kuṇjaṅṭirītha former name of Kuśinārā where occurred Buddha’s Nirvāṇa). SBE vol. XI. p 248 note
Kuṣātarpāna—(under Go.) B 161. 1 (also called Pranātāsāgama)
Kuṣatirīthī—(under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 33
Kuṇjaṅṭirītha—(capital of Kosala on the Vindhyā slopes where Kuśa ruled) Vā. 88.199, Rām. VII. 107. 7. In the Mahaśudassana sutta (SBE XI. p. 248) it is stated that Kuśinārā was the city of king Mahāsudassesana under the name Kuṇjaṅṭirītha
Kuṇjaṅṭirītha—(v. I. Kuṇjaṅṭirītha) M. 22. 76
Kuṇjaṅṭirīthasrama—(on r. Kuṭakī) V. 84. 131–132
Kuṇjaṅṭirīthasrama—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 103
Kusumēsvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 112–117 and 125
Kuṭaka—(m.) Bh. V. 6.7 (Kuṭaka), V. 19.16 (Kuṭaka)
Kuṭakālīna—(m.) Vā. 45. 92, Br. II. 16. 23 (probably the same as Kuṭaka above)

L

Lakṣmaṇācalā—N. II. 75. 74
Lakṣmaṇatirītha—A (under Go.) B 123. 215; B (under Setu) SK III. Brahma-khaṇḍa 52. 106–7 (tonsense of the head only at this tirtha). The tirtha is on a river rising in Brahmagiri on the southern frontier of Coorg and falling into the Kaverī. IGI vol. 16. p. 131
Lakṣmaṇēsvara—(under VS) N. II. 49.64
Lakṣmītirītha—(under Go.) B 137.1
Lalitā—(in VS) N. II. 49. 41. L. q. by TK. p. 96; M. 22. 11 mentions it, but it seems that it was on the Ganges somewhere.
Lalitaka—(tirtha of Santanu) V 84.34, P I. 28.34, N. II. 66.37
Lāṅgala-tirītha—(under Narmadā) P I. 18.51
Lāṅgali-liṅga—(under VS) L. q. by TK p. 105
Lāṅgalini—(r.) S. 9.22, Mār. 54. 29 (Lāṅgalini from Mahendra), Vām. 83. 14 q. by TK. p. 235. The town of Chicacole in Ganjam District of Madras State stands on the left bank of the Lāṅgula, 4 miles from its mouth. I.G.I. vol. X. p. 217
Lapeṭikā—(r.) V. 85. 15
Lauhitya—(r. Brahmaputrā) V. 85, 2, Vā 47. 11, 77. 95, M 121. 11-12 (a nada which springs from a lake called Lohita at the foot of Hemaśrīga mountain), Anu 25.46, P.I. 39.2 (same verse as in V 85.2) and V. 52 54, Kālikāpuraṇa 86. 26-34. From Raghuvanśa IV. 81 it appears that Lauhitya was the western boundary of Prājyotaśa. Vide TP. pp. 601-602 for māhāmya. The form Lauhitya occurs in Yāsoḍharmana’s inscription (about 532-33. A. D.); vide ‘Gupta Inscriptions’ p. 142 at p. 146

Laukika—(under VS) K. I. 35. 13

Lavaṇā—r. flowing close by the city of Padmāvatī situated on confluence of Pārā and Sindhu. Vide Mālati-mādhava, Act IX. verse 2

Lavarnakatirtha—(on Sarasvatī) P. I. 26. 48

Lavīchikā—(near Campā) P. I. 38. 71

Līṅgaśāra—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 51

Līṅgī-Janārdana—(under Narmadā) K II. 41. 61

Lobaḍanḍa—M. 22. 65, Vām. 90. 29 (Vīṣṇu as Hṛṣikeśa here). Srāddha is most efficacious here.

Lobajāṅghavanā—(9th out of twelve vanas of Mathurā) Var. 153. 41

Lobakūṭa—N. II. 60. 24

Lohārgala—(a Vīṣṇusthāna in Hīma-laya) Var. 140. 5 (that Mleccha kings support or resort to it), 144.10, 151. 1-83 (verses 7-8 say that thirty yojanas from Siddhavāta in the midst of mlecchas is Lohārgala). Var. 151 verses 13-14 explain why it is so called, 151. 79 says it is twenty-five yojanas in extent. The T. K. (pp. 228-229) quotes twelve verses on it from Var. 151. Dey p. 115 surmises that it is probably Lohāghāṭ in Kumaoon

Lohita—(same as Soṇa) Anu. 166. 21; in Br. II. 16-27. Lohita seems to be meant for Brahmaputrā.

Lohita-Gāṅgaka—(same as Lauhitya) Kal. 86. 32-34

Lokāpāla—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 28-31

Lokāpalēvara—(under VS) L. q. by TK. p. 105

Lokoddhāra—V. 83. 45, P. I. 26. 41 (same verse in both)

Lolārka—(under VS) M. 185. 68 (one of the five principal tirthas in Banaras), K. I. 35. 14, P. I. 37. 17 (reads Lolārka), Vām. 15. 58-59. Vide p. 634 above

Loṇārakūṇḍa—(in Viśnu-Gayā) P. VI. 176. 41. Loṇār is a salt lake in the Buldana District of Berar, the fabled den of the giant Loṇāsura whom Viśṇu vanquished. It is a place of great antiquity and held in great veneration. Ain. A. vol. II. describes it (pp. 230-231) and states that brāhmaṇas call it Bishan Gayā. One of the best remaining examples in Berar of the medieval temples is that at Loṇār known as the temple of Daitya-sūdana. It is a Vaiṣṇava shrine. Vide Victor Cousins’ ‘Medieval temples of the Dakhan’ (1931) pp. 68-72 for description of the great temple and of several temples around the margin of a lake in an extinct volcanic crater and plates

M

Maḍavāvartanāga—(on the Vitastā in Kāśmīra) HC. X. 252.

Maḍhavatirtha—(on Śrīśaila) P. VI. 129. 12

Maḍhavavana M. 13. 37 (Devi is called Sugandhā here)

Maḍhūdakā—(r.) Vām. 57. 80

Maḍhukaljābha-liūgā—(in VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43

Maḍhukāvanā—(between Agastyāśrama and Paścavaṇ) Rām. III. 13. 23

Maḍhukūlyā—(r. under Gayā) Vā 106. 75, 112. 30.
Madhumati—A (r. in Kāśmīra) NM 144 (falls into Vītastā), 1444 (shrine of Durgā established on it by Śaṅḍilya), Vik. 18. 5; B (river that flows through Nadia and Backergunge Districts of Bengal and falls into the bay of Bengal; C (r. that joins the river Sindhu in Central India); vide Mālatīmādhava, 9th Act prose passage after verse 3.

Madhunandini—(r.) Vām. 81. 16
Madhupura—(under Pṛthūdaka) P. I. 27. 38

Madhupuri—same as Mathurā; Bh. VII. 14. 31, VI. I. 12, 2-4

Madhurā—A (the same as Mathurā, capital of Sūrāsenā country) Br. III. 49. 6, VI. I. 12. 4. Vide pp. 687-690 above and Rām. VII. 70. 5; B (modern Madur, the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas, called Daksīṇa-Madhurā). Vide ‘Manimekhalai in its historic setting’ (p. 20) by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyanagar. Madhurā is only the Tamil way of pronouncing Mathurā. Vide Journal, Mythic Society, for 1942, vol. 32 pp. 270-275 for Madurā and Tamil literary tradition and Prof. Dikshitar’s translation of the Śilappadikārām pp. 201-208 for a fine description of it and 255 for the conflagration in Madurā due to the curse of Kannaki.

Madhurātirtha—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 135. 18

Madhusravā—(r.)-A (under Gayā) Vā 106. 75, 112. 307 34, N. II. 47. 27; B (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 34. 7, 39. 36-38, V 83. 150 (both read Madhusrava)

Madhuvana—A (under Mathurā) V. I. 12, 31 so called because demon Madhu occupied it), K. II. 36. 9, Var. 153. 5, Vām. 83. 31, 90. 14, Bh. IV. 8. 42 (on the banks of Yamunā) IX. 11. 14 (Satrughna founded Mathurā in Madhuvana). Growse in ‘Mathura’ identifies it with Maholi five miles to the south-west of present Mathurā (pp. 32, 54); B (one of seven vanas in Kuruṣetra) Vām. 34. 5

Madhuvati—(a Devištāna) P. I. 26. 88
Madhvātirtha—G. Uttarakhandā, Brahmakanda 26. 46-47. This is rather suspicious

Madhuvilā—(r.) same as Samaṅgā. V. 135. 1

Madhyama-Puṣkara—(see Puṣkara), P. V. 19. 38, Vām. 22. 19.

Madhyamesvara-liṅga—A (under VS) K. I. 32. 12, K. I. 34. 1-2, L. I. 92. 91, 135, P. I. 34. 10 (one of the five main liṅgas in Banaras); B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92, 151

Madhyandiniyaka-tirtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 177. 46 (to the west of Vaikuṇṭha tirtha)

Madotkaṣṭa—P VI. 129. 9 (9th among 108 tirthas of Jambudvīpa)

Madrā—(r. rising in Vindhya) Vā 45. 102

Madravā—(a hill) Br. III. 13. 52 and 57. This probably is the same as Manḍavā below

Māgadhāranya—K. II. 37. 9, Vām. 11. 7, 84. 35


Mahābhairavā—(one of eight Śiva-tirthas) M. 181. 29, K. II. 44. 3 Devala q. by T. K. p. 250

Mahābodhitara—(the pippala tree at Gayā under which Buddha obtained Enlightenment) Ag. 115. 37, M. 22. 33, N. II. 45. 103, Vā. 111. 26; verses 27-29 of Vā 111 are addressed to the tree. P. VI. 117, 26-30 explain how Bodhitara became touchable on Saturday and untouchable on other days. Vide Dr. Barua in ‘Gaya
and Buddha-Gayā' vol. I. p. 234 as to the invocation in Vā 111. 27-29 being to the Bo-tree and vol. II. pp. 2-9 for the viscissitudes of this tree and Cunningham's 'Mahābodhi' p. 3 for the mention of Mahābodhi in Dharmapāla's Inscription dated 850 A.D.

Mahā-Gaṅgā—Anu. 25. 22 q. by T.K. p. 246, VDh.S. 85. 23 (com. says it is Alakanandā).

Mahāgaurī—(r. from Vindhyā) M 114. 28, Vā 45.103

Mahāhrada—(near Badrināth) K II. 37. 39, Anu 25. 18 q. by T. K. pp. 245-246

Mahākāla—A (Śiva in Ujjayāni, one of the twelve jyotirlingās) V. 82. 49, M. 13. 41, 22. 24, 179. 5 (fight of Śiva with Andhakāsura took place in Mahākālavana in the country of Avanti), B. 43. 66, SK. IV. 1. 91; B (a liṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 137

Mahākālavana—(in Avanti territory) M. 179. 5

Mahākāśi—Vām. q. by T. K. p. 239

Mahākūṭa—(a hill fit for śrāddhā) Vā. 77. 57, Br. III. 13. 58. It is doubtful whether it is the same as the collection of temples on the hills to the east of Bādāmi known even now by the name of Mahākūṭa. The local tradition connects this spot with the destruction of the demon brothers Vātāpi and Īvala. Vide I. A. vol. X. pp. 102-103 for an inscription of about 696-734 A.D. here

Mahālakṣmeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 69

Mahālaya—V. 85. 91 (dānam dadyā Mahālaya), VDh. S. 85. 18, M. 181. 25, K. II. 20. 33 (very fit for śrāddhā), II. 37. 1-4 (where Pāṇḍupata worship Mahādeva), P. V. 11. 17, Br. III. 13. 82-84, Vām. 90. 22, P. I. 37. 16

Mahālayakūpa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 63

Mahālaya-liṅga—(under VS) I. 92. 134

Mahāliṅga—(sacred to pitṛs) M. 13. 33, 22. 34 (Devi is called Kapilā here and śrāddhā here is most efficacious)

Mahāmūndā—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56

Mahāmūndesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56

Mahānāḍa—M. 22. 53 (dāna is most efficacious here)

Mahānādi—A (r. starting from Vindhyā, flowing in Orissa near Cuttack and falling into the Bay of Bengal). Br. 46. 4-5, K. II. 35. 25; Br. II. 16. 28 says it rises in Pāriyāṭa; B (r. under Gayā, probably Phalgo) P. I. 38. 4, Vā 108. 16-17, 110. 6, Ag. 115.25, V. 84; C (in Dravīḍa) Bh. XI. 5. 40

Mahānala—a liṅga established by Mṛtyu (under Go.) B 116. 1

Mahānandā—(r. in north and east Bengal rising in Himālaya near Darjeeling and joining the Ganges in Mālā District). Vide I. G. I. vol. XX. pp. 413-414 (under Purnea)

Mahāpadānāga—(a lake in Kāśmir) NM 1120-1122, 1157 (one yojana in length and width). It is same as Ullola and modern Vollur lake. Vide R. IV. 591 for one story, NM 1123-1159 for the story of the wicked Śadāṅgulanāga and K. R. pp. 9-10 for both

Mahāpāṇḍupatēsvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105

Mahāpura—(a tīrtha) Anu 25 26

Mahāurdra—M. 22. 34

Mahāśāla—M. 22.34, P V. 11. 27

Mahāśālanadi—M. 22. 42

Mahāsaras—Mahābhārata q. by T. K. p. 246

Mahāsthala—(under Mathurā) Var.160. 22; one of five sthalas, the other four
being Arkasthala, Virasthala, Kuṣṭhala and Punyasthala.
Mahārāma—V 84. 53, P. I. 32.17
Mahāśoṇa—same as Śoṇa—S. 20. 27
Mahatkūṇḍa—(under VS) L. by T. K. p. 70
Mahāti (r. from Pāriyātra) M. 114. 23, Vā 45. 97.
Mahāvana—(the 8th vana out of 12 at Mathurā)—same as Vraja. Var. 153. 40, 161. 8. Modern Mahaban town is near the left bank of the Yamuna. Krṣṇa spent his childhood here,
Mahātīrtha—K. I. 37.12 (tatrābhayarcyā hṛṣikeśam svetadvīpam sa gacchatī).
Mahāvenḍa—P. V. 11. 27
Mahendra—(a m. range extending from the mouths of the Ganges or Orissa to Madura) Bhī. 9. 11, Udyoga 11. 12, M 22. 44, P. I. 39. 14 (inhabited by Parasūrāma), V. 83. 16, Bh. V. 19. 16, Vām. 13.14–15, 83.10–11, K. I. 47.23–24. A Śāktakṣetra according to Bār. S. I. 124. In the Ganjam District there is a peak called Mahendragiri about 5000 feet high. Rām. IV. 67.37 shows that Hanumān used it as a springing board when he jumped off towards Lāṅkā. Rāguvaṇasā (IV. 39–40) shows that Kaliṅga country had some portion of Mahendra in it. Pargiter (p. 284 n) holds that it is the portion of the Eastern Ghats between Godāvari and Mahānādi and hills in Berar, I do not agree. Rām. IV. 41. 19–21 speak of Mahendra after Paṇḍyaṅkavāta as and entering the ocean, while Bh. X. 79.11–12 speak of it after Gaya and before Saptagodāvari, Venu, Pampā. Allahabad stone pillar Ins. of Samudragupta mentions it (C. I. I. vol. III. at p. 7)
Mahēśvarapura—(where Vṛṣadhvaja i.e. Śiva was to be worshipped) V 84. 129–130.
Mahēśvara—(modern town in the Indore State on the north or right bank of the Narmada) M. 188. 2, P. I. 15.2. I. G. I. Vol. 17. p. 9 asserts that it is the ancient Māhīṣmati.
Mahēśvarādhā—V. 84. 117, P. I. 38. 34
Mahēśvarakūṇḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 67
Mahēśvarapada—P. I. 38. 36, V 84.119
Mahī—One of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' SBE vol. 35 p. 171; Mahī occurs in the Nadyādi-gaṇa (Pān. IV. 2. 97); B (a r. rising in Gwalior state and falling into the sea southwards near Cambay) SK I 2.3.23, I. 2.13.43–45 and 125–127, V. 222. 23, Mār. 54.19 (rising from Pāriyātra). It is the Mophis of Ptolemy (p. 103) and Mais of Periplus.
Mahīsāgarasāngama—SK. I. 2. 3. 26.
Māhītīrtha—Vām. 84. 36
Māhīṣmati—(on Narmadā). Pargiter identifies with Omkāra Māndhāṭa (an island) while Mr. Haldar and others hold that it is Mahēśvara, Māndhāṭa island is attached to Nemad District of Central Provinces. Udyogaparva 19. 23–24, 166. Anu. 2. 6, P. I. 92. 32, VI. 115. 4, Bh. IX. 15. 22 (Sābaraṅjuna imprisoned Rāvaṇa); the Mbh. (vol. II. p. 35, Ujjayiniḥ prasthitā Māhīṣmatyāṃ sūryodgamaṇīṁ sambhāvayate) on Vārtika 10 to Pān. III. 1. 26; in the Suttpiṇṭha (SBE vol. X part 2 p 188) the disciples of Bāvārī going to the north to meet Buddha first go to Pātiṭhāna of Ataka and then to Māhīṣmati; vide 'Mahīsamaṇḍala and Māhīṣmati' by Dr. Fleet in JRAS for 1910 pp. 425–447 and Barwani plate of king Subandhu in E. I. vol.XIX.p. 261 of the year 167 issued from Māhīṣmati (It belongs to the end of the 5th century).
Mahodaya—(generally identified with Kanoj) Vām. 83. 25, 90. 13 (Haya-
History of Dharmaśāstra

grīva here). Vide Daulatpur plate of Bhojadeva I in Harṣa saṅvat 100 (corresponding to about 706 A.D.) in E.I. vol. V. p. 208 at p. 211. It was also called Kūṣasthala; vide E. I. vol. VII. pp. 28, 30 where Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III. is said to have devastated Mahodaya; but in Bara copperplate of the Gurjar Pratihāra Bhojadeva dated saṅvat 893 (836-7 A.D.) Mahodaya is said to be a skandhāvāra (encampment) and Kānyakubja is separately mentioned in the same record, thereby showing that the two were not quite identical (E.I. vol. 19 at p. 17).

Maināka—(m. near Badari) A. V. 139. 17, V 145. 44, Anu. 25. 59, Br. III. 13. 70, Bh. V. 19. 16; B (m. in west near Gujarāt) V. 89. 11; C (m. near Sarasvati) K. II. 37. 29. Both Dey p. 121 and Prof. Aiyangar p. 29 (of T.K) hold that it is the Sewalik range. Vide Pargiter pp. 287-288 note, which makes out three mountains named Maināka, that are slightly different from those stated here.

Maitreyī-līṅga (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 47

Makruṇa (r. rising from Rkṣa) Vā 45.101, Mālā (a river) S. 20. 28

Malada—(in Kāśmīra) P. I. 25.4

Malandara—(r.) M. 22. 41 (śāddha on it inexhaustible)

Malaprabhārī or Malāpahārī—(r. rising from Sahya about 22 miles south-west of Belgaum) modern Malaprabha; SK q. by T.S. pp. 80 and 101. Vide Bom. G. vol. XXI. on Belgaum District p.12 for legend. The famous village of Ayyāvole or Aivalli or Aihole is on this river, 16 miles to the east of Badami. Vide I. A. vol. VIII. p. 243 for Aihole Inscription of 634 A.D. Parasurāma is said to have washed his blood-stained axe in the Malaprabha here. Vide Bom. G. vol. 23 p. 545.

Malāpahā—(r. in the south). There is a town called Muniparṇa on its bank where there is 'pañcalinga Mahēśvara'.

Mālārka—(shrine of the Sun under Sābhramati) P. VI. 141.1 and 142.1

Malaya—(one of the 7 principal mountains of India) V. 282. 43, 313. 32, Bhī. 9. 11, K. I. 47. 21 (the sea could be seen from its top.), Vā. 45. 58, B 27. 19. Raghu. (IV. 45-51) shows that Malaya was on the Kāveri where it falls in the sea and that cardamom and sandalwood grew thereon; and also on Tāmrarāṇi. It is the mountain of the Pāṇḍya country (Raghuvaṇīra IV. 49-51). Agastya had her hermitage on it.

Malayaja—P. VI. 129. 12 (one of the numerous tirthas where Viṣṇu and Śiva resided).

Malayārjunaka—tirtha (under Mathurā beyond Yamunā) Var. 157. 1.

Mālīni—(r. on which was situated Kaṇḍavārama) Ādi. 70. 21 and 72.10. According to Hiouen Thsang it was on this river that the District of Maḍāwar in west Rohilkhand was situated. Vide A. G. pp. 349-350.

Mallaka—(on western bank of Ganges) P. V. 5. 74 (where Sati burnt herself) Mallikākhyā.—(a great m.) P. IV. 17. 68 Mallikārjunaka—(under Sripavata) L. I. 92. 155

Mallikēśvara—(under Narmāda) P. I. 18. 6

Mālyavat—(The Anegundi hill on Tūgabhadrā) Rām. III. 49. 31, IV. 27. 1-4 (on north of it in a deep cave on Prasravaṇa Rāma dwelt for four months in the rainy season), V. 280. 26, 282. 1 (not far from Kīṣhkindhā) Mālyavati—(r. near Citrakūṭa) Rām. II. 56. 38

Mānasā—A (lake in Himalayas embedded between Kailāsa on the north and Gaurī Māndhāta on the south) V. 130. 12, Br. II. 18. 15 and M. 121.
16-17 (from which the Sarayu rises), Vâm. 78, 90, 1 (where Vīśṇu appeared in the Matsya form); vide under Kailâsa. Sven Hedin in vol. III. of his Trans-Himalaya (1913) p. 198 says 'there is no finer ring on earth than that which bears the names of Manasarowar, Kailas and Gurla Mândhâtâ; it is turquoise set between diamonds'. The Mânasa lake is at a height of 14950 feet above sea level;
B (under Kumbâraka) Var. 126, 29;
C (to the west of Mathurâ) Var. 154, 25;
D (near Prayâga on the north bank of the Ganges) M. 107, 2; E (in Kâśmir, modern Mânasbal Vlk. 18, 55, K. R. p. 9; F (under Narmadâ) M. 194, 8, P. I. 21, 8; G (under Gayâ, there are two pools, Uttarâmâsâsa and Dakṣîṇa-mânasa) Vâ. 111, 2, 6, 8, 22
Mândagâ—(r. rising from Suktimat ) M. 114, 32, Vâ. 45, 167
Mandâkinî—A (near mountain Citra-kûta and rising from Râskvât) V. 85, 58, Anu 25, 29, Râm. II. 93, 8 and III. 5, 37, Vâ. 45, 99, Ag. 109, 23, Br. II. 16, 30, M. 114, 25; B (a sub-tirtha under VS.) L. q. by T. K. p. 86;
C (r. springing from a lake Mândodaka at the foot of Kailâsa) M 121, 4, Br. II. 18. 1; D (near Kishkindhî) Râm. IV. 1, 95
Mândâleśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66
Mândara—(m.) Vî. II. 2, 18 (it is to east of Meru) and Mâr 51, 19; V 139, 5, 142, 163, 4 (extended up to the sea in the east), and 31, 33, Udyoga 11, 12, L. I. 92, 187 and 188, 6-12 (gods afraid of Andhaka took refuge on Mandara), N. II. 60, 22, Vâm. 51, 74 (from Pîthubâda Śiva came to Mandara), and practised tapas, M. 184, 18, 13, 28 (Devi is styled Kâmâcârinî on m. Mandara), Bh. VII 3, 2 and VII, 7, 2 (Hiranyakaśipu here)
Mândrâ—Var. 143, 1-51 (Mândrâmâbhîmya). Var. 143, 2 says it is a sacred place on the south bank of the Ganges and situated on Vindhyâ and dear to all Bhâgavatas. It puts forth flowers only on dvâdasi and caturdasi (verse 13). T. K. (pp. 217-218) quotes ten verses from Var. 143 without any comment, A. G. p. 308 conjectures it to be south of Bhagalpur in Bihar.
Mândavâ—Vâ. 77, 56 (a hill very fit for śrâddha)
Mândavâhini— (r. from Suktimat m.) M. 114, 32, Vâ. 45, 107.
Mândavya—(a tirtha where Devi is styled Mândavyâ) M. 13, 42.
Mândâvyesâ—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 119
Mândodaritirtha—M. 22, 41 (removes sins at sight and śrâddha most efficacious)
Mângâla—(a Devisthâna in Gayâ) Devi-bhâgavata VII. 38, 24
Mângâla-prastha—(hill) Bh. V. 19, 16
Mângâla-saṅgama—(under G.) B 122, 94 and 100 (otherwise called Govinda)
Mângaleśvara—(under Narmadâ) P. II. 92, 33
Mânikarî or Mânikarîkâ—(under VS) M. 182, 24, 185, 69, N. II. 40, 87 and 49, 44, P. VI. 23, 44; vide p. 635 above
Mânikarîśvara—(under VS) N. II. 49, 45, L. q. by T. K. p 103
Mânikunda—(under Stutasvâmî) Var. 148, 52
Mânikyesâvara—(in Kâśmîra) P. VI. 176, 80-82
Mânimat or Mânimanta— (near r. Devikâ) V. 82, 101, P. I. 25, 8 (same words in both), Vâm. 81, 14
Mânimati—(r.) M. 22, 39 (very efficacious for śrâddha); Br. S. 14, 20 says Mânimat is a m.
Mânimatibhâda—Vâm. 90, 7 (Śiva was called Śambhu here)
Mânimatipuri—(the same as Vâjîpi.
पुरी और दूरजाया) V 96.1 and 99.30-31.

मानिन्दा—V. 84. 106, P. I. 38. 24 (same verse in both)

मानिपुरागिरि (under Stutavāmin) Var., 148. 63 ff.

मानिजल—(a r.) Bhī. 9. 34

मानकुंकि—(near Malaya) Vām. 83. 16

मानकुटि—(r. from Rāṣavat) Br. II. 16. 31

मानोहरा—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 7, K. II. 42. 20, P. I. 21. 7 (the same verse in all three)

मानोवा—P. I. 26. 87, V. 83. 93 (same verse in both)

मानीस्वरा—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 137

मानुजेवरान—(under VS) L.q. by T.K. p. 104

मानुलीगा—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 114

मानसा—(under Kurukṣetra) P I. 26, 60-63, Vām. 35. 50-56

मानुंतिर्था—(under Go.) B. 162.1, Bh. X. 79. 21 (puts it somewhere between Māhiṣmati and Prabhāṣa)

मारिस्वर—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 71

मार्जारा—(under Go.) B. 84. 19

मार्कान्देय-हरदा—A (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67; B (near Purushottamātirtha) B. 56. 73, 57. 2, 60. 9 (bath in it on Caturdaśi specially destroys all sins), N. II. 55. 20-22

मार्कान्देयतिर्था—A (on the Gomati-Gaṅgāsāngama) V. 84. 81, P. I. 32. 41-42. Prof. Aiyangar’s note on p. 291 of T.K. that it is at the junction of the Sarayu and Gaṅgā is not correct; B (under Go.) B 145.1

मार्कान्देयेवरान—A (under VS) SK. IV. 33. 154-155; B (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 11; C (under Puruṣottama) N. II. 55. 18-19

मार्कातिर्थां—(in Tripuri i.e. modern Tevar on the Narmada, 7 miles to the west of Jabalpur) mentioned by T.S. p. 101

मार्ताण्डा (temple of the Sun in Kāśmīra) Modern Martan or Maṭan, 5 miles to north-east of Islamabad. Its popular name is 'Bavan' (Bhavana).

It overlooks the finest view in Kāśmīra, The temple originally built by king Lalitaditya in the 1st half of 8th century is now in ruins. There are two magnificent springs traditionally called Vimala and Kāmal about a mile from the temple. Vide RV. IV.192, NM 1073 (for Vimalanāga), Stein’s translation of R. vol. I. p. 141 and II. pp. 465-466. Ain. A. (vol. II. pp. 358-359) describes Maṭan.

The tirtha has remained to this day one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in Kāśmīra.

मार्ताण्डपादमाला (under Gayā) Brahmupurāṇa q. by T.K. p. 166

Marudgana—An. 25. 38

Marudvīrhdhā—A (r.) RG. X. 75. 5. The Nir. IX. 26 takes it as an attribute of all rivers named in RG. X. 75. 5, meaning 'that are swollen or lashed up by the wind or Maruts'. It appears that it is a river in Kashmir called Marudwardwan, a tributary of the Chenab, as Stein says (vide JRAS for 1917 pp. 93-96); Bh. V. 19. 18; B Kāverī is called Marudvīrhdhā in P. VI. 224. 4 and 19

Marushala (under Puruṣottama) N. II. 60. 22

Mārūtālaya (under Narmadā) M. 191, 86, K. II. 41. 41 (to the west of Mātrītirtha), P. I. 18. 81 (same verse)

Māsesvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 77

Mātaliśvara—(under VS) L.q. by T.K. p. 76

Mātaṅgaksetra—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 58-59 (a stream that falls into Kauśikī)

Mātaṅgapada—(under Gayā) N. II. 44. 57, V. 108. 25

Mātaṅgasya-ārama—A (under Gayā) V. 84. 101, Ag. 115. 34; B (in VS) V. 87.25
List of tirthas

Mataṅgasya Kedāra—V 88. 17, P. I. 39.15 (same verse in both)

Mataṅga-vāpi—A (under Gayā) Vā. 111. 23-24, Ag. 115. 34, N. II. 45. 100, VDbh. S 85.38; B (in Kosāla) Vā. 77. 36; C (on Kailāsa) Br. III. 13. 36

Mataṅgēśa—(under Gayā) Ag. 115. 35

Mataṅgēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87

Māṭharavana—(near Payoṣṇi) V. 88.10, Vā. 77.33, Br. III. 13.33

Mathurā—Vide pp. 682-692 above and A. G. pp. 373-375 for Mathurā and Vṛndāvana

Māṭ—Śal. chap. 46 enumerates numerous Māṭrs

Māṭṛgṛha—(where śrāddha yields ānanyā) M. 22. 76

Māṭṛtirtha—A (under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 58, P. I. 26. 54; B (under Narmāḍa) K II. 41. 40; C (under Go.) B 112.1

Matsyanadī—(holy r.) M 22. 49

Matsyaśālī—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 79-83

Matsyodapāṇa—Nr. q. by T. K. p. 251

Matsyodari—(near Oṁkāreśvara and to the south of Kapileśvara in VS) L. q. by T.K pp. 58-59, SK. IV. 33. 120 and IV. 73. 155. The Tri. S. p. 140 remarks 'matsyākāram Kāśi-kṣetram udare yasyā iti vyūtpattā Gaṅgaiva Matsyodārī-sābijña'.


Māyātirtha—(under Kubjāmraka and on the Ganges) Var. 125. 101, 126. 33

Medhātithi—(a holy river) V. 222. 23

Medhāvana—P. I. 39. 52 (place for śrāddha)

Medhāvika—V. 85. 55

Megaḥakara—M. 22. 40, P. V. 11. 34

Meghanāda—(under Narmāḍa) P. II. 92. 31

Meghaṇkara—(a town on r. Praṇītā) P. VI. 181. 5

Megharava—(under Narmāḍa) P. I. 17. 4

Mehatnu—(r.) Rg. X. 75.6 (a tributary of the Krumu, which see)

Mekala—(a range of hills in C. P.). Narmāḍa is called Mekalakanyakā (daughter of Mekala)

Mekalā—P. V. 11. 34 (is it a river ?)

Mekalā—is a country or people in Rām. IV. 41.9, Br. S. 14. 7 and 16.2

Mekhalā—(a tirtha in Mehaṇkara town) P. VI. 181. 16, M. 22. 40-41 (from this it appears that Mekhalā here means probably the middle part of the town Mehaṇkara)

Merukūṭa—Nr. 65 q. by T. K. p. 253

Meruvara—(under Badari) Var. 141. 32-35

Mīnākṣī—(temple of, is situated in Madura) Devi-Bh. VII. 38. 11

Mīrikāvāna—(near Mekala regions) Br. III. 70. 32

Mīraka—(under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26. 85-86 (Vyāsa mixed all tirthas here), V. 83. 91-92. It is possible that the Mīrakavana occurring in the Koṭarādi-gana (Pāṇ. VI. 3. 117) refers to this.

Mitrapada (a tirtha on the Ganges) M. 22. 11

Mitranava (Konārka or Sambapura in Orissa) SK. Prabhāsakhaṇḍa I. 100. 3 (there are three Ādiyasthānas, Mitranava, Muniṭra and Sambāditya)

Mitrāvaruṇa (under VS) L.q. by T.K. p. 47
Mitrāvaruṇayor—Śārma (on r. Ya
mūnā near Kārapavana) Śāl, 54.
14–15
Modāgiri (m.) S. 30. 21
Mokṣakeśvara (under VS) L. q. by
T.K. p. 112.
Mokṣārāja—(under Mathurā) Var. 164.
35
Mokṣārīthra—(under Mathurā) Var.
152. 61 (to the south of Rṣīrīthra).
T. S. p. 101 quotes three verses from
Revākhaṇḍa about it.
Mokṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K.
p. 48
Mrgadhumā—(there is Rudrapada) P.I.
26. 94, V. 83, 101 (it is on the
Ganges)
Mrgakāmā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br.
II. 18. 71
Mrgahūlīdaka—(on r. Vāgmati) Var.
215. 64
Mrtyunjāya—(under Viraja) B 42. 6
Mucukunda—(under Mathurā) Var.
158. 28
Mucukundesvara—(under VS) L. q. by
T.K 114
Muktī-kṣetra—(under Sālagrāma) Var.
145. 105
Muktīmat—(a m.) Br. III. 70 32. Is it
a mistrad for Sūktīmat?
Muktisthānas—26 sthānas such as
Prayāga, Naimiṣa, Kurukṣetra, Gāṅ-
gādvarā, Kānti, Tryambaka, Saptagā-
gadvarā are named in SK, Kā-
vhaṇḍa 6. 21–25
Mukuṭā—(r. from Rṣyavanta) M. 114.
26, M. 13. 50 (Devi is worshipped
here as Satyavādini)
Mūlaṭhāna—(modern Multan)—ancient
220–224 and 230–236. It was known
under various names such as Kāśya-
papura, Sāmbapura, Prahādacura,
Āḍyasthāna (Al. Sachau I. 298)
Mūlātāpi—(river Tāpi is so called,
from its source at Multāi, which is
a corruption of Mūlātāpi) M. 22. 33
(Mūlātāpi Payoṣṇī ca). Multai is a
village in Betul District, C. P. and
contains a sacred tank which is
popularly deemed to be the source of the Tāpi. In the printed Padma
V. 11. 25 the words 'Śūlatāpi Payo-
ṣṇī' are a mistrading of 'Mūlātāpi
Payoṣṇī'. Vide I. G. I. vol. 18
p. 21 for Multai.
Mūlī—(r. rising from Mahendra) M.
114. 31
Mūḍapratīha—A (a hill situated on
the western bank of the Phalgu river
at Gayā) K. II. 37. 39–40, N. II.
45. 96, Ag. 115. 22 and 43–44,
Vā 77. 102–103, 108. 12 and 111. 15,
Br. III. 13. 110–111 (Mahādeva
practised severe tapas here). It is
no other than the hill on which
there is Viṣṇupada, the very centre of
Gayāyātra. On this hill, according
to the legend of Gayasura, the
back of the giant's head rested.
Vide pp. 656, 665 above; B (a hill in
Kāśmīra) NM 1247–1254
Mūṇḍeśa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K.
p. 116
Mūjavat—A(a m.) In Rg. X. 34. 1
some plant is called Maujavata and
the Nir. IX. 8 explains that Mūjavat
is a mountain on which soma grows.
In A. V. the form Mūjavat occurs
and takman (evil spirit of disease)
is asked to go to Mūjavat and to
Bāhikas beyond it. In A. V. 22. 5
the form is Mūjavatānta. It appears
to be some m. far to the north-west
of India.
Mūnjavat—(m. in Himalayan range)
Āśvamedhika-parva 8. 1 (where
Siva practises penance), Br. II. 18.
20–21 (where Siva resides and from
which rise Śailoda lake and Śailoda
river), Var. 213. 13 (to the north of
Mandara)
Mūnjavaṭa—(on the Ganges, which is a
Śivasthāna) V. 82. 67, P. I. 39. 63
(same verse in both)
IV

List of tirthas

783

Murmūrā—(one of the several rivers that are the mothers of fires) V. 222 25

Nābhi—(under Gayā) N. II. 47. 82

Naḍantikā—V. Dh. S. 85. 19 (very fit place for śrāddha).

Nādevaṭvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 127; B (probably same as Bindusaras) N I. 16. 46 (on Himavat, where Bhagiratha practised tapas)

Nāḍisvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 103

Naga—(a hill under Gayā) Vā. 108. 28

Nāgadhanvan—(not far to the south of Sarasvatī) Śal. 37. 30 (Vāsuki’s image is established there)

Nāgakūṭa—(included under Gayāśiras)

Vā. 111. 22, N. II. 45. 95

Nāgapura—Hastināpura, V. 183. 36

Nāgāśhavaya—Hastināpura, on the right bank of the Ganges, 22 miles to north-east of Meerut. Vā. 77. 271, M. 50. 78, Nr. 65. 11 q. by T.K p. 252 (Govinda is guhyā name of Viṣṇu here). The printed text (Govindam nāma sāyake) is corrupit. It should be ‘nāgāśhavaye.’ Vide under Hastināpura.

Nāgatīrtha—A (under VS) M. 22. 33, K I. 35. 7, P I. 28. 33; B (under Go.) B 111. 1; C (under Tripuśāra) F V. 26. 51; D (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 14; E (location uncertain) V. 84. 33

Nāgēśvara—(a taṭaṇa on Narmadā) M. 191. 83

Nāgodbheda—(where Sarasvatī is seen, though lost in the desert elsewhere) V 82. 112, Ag. 109. 13

Nahuṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 115

Nāmiśa or Nāmiśa—(a forest) A country round Nimsār on the Gomati, 45 miles from Lucknow. In Kāṭhaka Sankhīṭā X. 6 we have ‘Nāmiśyā vai satram-āsata’; while in Pañcaviṃśa Br. 25. 6, 4 occurs Nāmiśyā and Kauśitaki Br. 26. 5 has Nāmiśiṣyānām’ and 28. 4 also. In the great Epic and Purāṇas it is mentioned very often; vide V. 84. 59–64 (all tirthas on the earth are centred in Nāmiśa), V 87. 5–7 (on Gomati in east), M. 109. 3 (most holy on the earth), K. II. 20. 34, K. II. 43. 1–16 (very dear to Mabādea), Vā 2. 8, Br. I. 2. 8 (bo’th derive it as ‘bhramato dharmacakraya yatra nemir-aṣṭiyata’ from ‘nemi’ rim of a wheel and śr, ‘to be shattered’), B 1. 3–10 (fine description); Vāyu (I. 14–15) makes it clear that the great satsa of the sages of Nāmiśāranya was in Kurukṣetra on the Dradvatī. But Vā. 2. 9 and Br. I. 2. 9 say that it was on the Gomati. It is possible that Gomati is only an adjective. It was here that enmity between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra flourished, Kalmāśapada was cursed by Śakti and Parāśara was born. VI. III. 14. 18 states that by a bath in Gāṅgā, Yamunā, Nāmiśa-gomati and other rivers and by honouring pāirs one destroys all sins. B—Br. S. XI. 60 says that a malignant Ketu in Uttarā-Bhādrapadā destroys king of Nāmiśa,

Nāmiśa—kunja (on Sarasvatī) V. 83. 109, P. I. 26. 102

Nāirīteśvara—(under VS) L.q, by T.K, p. 117

Nakulaganā—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 46. 2. This probably refers to the followers of Lakulīśa (often written as Nakulīśa). Vide E I. vol. XXI. pp. 1 ff. (Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II dated Gupta-samvat 61 i.e. 380 A.D.) which shows that Lakuli founder of Pāśupata sect flourished in 1st quarter of second century A.D.; compare Vāyu 23. 22–25 for Nakulu and Kāyārohaṇa as his siddhikṣetra.
Nākuleśatīrtha—(Lakulīśatīrtha?) M. 22. 77, Vām. 7. 26 (Nākulesvara on Narmada where Čyavana bathed).
Nakuli—(r. rising from lake Viśu-pada) Br. II. 18. 68
Nakulīśa—(under VS) L. q. by T K p. 107
Nakulīśvara—K II. 44. 12
Nalakūbāreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 103
Nalinī—A—one of the three streams of Gaṅgā proceeding east, Vā. 47. 38 and 56, M. 121. 40, Rām. I. 43. 13; B (a r. in Kāśmīra) HC 14. 101
Nandā—V 87. 27. Vā. 77. 79. Ādi. 215. 7, V 110. 1 (near Hemakīṭa), Anu. 166. 28, Bh. VII. 14. 32, Var. 214. 47. Even all these passages do not convey the exact position. Bh. IV. 6. 24 (in the context) indicates that it was near Kaḷāśa and Saugandhikavana. Bh. (IV. 6. 23-24) places Nandā and Alakanandā near Saugandhikavāna
Nandanā—(r. rising in R̥kṣavat m.) M. 144. 25, Vā 45. 97, B 27. 28 (both last read candanā, which seems to be a misreading)
Nandanavanava—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T.K. p. 187
Nandāsaravati—the r. Sarasvati came to be so called. Vide P. V. 18. 456
Nandāvarī—(r.) Devala q. by T.K.p.249 mentions after Kauśikī. Prof. Aiyangar (TK p. 289) takes it to be the Mahānandā in U. P. east of the Kośi river
Nandigrāma—(where Bharata as representative of Rāma during latter's exile guarded the kingdom) V. 277. 39, 291. 62, Rām. II. 115. 22, VII. 62. 13, Bh. IX. 10. 36. It is Nundagao in Ondh about 8 miles to the south of Fyzabad.
Nandīgha—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T.K. p. 193
Nandikṣetra—in Kāśmīra) R. I. 36, NM 1204-1328 (story of Nandin being born as son of Silāda). It is the high valley at the east glaciers of Haramukha peaks which contain the sacred Kālodaka lake
Nandikesa—(under Narmada) M. 191.6
Nandikunda—A (in Kāśmīra) Anu. 25. 60, NM. 1459, Ag. 219. 64; B (from which Sābhramati rises) P. VI. 132. 1 and 13
Nandikīṭa—(v. 1. Nandikunda) Anu. 23. 60 q. by T.K. p. 248
Nandini—(r.)—V. 84. 155, PI 38.62
Nandini-sāgara—(under Go.) B 128. 1 and 73-74
Nandiparvata—in Kāśmīra) HC. 4. 30 and 32 (near Hāramukuta-Gaṅgā)
Nandiśa—(śiva worshipped in Nandkol in Kāśmīra, but in its extended sense applied to the whole sacred territory from the lakes on Hāramukuta down to Bhūteśvara) R. I. 124
Nandīseśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 57
Nandītā—(under Go.) B. 152.1 and 40 (also called Ānanda)
Nanditīrtha—(under Narmada) M. 191. 37, K. II. 41. 90, PI 18. 37 (same verse in latter two)
Nāradakunḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 37
Nāradatīrtha—(under Narmada) K II.41. 16-17, PI 18. 23 (same verse in both)
Nāradeśvara—A (under Narmada) M. 191. 5; B (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 53
Narakas—V. 83. 168 (some mss. read Anarakas and some 'Narakas')
Narakas—(under Narmada) P. I. 18. 36, 20. 1-2
Nārasimha—(under Gayā) N II. 46.46
Nārasimbhārāma—in Kāśmīra) NM 1520
Nārasimihatīrtha—A (on the north bank of Go.) B 149. 1; B (destroys sin at very sight) M. 22. 43
Nārāyaṇasaras—(at the mouth of the eastern branch of Indus called Kori) Bh. VI. 5, 3 and 25, Sīvāpuraṇa II. 2. 13, 13. It is Sindhu-saṃdrama-ga. It is 81 miles north-west from Bhuj, capital of Cutch and between Koteshwar and the sea. There was a great lake in ancient times and a temple of Ādi Nārāyaṇa. Vide Bom. G. vol. V. pp. 245–248

Nārāyaṇa-sārāma—(near Badari) V. 145. 26–34, 156. 14 (Naranārāyaṇa-sthānam Badarītyabhihiśratam), Bh. VII. 14, 32, IX. 3, 36 (Badaryākhyam gato rājā Nara–nārāyaṇa-sāram), X. 87. 4–7

Nārāyaṇaṇḍhāna—V. 84. 122, P. I. 38. 39

Nārāyaṇatīrtha—A (under VS) P. I. 37. 5; B–B 167.1 and 33 (also called Vipatītīrtha under Go.)

Nārītīrthāni—(in the Dravīḍa country on the sea) V. 118. 4, Ādi. 217. 17 (dākṣine sāgaranupe paīca tīrthāni santi vai). Vide Paṅcāpsaras

Narmadā—Vide pp. 703–707 above

Narmadā—Eraṇḍī-saṅgama T.P. p. 383

Narmadā-prabhava—TP p. 383, P. I. 39.9; V. 85. 9 reads ‘Soṇasya Narmadāyāśca prabhede’

Narmadeśa—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 73, P. I. 18. 69

Narmadeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 2

Nāśikā—(modern Nashik) Vide pp. 709–710 above and Vā 46. 130

Naubandhana—(mountain peak to the west of Kāśmīra) NM 62–63

Naubandhanasaras—(on the border of Kāśmīra and Panjab) NM 54–66, 165–166 (also called Viṇṇupada and Kramasāra), HC 4. 27

Nepāla—(modern Nepal) Var. 215. 38, Vā 104. 79, Devi—Bh. VII. 38. 11. (Guhyaśālī is a mahāśālā in). Vide A.G. pp. 450–452; Br. IV. 44. 93 (one of the fifty pīthas), Br. S. 4. 22. The country is named in Allahabad Ins. of Samudragupta (C. I. I III p. 14)

Nigamodbhodhaka—(one gavīntī to the west of Prayāga) P. VI. 196. 73–74, 200. 6 (in Indrapasitha). Dey p. 140 says that it is Nigambod Ghāt in old Delhi on the Yamunā

Nīhākīrā—(a lotus pool on Kramāca-pada in Gayā) Vā 108. 84, N. II. 44, 61, 47, 35, Ag. 116. 8 (reads Niścitā)

Nīhīkśarā-saṅgama—N II. 47, 35

Nilācala—A (a small hill or mound at Puri in Orissa on which the temple of Jagannātha is deemed to be situated) Vide Nilāparvata; B (hill near Gauhati on which temple of Sati stands)

Nilaganga—(under Go. and rising in Nilāparvata) B 80. 4

Nilakanṭha-liṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 118

Nilakanṭhatīrtha—(under Sābbramatī) P VI. 168. 1

Nilakunda—A (a pitṛtīrtha) M. 22. 22; B Nilakunda, Vitāstā and Sūlaghātā are three names of the same tīrtha or spring in Kāśmīra. NM 1500, HC 12. 17

Nilanāga—(king of Nāgas and protector of Kāśmīra) NM 295–301, R. I. 28, HC. 12. 17, SM p. 182. It is to the south of Brīṅg in Shahabad pargāna; popularly known as Vērnāg, the traditional source of Vitāstā. Ain. A. vol. II. p. 361 describes Vērnāg as the source of Bihāt (Vitāstā) and remarks (p. 363) ‘Nilanāg, the basin of which measures 40 bighas. Its water is exquisitely clear and is considered a sacred spot and many voluntarily perish by fire about its border’

M. 22. 70, Bh. V. 19. 16, K. II. 20. 33, Devī-Bh. VII. 38 (Devīsthāna Nilāmbā); B (mound on which Puruṣottama shrine stands) P. IV. 17. 23 and 35, IV. 18. 2, SK. q. by T. P. p. 562

Nilatirtha—Vām. q. by T. K. p. 238
Nilavana—Rām. II. 55. 8 (one kroṣa from Citrückūṭa)
Nīlotpalā—(r. rising from Rkṣa m.) Vā. 45. 100

Nimbārkatīrtha—(on Sābhramati) P. VI. 151. 1 and 14 (near Pippalāda-tīrtha)

Nimmabheda—(on north bank of Go.) B 151. 1

Nirajêsvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 6
Nirañjana—(An Ādityatīrtha on the north bank of Yamunā near Prayāga) M. 108. 29, T. K. p. 149 (reads Nirūjakā)

Nirañjanā—a river which has Mohanā as a tributary and after confluence it flows past Gayā; it is famed in Buddhist works. They are Magon and Errenysis of Arrian (Ptol. p. 97)

Niravindaparvata—Anu. 25. 42

Nirjāresvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 103

Nirvindhyā—(river rising in Vindhyā and falling into Chambal) B. 27. 33, M. 114. 27, Mār. 113. 33, Br. II. 16. 32, Meghadūta I. 28. Acc. to Bh. IV. 1. 17–19, Vi. II. 3. 11, the river starts from m. Rkṣa and sage Atri had his hermitage on it; Mār. chap. 113 narrates the story of Vīdūratha whose capital was near Nirvindhyā and Vatsapri, son of Bhālandana

Nirvīrā—(r.) V 84. 138–139 (it had Vasīṣṭhārama on its bank)

Nisadhā—(m.) V.138. 112; AL. (vol. II. p. 142) says that near the mountain Nisadha is the lake Visūpada whence comes the river Sarasvati. Therefore Nisadha seems to be a part of the great Himālayan range.

Vide also Vāyu 47. 64

Nisadhā—(r. rising in Vindhyā) Br. II. 16. 32, Vā 45. 102
Nīsakaralīṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65

Nīsirā—appears to be a variant reading for Nirvīrā; M. 114. 22 reads 'nīcalā'

Nīshphalesa—K. II. 41. 8
Nīṣṭhāsāgama—(where there was Vasiṣṭhārama) P I. 38. 56
Nīṣṭhāvāsa—P. I. 38. 54

Nīṣṭhivī—(r. rising in Himavat) Br. II. 16. 26
Nīvāsālīṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 89
Nūpā—(r. rising from Pāryāṭra m.) Br. II. 16. 28, Mār. 54. 23 (reads 'Nūpī')

O

Oghavatī—(r. in Punjab) Bhī. 9. 22, M 22. 71 (śrāddha and dāna very efficacious here), Vām. 46. 50, 57. 83, 58. 115; Prthūdaka (modern Pehos) was situated on it. From Sal, 38. 4 and 27 it appears that it was a name of Sarasvati. Vide Dey p. 142 for different views about identification

Ojasa—(under Kurukṣetra, probably same as 'Aujasa' above) Vām. 41. 6, 90. 17

Omkāra—A (one of five guhā lingas in VS) K I. 32. 1–11, L. I. 92. 137, P I. 34. 1–4; B (Omkāra Māndhātā, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas on an island in Narmadā about 32 miles north-west of Khandwa) M 22. 27, 186. 2, P. II. 92. 32, VI. 131. 67, SK. I. 1. 17, 209, in the Halāyudha-stotra engraved in the Amareśvara temple at Māndhātā on the left bank of the Narmadā dated in samvat 1120' (1063 A.D.) in E. I. vol. 25 p. 173 it is said that Omkāra dwells in Māndhātāpura on the confluence of Narmadā and
List of tirthas

Kāverī. Vide above under Māhiṣmati
Omārēśvara—(under VŚ) SK. IV. 33. 118

Padmāvatī—Sal. 46. 9 (one of the Mārās); the city is called Narwar. Vide A. G. p. 250 and the Khajurāho Inscription of Sainavat 1058 (1001-2 A. D.) for a description of the town which was the scene of Bhavabhūti's Māliati-Mādhava (E.I. vol. I. p. 147 at p. 151). Narwar is supposed to be the home of Nala, king of Nīṣadha
Paīśacatīrtha—(On the south bank of the Go.) B 84. 1-2 and 18 (also called Ājījana). B.150.1 speaks of a Paīśacatīrtha on the north bank of Go. It is doubtful whether these two are entirely different tirthas.
Paīśamahātīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 4-5, K. II. 42. 18
Paḷamaṇjara—(near Śūrpaśaka) Br. III. 13. 37
Paḷapaṇjara (m.) Vā 77. 37 (śrāddha here most efficacious), Br. III. 13. 37 (reads Paḷamaṇjara)
Paḷīśaka—(where Jamadagni performed sacrifices) V. 90. 16 (Paḷiśakesu punyena)
Paḷisini—(r.) A (near Girnar in Kathiwar). Vide under Raivataka and Rudradāman’s Junagadh Inscription (E I. vol. VIII. p. 36 at p. 43) and Skandagupta’s Ins. of 457 A.D. (C.I.I. III. at p. 64); B (r. Paddair which falls into the sea near Kalingapatam in Ganjam) Mār. 54. 30 (rising from Śuktimat), Vā. 45. 107
Paḷeśvara—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 134. 2 (where image of Caṇḍi is established)
Paṃpā—(r. tributary of Tuṅgabhadrā) Bh. X. 79. 12, Vām. 90. 16
Paṃpā—(v. I. Jāpā or Jāyā) P. I. 26. 20-21 (said to be the door of Kurukṣetra)
Paṃpāsaras—(Lake Pampā near Rēyamūka in the District of Bellary) V. 279. 44, 280. 1, Rām. III. 72, 12, 73. 11 and 32, VI. 126. 35, Vanaparva 280. 1, Bh. VII. 14. 31, X. 79. 12 (saptagodāvarīṃ Venāṃ Pampāṃ Bhimarathīṃ tataḥ)
Paṃptīrtha—M. 22. 50, Bh. VII. 14. 31
Paṅcabrahma—(under VŚ) L. q. by T. K. p. 62
Paṅcagāṅgā—The five rivers called Gāṅgā are Bhāgirathī, Godāvari, Kṛṣṇā, Pinākini (Pennar) and Kāverī. But in Drona 54, 23 (Paṅcagāṅgāsā punyā) only northern rivers seem to be meant
Paṅcakēśvara—(under VŚ) L. q. by T. K. p. 65
Paṅcālakesvara—(under VŚ) L. q. by T. K. p. 65
Paṅcakunḍa—A (under Dvārakā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 226; B (under Lobārgala) Var. 151. 43 (where five dhūrās from himakūṭa fall)
Paṅcānanda—(the five rivers in Punjab) V 82. 83, Mauṣala 7. 45, Vā. 77. 56, K II. 44. 1-2, L. I. 43. 47-48 (near Japyēśvara), Vām. 34. 26, P. I. 24. 31. The Mbh. (vol. II. p. 239 on Pān.IV. 1.88) derives Paṅcānanda (Paṅcānanda-bhavāḥ) from Paṅcānandām. The five rivers in Vedic times were Sutudrī, Vipāś, Paruṣāṇi, Asīkini and Vītastā and in modern times they are called Sutlej, Bāis, Rāvi, Chenab and Jhelum. The union of these five rivers is called Panjnad in modern times and then the combined stream unites with the Indus a few miles above Mithankot. Br. S. XI. 60 states that a malignant Ketu in Dhanśṭhāṇa kills the king of Paṅcānanda and Br. S. 14. 21 states it is a country in the west. Vanaparva 222. 22 mentions the Sindhu (Indus) and Paṅcānanda separately (Sindhum nadam Paṅcānadam Devikāṭhā
Sarasvatī). For Pañcanada as a country, vide Sabhāparva 32.11.
Pañcanadatīrtha—(under the Ganges) Br. III. 13, 57, N II. 51, 16-36. Vide p. 636 and note 1458 above.
Pañcandī—(near Kolhapur) P VI. 176 43 (the image of Mahālakṣīmi near it).
Pañcandīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 96.
Pañcapinda—(under Dwārakā) Var. 149. 36-40 (where a man of good deeds sees lotuses of silver and gold, but not an evil-doer). T.K p. 326 reads Pañcakunda.
Pañcāpsaras-tīrtha—(on the southern sea) Bh. X. 79, 18 (Śrīdhara-svāmī, com. of Bh., says that this tīrtha is in Phāṅguṇa which is Anantapura in the Madras State. Ādi. (216-14) names them as Agastyaṭīrtha, Saubhadra, Pauloma, Kārandaṇḍa and Bhāradvāja. They were shunned by all, but Arjuna plunged into them and relieved the Apsaras who had been reduced to pools by a curse. SK, Māheśvara-kanda, Kaumārīkā, section, chap. 1 is Pañcāpsaraḥ-samuddharaṇa (by Arjuna).
Pañcārūṇakṣetra—(to north of Stutavāmī) Var. 148, 45
Pañcasaras—A (a pool under Lohārgala) Var. 151, 34; B (a pool under Dwārakā) Var. 149, 23
Pañcasiṅha—(under Badarī) Var. 141, 14-16
Pañcasiṅhīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 67
Pañcaśīra—(under Badarī) Var. 141, 39-44.
Pañcāśīmedhika—Vā 77, 45, Br. III. 13, 45
Pañcātappa (a Sivatīrtha where pinda-dāna gives inexhaustible results) K. II. 44, 5-6
Pañcatīrthakūḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 164, 37.
Pañcavanā—(under Gayā) Vā 77, 99
Pañcavāta—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41, 11, P I. 27, 50 (probably same as Pañcavatī in V. 83, 162).
Pañcavaṭi—A (in the north) V. 83, 162; B (on the Go.) Rām. III. 13, 13 (calls it ‘deśa’), III. 13, 19 (two yojanas from Agastya-ārama). N II. 75, 30, Ag. 7. 3. Vide pp. 709-710 above.
Pañcayakṣa—(location uncertain) V 84, 10
Pañcāyatana—(five tīrthas on the Narmāḍa) M. 191, 5-6
Pandārakavāna (very fit for śrāddha) Vā 77, 37
Pandavēṣvarakāṇḍa—(under Narmāḍa) P I. 18, 58, M. 191, 61-62
Pandukūpa—Br. III. 13, 37 (near the sea) very fit for śrāddha
Pandupura—Vide Paṇḍurikapura
Pāṇḍura—Vā. 45, 91 (a minor m.)
Pandjasyahya—(one of the guhya-kṣetras of Vīṣṇu) Nr. 65, 9 q. by T. K. p. 251
Pāṇḍuvīṣālāṭīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā. 77, 99; Vā. 112, 44-48 (read Paṇḍuśīla); T. K. p. 168 quoting Vā. reads Pāṇḍuvīṣālya
Pāṇikhyāta—P. I. 26, 84, V. 83, 89 (khāta)
Paṇkajavāna—(under Gayā) N. II. 44, 58, Vā. 112, 43 (Paṇḍuśīla was in this vana)
Pāpamokṣa—(under Gayā) Ag. 116, 8, N. II. 47, 79
Pāpāpamocana—(under Koṅkāmekha) Var. 140, 51-54
Pāparāṇaśana—A (on Yamunā) P.I. 31. 15; B (under Go.) B 92. 1 and 48-49, also called 'Dhautapāpa' and 'Gālava')

Pāparasidhāntārtha—(a spring in Kāṃśira) R. I. 32, H. C. 14. 36. Kapaṭeśvara, Saṅkaraṇa Nāga and Pāparasūdana are the same. Śiva is worshipped as Kapaṭeśvara at the sacred spring

Pāra—A (Viśāmitra gave that name to Kauśikī) Ādi 71. 30-32; B (r. rising in Pāriyātra and falling into Sindhu in Malwa) Vā. 45. 98, M. 13. 44 and 114. 24, Mār. 54. 20. Printed Vāyu reads Pāra, though some Mss. read Pāra. In M. 13. 44 it is said that Devī is styled Pāra on the bank of Pāra. Vide Mālati-Mādhava 4th Act at end, and 9th Act, first verse and Br. S. 14.10

Parihașapura—(modern Paraspor in Kashmir) built by the great king Lalitaditya, R. IV. 194-195 refer to silver and gold images of Viṣṇu

Pāraśaryesvaralīgga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 59

Pāriplava—(under Sarvasvati) V. 83.12, P. I. 26. 10 (same verse as in V), Vām. 34. 17

Pāriyātra—(or Pāripātra, one of the seven main mountain ranges). It must be deemed to be the western part of Vindhya, as the rivers Chambal, Betwa and Śīrā are said to rise from it. Vide K. I. 47. 24, Bh. V. 19.16, Vā. 45.88 and 98, B.27.29. It is mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No. 2 of Gotamiputa Sātakarni in the words rendered into Sanskrit (from Pārkrit) as विन्ध्यक्षेत्रवर्त्तनित्यप्रशस्तसदाकृष्णुपिरितमस्थितिरिक्रियमचरणमांस्यप्रभुः।

Pārāśāryesvaralīgga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 59

Pāriplava—(under Sarvasvati) V. 83.12, P. I. 26. 10 (same verse as in V), Vām. 34. 17

Pāriyātra—(or Pāripātra, one of the seven main mountain ranges). It must be deemed to be the western part of Vindhya, as the rivers Chambal, Betwa and Śīrā are said to rise from it. Vide K. I. 47. 24, Bh. V. 19.16, Vā. 45.88 and 98, B.27.29. It is mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No. 2 of Gotamiputa Sātakarni in the words rendered into Sanskrit (from Pārkrit) as विन्ध्यक्षेत्रवर्त्तनित्यप्रशस्तसदाकृष्णुपिरितमस्थितिरिक्रियमचरणमांस्यप्रभुः।

Pārāśāryesvaralīgga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 59

Pāriplava—(under Sarvasvati) V. 83.12, P. I. 26. 10 (same verse as in V), Vām. 34. 17

Pāriyātra—(or Pāripātra, one of the seven main mountain ranges). It must be deemed to be the western part of Vindhya, as the rivers Chambal, Betwa and Śīrā are said to rise from it. Vide K. I. 47. 24, Bh. V. 19.16, Vā. 45.88 and 98, B.27.29. It is mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No. 2 of Gotamiputa Sātakarni in the words rendered into Sanskrit (from Pārkrit) as विन्ध्यक्षेत्रवर्त्तनित्यप्रशस्तसदाकृष्णुपिरितमस्थितिरिक्रियमचरणमांस्यप्रभुः।

Pārāśāryesvaralīgga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 59

Pāriplava—(under Sarvasvati) V. 83.12, P. I. 26. 10 (same verse as in V), Vām. 34. 17

Pāriyātra—(or Pāripātra, one of the seven main mountain ranges). It must be deemed to be the western part of Vindhya, as the rivers Chambal, Betwa and Śīrā are said to rise from it. Vide K. I. 47. 24, Bh. V. 19.16, Vā. 45.88 and 98, B.27.29. It is mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No. 2 of Gotamiputa Sātakarni in the words rendered into Sanskrit (from Pārkrit) as विन्ध्यक्षेत्रवर्त्तनित्यप्रशस्तसदाकृष्णुपिरितमस्थितिरिक्रियमचरणमांस्यप्रभुः।

Pārāśāryesvaralīgga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 59

Pāriplava—(under Sarvasvati) V. 83.12, P. I. 26. 10 (same verse as in V), Vām. 34. 17

Pāriyātra—(or Pāripātra, one of the seven main mountain ranges). It must be deemed to be the western part of Vindhya, as the rivers Chambal, Betwa and Śīrā are said to rise from it. Vide K. I. 47. 24, Bh. V. 19.16, Vā. 45.88 and 98, B.27.29. It is mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No. 2 of Gotamiputa Sātakarni in the words rendered into Sanskrit (from Pārkrit) as विन्ध्यक्षेत्रवर्त्तनित्यप्रशस्तसदाकृष्णुपिरितमस्थितिरिक्रियमचरणमांस्यप्रभुः।

Pārāśāryesvaralīgga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 59

Pāriplava—(under Sarvasvati) V. 83.12, P. I. 26. 10 (same verse as in V), Vām. 34. 17

Pāriyātra—(or Pāripātra, one of the seven main mountain ranges). It must be deemed to be the western part of Vindhya, as the rivers Chambal, Betwa and Śīrā are said to rise from it. Vide K. I. 47. 24, Bh. V. 19.16, Vā. 45.88 and 98, B.27.29. It is mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No. 2 of Gotamiputa Sātakarni in the words rendered into Sanskrit (from Pārkrit) as विन्ध्यक्षेत्रवर्त्तनित्यप्रशस्तसदाकृष्णुपिरितमस्थितिरिक्रियमचरणमांस्यप्रभुः।
Paśupatiśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 93
Paśalā—(very sacred to pitṛs) M 22,33
Paśandhama—(m.) Vā. 45, 91
Paṭatrītirtha—(under Go.) B 166, 1.
Pathiśvara—(in Kāśmir beyond Bharatagiri and Vitastā) NM 1245 (temple of), 1398
Paṭresvara—(on north bank of Narmadā) P I. 17, 1
Paulastyaśrīrtha—(under Go.) B. 97, 1
Pauloma—(vide Paṅcāpsaraśrīrtha) Ādi, 216, 3
Paṇḍarika—(a Viṣṇuksetra, seems to be Pandharapur from context) P VI. 280, 18-19 (Kṛta sauce haret pāpam Paṇḍarike ca Daṇḍake i Māthure Venkaṭādru ca)
Paṇḍra—(Devaḍāruvane Paṇḍram) P VI. 129, 27
Paṇḍravardhāṇa—Vā. 104, 79 (sacred pīṭha), Br. IV. 44, 93
Paṇduśka—(in Kāśmir-maṇḍala) P VI. 129, 27
Pavanasya—hrada V. 83, 105
Paṇḍapāvina—(r.) Bh. V. 19, 18, XI. 5, 39 (persons who dwell on this and other rivers of the south are great devotees of Vāsudeva).
Payodā—(r.) Br. II. 18, 70, Vā. 47,67 (rising from lake Payoda).
Paṇyośi—(r. rising from Rksa or from Vindhya). Wilson says that it is (vol. II. p.144 n 37) the Pain-Gangā that joins the Waradā or Wardhā river in Central Provinces. V. 85, 40, V. 88, 4, 7-9 (it is superior to all rivers including Gangā and is the river of king Nṛga), 121, 16, VI. II. 3, 11. Tāpi and Payoṣi are separately mentioned in most Purāṇas e. g. VI. II. 3, 11, M. 114, 27, B 27, 33, Vā. 45, 102, Vām. 13, 28, N II. 60, 29, Bh. X. 79, 20, P. IV. 14, 12 and IV. 16, 3 (sage Cyavana had his āśrama on it). Vide under Mūlatāpī. V 121, 16 shows that after Payoṣi the Pāṇḍavas came to Vaidūrya-parvata and Narmadā. Hunter in I. G. I. vol. XX. p. 412 holds that Payoṣi is the modern Puṇḍrā river in Berar rising in the Gavilgadh hills and falling into the Tāpi. The Nalacampū VI. 29 says (Paṇvatabhedi pavitraṃ...Hari-mīva...vahati payāḥ paśyata Payoṣi).
Paṇyoṣiśāṅgama—(śrāddha yields inexhaustible results) M. 22, 33
Phalakīvāna—(under Kurukṣetra, probably modern Phoral, 17 miles to south-east of Thanesar) V. 83, 86
Phalgu—(r.) flows towards the north past the town of Gayā and ultimately joins a branch of the Pūṇān. Vide District Gazetteer of Gayā p. 8. Ag. 115. 27 derives it from phala and go (yasmin phalati śrīr-gaur-vā Kāmādevan-jalām mahā Drśīramyādikam yasmāt Phalguṇīrtham na phalguvat). Vā 111, 16 says it is superior to Gaṅghā since the latter is only water from the foot of Viṣṇu while the former is Adi-Gaḍādhara himself. Vide pp. 648 n, 653, 660 n, 661-62, 664 n
Phalgunā—Bh. VII. 14, 31, X. 79, 18 (Śrīdhara says it is Anantapura)
Phalgunaka—(to the south of Mathurā) Var. 157, 32
Phalgunesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 105
Phenā—(r. falls into Go.) B. 129, 7
Phenā-sāṅgama—(with Go.) B. 129, 1, 7-8
Phīṇḍāraka—(in Khambhalia Mahal of Kathiawar) V. 82, 65-67 (where coins were found marked with lotus), 88, 21, M. 13, 48, 22, 69, Anu. 25 57, Vi. V. 37, 6, Bh. XI. 1, 11 (Kṛṣṇa’s son Samba dressed as a pregnant woman was cursed here by sages), Var. 144. 10 (as Viṣṇuštāna), P I. 24, 14-15. Dey
List of tīrthas

Plāksāvataraṇa—V. 90. 4 (where sacrificers performed Sārasvata-sattras); V. 129. 13–14 (Yamunā[tīrtha where those who performed Sārasvata sacrifices came for the final ceremonial bath called avabhrī[tha]), K II. 37. 8 (a Visūr[tīrtha), Mār. 21. 29–30 (in Himavat)

Prabhāsa—A (in Saurāṣṭra near the sea, had a famous temple of Soma[nātha, one of the twelve Jyotirī[ñas, broken by Mahmud of Gaznī) also called Somanāthapaṭṭana, SK. VII. 1. 2. 44–53 (several origins of the name suggested). V. 82. 58. 130. 7. V. 88. 20. 118. 13. 119. 3. Ādi. 218. 2–8. Śal. 35. 42 (the moon was cured of consumption here), K II. 35. 15–17. N. II. 70. 1–95 (māhātmya), G. I. 4. 81. Vām. 84. 29 (Sarasvati falls into the sea near it). It is mentioned as a holy place in Usavādāta's Inscription at Nāsik (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 669 and in Cintra prāṣastī of Sāraṅgadeva dated saṅhv 1343 (1287 A. D.). Prabhāsa is styled Devapattana and it is said that it is on the confluence of the Sarasvati and the sea [E. I. vol. I. p. 271 at p. 283 and Śridhara's prāṣastī of saṅhv 1273 (1216 A. D.)]; B (on the Sarasvati) Śal. 35. 78, SK. VII. 1. 11–14; C (a hill near Gāyā) Vā. 108. 16. 109. 14. Ag. 116. 15; D (under VS) K. I. 35. 16. P. I. 37. 15; E (under Dvārakā) Mausala 8. 9. Var. 149. 29–33 (there are alligators there but they do no harm), SK. VII. 1 chap. 35–36 (māhātmya of Sarasvati and Prabhāsa), Bh. XI. 30. 6 (there is pratyak–Sarasvati there i.e. S. flowing westwards, while in Kurukṣetra it is prācī). Usavādāta's Inscription states that the prince bore the expenditure of the marriages and secured brides for eight brāhmaṇas at Prabhāsa (Prabhāse Puṇyatīrtha). It was here that Lord Kṛṣṇa left his mortal coil. Vide 'The life and
times of Sultan Mahmud of Gazni' by Dr. M. Nazim pp. 209–214 for origin, legends and sanctity of Somanātha and for date of invasion by Mahmud (about 1025 A. D.), pp. 219–224 for stories connected with the expedition, and pp. 117–119 for attack on the fort of Somanātha, for the death of 50000 devotees in defence, for the destruction of the liṅga with pickaxes and fire and for the immense booty of 20 millions of dinārs of those days (i. e. about £10,500,000 in present money); F (in Kāsmīra) HC. 14. 111; G (one of the five dhārās near Badarikāśrama) N. II. 67. 57–58.

Prāci–Sarasvati—(same as Sarasvatī)
A–Bh. VI. 8. 40, Vām. 42. 20–23; B (under Gayā) Vā. 112. 23
Prāyunnagiri or—piṭha (same as Hariparvata in Śrīnagar) R. III. 460, VII. 1616, Vik. 18. 15, SM. p. 148 and K. R. p. 17
Prāyunnatīrtha—N. II. 40. 96. Dey p. 158 says that it is Paṇḍuā in the District of Huglihy in Bengal
Prāhasītesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 89
Prāhādītesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 48
Prājāmukha—(Viśnu to be worshipped as Vāsudeva here) Vām. 90. 28
Prājāpatikṣeta—M. 104. 5 (limits defined). It is Prāyāga; vide p. 599 note 1358.
Prājāpatya—(under VS) K I. 33.4, P I. 37.4 (same verse in both)
Prānutā—(r. falling into Godāvari) B. 161. 1, P VI. 181. 5 (on the bank of Godāvari there was a town called Meghaḥkara); same as Prājahitā
Prāntakāpiṇi—(near Paṅcananda) Var. 215. 100
Prāṇa—(to the north of Mandāra) Var. 143. 17
Prāśravāna-giri—A (in Janasthāna) Rām. III. 49. 31; B (on the Tuṅga-bhadra) Rām. IV. 27. 1–4 (in a cave of which Rāma resided for some months)
Pratēci—(a great r.) Bh. XI. 5. 40 (persons dwelling on this are devotees of Vāsudeva)
Pratiṣṭhāna—A (near Prayāga) V 85. 76, 114, 1, Vā. 91. 18 (capital of Purūravas), 91. 50 (on the north bank of Yamunā), M 12. 18, 106. 30 (on the eastern side of the Ganges), Mār. 108. 18 (given to Aila Purūravas at Vasiṣṭha's request) Vi. IV. 1. 16, B 227. 151, Bh. IX. 1. 42; B (modern Faithan on the left bank of the Go.) B 112. 23, Var. 165. 1, P VI. 172. 20, VI. 176. 2 and 6 (refers to sporting Mahārāṣṭra women at). The Pitalkhora Buddhist pillar inscription records the gift of a pillar by the family of a perfumer Mitadeva of Patīthān; A. S. W. I. IV. 83.
Vide A. G. pp. 553–554 for Pratiṣṭhāna being the capital of Mahārāṣṭra in Hiouen Thang's times. Ptolemy mentions it as Baithana and the Periplus as 'Plithāna.' In the 13th edict of Asoka at Shahabadgarhi and elsewhere we have 'Bhoja-Pitikinesu', which last word probably stands for Pratiṣṭhānakas (C. I. I. vol. I. p. 67).
Pravarā—(r. that joins the Godāvari) B 106. 46–54 (on which is situated Nivāsapura, modern Nīvās or Nevās). It joins Godāvari at Toka in Ahmednagar District, Bom. G. vol. 17 p. 6
Pravarapura—(see under Śrīnagar) R. III. 336–349
Pravarā-saṅgama—(with Go.) B 106. 1. Vide Bom. G. vol. XVII. p. 740 for Toka and Pravarāsaṅgam, two holy towns on the left and right banks of the Pravarā at its meeting with the Godāvari, 7 miles north-east of Nevās.
and Vitastā i.e. Zhelum) NM 394-395 (Sindhu is deemed Gaṅgā and Vitastā Yamūnā)
Prayāgeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 45
Pretakūṭā—(under Gayā) Vā. 108. 68-69, Ag. 116.15. It is now known as Brahmayoni at the foot of the Pretāsilā hill
Pretakīta—(a hill under Gayā) Vā. 109. 15
Pretaparvata—(under Gayā) Vā. 83. 20
Pretāsilā—(under Gayā) Vā. 110. 15, 108. 15. It is a peak 580 feet in height situated 5 miles north-west of Gayā. Vide Gayā District Gazetteer p. 235.
Prittikēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 111
Priyamelaka—(pre-eminent for śrāddha) M. 22. 53
Priyavartesvara-liṅga—(in VS) SK. IV. 33, 159
Prthivītirtha—P. I. 26. 11 (near Fāripīlava)
Prthūdaka—(on south bank of Sarasvati, modern Pehoa) Vide p. 685 above. It was called Brahmayoni in Vām. 39. 16-17 and 23. Vide A. G. pp. 336-337
Prthutuṅga—N. II. 60. 25
Pulahāśrama—Bh. VII. 14. 30, X. 79. 10 (near Gomatī and Gaṅḍaki and same as Ātrailagāma)
Pulastya—pulahāśrama—(near source of Gaṅḍaki river) Var. 144. 113, Bh. V. 8. 30 (near Ātrailagāma)
Pulastyesvara—(under VS) L. by T.K. p. 116
Punahpunā—(r. under Gayā, modern Fūn—Fūn) Vā. 108. 73, N. II. 47. 75
Punaravartanda—(r) Anu. 25. 45
Puṇḍarikā—A (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 57, P. I. 26. 78; B (near Kurukṣetra) Vām. 81. 7-8
Puṇḍarikā—(r rising from a lake called Payoda) Br. II. 18. 69-70

Punḍarikakṣetra—(modern Pandharipur) T. S. pp. 7-21
Puṇḍarikamahātirtha—(śrāddha most efficacious here) Br. III. 13. 56, Vā. 77. 55
Puṇḍar-kapura—M. 22. 77, N. II. 73. 45
Puṇyaśthala—(under Mathurā, one of the five sthalas) Var. 160. 21
Puṇyāesvara—(in VS) SK. IV. 33. 132
Puṅgā—A (r. in Berar); it falls into the Tāpī on its left bank. Vide Ain. A. vol. II. p. 224; Changdev is a village near this confluence and a great tīrtha called Chikar-tīrtha (muddy);
B Puṅgā in Surat District falls into the sea (Bom. G. vol. II. p. 26); C Puṅgā which falls into the Godāvarī in Parbhāṇi District. Vide I. G. I. vol. XII. p. 297. Is it the same as the Puṅḍatirtha in B 105. 22?
Puṅnamukha—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 40-41
Puṅnatirtha—(on north bank of Go.) B 122. 1
Puru—(m.) V 90. 22 (where Purūravas went)
Puṇravasatirtha—(under Go.) B. 101. 1 and 19-20 (also called Sarasvatisaṅgama and Brahma-tīrtha)
Puṣruttamā—(Jagannātha or Puri in Orissa) B. chapters 42, 48, 68, 177, 178; M. 13. 35, K. II. 35. 27, N. II. chapters 52-61 (māhātmya). Vide pp. 692-703 above
Puṇvāmukha—(a variant reading for Puṇṇamukha in Var. 126. 40)
Puṣkara—(town, lake and place of pilgrimage, six miles from Ajmer). One of the few temples of god Brahmā exists here. There are three kunālas called Jyeṣṭha, Madhyama and Kanīṣṭha (N. II. 71. 12, P. V. 28. 53). Uṣavādāta’s Nasik Ins. No. 10 mentions gifts made by him at three pools (Puṣkareṣu). Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 570. Vā. 77. 40, K. II. 20. 34 and VDH. 85. 1-3 state that śrāddha at Puṣ-
kara yields inexhaustible results. This is one (western) of the five Vedas of Brahmā (P. V. 15, 150), Vām. 22. 19, Br. III. 34. 11 and Vām. 65. 31 mention Madhyama Puṣkara and Br. III. 35. 39 says that Kaniṣṭha Puṣkara was 1½ yojanas from Madhyama Puṣkara, and Jyesṭha Puṣkara was one kroṣa to the west of Madhyama Puṣkara. It is said that the sacred Sarasvatī flowed to the ocean from here (P. V. 19. 37). P. V. 15. 63 and 82 explain how this place was called Puṣkara from the lotus (puṣkara) that Brahmā cast here. Br. (III. 34. 7 ff) states that the hero Parasurāma practised tapas here along with his disciple Akṛta-vrana for 100 years. The T. K. pp. 182–185 quote verses 20–39 of Vanapravasa chap. 82 and twelve verses from P. V. 27 relating to Puṣkara. Al. (vol. II. p. 147) states: ‘Outside the town in three places they have constructed ponds which stand in high veneration and are places of worship’. The principal temples are five, but all of them are modern, the earlier ones having been destroyed by Aurangzeb. There are several sub-tirthas under it (V. 82). Puṣkara is in the Varanā-
diganta (Pān. IV. 2. 82); B (Puṣkara, on Sarasvatī, called Suprabha, m.) Ādi. 221, 15, Sal. 38. 13–15; C HC. 14. 111 (in Kāśmir among the group of tirthas at Kapaṭēsvara); D (one of the five dhārās at Badarikā-
śrama) N. II. 67. 57–58

Puṣkara-ranya—P. V. 18. 217, S. 32. 8 (Prāci Sarasvatī flowed through it), Br. S. XI. 35

Puṣkara-vatī—a r. probably known to Pān. (IV. 2. 85, on which the Kāśikā mentions it and also several others)

Puṣkariṇī—A (under Narmadā) M. 150. 16, K. II. 41. 10–11, P. I. 17. 12; B (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 13

Puṣpabhadrā—(r. on the northern slopes of Himālaya) Var. 51. 2, 98. 5, Bh. XII. 8. 17, XII. 9. 10, Nr. q. by T. K. p. 253

Puṣpabhadrā (r.) Bh. XII. 9. 10

Puṣpagiri—(one of the lesser moun-

Puṣpajā—(r. rising from Malaya) M. 114. 30, Vā 45. 105 (reads Puṣpa-
jaṭi, which means the same thing)

Puṣpadanteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 117

Puṣpasthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 17 (a Śivakṣetra)

Puṣpavahā—(r.) Bh. XII. 9. 30 (near Himālaya)

Puṣpavati—(r.) V. 85. 12, P. I. 39. 12 (same verse in both)

Puṣtratīrtha—(under Go.) B. 124. 1 and 137

Rādhākuṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 164. 34

Rāghaveśvara—M. 22. 60 (ūrāddha ronler inexhaustible results)

Raivataka—(hill at Junagadh opposite to Girnar) Ādi. 218. 8 (near Prabhāsa) and chap. 219 (festivities on it by Vṛṣṇyandhakas), S. 14. 50, Var. 149. 66 (q. by T. K. p. 227), SK. VII. 2. 1. 68 (western part of Udayanta hill near Somanātha in Vastrāpatha), M. 22. 74. Raiva-
taka i. e. present Girnar is very sacred to the Jainas (vide Utta-
rādhyayanasūtra, SBE. vol. 45 p. 115). But the present Dwārakā is about 110 miles from it. The original Dwārakā, which was swept away by the sea, was much nearer. Parigiter (p. 289) was not aware of two Dwāra-
kąs and hence proposes to identify Raivataka hills with Baradā hills in Hālār, the western corner of Kathi-
wad. In the Junagadh Inscription of Skandagupta of 136–138 Gupta era
List of tirthas

Rāmasaras—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150. 14–18 (one krośa in extent)

Rāmatīrtha—A (under Gayā) Vā. 108. 16–18, M. 22.70 (anantam śrāddhabhāvanayoh), Ag. 116. 13; B (in Āpurāśa) V. 85. 43, Sal. 49.7 (where Bhārgava Rāma gave the earth as dāsinā to Kaśyapa in Vaijapeya and Āśvamedha sacrifices). Vide Uṣavadvatā's Nasik inscription recounting the gifts he made at Rāmatīrtha in Sarpārāga in Bom. G. vol. 16 p 570; C (under the Ganges) N. II. 40.85; D (on Gomati) V. c4. 73–74, P. I. 32.37; E (under Go) B 123. 1; F (under Mahendra) P. I. 39.14

Rambhāliṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105

Rambheśvara-liṅga—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 46. 39.

Rāmesvara—A (one of the twelve Īśvara-liṅgas, said to have been established by Rāma himself) M. 22. 50, K. II. 30.23 (bath at K. saves from sin of brahmacārīs). G. I. 81. 9. Vide T. S. p. 47 which quotes passages from Vi., K., and Ag. It is situated on the island of Pāmba. It is one of the most venerated shrines in the whole of India. Vide I. G. I. vol. XXI pp. 173–175 for a brief description of the great temple; B (under Sriparvata) L. I. 92. 149 (established by Viṣṇu himself).

Ratneshvara-liṅga—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 165

Rantuka—(one boundary of Kurukṣetra) Vām 22. 51 and 33. 2. Vide p. 683 n 1551 above

Rantukāśrama—(on Sarasvati) Vām. 42. 5

Rasā—(a river) Rg. V. 53. 9, X. 75. 6. It is difficult to identify it. It appears to have fallen into the Indus. But from Rg. X. 108. 1 (khaṭhau Rasyā ataraḥ payāṃsi) in which the Panis ask Saramā how she crossed the waters of Rasā, it
appears to be a mythical river. It is identified with Panjkora by E. Thomas in JRAS. vol. 15 p. 361 (n. s.)

Rathacaitraka—(a tirtha) P VI. 129. 9
Rathaspā—(r.) It was included in the Fāraskarādīgana (Pān. VI. I. 157). The Mbh. (vol. III p. 96) mentions ‘Rathaspā nādi.’ In Mb. (Vanaparva 170, 20) a river Rathasthā is mentioned between Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī on the one hand and before Sarayū and Gomati on the other. Rathkhyā r. is mentioned in Br. S. 16. 15. Vide Ādi 170. 20.

Rāvanēvaratirtha—A (under Narmādā) M. 191. 26; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 98
Ravistava—(under Narmadā) P.I 18.19
Renukāsthāna—(one of the Devi-sthānas) Devi-Bh. VII. 38.5 (probably at Parasurāma, in the Ratnagiri District.)
Renugāṣṭaka—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 41. 5
Renukāthīrtha—V 82.82, P. I. 24.30 and 27.47. Dey (p. 168) says it is about 16 miles north of Nahan in the Panjab. Nahan is the capital of Sirmur State.
Retodaka—(under Kedāra) Devipurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 230
Revantēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 96
Revati-sāgama—(under Go.) B. 121. 1 and 22
Rksā or Rksavat—(‘abounding in bears’, one of the seven main mountain ranges of Bharatavarṣa) Vā 45. 99-101 and 95.31, M. 114.17, B. 27. 32, Var. 85 (prose). Rivers like Śoṇa, Narmadā, Mahānādi are said to rise from it. Hence it is the eastern part of Vindhyā from Bengal to the sources of Narmadā and Śoṇa. Rksavat is mentioned in the Nasik cave Inscription No. 2 (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 550 as विक्रस्वत ि. e. विक्रस्वत-क्रस्वत. It is the Ouxentation of Ptolemy (p. 76). Wilson (vol. II. p. 128) holds that Rksa is the mountain of Gondawana. There is great difficulty in identification, since the same rivers that are said to rise in Rksa in M and V are said to rise from Vindhyā in Mār. 54. 24-25.

Rṣamocana or Rṣaprāmocana—A (under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41. 6. Vide A.S.R. of India, vol. XIV p. 76 (which says that it is situated to the south of Kapālamocanatirtha on the Sarasvatī); B (near Prayāga) M. 22. 67 (trādha gives inexactible results), 107. 20; C (under Go.) B. 99. 1; D (a sub-tirtha under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66. 28 q. by T. K. p. 255; E (under VS) Sk. IV. 33. 117
Rṣamokṣa—(under Gayā) N II. 47. 27, Ag. 116. 8
Rṇāntakūpā P. I. 26. 92
Rṇatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 27, K II. 41. 19 and 29.
Rodhasvatī—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18
Rohitaka (m.) S. 32. 4
Rśabhā—(m. in Pāṇḍya country) V. 85. 21, Bh. V. 19. 16, X. 79. 15, M. 121. 72 and 163. 78. Dey p. 119 suggests that it is the Palni hills in Madurai
Rśabhā—(r. rising in Vindhyā) M. 114. 27
Rśabhadvipa—V. 84. 160, P. I. 38 67
Rśabhātīrtha—A (under VS) K. I. 35. 3, P. I. 37. 3; B (in Kośāla i.e. Daksīṇa-Kośāla); vide the Guṇi Rock Inscription of Kumāravaradatta read by M. M. Prof. Mirashi in E.I vol. 27. p. 48 where it is recorded that at Rśabhātīrtha of the Bhagavat (probably meaning Śiva) an amatyā of the king made a grant of two thousand cows to brāhmaṇās. Prof. Mirashi points out that Guṇi is a small village, 14 miles north-west of Śaktī
in the Chhatisgarh Division of C.F.,
that at the foot of a hill near that
village there is a kunda (pool)
called Daman Dahra, that the
record is engraved on a rock on one
side on this pool, that not many
miles from Gujji inscriptions of
centuries before and after the
Christian era have been found and
that the Gujji Inscription is to be
assigned to the 1st century A.D.
Vanaparva 85. 10 states that the
pilgrim who fasts for three days at
Ṛṣabhātirtha secures the rewards of
Vāja-paye-yājyā. Vide V. 85. 10, P. I.
39. 10

Ṛṣabhānjana-kātirtha or Uṣātirtha—
(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K.
p. 191

Ṛṣikā—(r. from m. Suktimat) Vā 45.
107.

Ṛṣikānyā—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 14

Ṛṣikulyā—(r.) V. 84. 49, P. I. 32. 12, M.
114. 31, B. 27. 37, N. II. 60 30
(rising from Mahendra m.). Vā 45.
106 reads ‘Ṛṭukulyā. It is the river of
Canjam, acc. to A. G. p. 516.
The famous Jaugada fort in the midst of
which on a huge granite mass
thirty edicts of Asoka are inscribed
is on this river.

Ṛṣiṣanghesvara—(under VS) L. q. by
T. K. p. 54

Ṛṣisattra—(under Go.) B. 173. 1

Ṛṣyamūka or Ṛṣyamūke—(m.) Rām.
III. 72. 12, III. 75. 7 and 25 (on
the borders of lake Pampā), Bh. V.
19. 16, V. 280. 9, V. 147. 30 (on
which Sugrīva resided), 279.
44 (near Pampā lake). Vide
Pargiter (p. 289 note) for iden-
tification which is rather vague.

Ṛṣītirtha—A (under Narmadā) M. 191.
22 and 193. 13 (sage Trāṇabindu
became free from curse here), K. II.
41. 15, P. I. 18. 22; B (under
Mathurā) Var. 152. 60

Ṛṣyasrigesvara—(under VS) L. q. by
T. K. p. 113

Ṛṣyavanta or Ṛṣya—(m.) M. 114. 26,
Vā. 45. 101, B. 27. 32

Rucikesvaraka—L. I. 92. 167

Rudragayā—(near Kolhapur) P. VI.
176. 41

Rudrakanyā—(under Narmadā) P. I.
20. 76

Rudrakara—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām.
46 11

Rudrakarna—(under VS) M. 181. 25

Rudrakarnahara—(under VS) P. I
37. 15

Rudrakoṭi—A (under Kurukṣetra and
Sarasvati) V. 82. 111-124, Vām. 46.
51, P. I. 25. 25-30, K. II. 36 1-8
(where Hara assumed a crore of
Rudra forms for the competing
sages); B (under VS) M. 181. 25;
C (under Narmadā) P. I. 13. 12, V.
17. 103, M. 186. 16-17

Rudramahālaya—(under VS) L. q. by
T. K. p. 63, Devala q. by T. K. p. 250

Rudramahālayatirtha—(under Śābhramati) P. VI. 139. 1

Rudrapada—A (under Gayā) Vā. 111.
64-67, Ag. 115. 48; B (under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26. 94

Rudraprayāyā—on confluence of the
Mandākini and Alakanandā in Garh-
wal district (I. G. I. vol. XXI p. 338)

Rudrāvarta—(after Sugandhā) V. 84.37

Rudravāsa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K.
p. 62

Rukminikunda or Rukmikunda—(un-
der Gayā) Vā. 108. 57, Ag. 116. 5

Ṛūpadhārā—(Viṣṇu’s form on Irāvati)
Vām. 90. 5

Rurukhandā—(under Śālagrāma) Var
145. 105; chap. 146 explains why it
is so called.

S

Śabaritirtha—(on Go.) P. VI. 269.
277-78

Śābhramati—(modern Sābhramati river
that rises in the Mewar hills and falls
into the gulf of Cambay). The origi-
nal of Sābhramatī is given as Svā-
hravatī in I. G. I. vol. XXI. p. 344.
Vide P. VI. 131. Up to chap. 170 of P. various sub-tirthas of the river are described at great length. Verses 2–6 of chap. 133 speak of seven streams of it, viz. Sābhramati, Sejikā (Śvetakā), Bakulā, Hiraṇmayī, Hastimatī (modern Hathimati) Vetravatī (modern Vātrak) and Bhadrakumkhī. Sābhramatī-sūgara-saṅgama — P. VI. 166. 1

Saciśvara-liṅga — (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105

Saṇḍāṅgula — (Śīhāna of a nāga in Kāśmīra) NM. 1133–1140

Sadānirā — (r.) Sat. Br. I. 4.1.17 states ‘even now this river is a boundary of Kosalas (Oudh) and Videbas. This river came rushing from the northern mountain and though all other rivers were burnt up, this was not burnt’. Sāyana explains Sadānirā as Karatoyā. Bhī (9. 24 and 35) keeps the two distinct. S. 20. 27 indicates that it was between the Gandakī and Sarayū, while B. (27. 28–29) states that it rises from lāriyātra m. Vā. 45. 100 states that Karatoyā comes from Rksa range. Pargiter (Mār. chap. 57 p. 294) says that it is the Raptī. The Marakākṣa regards Sadānirā and Karatoyā as synchrons

Sagarēśvara — (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 51

Śāhasrakāṭirtha — V. 83. 158, P. I. 27. 46 (same words in both)

Śāhasrākṣa — M. 22. 52 (dāna most efficacious here)

Śāhasrakundā — (under Go.) B. 154. 1, q. by T. S. p. 59

Śahya or Sahyādri — (one of the seven main mountains of Bharatavarṣa) B. 161. 2, M. 13. 40, Br. III. 56. 22, Ag. 109. 21

Śahyāmalaka — Vide Āmalaka

Śahyāranyā — Devipūraṇa q. by T. K. p. 244

Śailēśvara — (under VS) L. 1. 92. 86, Var. 216 23, N. II. 50. 57, SK. IV. 33 135

Śailēśvarāśrama — Var. 215. 57 and 83–84

Śailodā — (lake at the foot of m. Aruna) Vā. 47. 20, Br. II. 18. 21–23

Śailorā — (r. which springs from Śailoda lake) Vā. 47. 21, Br. II. 18. 22

Vide Dey p. 172 for identification

Śaindhavāranyā — (where Cyavana resided with Sukanyā) V. 125. 13, Vām. q. by T. K. p. 239. V. 89. 15 speaks of S. as being in the west

Śākambhārī — A (Śāmbhara salt lake in Western Rajputana on the borders of the Jaipur and Jodhpur States) V. Dh. S. 85. 21; in an inscription of Cāhamāna Vigravarāja dated Viṣṇu era 1030 (973–74 A. D.) Śākambhārī is mentioned (E. I. vol. II. p. 116 at p. 124). Vide I. G. I. XXII pp. 19–20 for legends about it. Near the south-eastern extremity of the lake there is Sāmbhar town which is an ancient one and was once the capital of Chauhān Rājputs; B (in Kumaon on the road from Haridvāra to Kedāra) V. 84. 13, P. I. 28. 14–16 (a Deviśāhāna, where Devi subsisted on vegetables alone for 1000 years)

as synonyms). The Kāśikā on Pān. V. 1. 116 cites ‘Pājaliputravat Sākete parikhā’. This shows that in the 7th century Sāketa was a flourishing town with a wide ditch. A. C. (p. 182) notes that Sāketa, Kōśalā and Ayodhyā are synonyms (verse 975)

Sākrarudra—(three kroṣas from Kōka-mukha) Var. 140. 65

Sākrarasāra—(under Sāndūra) Var. 150. 33

Sākratrītha—A (on the south bank of Nārmaṇḍā) M. 22. 73, K. II. 41. 11–12, P. I. 24. 29; B (under Kūba-māra) Var. 126. 81

Sākrāvarta—V. 84. 29, P. I. 28. 29

Sākrāvarta—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 75

Sālāgrāma—(a sacred place near the source of the Gāṇḍakī river) V. 84. 123–128, VI. II. 1. 24, II. 13. 4 (king Bharata, a yogin, and a devotee of Vāsudeva resided there), M. 13. 33 (Uma was called Mahādevi in Sālāgrāma), 22. 62, P L. 38. 41, Var. 144.3 and 14 (all stones there are to be worshipped, particularly those marked with cakra); verse 29 says ‘the Sālāgrāma hill is Vīṣṇu’; v. 145 says it is also called ‘Devaśām’, that it is twelve yojanas in extent (v. 159). The sacred stones called Sālāgrāma and worshipped as Vīṣṇu are found in the bed of the Gāṇḍakī towards its source. It was also called Pulahārāma (VI. II. 1. 29). T. K. (pp. 219–221) quotes verses of Var. and V. 84. 123–128

Sālīgrāma—(same as above) K. II. 35. 37, Nr. 64. 22–26 (Punḍarīka came to this Mahākṣeta)

Sālāgrāmāgiri—Var. 144. 13 and 29

Sālakātaṅkaśēvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 48

Sālisārya—V. 83. 107, P. I. 26. 100 (a tīrtha probably established by Sālihotra)

Sālūkini—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83.13.

The Mbb. (vol. I. p. 474 on Vārtika 2 to Pān. II. 4. 7) speaks of Sālūkini as a village

Sālvikini—(probably the same as above) P. I. 26. 11

Sāmalanātha—(same as Śyāmalanātha) M. 22. 42, P. V. 11. 35. Dey p. 200 identifies with Sāmalji in Mahākāṇṭha Agency

Sāmāgā—(a r. also called Madhuvilā) V. 134. 39–40, V. 135. 2 (where Indra was freed from the sin of Vṛtravadha). Sāmāgā is so called because it makes all limbs as they should be. Aṣṭāvāra’s limbs became straight after a bath in it.

Sāmantapaṇḍaka—(same as Kurukṣetra) Ādi. 2. 1–5 (five pools of kṣatriya blood that were transformed into holy pools of water), Sal. 37. 45, 44. 52, 53. 1–2 (the northern Vedi of Brahma), P. IV. 7. 74 (written as Syamanta—), Br. III. 47. 11 and 14. Vide pp. 682–83 above. Vām. 22. 20 (printed as Syamanta—), 51–55 (lake is called Sannihita and it is half a yojana all round, but Vām. 22. 16 says it is five yojanas)

Samasrotah—(under Māṇḍara) Var. 143. 24–26

Sāmbapura—A (under Mathurā) Var. 177. 55 (also called Kuleśvara); B (on the banks of Candrabhāga) Bhav., Brahma 140. 3. It is modern Multān

Sāmbhalagramā—B. 213. 164 (Kalkin Vīṣṇuṣaṇas will be born here to destroy mlecchas), P. VI. 269. 10–12 (speaks of Sāmbhalagramā), G. I. 81. 6, Bh. XII. 2. 18. Vā. 98. 104–109, M 144. 51, Br. II. 31. 76, VI. IV. 24. 98 speak of the future exploits of Kalkin or Pramati (but all don’t mention Sāmbhalagramā). The I. G. I. vol. XXII p. 18 identifies it with the town Sambhal in the Moradabad District, U. P.; many
ancient mounds, temples and sacred spots exist in the neighbourhood.

Sammūrtika—(a āśīrtha in VS) P. I. 37. 6

Sampīthaka—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 37

Sāṃsāramocana—(ārāddha here yields inexhaustible results) M. 22. 67

Sāmudraka—(near Brahmāvarta) V. 84. 41

Sāmudrakīpo—(under Prayāga) M. 106. 30

Sāmudraśīrtha—(under Go.) B. 172. 1–20, about ten verses of which are q. by T.S pp. 63–64 (though with variant readings)

Sāmudreshāvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 105

Sāmvaratika—(under VS) K. I. 35. 6

Sāmvaravāpi—V. 85. 31, P. I. 39. 29 (same verse in both)

Sāmvarēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 99

Sāmvidyāśīrtha—V. 85. 1, P. I. 39. 1

Sāmyamaṇa—(under Mathurā) Var. 153. 3

Śānāścārēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67

Śanaka—Yāma q. by T.K. p. 248

Śanakēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67

Śanandaśēvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67

Śānandūra—Var. 150. 5 ff. Its exact location cannot be stated. It is between the southern sea and Malaya. An image of Viṣṇu was established there, some saying that it was made of iron, others saying of copper, lead or stone and so on. Dey does not notice it

Śanatkumārēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67

Śandhyā—A (r. in Kāśmīra) NM. 1471, R. I. 33 and Stein’s note. Vide Trisandhyā; B (river Sindh in Malwa, which falls into the Yamunā) S. 9. 23, P. I. 39. 1; C (another r., location uncertain) V. 84. 32, P. I. 32. 16

Śandhyāvāja—(under Prayāga) M. 106. 43

Śāṇḍili—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM. 1445

Śāṇḍili—Madhumati—saṅgama—NM. 1446

Śāṇḍilyēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 68

Śaṅgamana—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149. 41

Śaṅgamanagara—(under Dvārakā) Var. q. by T.K. p. 226

Śaṅgameśvara—A (under VS) N. II. 50. 63–64; B (at confluence of Sābhramati and Hastimati) P. VI. 138. 1; C (on the south bank of Narmadā) M. 191. 74, K. II. 41. 36, P. I. 18. 53; D (at confluence of Gaṅgā and Varunā) L. I. 92. 88

Śaṅkha-hrada—(under Go.) B. 156. 1

Śaṅkha-likhitēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 93

Śaṅkhaprabha—(under Śaṅkhrāma) Var. 145. 48

Śaṅkhatērtha—A (on Sarasvati) Sal. 35. 87; B (under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 17 (Śaṅkhi); C (under Āmalaka-grāma) Nr. 66. 23

Śaṅkhūnītērtha—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 51

Śaṅkhodāhāra—an island situated at south-western extremity of the gulf of Cutch) Bh. XI. 30. 6 (Krṣṇa directed that women, children and old men should go to this, when terrible portents were seen in Dvārakā) M. 13. 48, 22. 69 (ārāddha is ananta here). It is a very sacred place, particularly for Vaishnavas. Vide I. G. I. vol. 8. p. 18

Śaṅkkacarana—(under VS) M. 181. 27, K. I. 31. 48, P. I. 24. 18

Śaṅkārānēśvara—(a liṅga on the southern boundary of VS) K. I. 33.48, L. I. 92. 135, N. II. 48. 19–20

Śaṅkuṇīkā—Vām. q. by T.K. p. 236
Sannihitā—(a tract more extensive than Kurukṣetra, but including it) Br. III. 13. 68 (pumsām Sannihitāyām tu Kurukṣetre viśeṣataḥ arcaiyātva pītraṁ-tatra sa putrastvaṁno bhavet). TP. p. 466 reads 'Sannihata', states it is a lake eight krośas in extent and that there are four lakes called Sannihata, Sannihatā, Sannibhatya and Sannihatā.

Sannihatā—(another name of Kurukṣetra, according to several works) V. 83. 190-195 (Nilakaṭha explains that Sannihatā is another name of Kurukṣetra). Verse 195 derives as 'tīrtha-sannihitād-eva Sannihatīyeta viśrūtā' i. e. all tīrthas gather together here every month on Amāväṣa; P. I. 27. 77-78 (same verses as in V), Vām. 41. 9 and 45. 29, Ag. 109. 15 (employs the word Sannihitā 'Sarasvatīyām Sannihityāṁ snānakrīd-brahmalokabhāk')

Sannihatya-saras—(in Kurukṣetra) Vām. 47. 56, 48. 23, 49. 6 (on the north bank of Sarasvatī and near Dvaitavana)

Sanniti—in Kurukṣetra) NM. 168-169 (seems to be the same as Sannihatā above)

Sāntesvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p. 66

Saptacaratrīthā—see 'Vādvāśa'

Saptadhāra—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 136. 16 (same as Saptāsārasvata)

Saptagaṅga—V. 84. 29, Anu. 25. 16, P. I. 28-29 (same verse as in V). The seven Gaṅgas are Gaṅga, Godāvari, Kāveri, Tāmraparṇī, Sindhu, Sarayu and Narmadā. Acc to NM, 720 the seven Gaṅgas are Bhāgirathī, Pāvani, Hṛddini, Hīḍini, Sītā, Sindhu, Vaikṣuṇī.

Saptagodāvara—V. 85. 44, Vā. 77. 19, M. 22. 78, Bb. X. 79. 12, P. I. 39. 41, IV. 108. 39, Br. III. 13. 19, SK. IV. 6. 23. See Khairha plate of king Yaśaḥkaṭā in Kalacuri year 823 (i. e. 1071-2 A.D) in E. I. vol. XII. p. 205 ff. where in verse 23 the seven streams are named; in the Godāvari District Gazetteer p. 6 the seven mouths of the Godāvari are said to be sacred to seven sages viz. Kāśyapa, Atri, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha, R. VIII. 3449 speaks of Godāvari as falling into the sea with seven mouths.

Saptanada—Br. III. 13. 58 (deyam Saptanade śrāddham Mānase vā viśeṣataḥ).

Saptakoṇīvara—T. P. p. 557 quoting SK. VII.

Saptapūrkarini—(seven springs at Thid in Kāśmira) SM. p. 160. It is also called 'Stanakunda' in HC IV. 45. Ain. A. (vol. II p. 361) refers to it: 'In the village of Thid is a delightful spot where seven springs unite'.

Saptārśa—V. Dh. S. 83. 39 ( śrāddha very efficacious at it ). Dr. Jolly identifies it with Sātārā.

Saptasākunda (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 46 (where seven dhārās fall from Himavat).

Saptasāgara-liṅga—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 136.

Saptasāmudraka—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 91.

Saptasāmudraka-kūpā (under Mathurā) Var. 157. 12

Saptasārasvata—(in Kurukṣetra) where sage Maṅkaṇaka pierced his hand with the tips of kuśa grass when vegetable fluid began to flow from it and he danced with joy. V 83. 115, Śal. 38. 4-31 (where seven names, for which p. 686 above may be referred to, are mentioned ), K. II. 35. 44-76 (story of Maṅkaṇaka), P. I. 27. 4 ff. ( follows V. 83), Vām. 38. 22-23 (story of Maṅkaṇaka), N. II. 65. 101-102 (seven rivers are named).
Saptavati—(k.) Bh. V. 19. 18.
Sarabhaṅgakūṇḍa (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 49.
Sarabindu—(under Āmalakārāma) Nr. 66. 34
Sāradātīrtha—in Kāśmira) M. 22. 74, R. I. 37. Foremost among tīrthas of Kāśmira is modern Sārdi on the right bank of river Kīsāṅgā. In front of the temple sacred Madhumati falls into Kīsāṅgā. Vide SM. p. 206. Ain. A. (vol. II. pp. 365–66) says that the temple of Sāradā dedicated to Durgā is on the bank of the Padmatī river which comes from Dardu country and that on every 8th day of the bright half of a month it begins to shake.
Sarastamba—(near Devadārūvana) Anu. 25. 28
Sārasvata—A (śrāddha very efficacious here) M. 22. 63; B (under VS) K. I. 35. 12, P. I. 37. 15
Sārasvata—liṅga (under VS) SK IV. 33. 134
Sārasvatātīrtha—Sal. 50 (story of Asita Devala and Jalāsāvaya), 51 (birth of Sārasvata from Sarasvatī, who taught the Vedas to sages in a drought for twelve years)
Sarasvatī—(modern Sarsuti). A—The river starts from Brahmakaras, acc. to Śālyā 51. 19, from Badarikārāma acc. to Vām. 2. 42–43 and from Plākṣa tree acc. to Vām. 32. 3–4, P. V. 18. 159–160 (say that Sarasvatī was asked to cast the Vādava fire into the sea in the west). This is probably an allusion to volcanic action whereby Sarasvatī disappeared. Vām. 3. 8 says that as Saṅkara guilty of Brahmatyā plunged into it, it disappeared, while elsewhere (e.g. in V. 130. 3–4) it is said that it disappeared through fear of the touch of Ādīrās and Abhirās and Anu. (155. 25–27) states that Sarasvatī went to Marudeśa owing to curse by Utāthya and became dry and unholy. After disappearing it becomes visible at Camasodabheda, Śivodbheda and Nāgodbheda. The Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra was called prācī Sarasvatī (P. V. 18. 181–182). See Dey pp. 180–181 for several Sarasvatīs. V 130. 1–2 state that those who die on the Sarasvatī go to heaven and this was the blessing conferred by Dakṣa when he performed a sacrifice there. Vide Oldham’s paper in JRAS for 1893 pp 49–76; B—There is another holy river of the same name rising in the south-west end of Aravali hills and flowing south-west through the districts of Palanpur, Mahikantha and Baroda and past the ancient cities of Anhilvād and Siddhapur and falling into the lesser Runn of Cutch. Vide under Prabhāsa.
Sarasvatī—Amṛata—V. 83. 151, K II. 30. 22, Sal. 43. 31 and chap. 44.
Sarasvatipatana—(under Mathurā) Var. 154. 20.
Sarasvatī—Sagara—V. 82. 60, P. I. 24. 9, Vām. 84. 29.
Saravati—(Probably Rāpti in Oudh) Bhi. 9. 20; Pān. VI. 3. 120 (Saradīnāca) knew the river Sāravati; Kṣeravāsin (in com. on Amara ‘Saravatyāstu ṣravadhē’) quotes a verse ‘pragudaścand vibhajate hamsaḥ kṣirorājake yathā vidyām śabdāsiddhāyantāṁ sā naḥ pātu Sāravatiḥ’. Dr. Agrawala in (J.U.P.H.R.S. vol. 16 p. 15 surmises that it is the Gagghar flowing through Ambala District. I have grave doubts about
this. It is possible that when the Sarasvatī became dried and only a marshy bed was left it was called Sarāvati, but that in the times of the Amarakośa, Sarāvati is probably the river Sarāvati which falls into the sea near Honavar (North Kanara District) on which are the famous Gersappa falls. In the Raghubamśa (XV.97) Sarāvati is said to have been the capital of Lava, son of Rāma.

Sarayū—(r.) Rg. IV. 30. 18, V. 33. 9, X. 64. 9 (Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu are mentioned together).

In all these places the word is Sarayu, while in classical Sanskrit it is Sarayū or Sarayū (M. 22. 19, Vā 45. 94, N II. 75. 71, Raghubamśa 15. 95 and 100). M. 121. 16-17 and Br. II. 18. 70 show that Sarayū springs from the Mānasa lake situated at the foot of the Vaidyutagiri, Ayodhyā was situated on the Sarayū (Rām. II. 49. 15). Sarayū rises from Himālaya (Vā 45. 94, M. 114. 21). According to Pān. VI. 4. 174 (Dāṇḍīnāyana— the water of Sarayū was called Sārava (Kāśā says 'Sarayvām bhavam sāravam udakam'). In the Cuilavagga (SBE vol. XX p. 302) it is one of the five great rivers of India and in 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol. 35 p. 171) it is one of ten great rivers, but in both places it is written as Sarabhū. Vide T.P pp. 500, 501 where it is stated that it rises from the left toe of Viśnu and is joined by Ganges. It is the Sarabos of Ptolemy (p.99), It is also called the Ghogra or Ghargara.

Sārdīla—a Salvakṣetra, according to Bar. S. III. 122.

Sargabindu—(under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 23.

Sārkāravartā—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18.

Sarvāhāra—V 85. 39 (uncertain location)

Sarvatīrthā—P. II. 92. 4 and 7 (Prayāga, Puṣkara, Sarvatīrthā and Vārānasī) are the four tīrthas that remove all sins including brahma-hatya.

Sarvatīrthāvasa—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 134.

Sarvatīmakā—(under Kubjāmra) Var. 126. 37.

Sarvāyudha—(under Sālagrama) Var. 145. 56

Sāsākeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 97

Sāsāyāna—(under Sarasvati) V. 82. 114-116, P I. 25. 20-23 (same verses in both) Some mss read 'Sāsāpāna'.

Sāsīhrada—Anu 25. 36

Satādru—(Sutelj) same as śūtudrī which see; Ādi. 177. 8-9 ( derivation given). M. 22. 12, Bh. V. 19.18. The Amarakośa gives Śūtudrī and Satādru as synonyms.

Sātakumbhā—(under Sarasvati) V. 84. 10. P I. 28. 11 (same verse in both).

Sātarudrā—M. 22. 35 (śrāddha here is inexhaustible).

Sātasahasrakā—(under Sarasvati) P. I. 27. 45, Vām. 41. 3, V 83. 157 and 84. 74 (Sātasahasraka).

Sātārga—(m.) Devala q. by T.K p. 250

Sātātapesvarā—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p. 92.

Sātikārthā—(under Sarasvati) Vām. 41. 3.

Sātyavatī—(became river Kauśī) Vā 91. 88.

Saubhadra—Ādi. 216. 3 (one of the five Nārītīrthas on the southern sea).

Saukarava—(as printed in Var. 137. 7 of the Veṅkaṭeśvara press edition) is a misreading for Saukaraka. Vide under Sūkaraṭīrtha.

Saugandhikagiri—M. 121. 5 (to north-east of Kailāsa)
Saugandhikavanā—V. 84. 4, P. I. 28.
5-6 (same verse in both)
Saumritrasāṇgama—(very fit for śrāddha) M. 22. 53
Śaunakēśvara—kūnda—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 122
Śāvarṇīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by
T. K. p 60
Śāvitrāpada—(under Gayā) V. 84. 93.
Vide p. 649 above
Śāvitrī—(r. boundary between modern Rāmatārī and Kolaba Districts).
P VI. 113. 28
Śāvitrīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by
T. K. p 70
Śāvitrītirtha—(under Narmadā) M.
194. 6, K. I. 42. 19, P. I. 21, 6
Śesātītirtha—(under Go.) B 115. 1
Setu—the supposed bridge (called
Adam's Bridge) between Rāmatēvāra
and Ceylon said to have been built by
Rāma with the assistance of Sugrīva
and his monkey hosts; Bh. VII. 14.
31, X. 79. 15 (Sāmudra-Setū), G. I.
81. 8, N. II. 76 (contains setū–
māhātmya). Adam's Peak in Ceylon
has a famous foot-print which is
venerated by Hindus, Buddhists,
Christians and Moslems alike. Vide
T. P. pp. 557-560 for māhātmya
Setubandha—same as above. Vide T.
557-560, Rām. VI. 22. 45-53, VI.
126. 15 (etat- tu dṛṣṭaṃ tirtham
śīgarasya mahātmamāḥ i Setubandha
iti khyātām &c.), P. V. 35. 62 (says
that Setu was built in three days),
SK. III Brahmakhaṇḍa, chapters
1-52 on Setu-māhātmya, its subsi-
diary tirthas and Setuvāṭrikrama.
Vide p. 94 above for visit to Setu-
bandha as an expiation.
Siddhākēśvara—(one of the eight
tīrthas under Virajātīrtha) B. 42. 6
Siddhāpada—a kaśtra on Sarasvati
Bh. III. 33. 34
Siddhapura—(64 miles to north of
Ahmedabad) M. 13. 46 (Devi is
called Mātā here); what Gayā is for
Fit ś, Siddhapura is for the mother.
It is on the Sarasvati river
Siddhatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 143. 1
Siddhāvanā—M. 22. 53 (śrāddha here
most efficacious)
Siddhāvātā—A (under Lohārgala) Var.
151. 7; B (under Sripurvata) L. I.
92, 153
Siddheśvara—(lie between south bank of
Narmadā) Vām. 46. 34, P. II. 20. 34
Siddheśvara—A (under VS) M. 32.
43 and 181. 25 q. by T. K. pp. 88,
117 and p. 241; B (under Narmadā)
P. I. 18. 100; C (on the south bank
of Go.) B. 128. 1
Siddhiṣṭā—(under VS) L. q. by T. K.
p. 88
Śikhitīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 193.
82, P. I. 20. 78
Śiśātīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā. 108. 2
Śilākēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K.
p. 46
Simba—a Vaiṣṇava-kaśtra acc. to Bār.
S. III. 120. Probably the same as
Simhacalam temple of Nṛsimhāva-
vatāra of Vīṣṇu about 6 miles north-
west of Vīzagapatnam. Vide I. G.
I. vol. XXII. p. 375
Sindhu—A (the modern Indus, Greek
Sinthos) Rg. II. 15. 6 (he made the
Sindhu flow northwards), V. 53.
9, VIII. 20. 25 (the medicine that is
in Sindhu, in Asīki and the seas),
X. 75. 6. The seven Sindhuss (i.e.
Indus, five Panjab rivers and Sarasvati)
are mentioned in Rg. II. 12.12,
IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, A. V. VI.
3. 1; Drona 101. 28 (Sindhuśaṃ-
ḍragād), R I. 57 (Stein's note),
NM. 394 (Sindhu is Gaṅgā and
Vitātā is Yamunā). Vide for de-
It rises in Tibet north of Kailāsa.
Sindhu is also the name of the coun-
try through which the river flows;
vide Pāṇ. IV. 3. 93. On Pāṇ. IV. 3. 83 (prabhavati) the Kaśīkā gives the example ‘Dārādi Sindhuḥ’ (the river Sindhu rises in Dārā). Some ms. of Kaśīkā include ‘Dārat’ in Sindhvādigaṇa. Sindhu country is mentioned in Rudradāman’s Junāgadh Ins ; B (a r. rising from Pāriyātra and falling into Yamunā) Vā. 45. 98, M. 114. 23, B. 27. 28. It is the same as Kālisindhu between the Chambal and Betwa Mālatīmādhava refers to its confluence with Pārā (Act IV end) and with Madhumati (Act IX prose passage after verse 3). Padmāvatī, the scene of the drama, was situated on the confluence of Pārā and Sindhu.

Sindhuprabhava—(source of Sindhu) V. 84. 46, P. I. 32. 10 (same verse in both)

Sindhusāgarā—Nr. 65. 13 q. by T. K. p. 252

Sindhusāgarasāngama—V. 82. 68, Vā. 77. 56, P. I. 24. 16 (same verse as in V)

Sindhūttama—(a lake) V. 82. 79

Śīpā—(r.) Rg. I. 104. 3 (in which the two wives of Kuyava met death)

Śīprā—(r. from Pāriyātra, flowing past Ujjayinī) M. 22. 24, 114. 24, Vā. 45. 98. Every mile of the river is marked by sacred spots, the reputed haunts of gīs or the scenes of miraculous incidents; the river is said to have sprung from the blood of Viṣṇu and is believed to flow with milk at certain periods. Vide Aīn. A. vol. II. p. 196 for this.

Śītā—(a branch of Gaṅgā) Vā. 47. 21 and 39, Bh. V. 17. 5

Śītātīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 179. 28

Śītāvāna—(under Kurukṣetra?) P. I. 26. 55

Śīvadhāra—M. 22. 49

Śīvahṛada—Br. III. 13. 52

Śīvakānci—(at Conjeeveram in South India) P. VI. 204. 30

Sivanadi—Nr. 65. 23 q. by T. K. p. 253

Sivasarasvati—a Saivākṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 122

Śivodbheda—(where Sarasvati re-appears after disappearing) V. 82. 112, P. I. 25. 19

Skandatīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 49, M 191. 50

Skandeśvara—(in VS) SK. IV. 33. 125, L. q. by T. K. p. 68

Slesmātakavana—(on Himavat) Var. 214. 24–26, 215. 12–13 and 115. Dey. p. 188 says that it is Uttara Gokarna two miles to north-east of Paśupatinātha in Nepāl. For two Gokarnas, north and south, vide p. 754 above.

Smāṣāna—Avimukta, which see; M. 184. 19

Smāṣāṇastambha—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 54.

Śnānakūḍa—(under Mandāra) Var. 143. 18–20


Vide R.I. 123–26 and II. 169 and SM p. 164. Stein notes that Sodara is an ancient name of the spring now called Nārān Nāg situated close to temple ruins at Bhūtesvāra. NM mentions it in connection with Bhūteśa and Kanakavāhini and the distance from Bhūtesvāra to Śrīnagarā is about 32 miles.

Somakūṇḍa—(under Gayā) Ag. 116.4

Somanātha—A (in Saurāṣṭra near Veraval) Ag. 109.10 (Somanāthama Prabhāsakam), P. VI. 176. 37; vide A. G. p. 319 and under Prabhāsa; B (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 23. A popular verse is ‘Sarasvati samudraśī kaṃ Mahā somagrahās-tathā i darsānam Somanāthasya sakāraḥ paśca durlabhāḥ.’

Somapada—V 84. 119.
History of Dharmaśāstra

Somapāṇa—M. 22 62.
Somārāma—V. 84. 157

Somatīrtha—A (on the banks of Sarasvatī) Vām. 41. 4. V. 83. 114, M 109. 2; B (under Narasādā) M. 191. 30, P. I. 18. 30 and 27. 3, K. II. 41. 47; C (under VS) K. I. 35. 7, P. I. 37. 7 (same verse in both); D (under Go.) B 105. 1, 119. 1; E (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 18; F (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 26-28; G (under Viraja) B. 42. 6; H (under Sūkara) Var. 137. 43 (where some secured highest sidīhi); I (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 154. 1

Someśa—(under VS) K. I. 35. 9

Someśivara—A (removes all diseases) M. 22. 29, K. II. 35. 20; B (under Śalagrama) Var. 144. 16-29

Sonā—(a nada, also called Hiranya-vāha, rising in m. Rāṣa in Gondavan according to the Purāṇas and falling into the Ganges some miles from Bankipore) M. 22. 35 (a nada), 114. 25. B 27. 30, Vā. 45. 99, Br. II. 16. 29. It is the Soa of Ptolemy (p. 99) and Soan of Arrian. It rises near where the Narmadā rises in the Amarakaṇṭaka hill. Vide AG pp. 453-454 for its confluence with the Ganges.

Sonā-Jyotirathā-sāṅgama—V. 85. 8, P. I. 39. 3, V. Dh. S. 85. 33 (read Soṇa-Jyotisāṅgama, while the com. Vaijayaṇti notes the v. 1. Soṇa-Jyotirathā)

Sonaprabheda—(prabhava?) V 85. 9, P. I. 39. 9

Sonītāpura—(capital of Bāṇāsura, where Aniruddha was kept in confinement for his intrigue with Uṣā) B 206. 1, Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇuparva 121. 92-93. Dey p. 189 says that it exists under the same name in Kumāon and that several other places claim to be the Sonītāpura of Bāṇāsura. In the Harivaṃśa it is said that Sonītāpura was 11000 yojanas from Dwārakā. BV. (Kṛṣṇa-janmabhāṣa, Uttaraśāra, II. 84. 847) mentions Sonītāpura as capital of Bāṇāsura. A. C. (p. 182) states it was also called Koṭīvāra (v. 977)

Srāvasti—(Sāhet-māhet on the Rāpti in Ondh) said to be the capital of Lava in Uttar Kosalā. It is 58 miles north of Ayodhyā; Rām. VII. 107. 4-7, Vā. 88. 200 and A. G. p. 409; but some mss. of Raghuvaṃśa (XV. 97) state that Srāvasti was the capital of Lava. Vide Marshall’s article in JRAS for 1909 pp. 1066-1068 for the reasons for identifying Srāvasti with Sāheb-Μahēṭ and the Sāheb Mahēṭ plate of Govindacandra in E. I. vol. XI. p. 20. In JRAS for 1898 pp. 520-531 Vincent Smith disputed the identification of Sāheb-Mahēṭ with Srāvasti and holds that Srāvasti was near Nepalganj in Nepalese territory. B 75. 33 says that it was called after Srāvasta of Ikṣvāku race,

Srīketra—Jagannātha Purī.

Srīkunḍa—V 82. 86 (now called Lakṣmi-kunda, in VS) L. q. by. T.K. p. 62

Srīkunja—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 26. 19, V. 83. 108

Srīmadaka—(the guardian nāga in the south of Kāśmīra) NM 1117

Srīmukhī—(gubā) L. q. by. T.K. p. 60 (under VS).

Srīnagar—A (capital of Kāśmīra). It has a long history. R. I. 104 states that Aśoka built Śrīnagarī with 96 lakhs of houses. Stein in note on this says that Cunningham (A. G. p. 93) located Śrīnagarī of Aśoka at the site of the present village Pandrathān (Kalhana’s Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna) on the right bank of Vitastā, three miles above modern Śrīnagar. Pandrathān is at the foot of the hill Takhta-i-Sulasāna. Pravarasena I erected the shrine of Pravaraśyāra.

Srīgātakṣīvara—(under Srīparvata) L. I. 92. 155.
Srīgavarpura—(or Śrīgībera) V. 85. 65, P. I. 39. 61 (same verse in V and P); Rām. II. 113. 22, VI. 126.49, Ag. 109. 23. Here Rāma crossed the Ganges when going from Ayodhyā into exile. It is modern Srīnagar or Singor on the left bank of the Ganges about 22 miles north-west of Prayāga.
Srīpā—(v. rising from Vindhyā) Br. II. 16. 32.
Srīparṇi—(dāna most efficacious here) M. 22. 49
Srīparvata or Śrīvala—A (hill situated in Karnal District on the south side of the Krṣṇa river 50 miles from Krṣṇa station). There are numerous liṅgas here including the famous Mallikārjuna (in L. I. 92.153), one of the twelve Jyotirlingas; many are named in L. I. 92. 147-166. Vide V. 85. 18-20 (Mahādeva with Umā is there), V. 77. 28, M. 13. 31 (Devi is called Mādhavī here), 181.28 (one of the eight main Sivasthanas), 188, 79 (one tripura of Bāṇāsura burnt by Rudra fell here), P. I. 15. 68-69 (same story as in M. 188), Agni 113. 4 (Gauri, assuming the form of Lakṣmī practised penance here). Pargiter (p. 290 n) does not correctly interpret Ag.; K. II. 20.35 (Srāddha most efficacious here), II. 37. 13-14 (religious suicide allowed here), P. I. 39. 17, VI. 20. 15 (a great place for yoigins and those practising penance). It is a Śāktakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 124. The Mālātīmādhava mentions it several times. Vide E. I. XX. p. 9, E. I. IV. p. 193 (Chikkula plate of Viṣṇukundin Vikramavardman). In the Nāgarjunikonda Inscription F of about 3rd century A. D. edited by Dr. Vogel, Srīparvata is mentioned (E. I. vol. XX p. 1 at p 23); B (a liṅga in VS) Ag. 112. 4; C (under Narmadā) Ag. 113. 3.
Srīpatitirtha—(srāddha here leads to highest goal) M. 22. 74.
Srītirtha—(under VS) V. 83. 46, K. I. 35. 8, P. I. 37. 8.
Stambhākyatīrtha—(near Mahaigarasa-saṅgama) Sk. I. 2.3. 27. Probably same as above.
Stambhesvara—Sk. I. 2. 3. 40
Stanakunda—V. 84. 152, Var. 215. 97 (Stanakunde Umāyās-tu)
Sthaleśvara—(a Śīvatīrtha) M. 181. 27
Sthānesvara—(a linga in VS) L. I. 92. 136
Sthānesvara—(modern Thaneswar 25 miles south of Ambala) M. 13. 3 (Devī is called Bhavānī here). Vide A. G. pp. 320-332. It was sacked by Mahmud of Gazni in 1014 A. D. In Harṣacarita Bāna mentions Sthānvīvara country.

Sthāṇatīrtha—(under Sarasvati where Vasīṣṭha had his āśrama) Sal. 42. 4 (Vasīṣṭha had his āśrama to the east of this tīrtha and Visvāmitra had his on the west), Vām. 40. 3 (on the north bank of the Sarasvatī), 42. 30 (it has one thousand lingas), 49. 6-7 (it is on the lake called Sānnihāya). Vām. chapters 47-49 deal with the māhātmya of this tīrtha. Dey p. 194 says it is the same as Sthānesvara.

Stritīrtha—(under Naradā) M. 194. 31.

Stutavāmin—(a Viṣṇukṣetra on Maqīpurāgiri) Var. 148. 8-81. T.K pp 222-224 quote about twenty verses from Var. 148 without a word of comment. Verses 75-76 explain the name (as the god was stuta by other gods and the sages Nārada, Asita and Devala). Dey does not notice it and Prof. Aiyangar does not identify it.

Subhadra-sindhu-saṅgama P. VI. 129. 25.

Subhūmika—(a tīrtha on Sarasvatī) Sal. 37. 23 (visited by Balarāma)
Succakra—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 57. 89.
Suddhēśvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p. 122
Sudina—V. 83. 100.

Sugandha—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 32. 1.
Sugandha—V. 84. 10, V. Dh. S. 20. 10 (according to com. it is a river near Saugandhika m.), P. I. 28. 1 (under Sarasvatī). P and V have same verse.

Sugrīvesvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p. 51.

Sūkra tīrtha—(Soror on the west bank of the Ganges between Barelī and Mathurā (according to A. G. pp. 364-365). Vide I. G. I. vol. 23 pp. 88-89. Var. chapters 137-139; TK pp. 209-212 quote 37 verses from Var. 137 for this tīrtha and from no other source. N. II. 40. 31 and 60. 22 (Acyuta in the form of Varāha appeared here), P. VI. 121. 6-7 (the extent is four yojanas).

Some texts read Sūkra tīrtha.

Sukasya—āśrama V. 85. 42, P. I. 39. 39 (same verse in both).

Sukēśvara—(on north Gokarna) Var. 173. 9

Suklātīrtha—(on the north bank of Naradā about ten miles north-east of Broach) K. II. 41. 67-82, M. 192. 14, Sk. I. 2.3.5. Vide p. 706 above for Cānakya’s association with it; also I. G. I. vol. 23 p. 128 and Bom. G. vol. XI. pp. 568-569 for legend of Cānakya’s connection; P. I. 19. 2-35 (about Cānikya rājarṣi having obtained siddhi here)

Sukratīrtha—(on north bank of Go.) B. 95. 1. M. 22. 29

Sukrēśvara—(under VS) K. I. 35. 15, L. I. 92. 93, N. II. 50. 65

Sukhimat—(one of the seven great mountains of India, being a portion of the Vindhyā) K. I. 47. 39, Vā. 45. 88 and 107, N. II. 60. 27, Bh. V. 19. 16. Vide Dr. B. C. Law on “Mountains and rivers of India” in Department of Letters, Cal. University, vol 28 pp. 20-21 for different identifications. It is the least
known of the seven principal mountains, and the rivers that flow from it are few and their names are mutilated in the texts. Vide Dr. Ray Chaudhari’s ‘Studies’ etc. pp. 113–120 for discussion and Dr. B. C. Law on ‘Mountains and Rivers of India’ in Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 pp. 20–21 for different identifications.

Suktimati—(r. obstructed by m. Kolãhala in Cedi) Bh. 9. 35. Vide Dey p. 196 for different identifications. B. 27. 32 and M. 114. 101 say that it rises in Rñsa mountain, while Mâr. 57. 23 says it flows from Vîndhya.

Sukumârî—(r. rising from Suktimat m.) Vâ. 45. 107

Sûlabheda—(under Narmadã) M. 191. 3, K. II. 41. 12–14, P I. 18. 3

Sûlabhâta—(in Kâśmîra) Vide under Nilakundra.

Sûlesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52

Sumantu-liîga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 97

Sûnandâ—(r.) Bh. VIII. 1. 8

Sundarikâ—(r.) P. 32. 21. It is one of the seven holy rivers quoted in a Pâlî couplet (SBE. vol. X, part 2, p. 74)

Sundarikâhrâda—Anu. 25. 21

Sundarikâthirtha—V. 84. 57, Anu. 25. 21 (after Devikâ), Var. 215. 104

Sûndika—(thirtha in Kâśmîra) NM. 1459

Sunila—(under VS) P. I. 37. 3

Suparnâ—(a tributary of Go.) B. 100. 1

Supârâva—P. VI. 129. 16

Suprayogâ—one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 253, Mâr. 54. 26, Vâ. 45. 104. It cannot be identified, though it is said that it rises in Sabhya (Br. II. 16. 35). Some identify it with the Pennar. Vide E. I. vol. 27 p. 273

Surabhivana—(in the Himâlaya on river Silodâ) Br. II. 18. 23

Surabhiksevara—(under Narmadã) P I. 18. 36

Surasâ—(r.) Vi. II. 3. 11 (rises from Vîndhya), Br. II. 16. 29 (rising from Rñsavat), Bh. V. 19. 18

Sureîwâri-kâstera—(present village of Isabar in Kâśmîra, two miles north of Dal lake shore) R. V. 37, NM. 1532, S. M. p. 161. The chief attraction here is a sacred spring known as Gupta-Gângâ.

Sûrîparakatirtha—(modern Sopara near Bassein) V. 85. 43 (resorted to by Parasûrâma), 88. 12 (in it was the Vedi of Jamadagni), 118. 8–10, Sânti 49. 67 (reclaimed from the sea by Jamadagni’s son Parasûrâma), Anu. 25. 50, Harivamsha, Viñaparva 39. 29–31 (in Aparânta Sûrîparaka city was five hundred dhanus long and 500 jîyas broad and was established by discharging an arrow by Parasûrâma), Br. III. 58. 17–18 and 32–33 (the strip taken by Parasûrâma from the sea is 400 yojanas from north to south), Bh. X. 79. 20, B. 27. 58 (Sûrîparaka is mentioned as the first of the Aparânta countries). It is mentioned as ‘Sorîraga’ in Nasik Inscription No. 10 q. in Bom. G. vol. 16 on p. 569. The Nñgâth Ins. No. 9 (A S. W. I. vol. V. p. 64) mentions a Govindadâsa Soparayaka There is a Sûpparaka-jâtaka (No. 463, vol. IV p. 86 ed. by Cowell), where we are told of the seaport called Bharukaccha and a kingdom named Bharu. It is probable that the Ophir of the Old Testament is Sûrîparaka, though some scholars dispute this. A. G. (pp. 497–499 and 561–562) argues that Ophir or Sophir (in the Septuagint translation of the Bible) is the country of Sauvira and not Sûrîparaka as many scholars hold. Ptolemy mentions it as
Soupara. Some eminent scholars hold that Ophir is Abiria (i.e. Abhiras) of Ptolemy (p. 140). Vide JRAS for 1898 pp. 253 ff. for discussion and JBBRAS vol 15 p. 273 for a long note on Śūrpāraka.

Śūryatirtha—A (under VS) V. 83. 48, K. I. 35. 7, P. I. 37. 7; B (under Mathurā) Var. 152, 50, 156, 12 (where Bali, son of Virocanā, propitiated the Sun.)

Śesartu—(r., tributary of the Indus on the west of it) Rg. X. 75. 6. Keith does not know which tributary of the Indus it was.

Śuṣkanadī—(under VS)—same as Asī, M. 183. 62, L. q. by T. K. p. 118.

Śuskeswara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 118.

Śusomā—(r.) Rg. VIII. 64. 11. In Rg. X. 75. 5 also it is probably the name of some river, though the Nir. IX. 26 takes it to be Sindhu; Bb. V. 19. 18; Stein in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration volume pp. 21-28 ('River names in Rgveda') says (on p. 26) that Śusomā is Sohan (Suvan) flowing through the Rawalpindi District and reaching the Indus to the north of the Salt Range.

Śuṣumna—A (r. under Gayā) N II. 47. 36; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 35 (same as Matsyodari)

Sutkaśārāma—Rām. III. 7, Raghu- vamsā XIII. 41 (at some distance from Agastyaśārāma)

Satirthaka—V. 83. 56

Sutudri—(same as Sutlej in the Punjab, the Sataudri of classical Sanskrit works) Rg. III. 33. 1, X. 75. 5. It is the Greek Hupais or Huphasis (A. I. p. 65), which formed the limit of Alexander’s march in India. It rises on the southern slopes of Kailāsa and once issued from the Mānasa lake. Pargiter (p. 291 n) says that in ancient times this river did not probably join the Beas as it does now but pursued an independent course and that it formerly flowed along the dry bed now called Hakra or Ghaggar at a distance of 30 to 50 miles south of its present course.

Suvarna—V 84. 18, Ag. 109. 16, P. I. 28. 19 (where Viśnu sought for the favour of Rudra)

Suvarnakūṭa—(under VS) M. 181. 25, K. II. 35. 19.

Suvarnarekhā (holy river near Raivatataka) SK VII. 2. 1. 1-3 (probably same as the next). There is a river of same name in Bengal. Vide I. G. I. vol. XXIII. p. 114.

Suvarasaikāta—(in Jungadh Inscription of Rudradāma to be assigned to 150 A.D., E. I. VIII. p 36 at p. 42) now called Sonrekhā in Kathiawad.

Suvarnatilaka—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 46.

Suvāstū (r., modern Šwāt that falls into Kabul river) Rg. VIII. 19. 37 (Suvāstuvā adhi tugvati). The Nir. IV. 15 expla’ns that Suvāstū is a river and ‘tugvan’ means ‘tirtha’. It is the Soastos of Arrian (A. I. p. 191). Pān. IV. 2, 77 (Suvāstvādhibhūsin) knew Suvāstū and makes it the first word of ‘Suvāstvādi-gāṇa’. Inscriptions in Sanskrit containing famous Buddhist gāthās have been found near Šwāt. Vide E. I. vol. II. p 133 for three Buddhist inscriptions in Šwāt.

Suvratasya—āśrama (on Dṛḍadvatī) V. 90. 12-13

Svaccchoda—(lake) Vide Acchoda

Svācchhoda—(r.) Br. II. 18. 6 (rising from lake Svaccchoda on m. Candraprabha)

Śvāmītirtha—M. 22. 63, K II. 37. 19-21 (Skanda is always present there). Dey p. 107 identifies it with the temple of Kumārasvāmī situated about a mile from Tiruttani on the M and S. M. Railway on a hill called Kraunca-parvata.
Svargabindu—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 15
Svargadvāra—A (under Kuruksetra) P. I. 27. 55; B (under VS) K. I. 35. 4, P. I. 37.4; C (under Gaya) Ag. 116.4 (the word here is ‘Svargadvāri’); D (under Purusottama) N II. 56 31
Svargamārgahārā—Anu. q. by T. K. p. 248
Śvargamārga-pada—V. DH, S 85. 41
Śvargatirtha—Anu. 25. 33
Śvargesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 48
Śvartinēṣvara—(under VS) L. 1. 92.78, SK. IV. 33. 123 (explains why it is so called)
Śvāṁbindu—(under Narmadā) Anu. 25. 9, M. 194 15
Śvarālomāpanayana—P. I. 26. 58
Śvaranarekhā—(r. in Vastrāpathakhsetra i.e., modern Girnar and surrounding territory) SK. VII. 2. 3. 2 and VII. 2. 10. 209
Śvaranvedi—(r.)—Vā. 77.95, K. II. 37.37
Śvasitipura—(near Gaṅgāhārāda and Gaṅgākūpa) V. 83. 174
Śvatantraśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 6
Śvayambhouette—(modern Suyam in Kāśmīra in the Machipur parvāna) R. I. 34, HC. 14 80. Volcanic phenomena are observed here and sometimes vapours rise from fissures in the ground sufficiently hot to boil śrāddha offerings placed by pilgrims.
Śvāvilomāpaḥ—V 3 61
Śvetā—(r. that joins Sābhramati) P. VI. 133. 19–20
Śvetādri—(m.) P. VI. 280. 19, M. 113. 38 (eastern part of Meru is so called).
Śvetatvīpā—G. I. 81. 7, K. I. 1. 49, I. 49. 40–47, Vām. 25. 16. and 60.56, Śānti 336. 8 ff, 337. 27 ff. In most of these texts it is a mythical country to the north of Kṣīrodadbhi
Śvetamādhava—N. II. 55. 3
Śvetatīrtha—(under Go.) B 94.1
Śvetāyavāri—(r.) Rg. VIII 25. 18
Śvetesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 99
Śveti—(r., tributary of Indus on the west) Rg.X. 75.6. Lit. it would mean the white one. It is difficult to identify it with Suvāstu
Śvetodbhava—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 133. 15
Śyandika—(r.Sai, seven miles south of Jaunpur, mentioned after Gomati) Kām. II. 49. 12
Śyāmāyāḥ-āśrama—Anu. 25. 30
Śyenī—(r. rising in Rṣaparvata) M. 114. 25. Dey p. 200 identifies it with Ken in Bundelkhand

T
Tajāsa—(to the west of Kurukṣetra where Skanda was crowned commander of the gods) P. I. 27. 51–53.
Takṣaka-nāga (sacred spring in Kāśmīra near Jayavāna, modern Zevan). V. 82. 90. R. I. 220, P. I. 25. 2 (says Vitastā is the home of Takṣaka-nāga). It is worshipped to this day in the large pool close to the village Zevan. Vide S. M. p. 166, K. R. p. 5
Tālakarṇesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 72.
Tālātīrtha—(under VS) P I. 37. 2
Tālavāna—(to the west of Mathurā) Var. 157. 35
Tamasā—(r., modern Tonse, flowing 12 miles west of the Sarayû and falling into the Ganges) Rám. I. 2. 3, II. 45. 32, Raghuvamśa IX. 20, XIV. 76 (on which stood Vālmiki's āśrama). Vide C I. I. vol. III. p. 128 where a village Āśramaka on Tamasā is granted in A.D. 512-13; B (r. rising from Rksa), M. 114. 25, Vā. 45. 100; C (r. falling into Yamunā) Devi Bh. VI. 18. 12

Tāmraparṇi—(r. in Pāṇḍya country rising from mountain Malaya and falling into the sea) B 27. 36, M 114. 30, Vā. 45. 105 and 77. 24-27, V. 88. 14, Rám. IV. 41. 17-18, K. II. 37. 21-22, Br III. 13. 24, Bh. X. 79. 16 and XI 5. 39. The Taprobane of Megasthenes (A. I. p. 62) and Tambarpanī of Aśoka's Girnar Inscription II; it is said to be Ceylon but that may refer to the river as well; E. I. XX at p. 23 (Nāgārjunikonda Ins); Br III. 13. 24 and 25, Raghuvamśa IV. 49-50 show that pearls were found there

Tāmraparibha—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 191

Tāmrārūna—V. 85. 154

Tāmrāvati—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 23

Tāndulikāśrama—(near Puskara and Jambūmārga) V 82 43, Ag. 109. 9, P. I. 12. 3

Tāpaseśvara—(under Narmadā) K II. 41. 66, P. I. 18. 96

Tapastīrtha—(under Go.) B 126. 1 and 37 (it is also called Sattrātīrtha)

Tapati—(r.) M. 22. 32-33 (Tapati seems to be Tāpī here as distinguished from Mūlātāpī). In Ādi Parva chapters 171-173 Tapati is a daughter of the Sun whom king Saha varana married and had a son Kuru from her; Mār. 105. 26 (younger daughter of the Sun became river).

Tāpeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 104

Tāpi—(r. rising from Vindhyā and falling into the Arabian sea at Surat, also called Tapati) M 114. 27, B 27. 33, Vā. 45. 102, Ag. 109. 22. Tāpi is mentioned in Uśavatīśa's Nasik inscription No. 10 (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 569). Vide under Payoṣṇi above and TP pp. 544-547 (for māhātmya and sub-tīrthas)

Tāpi-ka—same as Tāpi. Devipurāṇa q. by T. K. p. 242

Tāpi-samudra—saṅgama—T.P. p. 547

Tapovana—A (on south bank of Go.) B 121. 1; B (in Vāṅga country) V. 84. 115, P. I. 38. 31. 'Tato vanam' is a misreading in Vanaparva

Tārakesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 104. Tārakesvara is also a village in Hooghly District of Bengal famous for its shrine of Śiva, Vide I. G. I. vol. 23 p 249

Taraṇḍa or Tarasukta—(a dvārapāla of Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 15, P. I. 27. 92 (reads 'Taraṇḍa', Vām. 22. 60. Vide p. 683 note 1551 above.

Timi—to the right of Saṅkukārṇeśvara) P. I. 24. 20-23

Tīrthakoṭi—V. 84. 121, P. I. 38. 38 (same verse in both)

Tosāla—(the guhya name of Viṣṇu is Garudadhvaja here) Nr. q. by T. K. p. 252. Is it the same as Ptolemy's Tosalei (p. 230) and the Tosali in Aśoka's Dhauli inscriptions (C. I. I. pp. 92 and 97) and the Nāgārjunikonda Inscription (E. I. vol. XX. at p. 23)? Tosali (modern Dhauli in the Purī District) was the chief city of northern Kaliṅga in the days of the Mauryas.

Toyā—(r. rising in Vindhyā) M. 114. 28, Vā. 45. 103

Traiyambaka-tīrthā—A (under Go. and sacred to Piṭṣa) M. 22. 47, K. II. 35. 18; B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 112

Trastāvārā—(an ayatana) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250
Tribhāga—(r. rising from Mahendra) M. 114. 31, Vā. 45. 104
Tridūṣṣajyoti—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 11
Tridīvā—A (r. rising from Himavat) Br. II. 16. 26; B (r. rising from Mahendra) M. 114. 31, Vā. 45. 106, B 27. 37; C (r. rising from Rāṣṭravat) Br. II. 16. 31.
Tridīvābalā—(r. from Mahendra m.) Br. II. 16. 37. Probably Tridīv and Balā.
Trigaṅga—V 84, 29, Anu 25. 16, P. I. 28. 29
Trigartesvāra—(under Mathurā) Var. 176. 16.
Trivalikārāma—(where śārddha is very efficacious) V. Dī. S. 85. 24 (com. Vaijayaṇti says it is Sālagrāma).
Trijaḷesvāra-liṅga—(where Gaṇḍaki and Devika join) Var. 144. 83
Trikakud—(m. part of Himavat) A.V. IV. 9. 8 and 9 (for a sake therefrom), Maitrīyaṇi Saṁhitā III. 6. 3, Šat. Br. III. 1. 3. 12 (all these mention Traikakuda or Traikakubha ānjana), Pān. V. 4. 147 (triṇakuti-parvata) teaches that Trikakud is the name of a mountain and the name is a Bavūrīhi compound (triṇi kākudāni kaukuṇārānī śṛṅgāni asya) Vide Br. III. 13. 58 where it is Trikakudagiri (very eminent place for śārddha), Vā. 77. 57-63.
Trikoṭi—(a r. in Kāśmīra) NM 308, 386-87. At Kaśyapa’s request Aditi became Trikoṭi. It joins Viṭastā.
Trikūṭa—(m.) Vām. 85. 4, (son of Sumeru), Nr. 65, 21, P VI. 129. 16.
In Bh. VIII. 2. 1 Trīkūṭa m. appears to be mythical. From Raghuvamsā IV. 58-59 it follows that Trīkūṭa was in Aparānta. Dey p. 205 specifies three hills as Trīkūṭa. Kālidāsa’s Trīkūṭa appears to be the Tirahnu or Tirrasmil hill at Nasik. Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 633 and E. I. vol. 25 p. 225 at p. 232 (copper-plate Ins.
discovered at Anjanerī near Nasik of about 709 A. D. mentions ‘Pūrva-Trikūṭāvīśaya’). The Khana-pur plates of Mādhavavarman (about 510-560 A. D.) speak of him as the ‘lord of Trīkūṭa and Malaya’ (E. I. vol. 27 p. 312 at p. 315).
Trilīṅga—country which has three famous liṅgas viz. Kālahaṣṭi, Cṛiśāla, Drākṣarāma.
Tripādi(Tirupati)—in the District of north Arcot at a short distance from Renigunta Station. It is the same as Veṅkaṭagiri on the top of which is the celebrated temple of Veṅkaṭesvāra or Balājī.
Triplakṣa—(śārddha most efficacious here) Br. III. 13. 69.
Tripura—A (a very fit place for śārddha) M. 22. 43; B (capital of Bāṇāsura) P. I. chapters 14-15, Karṇapurva 33.17 ff and 34. 113-114, M. chapters 129-140 (give the story of Tripuradāhā at great length). Vide also Anu. 160. 25-31 and an interesting paper on ‘The Tripura episode in Sanskrit literature’ in Journal, Ganganath Jha R. I. vol. VIII. pp 371-395 by Miss Bhakti Sudhā Mukhopadhyāya.
Tripūrāntaka—(near eastern gate of Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 150.
Tripureśvara (modern village Triphar in Kāśmīra, three miles from Dal lake) R. V. 46. HC. 13. 200. Some identify it with Jyeṣṭheśvara.
Tripūrī—(on the Narmādā) T. S. p. 100 quotes three verses about it It is modern Tewar, six miles west of Jabalpur. It was the capital of the Kalacuṇis or Čedis. Vide Jabalpur plate of Yaśākkaṁadeva in 1122 A.D., E. I. vol. II. p. 1 at p. 3 and E. I. XIX p. 75 (for extent of Mahākosa). M. 114. 53, Sabhāparva 21. 60 and Br. S. 14. 9 mention Traipura country as situated.
on the back of Vindhyā. Tripūrī is known from very ancient copper coins of early 2nd century B.C. Tripūrī-visaya occurs in Betul plates of Saṅgobha as situated in Dabhālā country. Vide R. D. Banerji’s ‘Haibhayas of Tripuri’ p. 137.

Tripuskara—Vide Puskara.

Trissāmā—(r. rising from Mahendra) Vā. 45. 106, Vi. II. 3. 13, Bhv. V. 19. 18 (does not mention source).

Trisandhya or Trisandhyam A-M. 22. 46 (sacred to pīṭras); B (spring of goddess Sandhya) one of the holiest Kāśmira tirthas. It is modern Sundabārī in Bring pargana; NM 1471, R. I. 33, SM. p. 181.

Tristhāṇa—(probably same as Vārānasī) Anu. 25. 16

Triśikhara—(m.) Vā. 42. 28, M. 183.2.

Triśūlagāṅgā—(under Sāligrāma) Var. 145. 84 (confluence of Gaṇḍaki and Kṛṣṇā)

Triśūlakhāṭa—V. 84. 11. It is probably the same as the Kāśmira tithra Śūlakhāṭa.

Triśūlapatā—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 28. 12. Probably the same as above.

Trītakūpā—tirtha visited by Balarāma, Bh. X. 78. 19 (after Prthūdaka and Bindusaras). Rg. I. 105. 17 speaks of Tītā who had been thrown into a well and was helped by Bhaskatī. Vide Nir. IV. 6

Trivenī—A (at Prayāga) Var. 144. 86-87; vide p. 602 above; B (confluence of three rivers, viz. Gaṇḍaki, Devikā and another r. called Brahmaputṛā) Var. 144. 83 and 112-115. It was here that Gajendra was drawn into water by the grāha (crocodile), Var. 144. 116-134.

Trivistapa—P. I. 26. 79 (where there is Vaitaranī river)

Trāṇabindusaras—(in Kāmyakavana) V. 258. 13.

Trāṇabinduvana—N.r. q. by T. K. p. 252.

Tryambakēśvara—(near Nasik, at the source of the Godāvari) N. II. 73. 1-152 (is the māhātmya), SK. IV. 6. 23, P. VI. 176. 58-59, B. 79. 6.

Tulajāpurā—(a Devisthāna) Devi-Bh. VII. 33. 6

Tuṅgā—(r. that falls into the Kṛṣṇā) Nr. 66. 7 (reading differs) q. by T. K. p. 254 (Tuṅgā ca daksīṇe Gangā Kāveri ca viṇēṣatal).}

Tuṅgabhadrā—(The two rivers Tuṅgā and Bhradā rise in the Mysore state and join to form the Tuṅgabhadrā near Kudli in Mysore State. The river falls into the Kṛṣṇā near Alampur in the Raichārī District) M. 22. 45, Nr. 66 6 q. by T. K. p. 254, Bh. V. 19. 18, M. 114. 29, B. 27. 35, Vā. 45. 104 (last three say that it rises in Sahya). From E.I. vol. XII at p. 294 and Vik. IV. 44-68 it is clear that Cālukya king Somesvarā I, being attacked by a malignant fever, perished by entering Tuṅgabhadrā in 1068 A.D.

Tuṅgakūṭa—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 29-30.

Tuṅgāranyā—V. 85. 46-54, P. I. 39.43 (where Sārasvata inducted sages).

Tuṅgavenā—(one of the rivers that are the sources of fire) V. 222. 25

Tuṅgeśvara—(in VS) L. I. 92. 7

Turāsāṅga—(a tirtha under Narmadā) M. 191. 29.

Tvāṣṭreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 96.

\* U

Udabhānda—was the residence of Sāhi kings and identified by Stein with capital of Gandhāra; vide R.V. 152-155, VI. 175. It is the Wayband of Alberuni and Ohind or Und of modern times (on the right bank of the Indus 15 miles above Attock).

Udāpāna—V. 84. 110, P. I. 38. 27.

Udayanta—(m. near Somanātha in Kathiawar) SK VI. 2.11. 11
List of tirthas

Uddālakesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 59
Uddiyāna—Kāl. 18. 42 (where the two thighs of Satī's corpse fell).
Udicitirtha—(under Gayā) Vā 111. 6. Vide p. 663 above
Udyantaparvata—(the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā to the left of the Silā) V. 84. 93, Vā 108. 43-44, N. II. 47. 51, P.I. 38.13. Vide p. 647 note 1472 above
Ugra—(under VS) P. I. 37. 15; also called Kedāra
Ugreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 70
Ujjānaka—(where Skanda and Vasiṣṭha secured peace of mind) V. 130. 17, Anu. 23. 55. It is probably a corrupt form of Udyantaka or Udyānaka.
Ujjayanta (Girnar in Saurāstra and near Dvārakā) V. 88. 21-24, Vā 45. 92 and 77. 52, Vām. 13. 18, SK. VII. 2. 11. 11 and 15 (southern boundary of Vastrapāthaksetra). Vide A. G. p. 325.
Umadhaka—(under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 57
Umikunda—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 64
Umatunga—K. II. 37. 32-33, Vā. 77. 81-82 (best place for śrāddha, japa, homa)
Umāvāna—(where Saṅkara assumed the Ardhanārīsvara form) Vā. 41. 36. Dey p. 211 says that it is Kotalgad in Kumaon. A. C. p. 182 says it is also called Devikoṇa
Upajalā—(r. near Yamunā) V. 130.21
Upamanyulīnga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 97
Upaśāntaśiva—(under VS.) P. I. 37. 17, L. I. 92 107
Upavenī—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 24
Urajanta—(in Apārānta) Br. III. 13. 53 (here are Yogesvarālaya and Vasiṣṭhārama)
Urajat—m. in Rudradāman's Junagadh Inscription (in E. I. VIII p. 36 at p. 42) and in Gupta Inscriptions at p. 45
Urvaśikunda—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 51-64, N. II. 67. 65
Urvaśīlīnga—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 66
Urvaśīpulina—(under Prayāga) M. 22. 66 and 106. 34-35, Anu. 25. 46. Vide p. 615 note 1399 above
Urvaśīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p. 72
Urvaśītirtha—A (under Prayāga) V. 84. 157, M. 106. 34, P. I. 38. 64; B (under Go.) B. 171. 1
Uṣṇatirtha—M. 13. 42 (Devi is called Abhayā in tirthas of hot water)
Uṣṇīṣa-vaṃśa (a tīrtha for bathing) V. 135, 7
Utkocaka-tīrtha—V. 183, 2
Utpalāvanā—V. 87, 15 (in Pañcāla country), Anu. 25, 34. Dey p. 213 says that it is Bījāpur, 14 miles from Kānpur in U. P.
Utpalāvartaka—(a forest) N. II. 60, 25, Vanaparva q. by T. K. p. 244
Utpalāvati—(r. rising from m. Malaya) Vā. 45, 105, M. 114, 30
Utpalinī—(r. in Naimisha forest) Ādi. 215, 6
Utpātaka—Anu. 25, 41
Uttameśvara—(under VS) L.q. by T. K. p. 102
Uttara—(under VS) K. I. 35, 14, P. I. 37, 17
Uttara-Gāṅga—(Gangabal in Lar pargana of Kāśmira) HC. IV. 54.
It is also called Hārmuka-tīrtha-gāṅga and Mānasottara-gāṅga
Uttaragokarna—Var. 216, 22, K. II. 35, 31
Uttarajāhnāvi—H. C. XII. 49. When the Viṭattā takes a turn towards the north it is so called.

V
Vadavā—(also called Saptacaru) V. 82, 92–99, 222, 24, V. Dh. S. 85, 37. The com. Vaijayantī says that it is some tīrtha in the southern part of India, but Vanaparva points to north-west. Dey p. 220 identifies with Bāku on the west coast of the Caspian sea.
Vadurāsa—(r. on bathing in which Parasurāma recovered his tejas taken away by Rāma) V. 99, 68
Vaiśīvari—(under Go.) B 135, 26
Vaiṭmati—(r. Bāgmati of Nepal which rises in Himālaya) Var. 215, 49 (says that it is 100 times holier than Bhāgirathi)
Vaiṭmati—Manivati-saṅgama—Var. 215, 106 and 110
Vāḥa—Vāṃ. 57, 78
Vāhinī—Bhī. 9, 34
Vaidarbhā—M. 22, 64. Nalacampū VI. 66 (Dakṣināsaravati sā vahati Vaiḍarbhā nadi yatra). Probably the same as Varadā
Vaidūrya—(a hill in Ānarta) V. 89, 6, 121, 16 and 19 (to which Pāndavas came after crossing Payoṣni). Pāṇ. IV. 3. 84 teaches the derivation of Vaidūrya precious stone (Beryl) from Vaidūra in the sense 'tasmāt prabhavati'. Mbh. (vol. II. p. 313) quotes a verse on this which says that grammarians denominate the mountain Vāḷavāya as Vaidūra. Probably it is the Sātpuḍa range which has Beryl mines. Vide Pargiter pp. 287 (n), 365 (n). It may be the Orodian mountain of Ptolemy (pp. 80–81)
Vaidyanātha—A–M. 13, 41, 22, 24. P. V. 17, 205 (same words as in M 13, 41); B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 84, 114; C (under Sābhramati) P. VI. 160, 1; D (Devi is called Bagalā here) Devi–Bh. VII. 38, 14; E—temple of Vaidyanātha, probably one of the 12 jotirliṅgas, at Deoghat in Santhal Pargana. Vide I. G. I. vol. XI p. 244 for the great temple of Vaidyana-tha, which is the oldest of the 22 Siva temples at Deoghar.
Vaihāra—(one of the five hills that surrounded and guarded Girivraja) S. 21, 2
Vaihāyas—(r.) Bh. V. 19, 18
Vaijayanta—(a Sārasvata-tīrtha) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250
Vaiṅkunṭha-kāraṇa—(under Mandāra) Var. 143, 21–23
List of tīrthas

Vaikunṭhatīrtha—A (under Gayā) M. 22. 75, N II. 47. 75; B (under Mathurā) Var. 163. 1-4 and 10-12
Vaimānika—Anu. 25. 23.
Vairā—(r.) M. 22. 64
Vairocanēśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33, 140.
Vaiśākha—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 156 (established by Viśākha i. e. Skanda).
Vaiśravaṇēśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 148.
Vaiśānara-kuṇḍa—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 58
Vaitaraṇi—A (r. in Orissa rising in Vindhyā) V. 85.6, 114.4, Vā. 77 95, K II. 37, 37, P. I. 39. 6, Ag. 116. 7, M. 114. 27, B 27. 33; Jāipur (i. e. Yayātipura) stands on this river, which is the boundary between Balasore and Cuttack (I. G. I. vol. VI. p. 223). Sometimes Utkala and Kaliṅga are held to be separate as in B 47. 7 and Raghuvamśa IV. 38. Utkala is said to be derived from Utkalīṅga (what is outside Kaliṅga); B (in Gayā) Vā. 105. 45, 109, 17, Ag. 116. 7; C (in Phalākivana) Vām. 36. 43-44, P. I. 26. 79; D (a well in VS) L q by T. K. p. 63.
Vaivasvatatīrtha—(under Śikāra) Var. 137. 240 (where the sun practised tapas for a son) Anu. 25. 39
Vaivasvateśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 104
Vajrabhava—(under Kakūmukha) Var. 140. 61 (the water falls into Kauśikī).
Vajrēśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 104
Vālahilyēśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 66.
Vālīśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 51.
Vāmīkēśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 66
Vālmiki—Rāma (on the Ganges) Rām. VII. 47. 15-77. Vide under Śtaṇḍatīrtha and Tamasā.
Vāmana or Vāmanaka—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 84. 130, V. 83. 103, Ag. 109. 20, P. I. 26. 96 (Vāmanaka), I. 38. 47; B (under Gayā) N. II. 46. 46; C (under Sābhramati) P. VI. 153. 2 (where seven rivers flow). Vide I A. vol. 54 (at end) p. 41 where it is said that Vanthali about 8 miles south-west of Junagad is the Vāmanatīrtha of the Mahābhārata.
Vāmanēśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18. 26
Vamsādhārā—(r. rising from Mahendrā) Vā. 45. 106, Mār. 54. 29 (reads Vamsākaraḥ) and Var. 85 (prose) reads Vamsāvārā. Pargiter (p. 305n) says that it is the modern Bansdharā on which Kaliṅgapatam stands, 17 miles from Chicacoole. Vide Saṅja-Bommali plates of Indravaran (E. I. vol. XXV p. 191) issued from Kalinganagarā
Vamāṅgulma—(on confluence of Narmadā and Soṇa) V. 85. 9
Vamsāmulaka—P. I. 26. 38
Vamsādhbha—M. 24. 23
Vānarakā—(under Gayā) Ag. 116. 6.
It may be a misreading of 'cānarakē'.
Vandana—(r.) Bhi. 9. 18
Vānī-sahigama—(under Go.) B. 135. 1 and 23
Vāṇjarā—(r. on south bank of Go.) B. 159. 45. It is probably the modern Manjarā river that falls into Godāvari in Nander District
Vāṇjarāsahigama—(under Go.) B. 159 1
Vāṇjulā—A (r. rising from Sahya and falling into Go.) M. 114. 29, Vā. 45. 103, Vām. 57. 76; B (r. rising in Mahendrā) B. 27. 37
Vāṅkṣu—(modern Ouxus) Sabhā 51. 20
(rasabhahas were brought as presents)
Varadā—(the Vardhā river in C, P) Rām. IV. 41. 9, Ag. 109. 22, Nalacampū VI. 66 (Vīrāpurūṣam 1d-
etad Varadāṭaṇāmaṇaka Mahā-
rāṣṭram) See under Varadāsāṅgama.
Varadāṇa—V. 82. 63-64, P. I. 24. 12
(both contain story about Durvīṣas
confering a boon on Viṣṇu)
Varadāsāṅgama—V. 85. 35, P. I. 39.
32
Varāhamulakṣetra or Varāhakṣetra—
(modern Bārāmūla in Kāśmira).
It is on the right bank of the Vītāsta
at the head of the western entrance
to the Kashmir valley and is sacred
to Ādivarāha; R. VI. 186, H.C. XII.
201-202
Varāhaparvata—(probably Bārāmūla
in Kāśmira) V. Dh S. 85. 7
Varāha-sthānas—(places sacred to
the Great Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu
are Kōkāmnukha, Badarī and Lohār-
gala) Var. 140. 4-5
Varāhatirtha—A (under Kurukṣetra)
Vāṃ. 34.32, P. I. 26. 15; B (under
VS) P I. 37. 6, K I. 35.5; C (under
Mathurā) Var. 166. 23 (there were
four golden images of Varāha,
Nārāyana, Vāmana, Rāghava); D
(on Vītāstā in Kāśmira) NM 1559;
E (a sub-tirtha of Sahyāmalaka)
Nr. 66. 34; F (under Sābbramati) P.
VI. 165. 10; G (on Narmadā)
M. 193. 74, K II. 42. 14, P. I. 20.71;
H (on Payosmi) V 88. 7 and 9
(king Nṛga performed yajña here
and the tirtha is holiest of all
rivers), K II. 20.32, Vāṃ. 90. 4;
I (under Go.) B 79. 6
Varāheśvara—(under VS) L. q by
T.K. p. 98.
Varanā—(r. northern boundary of
Banaras) M. 22. 31, 183. 62. Vide
pp. 625-626 above; L. I. 92 87 calls it
Varanā.
Vāraṇasī—Vide pp. 618-642. Though
Kāśi and Vāraṇasī are treated as
synonyms almost everywhere (pp
624-626) still it seems to me that
Kāśi was on the eastern side of the
Ganges and Vāraṇasī on the western.
Vāraṇāvatī—(r ) Atharvaveda IV. 7.1
Vāraṇeswara—(under Narmadā) P. I.
18. 29.
Vardhanadrana—(in Kāśmira, an
āyatana of Viṇāyaka Gāṅgeya)
NM 1161
Vārīdhāra—(m.) Bh V. 19. 16
Varna—(r. Banas in Rajputana
rising from Pāriyātra and falling
into Chambal) Dr. II. 16. 28; see
under Parṇāsa.
Varṇa—(r. Pāṇ 1V. 2 103 (varṇau vuk).
Kāśi kā explains that the country
on Varṇa was also called Varṇu,
This appears to be modern Bannu.
Varṇu occurs in Suvāstvādi-gana.
(IV. 2. 77).
Vārtraghāni—(r. rising in Pāriyātra
and falling into the sea) P. VI.
131. 56, 68, VI. 164, 1 and 71,
Mār. 57. 19; Vā 45. 97 reads
Vṛtraghni and B. 27. 28 Vataghnī.
Varuṇasrotasa—(m.) V. 88. 10
Varuṇa—(r. tributary of the Go.)
P. VI. 176. 59
Varuṇatirtha—V. 83. 164, 88. 13 (in
Pāṇḍya country), Bār. Sūtra III. 88
(on the shores of the eastern sea).
Varuṇeśa—A (under VS) L. q by
T. K. p. 66; B (under Narmadā)
M 191. 6.
Varuṇeśvara—A (under VS) L. q by
T. K. p. 103; B (under Narmadā)
P. I. 18. 6
Vāsīṭha-kunḍa—(under Lohārgala)
Vār. 151. 40. There is a Vāsīṭha-
kunḍa on the Alakananda at Deva-
Vāsīṭhāpavāha—(on Sarasvatī) Śal.
42. 41.
Vāsīṭhāśrama—A (near Jyeṣṭhēśvara
in Kāśmira) R. I. 107 (and Stein's
note thereon in vol. I. pp. 20-21),
NM 1323; B (on mount Arbuda
(which see) V. 102. 3; C (on
Badarīpācana, which see) V. 102.3
(narrates that in Vāsīṭhāśrama
Kāleyas devoured 188 brāhmaṇas.
and 9 tāpāsas. The location is uncertain.

Vāsiṣṭhatīrtha—M. 22. 68 ( śrāddha and dāna most efficacious here).

Vāsiṣṭha—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 47.

Vāsiṣṭhī—V. 84. 48, P. I. 32. 12 (same verse in both), but P. reads Vāsiṣṭham.

Vasordhārā—V. 82. 76, P. I. 24. 24 (same verse in both, P. reading Vasudhārā).

Vastrāpathakaśetra—(territory round about Girnar in Kathiawad) Sk. VII. 2. 2. 1-3 (it is quintessence of Prabhāsa, Raivataka-kṣetra is so called), VII. 2. 11. 16 (it is four yojanas in extent). The holy river therein is Suvarārekha (which see)

Vāsuka—(under Viraja in Orissa) B. 42. 6

Vāsukīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 48.

Vāsukītīrtha—A (under VS) P. I. 39. 79, L. q. by T. K. p. 48; B (under Prayāga) V. 85. 86 (also called Bhogavati)

Vāsupradā—M. 22. 72 ( śrāddha here makes a man reach highest goal).

Vasutūṅga—(Jagtapati is the gāhya appellation of Viṣṇu here) Nr. q. by T. K. p. 251

Vāṣa—A (in Prayāga) M. 104. 10, 111. 10; B (in Gayā) V. Dh. S. 85.5.

Vāṭanadī—M. 22. 37 ( śrāddha here yields inexhaustible fruit).

Vāṭēsvāra—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 27, K. II. 41. 19, P. I. 18. 27 (same verse in K and P), Ag. 109.20; B (under Gayā) Ag. 115. 73, P. I. 38. 46, N. II. 47. 59; C (under Prayāga) M. 22. 9; D (under Purussottama) N. II. 56. 28

Vāṭēsvāra—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 66

Vāṭēsvārapura P. I. 38.46

Vāṭika—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1459.

Vāṭodākā (r. in Pāṇḍya country) Bh. IV. 28. 35

Vatsakrūḍānaka—(under Mathurā) Var. 156. 1

Vāyavatīrtha—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 75

Vāyutīrtha—A (under VS) K. I. 33. 5, P. I. 37. 5 (same verse in both); B (under Mathurā) Var. 152. 65; C (under Gayā) Ag. 116. 5.

Vedadhāra—(under Badari) Var. 141. 20.

Vedāgiri (hill in Sahya range to the south of Brahmagiri and a sub-tīrtha under Kṛṣṇa-Veṇyā) TS. p. 78

Vedasiras—(most efficacious for śrāddha) M. 22. 71.

Vedasṛṃṭi—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) Anu. 165. 23, M. 114. 23, Vā. 45.97, Br. II. 16. 27. Dey p. 223 opines that it is the river Bosuli in Malwa and a tributary of the Sindh; Br. S. 16.32 mentions it.

Vedasrūti—(r. after Kosalas towards the south) Rām. II. 49. 10

Vedavatī—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) M. 114. 23, Br. II. 16. 27, B. 27. 29, Anu 165. 25; this and the above two rivers cannot really be identified. There is a river called Vedāvatī or Hagarī which rises in Mysore and ultimately falls into the Tungabhadrā. Vide I. G. I. vol. XIII p. 5.

Vedesvāra—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 44.


Vegasvati—(r. modern Vaiga or Baiga on which Madurā in south India is situated) Var. 215. 58, Vām. 84. 6, P. VI. 237. 9. Vide E. I. vol. XIII p. 194 where there is a gift of Ambikāpura on north bank of Vega-vati to the Śaṅkarācārya of Kāmakōṭi pīṭha. The form Vaigai appears in the Silappadikāram (Prof. Dikshitār’s tr. p. 270).

Veṇā—A (r. rising from Vindhyā) B. 27. 33, M. 114. 27. This is the Wain-Gangā in C. P. and falls into Godāvari; B-r, rising from Sahya m.

Venāsaṅgama—V 85. 34, P.I. 39.32

Venā—A (confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā) Vide above p. 603 n. 1369. Vide Banaras Ins. of Kurṇādeva in Kalacuri year 793 (i.e. 1042 A.D.) in E. I. vol. II. p. 297 at p. 310 (Venām snātva...Trilocanam...sama-bhyarca), Kamauli plate of Jayacandra in E. I. IV. at p. 123 (dated samvat 1230 i.e. 1173 AD); B (r. rising in Sahya from the root of an āmalaka tree and falling into Kṛṣṇā) TS. p. 78

Veṅkata—(m. in Drāviḍa country, Arcot District, near Tirupati) G. Brahmakhaṇḍa, chap. 26 deals with Vēṅkataṛiga-māhātmya), Bh. V. 19. 16. X. 79. 13 (in Drāviḍa), R. VI. 280. 19, SK. III. Brahmakhaṇḍa, 52. 102, SK. I. Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa is Veṅkatacālamanāhātmya. The shrine was once considered so holy that till 1870 no Christian or Moslem was allowed to ascend the hill of Tirumala.

Venumati—(śrīddha thereon most efficacious) M. 22. 20

Venāyā—(r. rising from m. Sahya and falling into the Kṛṣṇā) Vām. 13. 30, Anu. 165 22 (Godāvari ca Venāyā ca KṛṣṇaVenā tathāpi ca), Bh. V. 19.18, P.VI. 113. 25 (Mahādeva became Venāyā)

Vetasikā—(r.) V. 84. 56, P.I. 32. 20, P. VI. 29. 20 (speaks of Vetasī—Vetravati—saṅgama)

Vetravati—A (modern Betwa river, which rises in the Bhopal State and falls into the Yamunā) M. 22. 20, 114. 23 (rises from Pāriyātra), Br. II. 16. 28 (rises from KṛṣṇaVati), K. II. 20.35; Meghadūta (I. 24) says that Vidiśā (modern Bhilsā), the capital of Daśārṇa, was situated on Vetravati; B (a tributary of the Sāhramatī) P. VI. 130 and 133. 4–5. In 'Questions of Milinda' (S. B. E. vol. 35 p. 171) among ten great rivers flowing from the Himālaya Vetravati is one. This must be different from the above two

Vibhāṅgeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115

Vidarbha-saṅgama—(under Go.) B. 121. 1 and 23; acc. to AC p. 182 Vidarbha is the name of Kūndinapura (v. 979)

Vidhiśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 116

Vidiśā—A (r. rising from Pāriyātra m.) B 27. 29, Br. II. 16.28, Mār. 54. 20. Vide Vetravati above; B—A city mentioned in Raghvaṁśā 15. 36 (Rama gave to the two sons of Śatrughna, Śatrughātin and Subāhu, the cities of Madhurā and Vidiśā); Meghadūta I. 24 states that Vidiśā was the capital of the Daśārṇa country. In the Mālavikāgnimitra (V. 1) Agnimitra is shown as enjoying himself on the banks of the Vidiśā river and later on Puṣyamitra refers to his son Agnimitra as Vaidīśasthi (i.e. Vaidīśa would mean a city on the Vidiśā). Vide Vaḍnera plates of Kṣaṭacchuri Buddhārāja in 360 of the Kalachuri era (i.e. about 609 A. D.) issued from 'Vaidīśa-vāsakāt vijaya...
List of tirthas

skandhāvārātī (E. I. vol. XII. at p. 30
Vidyādhara—(under Gaṇḍakī and Śāla-gṛāma) Var. 145. 62
Vidyādhāresvara—(under VS) K. I. 35. 11, P I. 37. 14
Vidvāra—(m.) Devala q. by T. K. p. 250. Is it Vidvāra?
Vidyātīrtha—(same as Sandhyā) V. 84. 52, P. I. 32. 16
Vidyēsvāra—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 49
Vīnākṣerēsvāra—(under Narmadā) P. I. 21. 1
Vīhāratīrtha—(of Madana, under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 10
Vijayēsvāra—(modern Vijabar in pargana Vular in Kāśmīra) H. C. X. 191–195 (HC calls it mahākṣetra), Ain. A. vol. II. p. 356 refers to this. Vītastā is to its east and north, Gambhirā to the west and Vīśavatī to the south
Vijaya—(a linga) M. 22.73, K. II. 35.21
Vijaya—linga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 112
Vijayēśa—(in Kāśmīra) NM. 1240, R. I, 38, SM. p. 173; one of the most famous tirthas in Kāśmīra. It is less than two miles above Cakradhara
Vijayēsvāra—A (in Kāśmīra) R. I. 105 and 113; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 76
Vijvāresvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
Vīkūnatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 7
Vimala—V. 82. 87 (where silver and golden-coloured fish were found), P. I. 24. 35 (same verse in both)
Vimalā—(a city) P. IV. 17. 67 (destroys sins of numerous murders, just as Avanti and Kāśīci do)
Vimala—(a famous spring near Mārtanda temple in Kāśmīra), Vide Mārtanda p. 780 above
Vimalāśoka—V. 84. 69–70, P. I. 32. 33 (almost same verse in both).

Vimaleśa—(under VS.) L. q. by T. K. p. 56
Vimalēśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 190. 14, 194 38–39, 22. 8, K. II. 41. 5 and II. 42. 36, P. I. 17. 11;
B (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 34. 15, P. VI. 131. 50
Vimocana—V. 83. 161, P. I. 27. 49
Vīnaśana—(where Sarasvatī disappears in the great desert in Ambala and Sirhind in Punjab). It was known from Brāhmaṇa period; vide pp. 682 and 684 above and V. 82. 111, 130. 3–4. Śāl. 37. 1 (śūdrābhīrān prati dveṣāt yatra naṣṭā Sarasvatī), K. II. 37. 29, Br. III. 13. 69. Manu II. 21 mentions it as the eastern boundary of Mādhyadeśa. Devala q. by T. K. p. 250 speaks of it as one of the Sārasvatitirthas. Mbh. (vol. I p. 475 on Pañ. II. 4.10 and vol. III. p. 174 on Pañ. VI. 3. 109) speaks of it as ‘ādāra’ and as eastern boundary of Areyāvarta. The Kāśikā on Pañ. IV. 2.124 speaks of Ādāra as a Janapada (country). As Oldham says (in JRAS for 1893 at p. 52) the exact position of Vīnaśana is unknown, but Oldham surmises that it was not far from Sirsa.

Vīnāyakakūnda—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53
Vīnāyakēśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 126
Vindhyā—one of the seven great mountain ranges of Bharatavarṣa) V. 313. 2, Bhṛ. 9. 11, Vā. 77.34, M. 13. 39, Bh. V. 19. 16. It is the Ouiinion of Ptolemy (p. 77)
Vindhyavāsinī—(a Deviśēna) M. 13. 39, Devī—Bh. VII. 38. 8.
Vipāś—(modern Beas river in Punjab and Hypphasis or Hypasis of Greek writers) Ṛg. III. 33. 113, IV. 30. 11. The Nir. IX. 26 explaining Ṛg. X. 75. 5 states that Vipāś was originally called Uruṇjīrī, and then Arjikiyā and that when Vasiṣṭha threw him-
History of Dharmaśāstra

self into it bound by ropes through grief he rose up from the river with the ropes rent asunder. Pāṇ. (IV. 2. 74 ‘udak ca Vipāšah’) mentions Vipāś in connection with hills to the north of it; Ādi. 177. 1–5 refer to Vasiṣṭha’s attempt to commit suicide, V. 130, 8–9 (Vipāśa here), Anu. 3. 12–13 refer to the same story. Vide Rām. II. 68. 19, Vām. 79 6, N II 60. 30

Vipraṭiratha—(under Go.) B 167. 1 and 33 (also called Nārāyaṇa)

Virabhadreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87.

Viraja—A (country round Jāipur in Orissa) V. 85. 6; B (acc. to Tirthenduśekhara p. 6) it is Lonāradeśa and lake i. e. in Buldana District in Berar; C (on Sahya m. near Godāvāri and Bhimā) B 161. 3.

Viraj—(r. in Orissa) K II. 35. 25–26, Vām. q. by T. K. p. 235

Virajamandala—(northern boundary of Oḍrādeśa) B. 28. 1–2

Virajatiratha—(on Vaitaraṇī river in Orissa) V. 85. 6, P. I. 39. 6, I. 45. 28–29, (it is an Ādityatiratha), B. 42. 1 (Viraje Virajā mātā brahmāṇī sampratirūṭhītā), Vām. 22. 19 (the southern vedi of Brahmā), Br. III. 13. 57. Vide T. P. pp. 598–599 for Viraja-kṣetra, which is the popular name of Jāipur in Orissa

Virajādri—(under Gayā) Vā. 106. 85 (Gayāśura’s navel rested on it)

Virapatni—(r.) Rg. I. 104.4

Viraprmokša—V. 84. 51, P. I. 32. 14 (same verse in both); probably near Bṛhagulīga

Virākrama—V. 84. 145 (where Kārtikeya resides)

Viraslala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 14, 160.20

Viripāka—A (Hampi) P V. 17. 103, SK., Brahmakāṇḍa 52. 102; B (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 102

Virākṣhayūpa—(near Kurukṣetra) V. 90. 15, 177. 16, Vām. 81. 9, Nr. 65. 14 (Viṣṇu’s guhya name is Viśvesa here)

Viśālā—A same as Ujjayini; Meghadūta I. 30; vide under Avanti and Ujjayini. A. C says ’Ujjayini syād—Viśālavantī Pusparakāndini’; B (aśrama near Badari) V 90.23, 139. 11, Anu. 25 44, Bh. V. 4.5, XI. 29. 47; C (under Gayā) Vām. 81, 26–32 (a river), Ag. 115. 54, P. I. 38.33

Viśālākhāvana—Mār. 106. 57 (on a mountain in Kāmarūpa)

Viśālākṣi—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 115

Viśālayā—A (r.) V. 84. 14; B (under Narmadā) M. 186.43 and 46–48 (also called Viśālayakarani), K. II. 40. 27, P. I. 13. 39, Br. III. 13. 12

Viṣapraśtha—(hill) V. 95. 3 (near Gomati probably)

Viṣṇucaṅkraṇa—(under Dwārakā) Var. 149. 80 q. by T. K. p. 227

Viṣṇudhāra—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 17

Viṣṇu—Gayā—P. VI. 176. 41 (where there is Nārākraṇa)

Viṣṇukānci—P. VI. 204. 30

Viṣṇupada—A (under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 103, 130.8, NM 1238; B (lake on Nisadha mountain) Br. II. 18. 67, Vā. 47. 64; C (under Gayā) vide pp. 645, 646, 653 and note 1471 above and R. D. Banerji’s ‘Pālas of Bengali’ (Memoirs of A. S. B. vol. V pp. 60–61 for Viṣṇupāda temple Inscription of the 7th year of Nārāyanapāla’s reign; D (under Sālagrāma) Var. 145. 42

Viṣṇupadī—(name of Gaṅgā, as it is said to rise from the left toe of Viṣṇu) Bh. V. 17. 1. Amarakośa mentions it as a synonym of Gaṅgā (Gaṅgā Viṣṇupadī Jahu-tanayā)

Viṣṇusaras—A (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 24; B (under Goniśkramaṇa) Var. 147. 43

Viṣṇurittha—A (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 71–74; B (under Narmadā)
List of tirthas

M 191. 99, K. II. 41. 52 (it is Yodhipuram Visnusthānām); P I. 18. 94 (known as Yodhanipura); C (under Go.) B. 136. 1 and 41 (also called Maudgalaya)

Visnuśūrīthras—(108 enumerated) P. VI. 129. 5-36.

Viśokā—(r. in Kāśmīra) modern Veśān NM. 307, 373, 381, 1493, HC. XII. 35. NM. 307 says that Lakṣmī at the request of sage Kaśyapa became Viśokā; NM. 381 says that it formed Vitastā below Vijabror; NM. 1491-1493 speak of the confluence of Kaunḍini rising from lake Krama-sāra with Viśokā.

Viṣrāntiśūrītha—A (the most sacred spot in Mathurā) Var. 163. 162, 167. 1 ff, P. VI. 209. 5 (on the bank of Yamunā where Kaṁsa was killed by Kṛṣṇa); B (a different kṣetra from the above) in Madhuvana, where Viṣṇu assumed the form of Varāha)

P. VI. 209. 1-3 and 5

Viśā—(r.) Bh. V. 19. 18

Viśavkarmanēvāra—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 55

Viśvakāya—P. VI. 129. 8

Viśvāmitranāti—V. 89. 9, Bhī. 9. 26 (has Viśvāmitrā as a river)

Viśvāmitra—mabānāda (in Punjab) NM. 131

Viśvāmitrārāma—Rām. I. 26. 34

Viśvāmitrāśūrītha—A V. 83. 139; B (under Go.) B 93. 4 and 27 (where Rāma honoured Viśvāmitra), P. I. 27. 28

Viśvamukha—(śūrītha on Jālandhara)

Vide under Jālandhara p. 758 and P. VI. 129. 26

Viśvapada—(a piṭṭṭīśūrītha) M. 22. 35

Viśvarūpā—(under VS) P. I. 37. 2

Viśvarūpāsa—P. VI. 129. 14 (in Māyāpuri, it appears)

Viśvavatī—same as Viśokā HC. X. 192 (it is southern boundary of Vijayēśvara)

Viśvedevēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87.

Viśveśvara—(one of five līṅgas in VS)

K. I. 32, 12 and II. 41. 59, P. I. 34. 10, N II. 51. 4; vide pp. 632-33 above; B (in Girikarṇa) P. VI. 129. 10


Vitastā—one of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in ‘Questions of Milinda’ (S. B. E. vol. 35 p. 171). Dey p. 40 identifies it with the Vitastā without assigning any reason.

Viṭānā—saṅgama (with Narmadā) P. II. 92. 33.

Vitastā—(r. in Kāśmīra, now known as Zhe lum) Rg. X. 75. 5. Vide under Kāśmīra and Takṣaṅkanāgā; V. 82. 88-90 (Vitastā is the home of Takṣaṅkanāgā), 130. 20, K. II. 44. 4, Vām. 90. 7, NM 45, 305-06 (Uma became Vitastā), 336-341 (Saṅkara struck with his trident and made a hole as big as vitasti i.e. 12 aṅgulas and Saṅkara came bubbling forth as a river which is called Vitastā from the word Vitasti). R. V. 97-100 inform us that the great and self-taught engineer Suya in the days of king Avantivarman of Kāśmīra (9th century) changed the course of the Vitastā and the spot of its confluence with the Sindhu. Vide Stein’s note I in translation of R. vol. II pp. 329-336 and the note of Mr. J. C. Chatterji challenging the correctness of Dr. Stein’s remarks (in ‘confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu’, 1906)

Vitastā-Gambhirā-saṅgama—SM. pp. 101, 110

Vitastā-madhumati-saṅgama—NM 1442

Vitastā-sindhu-saṅgama—(exceptional sanctity) R. IV. 391, V. 82. 97-100, NM 394-95. The place where these two rivers meet enjoys among Kāśmīra people the same sanctity as the confluence at Prayāga.
Vitastātra—(spring of Vithavutur, one mile to the north-west of Vernag spring in Kāśmira) R. I. 102-103. Ashoka is said to have built many stūpas here. This spring is traditionally considered to be the main source of the Vitastā, Vide SM p. 182
Vraja—(village of Nand-Gopa) Bh X. 1. 10. Vide Gokula above.
Vṛddhakanyātīrtha—(sage Gālava’s son married an old spinster who had practised tapas for a husband worthy of her) Śal. 52.1-25, Devala q. by T.K. p. 250 (as one of the Sārasvatātīrthas)
Vṛddhāppura—(where there is a lake of Śanaścara i.e. Saturn) P VI. 34. 53-55
Vṛdduśaṅgama—(under Go.) B 107.1
Vṛddhi-Vināyaka—(under Gayā) Ag 116. 31
Vṛṇḍāvana—(last of the twelve vanas of Mathura) M 13. 38 (Devi is Rādhā here), Var. 153, 45, 156.6 (the demon Keśu was destroyed here), Bh. X. 11.28 and 36, X. 20, X. 21.5 and 10, P. IV. 69. 9, IV 73. 8-14 (esoteric interpretation), IV. 81. 60 (is the best place in Mathurā), VI. 16. 72 (where Vṛṇḍā gave up her mortal body), EV (ṛṣñajnamākhaṇḍa) chap. 17. 204-222 (explain how Vṛṇḍā performed tapas and how Vṛṇḍā is one of the 16 names of Rādhā. A G. identifies Klisoboras of Arrian with this
Vṛṣabhājaka—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 33
Vṛṣabhāśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43.
Vṛṣadhvaja—(under VS) K. I. 35, 13, L. I. 92, 106, N II. 50. 48
Vṛṣākapa—(under Go.) B. 129.1
Vṛṣotsarga—(under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 8
Vṛtraghni—(r. that springs from Pēri-yātra) Br. II. 16. 27, Mār. 54. 19. Dey p. 42 says that it is a tributary of the Sābhramati
Vṛtrēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 96
Vṛtyugbēśvara—(under VS) K. I. 35.14, P. I. 37. 17, L. I. 92. 109, N. II. 50. 56
Vṛṣakūṇḍa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 86
Vṛṣāsaras—Vā. 77. 51, Br. III. 13. 52
Vṛṣasthalī—(where Vṛṣa resolved to die on the loss of his son), N II. 65. 83-84, P. I. 26. 90-91
Vṛṣasatīrtha—A (in Kurukṣetra) K. II. 37.29, Br. III. 13. 69; B (under Narmadā) Vā. 77. 67, P. I. 18. 38; C (under Go.) B 158. 1
Vṛṣāsavana—(near Mīraka) P. I. 26. 87
Vṛṣoma-Gaṅgā—(under Gayā) N II. 47. 57
Vṛṣoma-liṅga—(under Śripurva) L. I. 92. 161
Vṛṣoma-tīrtha—(under VS) P. I. 37.14
Y
Yajana—V. 82. 106
Yājñavalkya-liṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. pp. 47, 88
Yajñavarāha—celebrated temple of Vāraṇa at Yajñāpura or Jāipur on Vaitarani in Orissa
Yaksatīrtha—(later called Hamsatīrtha) Var. 144. 155-156
Yāśśi—saṅgama (under Go.) B. 132. 1.
Yamalāṅjunakūṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. p. 188.
Yamatīrtha—A (under VS) K. I. 35. 6, II. 41. 83; B (under Go.) B. 125. 1 and 131. 1; C (under Narmadā) P. I. 37. 6.
Yamāvyasanaka—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 55.
Yamanā—(r.) Rg. V. 52. 17, VII. 18. 19, X. 75. 5. For Yamanā-mahāmya, vide P. VI. chapters 195-197. It is the Jomanes of Pliny
Yamunāprabhava—(Yamnotri) K. II. 37. 30, Br. III. 13. 71 (where there are hot springs and very cold water)
Yamunāsaṅgama—Var. 174 deals with its power.
Yamunāṭīrtha—Śal. 49, 11-16 (where Varuṇa performed Rājasūya), M. 108, 23-24 (as the daughter of the sun), P. I. 29. 6.
Yamunēśvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 66; B (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 12
Yantraśvara—(on north bank of Narmadā) M. 190. 1.
Yaṅgī—(under Gayā) N. II. 47. 82. Dey p. 215 says it is 'Jethian' about two miles north of Tapovana in Gayā
Yavatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 88.
Yaṅgāṭīrtha—A (under Sarasvati) Vām. 39. 36; B (under VS) Śal. 41. 32, P. I. 37. 9
Yaṅgāṭipatana—V 82. 48, P. I. 12. 8 (same words in both)

In E. I. vol. XI. p. 189 there is a Yayāṭinagara. It is doubtful whether it is the same as Jāipur.
Yayāṭēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 115.
Yogītīrtha—(under Sūkara) Var. q. by T. K. p. 210
Yosidvāra—(on the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā) V. 84, 94-95, P. I. 38. 15 (same words in both), N. II. 44. 76-77

Yugandhara—A—a country or people acc. to Pāṇ. IV. 2. 130 and the Kāśikā mentions it as one of Śālva-vayavas; B (a m.) acc. to Kāśikā on Pāṇ. III. 2. 46. Vām. 34. 47 'Yugandhare dadhi prāṣya uṣītvā cācyuta-sthale tadvad-Bhūṭālaye snātvā saputrā vastum-icchasi'. Br. S. 32. 19 appears to mention Yaugandhara as the name of a people or country.
CONCLUDING REMARKS ON TIRTHAS

At the end of this long list of tirthas a few words, as promised on p. 722 above, must be said about the attitude that we Indians of the 20th century should adopt towards the mountains, rivers and other holy places in Bhārata. Modern secular education and the prevailing economic conditions, stresses and trends leave hardly any room for moral and spiritual uplift. We are surrounded on all sides by anxiety, want, misery, hardness of heart and crime. Therefore, the endeavour of all those who have the good of our country at heart must be to cherish all such institutions as tend to lift the mind out of narrowness and to make it concentrate for some time at least on noble thoughts and aspirations and on detachment from the all-engrossing pursuit of money. Pilgrimage is one of such institutions. Those who have faith in pilgrimages as enabling a pilgrim to attain heaven, to collect merit and reach release from samsāra should give pilgrimages a new orientation, should see that their charity is not wasted on indolent, ignorant and vicious priests, should improve the methods of worship at holy places in such a way as will satisfy all hygienic requirements. The priestly class at holy places should remember that in the coming generations they are likely to find their occupation gone, unless they improve themselves, unless they try to be less ignorant and indolent than they are at present and really serve as honest business agents or Travelers' Guides. The number of people visiting holy places in the belief of accumulating merit is sure to become less and less, as modern secular education spreads. But it would be a calamity for the moral and spiritual greatness of India if pilgrimages to holy mountains and rivers came to be stopped altogether. I would very strongly recommend to all men, however highly educated, the undertaking of pilgrimages to certain hallowed spots. Our country has recently secured independence and it now rests entirely with us to make or mar the character of the teeming millions of this our land. All things that tend to create in Indians the deep feeling that amidst diversities of physical features, food, dress and habits, all of them are one people, that there is no part or district of this vast land which cannot claim to have made some substantial contribution in religious and philosophical thought, in abiding literature, in works of art and in holy places, that the destinies of the Indians
of one part of Bhārata are bound up with the destinies of all others. Frequent visits to distant places in Bhārata, mixing up among people of other parts and understanding their peculiar good points, needs and failings is absolutely necessary if we are to keep our freedom. India is thrice blest in the mountain ranges of the Himalaya, which contains the highest peaks in the world and is full of large and life-giving rivers and of numerous shrines associated with the names of the greatest sages and heroes of antiquity. Every Indian who is proud of the great religious and spiritual heritage of our country must make it a point to devote some part of his time to frequenting holy mountains, rivers and other places of pilgrimage. When we see even from a distance the purity, the whiteness and the serenity of the snow-capped peaks of the Himalaya, the play of delicate and exquisite hues and tints of blue, mauve, and pink when the sun begins to shine on them, a sense of wonder, joy and elevation comes upon us. The glorious view of a peak like Kinchinjunga, which is an unforgettable experience, lifts up the whole life of the onlooker to a higher plane for long. Similarly, the sight of the holy Ganges at night or at sunrise in Haridvāra or on the majestic Ghats in Banaras surely empties our minds of meanness and for the moment at least fills our hearts with a sense of nature’s beauty and with purity, and brings us in tune with the Infinite. I may state here that the talk of the conquest of Everest in which some members of European expeditions indulged jars on my ears. This great peak has so far vanquished (physically) all those who attempted the conquest. But in a figurative sense Everest and other high peaks have been for ages conquering the hearts of men. Even the members of these expeditions will admit that Everest and its brethren have drawn men to themselves from all parts of the world, made them give up their usual uneventful and placid activities, have evoked in those who attempt the climbing of these giants unbelievable courage, endurance, resourcefulness and self-abnegation and have been instrumental in exhibiting to the world what unknown powers the human spirit possesses. Therefore, these silent but awe-inspiring peaks should be looked upon as teachers of mankind and not as material things to be conquered and dealt with by human beings as they please.

§ While these pages were passing through the Press, news was broadcast on the very morning of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II that Sherpa Tensing Norkay and Mr. Edmund Hillary, two members of Col. Hunt’s British Expedition, had successfully climbed to the top of Mount Everest.
APPENDIX—of long Sanskrit Passages

Page 118 Note 267. On pp. 117–118 above reference has been made to the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those that had been converted to Christianity or Islam by force or fraud or even voluntarily. Not only was there re-admission of those that were converted, but non-Hindus, such as Yavanas, Kiratas, Sakas, were absorbed into the Hindu fold and were induced to adopt the practices of Hindus (such as śrāddhas and gifts to brāhmaṇas). Vide Śantiparva chap. 65. 13–21 quoted above in note 830 (p. 364). A Greek ambassador of king Antalikita (Antialkidas) named Heliodora, son of Diya (Dion), was accredited to the court of king Bhāgabhadra, called himself Bhāgavata and raised a column in honour of Vasudeva in the 2nd century B. C. (JRAS 1909, pp. 1053 and 1087 and JBBRAS vol. 23 p. 104). Uṣavadāta, son of Dinika and son-in-law of Kṣatrapa Nahapāna, is described in one of the Nasik inscriptions (No. 14a in E. I. vol. VIII at p. 85) as a śaka, but made very extensive donations to brāhmaṇas at Broach, Prabhāsa and other places. Part of one of his inscriptions is cited on p. 710 note 1618 above. Though the name Uṣavadāta (Rṣabhadatta) is a Sanskritized one the two names Dinika and Nahapāna of the Kṣaharāta race appear to be non-Indian. Abhiras, Hūṇas and Gurjaras became absorbed into the Hindu community. People, after being made Moslems, returned to their original communities and gods. Moslem writers make this clear. Vide Elliot and Dowsons ‘History of India’ vol. I. p. 126 (the people of India had returned to idolatry, excepting those of Kasa’) and Alberuni’s India (tr. by Sachau) vol. II. pp. 162–163 where he refers to the return of Hindu slaves in Moslem countries to their country and religion. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in ‘Some aspects of Ancient Indian Culture’ (1940) pp. 59–65 presents a very lucid and informing summary of the evidence on this point of the re-admission of those that were converted and of the absorption of non-Hindus. But it is not known what procedure was followed for this purpose. Therefore, a model rite for the return of a convert is set out here.

परासत्विक्षणः (एकः अनेके वा दुरुपः स्निषो वा) स्नानं पौत्रं छुन्तं वासः परिधायः (खिन्युवं वधार्यं वधार्यं वा परिधायः) चन्द्रनाःगिरिमिळतुर्तः हुला (खिन्युवं दुरुपावं गिरिमिळतुर्तः हुला) हितसमाय वधार्यं। सत्यं परंतत्वं ज्ञातोऽस्मिन्तः। हितसमायं परंतत्वं संग्राह्यं: सत्यं समीपिन्यः। हितं। अथ सिद्ध: परासत्विक्षणः (परासत्विक्षणं वा)
Appendix

829


described as a "parallel development of the concept of the universe and the world in general. The concept of the universe is based on the idea of the interconnectedness of all things, as seen in the relationship between the macro and micro worlds. The concept of the world in general is based on the idea of the interconnectedness of all people, as seen in the relationship between the individual and the community. The relationship between these concepts is that the universe is a reflection of the world, as seen in the way that the macro and micro worlds are interconnected. The relationship between the concept of the universe and the concept of the world in general is that the universe is a reflection of the world, as seen in the way that the macro and micro worlds are interconnected.

The concept of the universe is based on the idea of the interconnectedness of all things, as seen in the relationship between the macro and micro worlds. The concept of the world in general is based on the idea of the interconnectedness of all people, as seen in the relationship between the individual and the community. The relationship between these concepts is that the universe is a reflection of the world, as seen in the way that the macro and micro worlds are interconnected. The relationship between the concept of the universe and the concept of the world in general is that the universe is a reflection of the world, as seen in the way that the macro and micro worlds are interconnected.
N. B.—These hymns are translated and annotated above at pp. 191–201.
IV]

Appendix

381
Note 693a: आरोपीवादक दस्स द बिज्ञानेवार

राजसूयमभूतवर्ती विवेकस मात्रानवरोदी यथा

मारागांत विसुचिताकानिषत: श्लोक विष: संबंधाता ।

झालीनां पतनामि जातामणि चिन्होदरानि चतुरा नार: मारां तवपौल वृक्षशापं भाववृक्षारोपय गयव ॥

झालीनां उद्धाराः विस्मित: मारागांतिस्कृतता

झालीनां जातामणि स्मरणेऽवर विशिष्टोदरानि चतुरा नार: संबंधा ॥

उन्हें समन्वयमित विकृतात्वां लक्ष्यां निवृत्तमेव अह रिव यथा: पुष्या सिवो भावो भावानुसार तेऽक्र यथा: साक्षात्ते निष्टानु ॥

भाषाचिन्ता मान्यतत्व: विशिष्टा वृक्षारोपय ॥

विवेकानुता विचारात तथा विचारात विवेकानुताः

विवेकानुता विचारात तथा विचारात विवेकानुता: ॥

१३ विवेकानुताः विचारात तथा विचारात विवेकानुता: ॥
The text of the अत्यधिक here printed is based on three mss. from the Deccan College collection (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona), viz. No. 216 of 1879–80 copied in samvat 1539 (1482 A.D.), No. 196 of 1884–1887 copied in samvat 1578 (1521 A.D.) and No. 85 of 1895–1902 copied in samvat 1780. All these mss. contain the bhātyas of Harihara, which ascribes the work to विज्ञानेश्वर. In the first ms. the commentary on the first three verses is wanting. I intended at first to give explanations in Sanskrit of these verses (as p. 308 will indicate) but owing to considerations of space I omitted the Sanskrit explanations.
GENERAL INDEX
OF
Vol. IV (of the History of Dharmaśāstra)

(N.B. This Index deals with pages 1–727 only. As the list of tīrthas from p. 730 onwards is arranged alphabetically, no entries from these pages are included in this Index, except in very rare cases for special reasons. When the name of a person or work occurs both in the body of the book as well as in the foot-notes on the same page, only the page is entered and nothing else.)

Abbijit, a Vedic sacrifice, as prāya-scitta, 91, 92n
Abhilaśītārthacintāmaṇi 566n
Abhiṣṭut, a Vedic sacrifice deemed to remove even intentional sins 62n, 91
Abhyudayika-śrāddha 359n, 525–529; see under Mātrṣ and Nādiśrāddha; Āśv. gr. mentions only four śrāddhas by name of which this is one 525; darbhas to be employed are straight 526; even number of brāhmaṇas to be fed 526; followers of Śāmaveda do not perform māṭrārāddha in this rite 527; home is made on the hand of the brāhmaṇa 526; is a modification of pārvanārāddha 526; is made of three parts, viz. māṭrārāddha, pītṛrāddha and mātāmahaśrāddha 528; is to be performed in the morning 526 (except on birth of a son when it is to be performed at once); is treated as synonymous with Vṛddhiśrāddha, but has wider import 528; performed when there is a lucky event such as the birth of a son, or the latter’s upanayana or there is a marriage or the commencement of pūrṇa acts such as the dedication of a tank or park to the public 523; pīṇḍas are offered to the mātrṣ, the paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors, while some do not offer pīṇḍas in this śrāddha 527, 529; pītṛs called Nādi-mukha are invoked 526, 528; procedure of 526–527; sacred thread is worn by the performer in the usual form 526; sāṅkāṭha of 526n; while, brāhmaṇas are dining holy texts may be recited (except the mantras addressed to pītṛs, viz. Rg. X. 15, 1–13) 527; word ‘svadā’ not to be used 526; yavas are to be used instead of sesame 526
Ācamana, has to be performed after one sneezes 454
Actions, are of three kinds, niśya, naimittika and kāmya 60n
Adābhya, cup, used in Jyotiṣṭoma 157
Adam’s Fall 8n
Ādhaka, see under ‘droga’. Ādiparva, 51, 161, 223, 614, 615, 687
Ādiparāṇa, 215, 234, 288, 291n, 296, 299, 305n, 306, 604, 652a, 685n
Ādityapurāṇa, 574n
Ādityas, are twelve 490
Adopted son, conflict between Nīrṇaya-sindhu and Dharmasindhu as to his priority in being an adhikārīn for Antyesṭi rites, in opposition to grandson of the deceased 258n; is supposed by the High Court and by the Privy Council, relying on Manu IX.
142, to become totally severed from the family of birth, but this is not quite accurate, since Nirñayasindhu, Dharmasindhu and the Dattaka-candrikā state that the adopted son can perform the śrāddha of his natural father if the latter has no son at the time of his death 538–539; to whom should he offer piṇḍas 538

Adultery, prāyaścitta for a, by men and women 105; prāyaścitta for a, was only half when the lapse was due to mistake 105

Afsad stone Inscription of Ādityasena 605n

Aghamarṣaṇa, hymn (Ṛg. X. 190) as purifier from sins 45, 46n, 126, 130, 578

Aghamarṣaṇa-vrata, 130

Aghoramāntra, set out 699n

Agnes, Saint, was canonized primarily for her refusal to bathe 311

Āgneya-kṛchha, means subsisting on sesame alone for 12 days 131

Āgnicayana, 115, 249n

Āgnibhotrins, even in modern times perform their nītya-śrautahoma during āśauca 240

Āgnirūṣaṇa, 17, 18n, 19, 25, 30, 32, 35, 42, 53n, 54, 74, 75, 76n, 80, 81, 88, 104, 107, 109, 150–51, 160, 162–63, 168, 174–75, 265n, 266, 268n, 269, 290, 293n, 300, 301n, 310, 334, 335, 370, 371n, 374–75, 389n, 445n, 448, 449n, 512–13, 531n, 562n, 566, 567, 574, 579, 585, 588n, 595, 597n, 599n, 600n, 601, 606n, 609, 614, 615, 617, 623, 625n, 626n, 628, 649, 651, 654n, 655n, 656n, 657n, 660, 661, 663n, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670n, 677, 689, 705n, 710

Agnistut, a vedic sacrifice 62n, 91, 92n

Āhāva, meaning of 503n

Ain-i-Akbari, 605n, 627, 642

Aitareya Āranyaka, 46n

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 8, 57–58, 63, 100n, 146, 160, 196n, 224, 269, 274, 275n, 310, 344n 345, 464n, 502n, 546, 550n, 558, 585, 643, 680, 681

Aiyangar, Prof. K. V. Rangaswami 705

Aiyangar, Dr. S. Krishnaswami 712

Ājyābhaṅgas, 157

Alberni on India 641.

Allan, James, author of 'Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India' 688

Altckar, Prof. A. S., author of 'History of Benares' 618 n, 622 n, 632 n, 633, 636n, 639n, 642

Āmantraṇa, distinguished from 'nim-antraṇa' in some ancient works 408.

Āmarakaṇṭaka, mountain, whence Narmadā rises 703, 704.

Āmarakosā, 11n, 217n, 278n, 387, 394n, 590n, 703n,

Āmasṛddha (śrāddha with uncooked grains) 514–515; can be offered by him alone who is eligible for offering pārvana-śrāddha 514; is always prescribed for śūdras 514; is performed in the forenoon 515; to be performed when a brāhmaṇa or materials are not available or when one is on a journey or one's wife is in her monthly illness or on the birth of a son 514

Āmśvasya, is of two kinds, sinivāli (on which an āhītaṅgai should perform śrāddha) and kuhī; on which those who have not kept śrāuta fires and śūdras should offer śrāddha 369; derivation of 369n

Ānanda, favourite disciple of Buddha arranged for elaborate funeral rites for his master through the Mallas of Kusinagarā 234–235


Ancestor, only three rites for departed a. in very ancient times, viz. piṇḍa-pitryājña, the mahāpiṇḍyājña and Avatāra 349–350, 353

Ānarta, country through which Narmadā flowed acc. to Vanaprasta and in which Dvārakā was situated 704n

Āṅgiras, smṛti of 41, 47, 59, 75, 78, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86n, 90, 95n, 98,
procedure of other śrāddhas is based while others say that Aṣṭākā and Anvāṣākā are modelled on the monthly śrāddha 358

Apāṃṣṭānga, a plant used for cleaning the performer of religious rites 250

Apankṣēya, three views about what is 376

Aparākṣa, 11n, 25n, 34n, 41n, 50n, 53n, 54, 55n, 65n, 66n, 83n, 87n, 88, 89, 93, 94, 96, 97, 99n, 104n, 105n, 108, 114n, 121, 124n, 125n, 127n, 128n, 131n, 133, 139, 142, 147n, 161n, 199n, 210n, 215, 216n, 218, 220n, 221, 222n, 224–26, 227n, 237, 238n, 255n, 256n, 261n, 262n, 274n, 285n, 289n, 294, 297a, 301n, 304n, 305n, 309, 310, 312–14, 317, 322n, 323n, 324, 351n, 364, 369n, 371n, 376, 377n, 378n, 394n, 395n, 397, 399n, 400, 413n, 417n, 418n, 422n, 424, 440n, 443n, 444n, 445, 447n, 448n, 449n, 450n, 453, 455n, 456n, 457n, 471, 476n, 478, 479n, 480, 483n, 514n, 515n, 517, 518, 519n, 521, 526, 528n, 529, 530, 531n, 547n, 548n, 604, 669

Apasāvyam, meaning of, 487n.


Āpāstamba—grhyasūtra 353, 358, 384, 438, 469, 471, 472

Āpāstambamantrapaṭṭha, 353, 357n, 438, 439, 444n, 461n, 469, 474, 476, 496n, 498

Āpāstamba-smṛti (in verse) 28, 79n, 98, 114, 117, 123, 126, 131, 143, 263, 288, 314n, 323, 324n, 575

Āpāstamba-śrautasūtra, 45, 184n, 312, 426n, 462n, 468n, 479, 499n, 537n, 558


Anustaraṇī, cow or goat 206, 209n

Anvāṣākā or Anvāṣākya 358; acc. to Āp. gr. and Sān. gr. procedure of A. is the same as that of pinḍapitṛ-yajña 358; explanation of the word 359n; most notable characteristic of A. is that female ancestors are invoked and liquor, scum of boiled rice, collyrium and garlands are offered 359, 474; performed after each Aṣṭākā 360; procedure of, from Āv. gr. 359–360; some say that Aṣṭākā is the model on which the
Apātrikarana sins, 15, 35; expiation for 118–119
Aponapatriya hymn (Rg. X. 30) 558
Apratiratha hymn, 439, 507
Archaeological Survey of Western India, reports of 678n
Archaeological Survey Reports of Mysore 716n, 717
Archaeological Survey of India, reports of 683, 685, 686
Ardhakrechra, 131
Arghya, respectful offering of water or water with husked rice grains, flowers etc. to gods or venerable persons 435n, 441n
Arthanāda (laudatory passage), may in some cases be construed as a vidhi (injunction) 62
Āryasamāja, objects to the institution of śraddha 339
Āśāca; vide under 'adopted son', 'death', 'food', 'kāyaasthas', 'men', 'pratiloma', 'sapiṇḍas', 'suddhi', 'sūtaka', 'wife', 'women', 'yati'; agha is used often as a synonym for ā. 267–268; atikrāntiāsauca 282–284; birth and death are causes of ā. only when they become known to the person to be affected 276; brāhmaṇa who has studied the vedas and kept vedic fires becomes free from impurity in one day, one who has only mastered the veda in three days, one devoid of both in ten days 270; defined by Mitākṣarā 268; derivation from the word 'suci' 267; differing views in ancient times as to explanation of the origin of ā. for ten days on birth and death 309; explanation of varying provisions on ā. 288; impurity on birth 275; exceptions to rules about atikrāntiāsauca 284; five classes of cases in which rules about ā. do not operate 296; for adopted son in case natural father or adoptive father dies or for natural father and adoptive father when the adopted son dies and for sapiṇḍas 280–281; for carrying a dead body for money 289; for father and sapiṇḍas on abortion, still-birth or after the birth of a child 275; for mother when there is abortion in the first four months of pregnancy or in later months of pregnancy or on still-birth or after birth 273; for slaves when masters die 292; form 'āśucya' is found in Devala and other smṛtis 267; general rules about ā. 276–277; great divergence of views on question about the periods of ā., if a sapiṇḍa's death comes to one's ears more than ten days after death 283; Haradatta's definition of ā. 268; in the case of an āhitāgni or non-āhitāgni dying in a different country, whose bones even are not found and whose effigy is cremated 286; intensity of impurity was arranged on a descending scale in the following order viz. a sūtikā (a freshly delivered woman), rajasāvalā (a woman in monthly illness), death and birth 274; king's death required the residents of the country to observe ā. up till the advent of the day or night next after the king's death 281–282; Manu and others mention several optional periods of impurity 270–271, 307; Manu and others urge men not to increase through laziness the number of days for which ā. is to be observed 271; meaning of āśaucasannipāta 292ff; meaning of life-long impurity 274; medieval brāhmaṇas attached exaggerated importance to ceremonial purity after ā. 273; Mitākṣarā says that dicta of Parāśara on periods of impurity should be discarded as opposed to several smṛtis and popular usage 272; most important subject under the head of sudhī is ā.. 267; no atikrāntiāsauca for sapiṇḍas on birth 283; no periods of ā. prescribed
for pratiloma castes, but some say that they are like śūdras 288; no unanimity among smṛtis as to periods of ā, on death 277ff; on birth ā. lasted ten days even in the Vedic period 274; on death of a child for parents and sapindas before ten days from birth or before the striking of teeth, before cūḍā or upanayana or after upanayana 277–278; on death of a person after upanayana all sapindas had to under o ā, for ten days and all samnās dakhas for three days 277; on death of a girl after three years of age and before betrothal or after betrothal but before marriage and after marriage 278; period of ā. depended on several circumstances, such as the varṇa or on whether deceased was an infant or a male or a female or whether death was before or after upanayana or on the vicinity or otherwise of the deceased, the degree of relationship, the time that elapsed after birth or death 271–273, 286–287; periods of ā. for relatives in the case of anuloma or pratiloma marriages 488; periods of ā. for four varṇas were respectively fixed at 10, 12, 15 days and a month 271; periods of 10 days of ā. were fixed for men of all varṇas by some smṛtiśāstras such as Aṅgiras and Śatātapa and the reason for such fixation 271, 307; period of ā, for less than ten days on the ground of vedic learning was included among Kalivarja 271; rules about ā. on death of bandhus such as maternal grand-father, grand-mother or maternal uncle, daughter’s son and father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, wife’s brother 279–280; rules about ā. on the death of an ācārya, his wife or son or of a guru or pupil 281; rules about ā. apply only when times are easy and peaceful 306; rules about the period of ā. when the knowledge of birth or death comes to a man after the periods fixed 282–284; sannipāta or sāmpīta of ā. (another āśāvaca supervening while one is being undergone), rules of 292–294; several printed works and mss. on ā. are in verse 272–273; ten varieties of impurity, according to Daksā 274; things that could be taken without taint from the house of one undergoing ā. though not from his hand 291–92; two characteristics of ā. viz. taking away the privilege of performing religious acts and rendering a person untouchable to others for some time, 268–269; two kinds of ā. viz. javaśāvaca or sūtaka (arising on birth) and sāvāsāvaca or mṛtakā- śāvaca (arising on death) 269; two varieties in each kind of ā. viz. for a short period and for a long period 269; two views as to the day from which period of ā. is to be calculated, if a man died at night or news reached at night 287–288; usage of the country the most important in matters of ā. 306; when calculating the period of ā, the day of cremation in the case of an āhitāgni and the day of death in the case of a non-āhitāgni is the first day 276; when a solemn sacrifice (like Somayāga) is begun or a marriage rite or festival in honour of mātrṣ has started or the foundation or dedication of a temple or image is begun, supervening cause of ā. does not matter 291; why birth and death should cause impurity to relations has not been discussed by most writers 269–270; woman’s delivery or death at her father’s or brother’s house and at her husband’s makes a difference as to ā. 276, 278; women of all varṇas become touchable after ten days from delivery but they are not fit to take part in religious rites 30 or 40 days from birth according as a son or daughter is born 276; words like ‘ābah’ and ‘śānti’
mean day and night in texts on अ. 276

क्षुद्रोपकासक, attributed to Vijñāneśvara, deals with असूच in ten Āśā details, verses, 273; text of 276, 277, 290

क्षुद्रोपकास, attributed to Vararuci, deals with असूच in eight Śrāddhā verses 272–273.

Ascenics, see under ‘Nārāyanabali’, ‘yati’; general rule for, is that for eight months they must move from place to place and may spend four months of rainy season in one place, but this rule was abrogated when a. entered कृṣेन 641; great emphasis laid in some works on inviting them at a śrāddha dinner 388, 399; had to tonsure the whole head when undergoing प्रायासितa 123; have not to undergo the condition of प्रेतa and no ekoddita nor sapindikaraṇa is to be performed for them, but only pārvaṇa on 11th day after death 519; is not affected by असूचa 298; mahālayaśrāddhā for, is to be performed on 12th day of Bhādrapada dark half 533; Vasiṣṭha and others insist that an. must partake of flesh served at a śrāddha 423

Aśoka, in times of, a branch of the bodhi tree was transplanted to Ceylon 667; tradition that Aśoka dug up seven out of the eight mounds of the relics of Buddha and distributed the contents in 84000 boxes throughout India and built stūpas over them 236 n.

आश्रमावसिकपार्व, 223, 451n, 534

Association, see under ‘samsarga’; even 4th or 5th in a series of persons guilty of a. with one guilty of महालिपतaka is liable to some expiation 27

Aṣṭhisāñcayana, see under ‘sañcaya’

Aṣṭakaśrāddhās, see Anuṣṭaka; 353–360; cow is sacrificed acc. to Khādīra-grhya 355; days of a. were four or three or one only 354; derivation of Aṣṭaka from aṣṭan 354n; first among seven pākayajnas, acc. to Gautama and one of the 40 samśkāras 353; five A. acc. to Bhāṭoji 361; flesh to be offered in all acc to some writers 354; great variations on almost all points connected with A. such as the number of days and the months in which they were to be performed, the deities to be worshipped, the offerings to be made and the procedure 353; many options are given as to offerings acc. to several grhya-sūtras 355; meaning of A. was 8th śiti in any month after full-moon day 353; not performed now 361; offerings made on the three Aṣṭakās differed in different sūtras 355; piṣṭa are the deities of A. according to Vārtika on Pāṇini and Kāthakarṇa, but great divergence on the devatās, acc. to others; 355–56; procedure of, comprises three parts viz. homa, inviting brāhmaṇas for dinner and the rite called Anuṣṭaka or Anuṣṭaka 356; procedure of A. in several grhya-sūtras, but the shortest is that of Āp. gr. which is set out 356–358; A śrāddhās known to early Vedic literature 194n, 350n; twelve A. in a year 383n; were modifications (vikṛtis) of monthly śrāddhā on Amāvāsyā 361–362, 434

Astrology, a brāhmaṇa subsisting by the practice of, is unfit to be invited at a śrāddha 393; Yama states that if brāhmaṇas that do not declare (or advise on) the auspicious nakṣatra, śiti or day or muḥūrtā and other auspicious matters eat śrāddha food, the reward is inexhaustible 400

Aśūcikara, sins so called 12, 14

Asuras, like Prahlāda, Bāṇa and Bali, though good and decent, are described as fighting with gods 659; usage of, about burial of dead bodies 232
Aśvaghoṣa, author of Buddhacarita 621
Aśvalāyana (in verse) 381n
Aśvalāyana-grhya-pariṣṭa 219, 262 n, 524, 526, 527
Aśvalāyana-grhhyasūtra, 46 n, 58, 98, 111, 112 n, 149 n, 190, 194 n, 199 n, 200 n, 203 n, 204, 205, 209, 218, 238, 240, 241, 244, 245 n, 262, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357 n, 358, 359, 360, 384, 389, 402, 412 n, 417, 433, 460, 463, 470, 491, 493 n, 496 n, 506 n, 525, 527 n
Aśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra, 45, 57, 58, 62 n, 92 n, 127, 184 n, 200 n, 202, 203 n, 346 n, 436 n, 463, 472, 477 n, 480, 494, 498, 499, 500 n, 511, 515, 681
Aśvamedha, as a prāyaścitta 91, 92; deemed to have freed even gods from all sins, even including brāhmaṇa murder 37, 62; even a murderer of a brāhmaṇa becomes free from that sin by a bath at end of A. along with the king and priests after announcing his sin and after permission 94, 131; to be performed only by a king 91, 131; verses recited at time of making crowned queen get up from dead horse 200 n.
Aśvamedhikaparva 535
Aśvapati Kekaya, a king, boasts that no drinker of madya dwelt in his kingdom 20
Atharvans, a class of pitra 192
Atharvasiras, purifies from sins 45, 46 n
Atharvaveda, 5, 11 n, 57, 155, 157, 159, 174 n, 182 n, 184 n, 192 n, 194 n, 198, 204, 205 n, 206 n, 207 n, 211, 232, 233, 242, 252 n, 254, 321, 342, 345, 346, 347 n, 351, 353, 433 n, 462 n, 555, 556, 645, 680
Atheists, touch of 115
Aṭīkṛcchra, an expiation 130; how constituted 130; purifies a man of all sins except mahāpātakas 15, 88
Aṭipātakas, no prāyaścitta for these except entering fire acc. to Viṣṇu

Dh. S. but Manu and Yāj. differ 88
Atirātra, for reversal of a disease 178
Atisāntapana, defined variously by śruti 130-131
Atithi, who is, at a śraddha 396
Atri, śruti of, 42, 48, 67 n, 75, 94, 97, 124, 128, 138, 139, 141, 142, 145, 147, 149, 152, 173, 270, 271, 277, 287, 295, 298, 302, 310, 313, 324 n, 392, 401 n, 420, 421, 471, 545, 577, 604, 611 n, 653
Auvāgamāni, 354
Aulāṇa, son of Śantalu 189 n
Aurṇāvābha, 645
Auvānasāṃṛti 222 n, 301 n, 339, 340, 386, 399, 400 n, 411, 422
Aavadānāśataka, 176
Avaṅkūrin, see under 'brahmācārin'; has to offer to Nṛṣīti an ass according to procedure of pākayajñās 212
Avanti, is name of country and Avanti was its capital 619
Avidhavānavamisāddha, 533-534; performed for one's mother or other woman of one's family who died during her husband's lifetime, on the 9th day of Bhādrapada dark half 533
Avimukta-nirukti-sāra, a work in 15 verses with commentary thereon, explaining the purport of a Jābālopaniṣad passage 610 n
Bahispavamāna, sāman 46 n
Bahovra-grhya-pariṣṭa 443 n
Bajjavāpa, 238
Bālāccaña Khuperkar, Pandit of Kolhapur 717 n
Bālākṛcchra, see under Śiśukṛcchra
Bālambhaṭṭi, 39, 60 n, 140 n, 142 n, 391, 398, 574 n
Bali, grandson of Prahlāda and a devotee of Viṣṇu 144, 639
Bāna, 371 n, 625 n (Vāmanapurāṇa exhibits similar style)
Bāna, an asura, son of Bali, fought withṛṣṇa with the help of Śiva 659
Bandhus, are of three kinds 280; rules about śauca on death of 280
Banerji, R. D. on 'History of Orissa' 693, 694n, 698n
Barbour, author of 'Sin and the new Psychology' in
Bharaspataya-sūtra 560n, 679, 712
Barley, see under 'yava'.
Barua, Dr. Benimādhava, author of 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' 643, 644, 647, 649, 650, 651, 653n, 659, 664n
Bath, as an easy substitute for some expiations 127; daily bath for all insisted upon by ancient and medieval Indians 311; prescribed after sexual intercourse with one's wife, for vomiting after sunrise, after shaving, after a bad dream or foul touch 311; prescribed on touching certain persons and substances such as a seller of Veda, a sacrificial post, a patita, a dog, a cāndāla 331-332
Bauddhas, touch of, required expiation 115
Baudhāyana-grhya-sūtra, 111, 474, 525
Baudhāyana-grhya-śeṣasūtra. 229n, 304n, 305, 313n, 516, 542.
Baudhāyana-grhya-paribhāṣasūtra, 399n
Baudhāyana-pitṛmedhasūtra, 182, 189, 190, 191n, 199n, 200n, 204, 205n, 207n, 208n, 209n, 223, 229, 238, 240, 244, 246n, 251, 253, 254n, 255, 263, 467n, 520, 521
Baudhāyana-smṛti, 64, 217n, 261, 280n, 312, 316
Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra, 346
Deal's 'Buddhist Records of the western world' 608, 612, 629, 631, 650, 683, 688, 711
Beginning, of certain acts such as a sacrifice or marriage how settled 291.
Belvarkar, Dr. S. K. 648n.
Bhagavad-gītā, 9, 46n, 68, 83n, 158, 186, 188, 236n, 265n, 335, 373, 496, 587, 611, 614, 683; some verses of, occur in V.śudhāravasūtra 236n
Bhāgavatapurāṇa, 163, 168, 349, 560, 690, 691n, 704n, 707
Bhaktūpādyāya, 59n
Bhandarkar, Prof D. R. 271
Bhandarkar, Dr. R. G. 713n, 716
Bhāradvāja, 387
Bhāradvāja-grhya-sūtra, 58, 355, 476, 520, 522n
Bhāravis, an imperial dynasty in ancient India that performed Aśvamedha sacrifices 634
Bharata, author of Nāṭyaśāstra 217n
Bharata Daśasanti 585
Bhārgava, 79n
Bhārbhut śūpā, 709
Bhāskarakṣetra, is Prayāga, according to some and Koṇārka according to others 217n, 574n
Bhaṭṭācārya, (explanation of what are mantras) 61, 268 (definition of śuddhi).
Bhaṭṭojī, 262n, 361, 372n, 519n, 520n, 521, 568n, 573, 609n
Bhavadeva, author of Prāyaścittaprapakāraṇa 24
Bhaviṣyapuṇāṇa, 15, 19, 21, 39, 40, 50, 53, 54, 56, 88, 90, 91, 93, 94, 96n, 124, 129, 131, 163, 225, 361, 375, 380n, 381n, 382n, 391, 396, 402, 413n, 468n, 478, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532n, 536, 541, 586, 587
Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa, 540n
Bhiṣma, story of, who waited for Uttara-rāyaṇa as the proper time for death, is eulogistic of arciśrādi path and not to be taken literally 188, 189; popular belief that death in Uttarāyaṇa is best still persists 189
Bhrpuṣ, smṛti of, 290n, 409, 546
Bhrgus, a class of pīṭras 192
Birth, good or evil future b. depends on good or evil conduct in this life 158
Bloch, T. in Z. D. M. G. vol. 60, for excavations at Lauriya 234n
Bloomfield, author of 'Religion of the Veda' 2n, 171
Body, importance of, for dharma 127
Bombay Act 35 of 1947, 320
Bombay Gazetteer volumes 303n, 571n, 686, 705n, 709, 710, 713, 714, 715, 721
Boy, whose upanayana has not been performed and who drinks madya through foolishness may undergo expiation through a pratinidhi (brother, father, friend), when he is himself unable to do so or is between the ages of 5 to 11, 98; whose upanayana was not performed was not to repeat Vedic mantras except the mantras that are required for the funeral rites and śrāddha of his father or mother 258
Brahmā, is said to have created in the beginning four classes, viz. gods, asuras, pātris and men 342
Brahmabandhu, six kinds of 400
Brahmacārin, had to observe āśauca for three days after he returned from his guru for all relatives that died during the period of his studenthood 293; prāyaścitta for having sexual intercourse 112–113; is styled avakirin, if he has sexual intercourse 112; may carry the corpse of his parents, maternal grandfather, upādhyāya and ṣcārya and perform funeral rites for them, but if another adhikārin is available he should not do so 260, 298; on death of, sāpanās had to observe āśauca 303; should not give up vedic studies and vrata even on death of parents 298
Brahmamedha, procedure of, employed only for an ṣcārya or śotriya and the mantras called caturhotāraḥ were recited therein 254
Brahmāvarta, country between Sarasvatī and Drśadvatī 537n
Brāhmaṇa, āhittāgni may, if his wife dies, marry again and establish fresh sacred fires or remain a widower and perform his Agnihotra with an effigy of the dead wife made of gold or kuśa grass 225–226; all deities reside in b. who knows the veda 488; becomes unfit for invitation at śrāddha by practising medicine, by teaching dancing or by going on the stage 14n; carrying the dead body of a person who is not a sāpanā or carrying dead body of his mother’s sāpanās became pure after three days 289; could be liable to death as prāyaścitta for a heinous sin, though not as punishment 73; could perform as pratinidhi of women and śudras homa in ordinary fire 78; one drinking surā intentionally had to undergo an expiation viz. drinking boiling milk, cow-urine, water, which ended in death 96; expiration for threatening to beat or strike a b. 96; fighting for saving a brāhmaṇa’s life or for saving twelve cows as expiation for murder of b. 93; following the funeral procession of a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaisya or śudra had to undergo a bath and also āśauca and expiation in the last three cases 290; general rule that prāyaścitta for intentional murder of b. was to end in death 88; guilty of grave sins committed intentionally was to be banished but was allowed to take his wealth with him and if guilty of the same unintentionally to be punished with middle amercement 72; guilty of theft was to go to a king with an iron club and ask him to smash his head as punishment 73; invited for śrāddha should
not refuse and after accepting
invitation if he breaks the promise
incurs sin 410; killing a b. woman
is upāpātaka except in two cases acc.
to Manu and Yāj. 18; one killing
one's own parent, brother, teacher of
veda, or a brāhmaṇa who has studied
the veda or kept vedic fires had to
undergo expiation till death 94; Manu
speaks of 13 prāyaścitās for murder of
b. 88-93; Manu first prescribes
twelve years of begging alms, carry-
ing a bone in hand and on a staff 88;
murder of, gravest of sins 10; not
to be punished with death for any
crime or sin but may be banished 31;
prāyaścitta, extent of, when taken
once for all for several murders of b.
90; prāyaścitta for murder of a person
who is a brāhmaṇa without vedic learn-
ing 93; rules about a b. staying in
the house of one dying or partaking
of food there 289; should not violate,
even when a knower of brahmavidyā,
the injunction against eating unclean
food when there is no distress or
danger to life 100; three causes of
a person being called a brāhmaṇa
are tāpas, vedic learning and birth
from brāhmaṇa parents according to
the Mahābhārata 400; twelve years
vrata as prāyaścitta for uninten-
tional brāhmaṇa murder 90; twenty-
four years vrata for intentional b.
murder 90; vedic sacrifices of Āśva-
medha, Gosava, Abhijit, Visvajit or
Agniṣṭut as expiation for murder of
b. 91; weeping with the family of
a deceased person who is not a
sapiṇḍa or who belonged to another
varṇa had to undergo varying
periods of āśauca and purifications
which depended on the fact whether
he went before or after the collect-
tion of bones 290; b. whether could
be killed in self-defence 19-20; who
drinks surā prepared from raw sugar,
flour and honey should undergo
Taptakṛṣṭa, Parśka and Candraśāyaṇa
respectively, acc. to Brhaspati 97;
who drinks any intoxicant (except
surā prepared from flour) had to
undergo light expiation 97; who has
studied the veda and is afflicted with
bodily defects (which ordinarily
exclude him from a row of diners) is
acc. to Yama a paṅgūtapāvana 401;
who remembers the īḻveda studied
by him is not tainted by any guilt
47
Brahmakṛcchra, an expiation 147
Brahmakūra, an expiation, 146-147;
 is same as paṅcagavya acc. to some
smṛtis 147
Brāhmaṇaśarvasva, of Halāyudha 346n,
434n, 504, 506n
Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa, 114n, 168, 311,
342, 344, 347n, 348, 349, 351, 372,
374, 375, 378n, 388n, 389, 390, 391n,
392, 395n, 399n, 414, 415n, 417n,
420, 421n, 443n, 448, 457n, 458n,
460, 463, 471, 473n, 479n, 481, 484n,
531n, 539n, 540, 560, 578, 587, 590n,
593n, 600, 623, 685n, 689n, 708n,
712
Brahmaṇḍa-dāna, one of the 16 mahā-
dānas 166
Brahmapurāṇa, 41n, 50, 51, 84n, 109,
127, 133, 139, 146, 152, 163, 164, 166,
170, 174, 176, 180, 214, 217, 222n,
223-225, 227, 255, 257n, 265n, 266,
271, 277, 296n, 299, 301, 334, 337n,
340, 348, 371n, 372, 374, 378-379,
381n, 385, 388n, 392, 411, 414-416,
421, 423, 440n, 441n, 443n, 450n,
471, 473, 478, 479n, 481, 483, 518,
520, 528, 531n, 539n, 560n, 562n,
564, 567, 568, 570, 572, 573n, 582,
587, 592n, 595, 598, 608, 620, 622,
659, 688, 696. 699, 700, 702, 707,
708, 711; contains hymn to Viṣṇu
which when repeated was deemed to
free a man from all sins 51; states
that even when a person remembers
Viṣṇu through roguery, he goes to
Viṣṇuloka after death 51
Brahmārṣi, defined 593n
Bṛāhmanaś, dinner to be given to, in all religious rites and at end of expiations 120–121; distinction has to be made between brāhmanaś who should not be invited at a śrauddha because they are sagostras, bandhus, friends and those that are apāñkteya or paṅktidūṣaka 391–392; hailing from the countries of Áṅga, Vaiṅga, Kaliṅga, Saunāsa, Gurjara, Koṅkana, Dvāriḍā, Avanti, Magadha were declared in some purāṇas to be unfit to be invited at śrauddha 395–396; high ideal as to receiving gifts kept before, viz, that by frequent acceptance of gifts spiritual power acquired by learning is lost 116, 548–49; expiration prescribed by some texts for b. accepting gifts from kṣatriyas and men of other castes except in the case of distress 116; feeding of, as a substitute for expiation 128 list of apāñkteya brāhmanaś in Manusmṛti 392–394; not to accept gifts from kings that are parsimonious or act against śastra dictates 116; in distress allowed by Manu and Yāj. to take food from anyone, to accept a gift from anyone or teach anyone whatever 116; scrutiny of the learning and character of, recommended in case of rites to Gods and Manes, but not in making gifts 390; were not to sell certain things and animals such as sesame and oil of sesame, curds, salts, grapes, wine, cooked food &c. horses, bulls, elephants 116–117; who are apāñkteya brāhmanaś 391–392
Brahmasūtra, 9n
Brahmavaivartapuṇāṇa, 163, 413, 469, 583 n, 640
Branding, in case of the first four mahāpātakas resorted to only if the guilty person did not undergo prāyaścitta 72
Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad 12, 39, 53, 158, 165, 188, 189n, 335, 342n, 343, 344n, 449n, 543, 619
Bṛhad-devaśā 200n, 201n.
Bṛhad-Viśṇu, 79n, 80n, 132
Bṛhad-yāvaka, 146
Bṛhad-Yama, 78, 79 n, 81, 95, 98, 111n, 113, 123, 147, 294n, 392, 464n
Bṛhad-yogayātā, 376n
Bṛhan–Manu 282n, 285n
Bṛhan–nārada-puṇāṇa, see Nārada-puṇāṇa
Bṛhaspāti, one of the vedic gods 352
Bṛhaspāti, smṛti of 18n, 25, 52, 60, 61n, 67, 69, 74, 79, 82, 97, 99, 104, 106n, 111, 119, 225, 270, 285, 292, 310, 313, 323, 332n, 351, 367, 381, 399n, 404, 440n, 447n, 457n, 459, 469, 470, 473, 475, 480, 503n, 506n, 524n, 530, 535, 539n, 541n, 569n, 570, 668n; emphasized the importance of usages of countries 82; laid down the famous rule that no decision should be given based merely on the words of the śastra 67
Bṛhat–Parāśāra 286, 304, 364, 386, 392, 425 n, 473,
Bṛhat–sāma, 46n, 450
Bṛhat–sambhīṭā, 168
Bṛhat–Saunaka, 230
Budge, E. A. W. on Egyptian Heaven and Hell 170
Buddha, date of Nirvāṇa of 645; relics of, were divided into parts and distributed among Ajātāśāru, the Licchavis and others, who built stūpas over them 235
Buddhacarita of Āśvaghoṣa 621, 646
Buddhists, religious rites for the dead among ancient 234
Buddhism, principles of, were first proclaimed at Benares by Śākyamuni 618
Bühler, Dr. G., author of Kashmir Report 724
Burial, child when still-born or one that had not struck teeth was on death to be buried and not cremated
227; difference of view as to the age at which burial or cremation was to be resorted to in the case of a child on its death 227–228; of dead bodies not unknown in ancient India 232; procedure on b. of child 227–228; of yati 229–231; references to, in early Vedic Literature 232–233

Caine, W. S., author of 'Picturesque India' 692, 712n

Caitanya, great Vaiṣṇava saint, settled at Puri and lived there for 18 years till his death in 1533 A. D. 702; is said to have converted the Gajapati king Prataparudradeva to his new faith 702; visited Vṛndāvana 692; was worshipped along with Viṣṇu at Jagannātha, being described as nārabrahma while Jagannātha was said to be dārubrahma 702

Caitanyacandrodaya, a drama by Paramānandadāsa 692, 700–701, 702

Caitanyacaritāmṛta, a poem by Paramānandadāsa 692, 702

Caland, Dr., author of 'Altindischer Aḥnhencult' 57, 58 190, 231, 253n, 355, 435n, 439, 461n, 474

Cambridge History of India 619, 688

Candraśāla, sixteen castes were treated as, in matters of sight, touch, and speech 115

Cāndragāṇa, derivation of word c. 134; divided into mukhya and gāṇa 136; five varieties of 135–136; is the prāyaścitta for all lapses for which no specific penance is prescribed in smṛti 135; may be undergone not as penance, but also for accumulating merit 35; prescribed as expiation for drinking any of the twelve excretions of the body or any of the several kinds of madya 99; prescribed as expiation for dining at a śrāddha on the birth of a son or at a navaśrāddha 388; prescribed as expiation for incest in certain cases 103; prescribed as expiation for apātriṣaṇa and saṅkarikaraṇa acts 118; procedure of, described in Gautama and others 137–138; rules about the size of the morsels to be taken in 137; sacrificial food to be employed in 138; sāmāṇya c. described 136; tonsure necessary if c. undertaken as prāyaścitta 137; two varieties of 134–135

Caraka-samhitā 175

Carrel, Dr. Alexis, author of 'Journey to Lourdes' 561

Cārvāka, 34; views of the followers of 1n

Caste, exclusiveness declared that a deveja even of bad character is to be honoured and not a sūdra though of good character 85; excommunicated a sinner if he refused to perform prāyaścitta 76; one guilty of a sin or crime had to give in some cases a dinner to men of his c 76; persons of 16 castes were treated as cāndālas as regards sight, touch or speech 115

Caturboṭṭabha, mantras beginning with 'cittit śruk' 230, 254

Caturvargaśamānta, of Hemādri 314n, 582; vide under Hemādri

Caturviniśātmana, 59n, 81, 85, 125n, 128, 143, 262n, 313, 361, 372n, 519n, 520n

Chāgaleya, smṛti of 26, 64, 302, 525

Chandogaparīṣṭa, (same as Gobhila-smṛti) 269n

Chāndogya-panicāda, 8, 12, 20, 39, 42, 100, 158, 186–188, 232, 333, 449n, 613n, 681

Chapekar, Mr. N. G. 551

Chāṭopādhyāya, Prof. Kṣetreschandra 556n, 608n

Chaudhuri, Dr. J. B. 574n, 583

Childe, Prof. V. G., on disposal of corpses in Paleolithic, Neolithic and bronze ages 234n

Child, if dead, after upanayana, was to be cremated with ordinary fire and the procedure was same as for āhītāgni 228; before upanayana may de
as it pleases as regards behaviour, speech and eating 98; death of, before the appearance of teeth or before cūḍā entailed no āsauca except undergoing a bath 298–299; various views as to cremation or burial of a child according to age or the performance of cūḍākaraṇa or upanayana 227–228

Christ, gave model prayer to his disciples for daily bread, forgiveness of sins and deliverance from evil 38n

Christians, held fast by burial as the mode for the disposal of a dead body till end of 19th century relying upon literal interpretation of some Biblical passages and did not permit cremation 233; Roman Catholics allow only burial and no cremation even now 233; some early C. regarded dirt and absence of bath as one of the insignia of holy poverty 311

Cities, seven holy, enumerated as Ayodhyā, Mathurā &c. 501,678; some authorities include Kānti instead of Kānci among the seven holy cities 678n, 762

Citrangada, chief assistant of Yama 160; recommends to Yama the fate that the soul of a dead man deserves 160

Clothes, purification of 330–331; purification of c. extremely polluted 330; silken c. are always pure 330; white c. are not defiled by the touch of anybody 330;

Confession, as a means of removing the effects of sins 40–41; in Christianity 41

Conflict, in case of, among smṛtis and purāṇas one should follow the usage of one's country, Vedic śikhā or family 519

Conversion, see under śuddhi; to Hindu fold made by performing Vṛttyastoma in ancient times 118

Converts, re-admission of Hindus forcibly made converts by Mlecchas 117

Cooking food, for oneself only, condemned as an upapātaka 34

Corinthians 171

Corn, kinds of, recommended for use in śrāddha 413–414; cereals that were forbidden in śrāddha 414–415

Corporal punishment to be moderate 19


Coulton, G.G., author of 'Five centuries of religion' 52n

Country, extent of, varied from age to age 682n; what circumstances make one country distinct from another (deśāntara) 285–286

Cow, gift of, came to be the substitute for many expiations 127; gift of cow called Vaitaranī 545; gift of one cow in lieu of Prājapatya, of two cows for Sāntapana &c 128; gold or money as a substitute for gift of cows in prāyaścitta 127–128; legend about the reason why kapilā cow is the best 545; prices of, in medieval times in India 129; procedure of gift of a cow on 2nd day after āsauca ends 545

Cremation, see under 'efigy' 'death,' 'burial' 'fires,' 'dead bodies,' 'funeral rites,' 'sacrifice,' 'tonsure,' acc. to Brahmāpurāṇa great noise should be made with four kinds of musical instruments when taking a corpse for 217; at end of c. relatives take a bath, offer water to deceased and on entering house touch a stone, a bull, fire, cow dung, fried barley 210; bamboo staff with a bundle of grass at its top was carried to cremation ground acc. to Kāt. Śr. 205 n; bath for all relatives on mother's and father's side up to 7th degree (except for a child less than one year old) necessary on c. 211; brahmaśārīn was not to carry
the dead body of a person or relative except of his own parents or of guru or ācārya 214; brahmacārīn carrying dead body of a person other than that of a parent or guru had to undergo expiation for vratālopa 215; carrying the dead body of a brāhmaṇa who is poor and without relatives is highly extolled as equal to a sacrifice at each step 215; cow or goat was taken to c. ground with its left fore-foot tied with a rope, was killed and corpse covered with its body 206; corpse should be first bathed and then cremated but not naked 216; dead body was not to be carried through a village when being taken for c. 216; dead body was carried to c. ground in a cart drawn by oxen acc. to Atharvaveda or by men, acc. to Sat. Sr. 205n, 206, 212; duty to carry dead body is on the sapinda of the deceased 215; dvija not to carry the dead body of a śūdra 214; fuel for the pyre was not to be carried by śūdras if deceased was dvija but if so carried the pyre should be made by the castemen only 216; ground for c. to be open on all sides 205; how relatives are to act and show grief after c. 211; long list of persons who should not be cremated 223; Mitākṣara prescribes that if a brāhmaṇa carries a śūdra’s corpse the period of impurity for a brāhmaṇa is a month but if a śūdra has to carry the corpse of a brāhmaṇa the impurity is only for ten days 216; c. of bones of āhitāgni, if he died away from home 223; c. of effigy if a man gone to a distant land is unheard of for 12 or 15 years 225; c. of sacrificer with sacrificial implements is pratipattikarma of the implements 208n, 334n; parts of the body on which the several sacrificial implements are placed at time of c. 207–208; performer of c. rites had to undergo tonsure as an āṅga (ancillary part) 217; procedure of c. in modern times follows that in Āsv. gr and in Garuḍapuruṣa 212; procedure of, from Antyesṣi-paddhati, which is now followed by Rgvedins in Western India 212–214; procedure where a man returns alive after his effigy is cremated under the belief that he was dead 225; rites of, described frequently in Mahābhārata and sometimes in Rāmāyaṇa 223; rites of an effigy made with 360 palāśa leaves bound with yava flour and woollen thread, if even the bones of the deceased could not be found 224; Romans regarded c. as honourable way of the disposal of the dead body and reserved burial for murderers and those guilty of suicide 233; rules about periods of impurity on carrying dead body and staying with and eating the food of the family of the deceased 215–216; rules about impurity on carrying a dead body for a fee or from an interested motive 216; rules about selection of site for 204n, 205; rules about who were to carry the dead body to c. ground 214–215; rules for those who not being relatives carry a dead body to c. such as taking bath, touching and drinking ghee 215; sacrificial fires and vessels of āhitāgni are carried to c. ground 206–208; small pieces of gold or drops of clarified butter are cast on seven vital parts of the corpse 207n; special rules for c. of women dying in or immediately after childbirth or while in monthly illness 231; śūdras not to carry the dead body of a dvija if members of the deceased’s varna are available 214; to be carried out at a
sacred spot or at least after invo-
ing the presence of tirthas like the Ganges in the water to be used for washing dead body 217; tonsure necessary in, on first day of death and also after end of impurity acc. to Madanapārijāta, others holding that it depends upon the usage of each country 218; varying views about the distribution of leaves to represent different parts of the body when an effigy is cremated 224-225; weeping permitted when body is burning, but none after cremation is finished and water is offered 218; wife of deceased made to lie down on wood pile arranged on c. ground and then made to rise up 207; wife of śūtāgni dying before him had c. performed with his vedic fires and sacrificial implements 225
Cremation Act, passed in 1902 in England 233
Crusades, Gibbon’s cynical references to crusaders 532; launched to free holy land of Christians from the domination of Moslems 552
Cunningsham, General, on ‘Mahābodhi’ 643; on ‘Ancient Geography of India’ 683n, 696, 723; on ‘Bharhut stūpa’ 709
Cyavana, 18, 23, 80 n
Dadhikṛchra, described 140
Dakśinā, (fee or gift) to be given to brāhmaṇas at the end of all prāya-ścittas 121; to be given towards end of śrāddha rite 446, 451, 501
Dakśināgni, homa in several śrāddhas by Agnihotrins performed in 461-462
Dānas, see under ‘gifts’; in making dānas at death Kāmastuti is to be recited 184
Dānavākyāvali, of Queen Dhīramati 583n

Dāndakārya, 745; that part of it through which the Godāvari flows is most holy 708
Dāndaviveka, of Vardhamāna 71
Dandekar, Dr. R. N. 160n
Daradas, placed the bodies of dead relatives on trees 234
Darbhas, sprang from the hair and perspiration of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation 418
Dārapūrṇāmasa, sacrifice to be offered by him who desires heaven 168
Dāṣāgvas, a sub-division of piṭas called Angirases 192n; identified with seven sages 341
Daśāhotīraḥ, 230n
Datta, Dr. B. N. on ‘Vedic funeral customs and Indus Valley Culture’ 241
Day. divided into two, three or five or fifteen parts 376
Dāyabhāga, 22n, 366, 404, 483n, 510; theory of, about sapinda 510
Dāyatattva, 366n, 368n
De, Prof. S. K., author of ‘Vaishnava faith and movement in Bengal’ 692, 702, 718
Dead, bodies, disposal of, in ancient India had four stages, cremation, collecting charred bones and depositing underground in an urn, Śāntikarma, erection of a monument over the urn 255; embalming of, not unknown in ancient India 233; general rule in India of cremation of, from the times of the oldest literary monuments 232; methods of disposal differed at different times and among different peoples 231-232; preserved in caves, as in Rome 232n; cult of the dead, prominent feature in primitive societies 339
Death, see under ‘man’, ‘vratodā-
pana’, ‘soul’; attitudes towards d. by men 180; generally looked upon with awe and terror 179; causes of premature 180; in Uttarāyaṇa best 187; if date of death of a man dying in a distant land not known,
then certain titthis had to be accepted as the dates of his d., and śrāddha performed on those dates 306; indications of the immediate approach of 181; of son, pupil or wife due to corporal punishment no sin, when punishment moderate 19; man near death should be made to give gifts 182; rites after (see funeral rights); rites after first day of cremation and collection of bones begin in modern times on 10th day after d. 263; signs indicative of the approach of 181; sentence of death for theft, carried out by cāndālas 74; times when it is best to die 187–188; to whom d. is happy and easy 180; terror of death was due to several causes 179; three classes of rites after death, acc. to Viśnupurāṇa 261; various views even among those who say there is survival after d. 180; was presumed after a man was unheard of for 12 or 15 or 20 years and effigy was cremated and āṇuca observed 225,256; d while treating a brāhmaṇa or a cow medically does not amount to sin 109; worst indications of the approach of death are not being able to hear humming sound in the ear when closed with fingers and not being able to see the light in the eye 181

Debts, see ‘father’; one of the fundamental conceptions of the Hindu faith has been the idea of d. owed to sages. Gods and pītris 550; whoever took the estate of a man had to pay latter’s d. 570

Decalogue, 11n

Deceased, goat was carried along with the body of 196; parts of the body of, such as eye, breath were supposed to merge in the sun, wind 196; does not become free from condition of being a pṛeta till navaśrāddhas are performed 263; pīṇḍas offered for ten days after death built up a subtle body for the departed 263

Defamation, fines or punishment for, depended upon the caste of the offender as well as of the person defamed 81

Deśās, holy, are all mountains, all rivers, lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages, cowpens and temples 560

Devakṛṣṇa, 140-141

Devala, 11n, 24, 26, 29, 53, 55, 64, 70, 75, 77a, 78, 79a, 81n, 86, 90, 108, 115, 117, 119, 132n, 133, 138, 142, 143, 147, 149, 151, 181, 210, 215, 217n, 267, 276, 283, 284, 292, 295n, 298n, 314, 317, 318, 322, 327, 339, 352, 383n, 384n, 394n, 405, 415, 446n, 453n, 469, 478, 483, 484, 514, 535, 542n, 559, 584, 593n

Devapāla, commentator of Kāthaka-grhya (or Laugākṣigrhya) 53n, 140n, 358n, 359n,

Devāpi and Santanu were brothers and sons of king Kuru 681.

Devayājñika, commentator of Kātyāyana-ārautasūtra 219, 568,

Devayāna and pīṭṭāna paths 198; described in the Gītā 188; explanation of the word ‘light’, ‘day’ 188; of hoary antiquity 189n

Devi-Bhāgavata 712.

Devipurāṇa, 560n, 578n, 616n,

Dhāmas, four, viz. Badrīnāth, Jagannātha, Rāmeśvara and Dvārakā 678

Dey, Nandolal, author of ‘Geographical Dictionary of ancient and medieval India’ 678n, 691n, 723-724

Dhauada-krṣṇa 141

Dharma, body being the all-in-all (or only source) of d., should be saved by all efforts 127; is in its pristine glory in Kṛṣṇayuga and has four feet but loses one foot in each succeeding yuga 540n

Dharma-dvaita-nirṇaya 28n

Dharmapradipa 482

Dharmaśāstra writers, very fond of divisions, sub-divisions and classifications and elaborate rules on āṇuca,
General Index

Eclipse, eating during course of e. of
sun or moon forbidden, but that
applies only to the brahmana who
eats, but not to the giver of food,
who reaps good results thereby 375
Edgerton, Prof 182n
Effigy, burning of, when even bones of
a person could not be found 224–
225; burning of, recommended by
Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra as merito-
rious in the case of everyone and
was not restricted to cases where the
dead body was not found 225
Egyptians, ideas of, about Heaven and
Hell were similar to those of most
ancient and medieval Indians 170
Ekabhakta, an exp'ntion 132
Ekāṣṭakā, is the 8th titthi after full
moon of month of Māgha 353–54;
said to be the wife of the year
353–355
Ekata, story of 11
Ekodīṣṭa, (see 'navaśrāddha', 'nava-
miśra') 516–520; is śrāddha offered to
one deceased person alone whereas
in pārvaṇaśrāddha three paternal
ancestors are invoked 380, 516; is a
modification of pārvaṇaśrāddha 516;
place of performing (not in the
house) 520; points of difference
between pārvaṇaśrāddha and e 516–
517; suitable words have to be sub-
stituted in mantras 517; to be per-
dormed every month for a deceased
dvija till sapindikarana 517; three
kinds of, viz. nava, navamiśra and
purāṇa 517; what are E. śrāddhas
520
Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India'
631, 632, 692n, 699
Encyclopaedia, of Religion and Ethics
1
Enemies, of man, such as anger 9
Ephesians, 171
Epigraphia Carnatica, 572n
Epigraphia Indica, 52, 182n, 255, 572n,
380n, 634n, 636, 637, 639n, 685,
688, 689, 700, 709, 710n, 711

Drama, meaning of, in procedure
of building up of a sepulchral mound
acc. to Saṅyaṅśastra 252, 253–
255; now followed nowhere in India
254–255
Dhruva-śrāddha, 517
Diddā, cruel but energetic queen of
Kashmir 571
Dikshit, S. K. on 'Mother Goddesses'
529n
Dikshitā, Prof, V. R. Rangachandra,
author of 'Purāṇa Index' 726
Dipakalika, commentary on Yāj, 18n,
96n, 105n, 134n, 142n, 163, 221n,
227n, 314n, 324n, 334n, 377n, 422n,
517n
Diseases, evil, were said to be eight
394n; no complete agreement among
smṛtis as to what sins lead to which
diseases 175; particular diseases
removed by particular gifts 178;
procedure of driving out disease by
means of images of the sun and of the
disease and offering worship to the
images 178; were believed by ancient
Indians and other peoples to be the
consequences of sins 174–175
Divākara, a. of Prāyaścittamuktāvali 15
Divodāsa and Indra in the Rgveda 619;
founded Vārāṇasi on the northern
bank of Gomati 620; ruler of Kāśī 620;
great-grandson of Dhanvantari
king of Kāśī 620
Divodāṣya, 548n
Divyāvadāna, 235n
Doctor, incurred no sin when patient
died, though proper treatment
given 19
Drōṇa, a measure of capacity, gene-
really held equal to four āṅghakas 330n
Dvita, (see Ekata) 11

307–308
Dharmasindhu, 219, 230, 258n, 259,
263, 275, 276, 282, 283, 284, 286,
287n, 288, 292n, 294, 298, 300, 305,
319, 533n, 711n
Dhanuṣya 388, 473

IV
Eshchatology, meaning of 179; subject of, is what happens to a man after bodily death 179; two aspects of, destiny of individual after death and the ultimate end of all things 179

Eween, J. author of 'Benares, a handbook for visitors' 618

Excommunication (Ghaṭasphoṭa), process of 105

Expiation, for acts said to be equal to mahāpātakas is half of that for the latter 29-30

Fa Hien, Chinese Traveller (399-413 A.D.) 235a, 650.

Fast, vide 'upavāsa'; all religions (except Zoroastrianism) emphasize as a discipline the necessity of 54: f. for a day is the penance for omitting rites ordained by Veda or for neglecting duties of a snātaka 53; Gantama includes f. under tapas 52; Mlecchas even think highly of f., according to Mahābhārata 51; observer of, had to give up certain actions such as chewing tāmbūla 53; Śāntiparva says that merely emaciating body by f. is not tapas 54

Father, debts of, should be paid acc. to Yāj. by the sons or grandsons, even when they receive no ancestral property, but the great-grandson need not pay even the principal if he has received no ancestral property 366-367

Fergusson and Burgess, authors of 'Cave temples of India', 678n

Fete, disposal by king of, imposed and recovered from one guilty of mortal sins 71

Fires, disposal of, in the case of an āhitāgni, if he became patita or committed suicide in one of various ways 227; employed in the cremation of a widow, a widow, brahmācārin, unmarried girl, a boy whose upanayana was not performed or an ascetic 226; five fires are Ĝārhapatya, Āhavaniya, Daksināgni, Āvasathya (or Aupāsana) and Sabhya.

Fire-temple, called Jvālājī near Baku 118

Fleet, Dr. 235n, 634n, 706

Flesh-eating, at ārāddhas by brāhmaṇas 424; Mitākṣarā and Kalpataru written about 1100-1120 A.D. do not expressly say that flesh-eating is forbidden in the Kali age 424; Vasiṣṭha and Manu appear to be in two minds about 425

Food, cooked along with hair or insects (like ants) or that is polluted by contact with a woman in monthly illness should not be partaken of but if food already cooked is polluted then it should be used after purifying it with ashes, water and the like 329

Food, cooked in marriages, festivals in honour of a deity or in a sacrifice may be served through others, if an āśaṅga on birth or death intervenes 291; exceptions to prohibition about food 100; gift of cooked f. highly eulogised 534n; offered as sacrifice to gods and manes must be given only to a brāhmaṇa who has studied the veda and what is presented to most worthy brāhmaṇas brings greatest reward 386; one requiring inner purity should avoid forbidden f. or vomit it if he takes it through ignorance and take same prāyaścittā 100; purification of polluted cooked f. 328-329; rules about f. in expiations 124; rules about, for relatives after the performance of funeral rites for three days and twelve days 238-239; seen by dogs, cāndālas, those guilty of mahāpātakas and a woman in her monthly illness or by a sonless woman or by one suffering from white leprosy becomes unclean 379-380; unclean food even may be taken in case of distress or danger to life 100; wealthy men should not throw away polluted f. if it is more than a
droṇa in quantity and poor men should not throw away more than an ādhāka 330
Force, enjoyment or gift of property or a transaction bought about by, is void 118
Forest, a large f. is invoked as a deity in Rigveda 561; seven holy forests of Kurukṣetra 561
Francis of Assisi, saint, considered dirt as one of the signs of holy poverty 311
Fraud, consequences of, are the same as those of force in cases of gifts and other transactions 118
Fravāšis of Parsi scriptures, see under pîrs 341n
Funeral monuments; erection of a laṣṭi (a staff) in the Andhau Inscription of the time of Rudradāman (2nd century A. D.) 255; planting of a puṣkaraka tree on the site of cremation or building of an edukha 255
Funeral rites, see under ‘Agnihotrin’, ‘cremation’, ‘child’, ‘deceased’, ‘mantras’, ‘sāti’, ‘water’; animal in, may be killed or donated or let off acc. to Āśvalayana-ğṛhya 109n; are same for all whose upanayana has been performed except that āhitāgni is cremated with the three Vedic fires, except that one who has smārta fire only is cremated with that fire and one who has neither of these with ordinary fire 210; couch on which corpse was carried was to be of udumbara wood 204, 205n; description of death and funeral rites of Gautama Buddha 234–235; differ in each Vedic Śākhā, though certain matters are common to all 190; earthenware vessel filled with water continuously and cooked rice at mid-day to be offered for the deceased’s benefit 219; etreal body was supposed to be built up by the pîndas offered to the deceased for ten days after death 221; for an āhitāgni in general 204–208; for one who had undergone consecration for a soma sacrifice or sattrā, acc. to śārāṇa śūtras 202–204; for ten days after death, a handful of water mixed with sesame was to be offered to deceased on the stone called āsā placed on kuśas and one large pînda also on kuśas every day 262; for Yāti 229–231; funeral pyre is to be made of the wood of sacrificial trees 211; great importance attached to the incident of a crow seizing or eating the pînda offered on the 10th day after death 264; king to arrange for funeral rites of the deceased in the absence of all relatives 256–257; lamp fed with sesame oil to be kept burning for ten days after death 219; milk and water to be placed in space for ten nights after death for reducing torments of thirst to the spirit of the deceased 340; no funeral rites for those who start in anger on the Great Journey (to the Himālayas) or who commit suicide in one of various ways 222–223; order of persons who are adhikārins for performing f. r. is generally the same as the adhikārins for śāddha, but varies in different works 256–260; person who begins the funeral rites on the first day has to carry them on till the 10th day even if a nearer relative becomes available after the former has begun 221; pîndas to be offered to deceased on day of cremation and for ten days more in addition by the son or nearest sapinda 219–221; procedure of, according to Āsv. gr. 208–210; procedure of, became more elaborate in medieval and later times 190; procedure of offering water to deceased after cremation 218–219; procedure of what to do after returning to the house on cremation 237; procedure for ten days after death 262; procedure on 10th day after death 263–264; procession of relatives returning after
cremation arranged according to age, the elder coming first 199a; relatives after performing f. r. should touch dūrā tendrils, fire and bull and should offer a pinda to the departed 237; relatives should, for one day after rites on death, purchase or obtain food from another (house) of one kind only and without salt 238; rules of conduct to be observed by relatives (male and female) after they return from cremation and for three days after 238-239; slaves and attendants were buried with the corpses of the master in Babylon and Celtic Britain but no such practice mentioned even in early Vedic literature 256; some persons, such as the impotent, thieves of gold, women that kill their foetus or husbands, or drink surā were forbidden to offer water to deceased relations 222; some works allow a man to perform his own antyesṭi, while living 261; the mantra 'āsmāt-tvam' is not to be repeated in f. r. when deceased had not kept śrauta fires 210-211; toes and thumbs of the corpse were tied with a white thread or the fringe of a garment in, 204; throwing of āsmā into water after anointing it with oil 264; urn containing bones was supported by wooden post 201n; varied acc. to the śrauta or grhya sūtra, or acc. as the deceased was an āhitāgni or not, or acc. as the deceased was a woman or child or an ascetic or died in a distant land or by accident or committed suicide 190; verses of Rgveda X. 14-18 were employed by most of the sūtras, are used even now in cremation rites and occur in other Vedic sambhitā 191; views differ as to the stoppage of certain actions for ten or twelve days after death by relatives 239-240; what fire cannot be used in f. r 210; what the relatives and those who carried the corpse though no relatives were to do on day of cremation and one day thereafter 238; what is stopped for ten days after death is performance of kāmya rites, giving and accepting gifts, homa and vedic study, but nitya and naimittika acts to be performed in vedic and śārta fires are to be performed through another 239; women could, in default of son or male sapiṇḍas of the deceased, perform f. r of their husbands or father, father-in-law, brother but without vedic mantras, acc. to some 256-257, 259; words of condolence and comfort were to be addressed to the relatives of the deceased according to several works, after they have offered water, expiating on the grip of Kāla on everything, on the certainty of death for every one born, on dharma alone following the soul in its wanderings and on the futility of mere lamentations 236-37

Fuhrer, Dr. 297a
Gadādhara on Śrāddhasūtra 507a
 Gadre, Mr. N K., author of a Marathi work 799a
Gāhādvāla Inscriptions 572n, 636-37, 596-98
Gajacchāyā 171n, 532
Gāṅgārī, view of, on śrāddha 511
Gaṇaboma, 43n, 44
Gaṇesā is called Dbhūndhi at Kāli and derivation of the word 638
Gaṅgā (Ganges) 585-596; G. and Kurukṣetra were the most sacred spots acc. to Manu 587; as long as a particle of the bones of a man lies inside the G. so long does the man remain happy in heaven 586; casting of the ashes of a cremated person in the Ganges 594-595; countries, hermitages, mountains through which G. flows are pre-eminent in purity 586; defining the extent of the kṣetra of G, the śīrā (bank) and the gārī 589-90; derivation of word
"Gaṅgā" 589; eulogy of, in Viśnupurāṇa 587–588; four different streams of G. in four directions 587; grand eulogy of, in Vanaparva chap. 85 verses 86–97, 586; G. does not forsake even the most sinful or wicked man 589; G. is equal to all the 35 millions of holy places declared by Vāyu, says Kūrma 588; G. water and residence thereof are said to be superior to Vedic sacrifices, tāpas, and yoga, since they yield heaven and mokṣa 588; G. represents Viśṇa who represents all gods 589; God Nārāyaṇa is the owner of the strip of land within four cubits from the flowing water of G. 590; interpretation of the story of Gayāsura by Mitra, O'Malley and Barua 359-360; invocation of the clay in the bed of G. 591–592; kṣetra extends to two kroásas on each bank of G. 590; mantras to be recited at the time of a bath in the Ganges 594; mūlamantra about G. 589; names of the seven streams of the G. 587; no tonsure on, according to Vācaspatimiśra 575; on G. all times are auspicious and all men are fit for receiving gifts 559; one thousand names of, in Skanda-purāṇa, Kāśikhaṇḍa, chap. 29, 565; procedure of a bath in the G. prescribed by Matsyapurāṇa chapter 102 for all vāṇas and all students of the several vedas, 591–594; Purāṇas contain hundreds of verses eulogising the sanctifying activity and greatness of, 585; Purāṇas say that G. springs from toe-nail of Viṣṇu and that Śiva let it off from his matted hair in seven streams 587; residence on the bank itself of G. is not desired 590; sāṅkalpa to be made at time of bathing in G. 590n; some purāṇas say that the G. is easy of access everywhere except at three places viz. Gaṅgādvāra, Prayāga and where it joins the sea 588; special merit accumulated by bath in the Ganges on certain days 596; supposed to flow in heaven as Mandakini, on the earth as Ganges and in Pāṭlā as Bhogavatī 587; tarpāṇa on G. after one bathes with water for the gratification of the three worlds 592; waters of, burn all bad deeds 586; waters of, are white, while those of Yamūnā are dark 596n; Gaṅga kings of Orissa built magnificent temples at Bhubanesvara, Kōṇārka and Purī 699; Gaṅga-bhaktītaraṅgini of Gaṇapati 576n, 586, 587n, 588n, 592n; Gaṅgārtiṣyaviveka of Vardhamāna 585; Gaṅgapattalaka of Gaṇesvara 586; Gaṅgāvyāvali of Viśvāsadevi, queen of king Padmāśīna of Mithilā 586; 587n, 588n, 574n, 576n, 577n, 590n, 591, 595n, 601, 609, 615n, 616n; said to have been really composed by Vidyāpati in honour of his patroness 583n; Garga 398n; Gārgya 373; Gaṇḍapuraṇa 53, 166, 168, 174, 182n, 184n, 212, 216, 218, 219, 221, 224, 225, 231, 236–38, 240, 262n, 263, 265n, 266n, 268; 302n, 304, 338n, 401, 418, 419, 440n, 445, 448, 458n, 483, 488n (verse 'apavitraḥ pavitra vā), 517, 578, 520–22, 523n, 524n, 535, 536n, 541, 547n, 577n, 579, 580n, 588, 649, 651 (same verses as in Vāyu 110. 34–60), 663n, 666n, 668n, 669n, 678n; Gāthās sung by pīṭras 653; Gautama, views of, on ārddha, 354, 511; Gautama, Dharmaśūtra of, 9, 14, 16n, 19, 21, 23–25, 30–32, 35, 39–42, 45, 49–52, 59n, 61, 62n, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 82, 84, 88, 89, 91, 93–97, 98, 99, 103, 107, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 119, 122, 125, 130, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138n, 150, 161, 211, 215, 218, 222, 223, 238, 240, 246n, 256, 261, 268–71, 277, 280, 292,
Gautama-Sūta 174, 175

Gavyūṭi is equal to two kroṣas 186n

GAYA, pp. 643–679; see under GAYA-
śiras, Viṣṇupada, Akṣayavaṭa at
661n; Akṣayavaṭa śrāddha at G. and
honouring GAYA brāhmaṇas esta-
blished by Brahma 666, 676;
sages did not prohibit kṣautra
even at GAYA but only mun-
dana 575; all sins are destroyed
by performance of śrāddha at GAYA
654; ancestors to whom śrāddha is
offered at G. are either six, nine, or
twelve 669; Anuśasanaparva mentions
three spots in GAYA that are not
mentioned in Vanaparva chap 84,
649; ascetic has to offer no śrāddha,
but should put down his staff on
Viṣṇupada 655; bath of GADĀDHARA
with pañcāṁśta explained 664; bath-
ing of GADĀDHARA with pañcāṁśta
is obligatory in Pañcatirīthi rites
and the rest may be done according
to one’s ability 675; Brahma, it is
stated by VAYUPURĪNA and AGNI,
bestowed upon G. brāhmaṇas 55
villages, GAYĀṬIRTHA, well-appointed
houses etc., but he enjoined on
them not to beg or accept gifts from
others, but they being greedy
officiated at a sacrifice of Dharma
and begged of him fees wherupon
Brahma cursed them and deprived
them of everything and when they
bewailed he pitied them and told
them to maintain themselves at
GAYĀṬIRTHA 55, 579, 657; by perform-
ing śrāddha and offering pīṇḍas on
Viṣṇupada pilgrim saves one
thousand families and takes them
and himself to the world of Viṣṇu
665; comprehended, when Buddhism
waned, all the tract from PRETAŚIṣṭA
to Mahābodhi tree 650; conduct of
modern GAYA brāhmaṇas 405; descrip-
tion of rites performed for seven
days after entering GAYA 662–668;
DHĀMINIS are a special but lower
class of priests at 668; Dharmaṇya
was founded by ASĪRATARAYAS, says
RĀMAṆA 653n; enumeration of the
principal holy rivers, peaks and
hills, bathing places, sacred sites
and trees in G. 660–664; expenses
on GAYĀŚRĀDDHA to be on a profuse
scale 404–405; full pilgrimage at
GAYA lasts for seven days 662;
GADĀLOLA, why so called, 665n;
GADĀLOLA, ŚRĀDDHA at 676; GAYA is
not a demon in RVVEDA 59n; G.
named after king GAYA who is
mentioned in even Buddhist
and Jaina works 646; GAYA-
KSETRA has an extent of five kroṣas
and GAYAŚIRAS of one kroṣa 655,
677; GAYAŚIRAS is the centre of
GAYA, the most holy spot and smaller
than GAYA 665n, 677; GAYAŚIRAS
and GAYA were well-known places in
Buddha’s days 668, 677; GAYAYAṬRĀ
described in VĀyu 110, 661–662;
GAYAS or GAYĀWALS are priests who
make profit from GAYA pilgrimage
their business 580; great divergence
of views as to the ancestors to whom
ŚRĀDDHA is to be offered at GAYA
668–669; if one out of many sons
goes to G. and performs ŚRĀDDHA,
the pīṭa secure mukti 539; great
divergence of views among modern
scholars about the antiquity of the
GAYAMĀHĀṬHYA 644; hill called
MUṆḍAPRAṬHA 658; if pilgrim unable
to perform all details of GAYA-
ŚRĀDDHA at PHALGU, PRETAŚIṣṭA
and other spots he may offer only pīṇḍas
671, 673; in whose soever name a
pīṇḍa is offered at GAYA that person
if in hell goes to heaven and if in
heaven secures release from sam-
sūra 665, 670; is spoken of aś
pitṛtīrtha 654; king Gaya, son of Amūrtarayas, performed a sacrifice in which food and fees were distributed in plenty 653; Krauśicapāta is the hill Mundāyapūta 665; literature on the History and Antiquities of 643; Mahābodhi tree, verses addressed to 664, 667; mahānādi in Vāyupurāṇa on Gaya generally means Phalgu 676; māhātya of G. in Vāyupurāṇa is a patchwork made between 7th and 10th centuries 951-952; mango tree at G, famous verse about 661n; mātṛgodaśi described by Raghunandana with 16 mantras which do not occur in Vāyu 677; most important work on G. relied upon in medieval digests is the Gaya-māhātya i.e. Vāyupurāṇa chapters 105-112, 644; not a spot in G. that is not a tīrtha 656; numerous sub-tīrthas of G. are mentioned in Vanaparva chapters 77 and 82; occupies a unique place in the hearts of all pious Hindus even now 643; on entering G pilgrim bathes in Phalgu river, performs tarpāṇa and śrāddha and on same day performs śrāddha on Preta-śilā and offers pīṇas whereby the persons for whom this is done become free from the position of preta 662-663; one may offer pīṇa to oneself but without sesame 670; one may offer to pīṭas at G pīṇas of pāyasa, boiled rice, barley flour, fruits, roots, sesame Cake, jaggery or honey 653; order in which several tīrthas at G. are to be visited 662n; pādas (stone slabs with foot-prints thereon) at G. and śrāddhas at them 661n, 676; pāṇcātirī̄ṇ (five tīrthas) of Gaya and rites there 663n, 675; passed through several vicissitudes 650; pilgrim should gratify the Gaya brāhmaṇas 656; Pretaśilā adjoins the west bank of Phalgu river and is to the north of Gaya 671; procedure of offering a pīṇa to oneself while living 670; procedure of śrāddha, acc. to Vāyupurāṇa 653-656; procedure of Gaya śrāddha, acc. to Raghunandana 671-677; Rāmatīrtha (i.e. Prabhāsahara), bath, śrāddha and pīṇas at, free pīṭhas of pilgrim from condition of being preta 674; references to Gaya from Rgveda downwards 645-647; rites from the first to the seventh day of entering Gaya described 672-676; river Vaitarani in G, 656; rules of conduct to be observed while one is in Gaya 655-656; Samārohaṇa, meaning of, in Aurnavabha’s explanation of the three padas of Viṣṇu 647; saṅkalpa acc. to Raghunandana, before a bath in Phalgu 671n; seven gotras to whom śrāddha may be offered at G. 662; six Gayaś that confer mukti by worship and pīṇadāna at them, enumerated 667; size of pīṇas to be offered at Gaya-śrāddha 662; Śoḍaśikarma at G. described 672-673; special characteristics of śrāddhas at G. 669-670; śrāddha may be performed at G. at all times, even in an intercalary month, even when Jupiter and Venus are invisible 370, 655; śrāddha at G is made without arghya and āvāhana 661; śrāddha at Pretaśilā is the first and that at Aṣayaśava is the last and the rest of the śrāddhas should be performed in the order set out in Vāyupurāṇa or, if one does not know it, in any order 666; story of Gayāsura 656-657; story of the mace manufactured from the bones of an asura called Gada 660; story of Śilā, that was placed on the head of Gayāsura 657-658; story of Viṣāla, a sonless king and of a person who offered one-sixth of his property to a trader and who was saved from remaining preta 666; tapaṇa of ancestors at G. 671n; tax was levied on Kashmirians performing śrāddha at Gaya 571;
unmanifest forms (such as bills like Prabhâsa) and manifest forms (such as image of Adi-Gadadhara) of Viṣṇu 660-661; though there are numerous tirthbas at Gayā, visit to three alone is absolutely necessary viz. to Phalguna river, Viṣṇupada and Akṣaya-vaṭa 666; Uttaramānasas tank 650-651, 653; Vedīs, at which the leisureed pilgrim may offer pīṇḍas in G. are forty-five 667; very sublime formula repeated at the time of offering pīṇḍa and water at, 550; Viṣṇupada is Adi-Gadadhara himself 665; Viṣṇupada is deemed to be the foot-print of God Viṣṇu 667; was named according to Agni and Vāyu after Gayā who performed a sacrifice there 654; was all emptiness and desolation in Fa Hien’s time, while in Hiuen Thsang’s time it was a flourishing town with 1000 brāhmaṇa families 650; why Hari is Adi-Gadadhara at G. 657, 660; works dealing with procedure of śraddha at G. 670-671; Yājñavalkya says that whatever a man gives in Gayā leads to inexhaustible rewards 653

Gayās or Gayāvals are notorious for their indolence, ignorance and are a dying race 644; function of, at Akṣaya-vaṭa in Gayā 580, 668; have become a guild or close corporation and resent the intrusion of a stranger 580; have got books in which they enter the names and addresses of pilgrims who are asked to sign themselves and recommend to their descendants to honour them when the descendants might come to Gayā 581; Nārāyanabhaṭṭa limited the injunction about honouring Gayāvals alone to śraddha at Akṣaya-vaṭa 670; pilgrims to Gayā must honour Gayās alone and not other brāhmaṇas however learned they may be 670; profess the Vaiṣṇava faith established by Madhvā 644; referred to in a copperplate grant of Lakṣmaṇasena in 1183 A. D. 580; strange practice among them of adopting the same person in several families at the same time and yet allowing the son so adopted to retain his rights in the family of birth 580-581; the number of, is being gradually reduced 581

Gayāśiras, extent of, according to Nārada-purāṇa 647; is the Brahmayoni hill according to some modern scholars, while Dr. Mitra holds it is not 646n; named in the Vanaprava, in several Purāṇas and in ancient Buddhist works such as the Mahāvagga 646

Gayāśraddhapaddhati of Raghunandana 583

Gayāśraddhapaddhati of Raghunātha 671

Gayāśraddhapaddhati of Vācaspati 670

Gāyatri, inaudible japa of, highly eulogised 47; repeating of, as secret expiation for sins 126-127; repeating of, in śraddhas 507, 543; to be recited while performing expiation 120

Ghaṭājātaka 668

Ghosānti 178

Ghose, Dr. J.C. on ‘Antiquity of Gayā’, criticized 643

Gibbon, author of ‘Decline and fall of the Roman Empire’ 129n, 552

Gifts, see ‘dakṣinā’, ‘food’; acceptance of gifts from kings is terrible in its consequences 549; as removers of the consequences of sins 51-52; one or more of ten g. should be made by a dying man 182; of gold, cow, clothes, horse, land, clarified butter and food destroy sin 51; of all wealth or of a large portion as expiation of brāhmaṇa murder 92

Goat was carried with the dead body 196n

Gobhilagryha, 53, 64, 346, 354, 348n, 355, 358, 417, 525, 526
Gobhila-smṛti (often cited as Chandogapariśṭha of Kātyāyana) 149n, 182, 207n, 218n, 223, 224, 225, 226, 237, 239n, 240, 269, 297, 321, 355, 356, 361, 417, 418, 440n, 441n, 443n, 455n, 464n, 473, 475n, 476, 477, 480, 482, 487n, 513, 517n, 518, 521, 524, 529, 537; quotes some verses of Yājñavalkyasmṛti and a verse from Mahābhārata 237

Godāvari (or Gautami) 707–711; see ‘Dandakāranya’; bath in G. when Jupiter enters Leo highly regarded even up to the present day 711; Brahmapurāṇa, chapters 70–175 laud Godāvari and about 100 sub-tirthas at great length 707–708; Ganges is called Gautami in the south and Bhāgirathī in the north 707; Gautama brought Ganges from Śiva’s matted hair to Brahmagiri where he had his hermitage 708; G. is said to be 200 yojanas long and to have 35 millions of tirthas on it 707–708; G. is pre-eminently a place for performing śrāddha 708; holiest spot in Nasik is Rāmakunḍa 710; Gavardhana (6 miles to west of Nasik), history of 710; Nasik on G., history of, from 200 B.C. 709; Pañcavaṭion G.709–710; referred to generally as Gautami in the Brahmapurāṇa 707; story of Bāvari who resided on the Godāvari and sent several disciples to Buddha, acc. to Suttanipāta 707; Tryambakesvara is the hill on which Gautama had his hermitage 708; two epics and purāṇas contain numerous references to it 707; Vana- parva speaks of it as a holy river in the south 707; verse occurring in several purāṇas says that G. is on the Sahya mountain and the country through which G. flows is the most charming in the world 708

Gods, see under pitṛs; Gods like Mitra and Varuṇa are implored to confer immortality 156; of Vedic pantheon described as guardians and promoters of rta 3; distinction drawn in Sat. Br. about what is done for g. and for pitṛs 249n

Gomatividyā, an expiation for gavadhā, 108–109

Gomūtrakṛṣṇa 134

Gopalan R, author of ‘History of the Pallavas of Kāṇci’ 712

Gopatha-brāhmaṇa 618

Gosava. a strange Vedic rite 62n, 434; deemed by Vasiṣṭha to be a destroyer of sin 62n

Goṣṭhiśrāddha 381–382

Govadha is at the head of all upapātakas 107; different pṛayaścittas for, in different smṛtis 107–109; expiation for, is same as one for killing a vaisya or śūdra 107; four expiations prescribed for by Yaj 107; was no sin, if a cow or bull died while being medically treated 109

Govindacandra, emperor of Kanoj 634n, 636, 637, 639

Govindānanda, commentator of Pṛayaścittaviveka 39n, 86n, 88, 92, 222n, 265

Govindarāja, a commentator of Manu-smṛti 481

Govrata, as pṛayaścitta 134

Grants, Brhaspati’s rules about g. of land 52; of land and villages state that they are made for the increase of the merit of donor and his parents 52

Graves, or sepulchral mounds 245–250; at Lauriya Nandangarh resemble in many respects the mounds described in Śrauta-sūtras 254; cloths or baked bricks were employed in building mounds over charred bones of deceased persons 254; difference between g. of godly people and of asuras 247–248; ground of, should not be visible from the village 248; height of, depended on the varṇa of persons whose ashes were to be buried 230; pegs of different kinds of trees are fixed in different directions
of these 250; performer of rites about graves return to their houses holding the tail of an ox 250; placing of bricks silently without mantras 249–250; procedure of the erection of a mound with dhavana and without dhavana including dialogue, dancing and singing acc. to Sat. śrama 251–252; procedure for making sepulchral mounds for those who had performed ṣngieyamana 248–251; proper time for making 247–248; shape of, should be four-cornered and not round (which is practised by Asuras and Eastern people) 247–248; not too large, but broader behind and on north side 248; should not be erected near certain plants and trees 248; size of, should be just the size of the man whose bones were to be deposited 248; size of mounds differed among ‘devadarsins’ and Šaunakins 253; various measurements in the sūtras provided for constructing a mound over the charred bones deposited in a pit 253; verses were recited while piling up layers of clay or bricks, which refer to pillars and posts 254; were in ancient India generally quadrangular, but sometimes also round 254

Greece, some ancient writers in, held theory of transmigration of souls 180

Grskhastharatunākara 25n, 48n, 226n

Grhyāgnisāgara, of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa Ārde 360n

Grhyā–kārikās 286

Grhyā–pariśiṣṭa 219, 221, 516

Gowse, F. S. on ‘Mathurā’ 688, 692

Guild, brähmana who is a member of a g. or who officiates at a sacrifice on behalf of g. is unfit to be invited at a śrādha 393, 394

Guṇas, in Śāṅkhya philosophy 9

Gupta inscriptions 16n, 605n, 634n, 646n, 712

Guru, eleven males so called 24; meaning of 24

Gurvaṅgaṅgama, (sexual intercourse with guru’s wife), see under ‘incest’; a māhāpataka 23–25, 103; prāyaścitta for 103–104; sexual intercourse with maiden of higher varṇa, with friend’s wife, sister, son’s or sagotra’s wife or with antyaja woman equal to g. 103

Hades, the Greek word for Hebrew Sheol 170

Haj and Haji 552n

Halāyudha, commentator of Śraddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana, 443n, 450n, 455n, 470n, 484n, 516n

Hall, Dr. Fitz–Edward 623n

Harcaritacintāmani, 724

Haradatta, 11n, 46n, 49n, 50n, 53, 59n, 62n, 64n, 71, 79n, 90, 93n, 96, 108n, 11n, 114n, 124, 126, 130, 135, 136, 138n, 144n, 149n, 150, 161n, 218, 222n, 223, 236, 271, 275n, 278n, 289, 292, 293n, 301, 305n, 335n, 349, 353, 360n, 384, 392n, 394n, 397n, 402n, 404, 406, 410n, 437n, 444, 482

Hāralāti, 215, 216, 221n, 222n, 234, 240, 241n, 267n, 269n, 270n, 271, 273, 274n, 276n, 288, 291n, 293n, 296n, 297n, 298n, 299, 300, 305n, 306, 307, 310, 315n

Haraprasad, Shastri, M. M. 458, 542n, 572n, 697n

Harihara, commentator of Aśvagocadaka, ms of which are dated 1482-83 and 1522-23 A.D., 273, 460

Hariqi, verses from Atharvaveda 242


Hārīta-saṅhittā (on medicine) 176

Harivarāma 117, 350, 445n, 620, 690

Harṣacarita, 371n

Harshē, Dr. R. G. 181

Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics by, 1

Havell, E. B., author of ‘Benares, the sacred city,’ 618n, 631, 632n

Havēya, food, what is 149n, 412, 414n
Hayāṣira-pāñcarātra, 319n

Heaven, see under ‘Hell’, ‘karma’, ‘Yama’, ‘worlds’, ‘svarga’; ancient machinery of Heaven and Hell has largely failed to keep people moral in these days 172n; calculating and bargaining spirit of smṛtis and purāṇas about actions that lead to, 166; descriptions of the pleasures of, 165-166; glowing descriptions of, in Mahābhārata and purāṇas 165; generous donor or worshipper goes to it and mixes among gods 156; history of idea of 154-158; idea that h. is a place or state of eternal bliss to which the spirits of the religious or of warriors go is common to many ancient peoples 158; idea of heaven in post-vedic literature 161-164; in heaven, acc. to Atharvaveda, there are beevies of women, ponds of ghee, streams of milk and honey, wine flows like water and there is no disease 157; is devoid of fear or old age, or hunger or thirst or sorrow acc. to Upaniṣads 158; is placed in the north by Śāntiparva, in which there is no hunger or thirst or old age or sin 166; life in h. is said in Rgveda to be full of joys and delights 156; pious dead become united in h. with their īṣṭāśīrā and their forefathers 156; theory of, came to be modified by the doctrine of karma and punarjanma 158; said to be the abode of Yama in the Rgveda and full of music and song 156; theory that pleasures of h. have a time limit 167; three heavens mentioned in Rgveda 156; warriors killed in battle were supposed even in the Rgveda and generally in the Citā and later to ascend to h. and there had the society of beautiful damsels 158

Hell, see ‘Naraka’, ‘Yama’ and ‘Citragupta’; Buddhists took over the idea of hell 164; h. called pūt 161; clear references in Atharvaveda to, 155; description of the torments of 167-168; different views about whether it is a place 161; different numbers of hells 162-164; eighteen evil actions which lead to h. 173; four hells named in Taittiriya Āraṇyaka 155; is a man’s lot when he transgresses his dharma 162; names of hells 162-163; no clear or express references in Rgveda to h. 154; in Jain literature 163; land of everlasting fire for the devil and his myrmidons 170; no mention of tortures of hell in Rgveda 155; periods for which several sinners undergo torments of 164; Quranic ideas of 171n; seven hells, acc. to Vedāntasūtra and Viṣṇupurāṇa 162; some Purāṇas state that the number of hells is crores 164; twenty-one hells mentioned by several works 162; torments in, described 167-168; task before modern Indian leaders is how to build up virtues of tolerance and respect for life apart from ideas of heaven and hell 172

Hemādri 59, 77, 115, 147, 148, 151, 304, 309n, 343, 351n, 352n, 361n, 376, 378n, 385, 386, 388, 389, 390n, 392n, 394n, 395n, 396, 397, 398n, 399n, 400n, 403n, 407n, 408, 409, 411, 413, 414n, 415n, 416, 418n, 422n, 424, 433n, 441n, 442n, 444n, 445, 449n, 450n, 453, 455n, 457, 458, 459n, 460, 463, 466, 467n, 468, 471, 472n, 475, 476, 477n, 479, 480n, 481n, 482, 484, 507n, 508n, 513n, 514, 523n, 528, 530n, 536, 542, 545, 582n, 669, 717

Hemaśraddha (śraddha with gold i. e. money) 515; if the person who has to perform a śraddha cannot offer even āmaśraddha, he should perform h. 515; occasions when it is allowed 515

Herodotus 180

Hibbert Journal, 1n, 8n
Himālaya, all parts of, said to be holy in the Purāṇas 560; mentioned in the Atharvaveda 559; spoken of as "devatātmā" by Kālidāsa 560; vide list of tirthas

Hinduism, spread of, in Java, Bali and other countries of south-east Asia 118

Hiouen Thsaang 608, 629, 631, 683, 688, 711, 766

Hiranyakāsī-grhya-sūtra 58, 353, 354, 355, 361, 384, 385, 439, 471, 474, 559, 619

Hiranyakāsā-pitr-medha-sūtra 185


Holy cities, seven enumerated 678

Holy places, what are 55n, 555

Homa, as a means of removing consequences of sins 43–44; could be performed in ordinary fire 78n; for women and śūdras to be performed through a brāhmaṇa as a pratiniḥśīhi acc. to some digests 78n; general procedure of 543n; number of oblations of clarified butter is either 28, 108 or 1008, 543; one lakh of homas with sesam recitation as substitute for heavy expiations 128; should be performed in all expiations 120.

House, see under 'purity,' 'purification'; constructed with burnt bricks is purified by wind and the Sun 323–24

Hunter, W. W., author of work on 'Orissa,' 692, 695n, 696, 697, 698, 699, 702, 750.

Image, see under 'purification,' 'purity,' 'temple'.

Impurity, see 'Aśvāca'; observed by man for ten days, when he performs his own śraddha while living 544; some persons are free from, not at all times, but only when they are engaged in some peculiar actions such as sacrifices while engaged in sacrifice 298

Incest, see under 'gurvaṅgaṇāgama'; prāyaścittas for, acc. to Parasara 104; punishment and prāyaścitta for, are same viz. excision of testicles 72

Indian Antiquity, 271, 451n, 572n, 612n, 642, 650, 702, 716, 726, 765

Indian mind revels in divisions and classifications 344

Indische Studien 449n.

Indian Historical Quarterly 610n, 716n

Indra, consigned yatis to Śāśvākṣas 63; invoked to strike down evil-doers 154

Indradyumna, a cakravartin, mentioned in Maitrāryanyupāniṣad 693

Inheritance, close connection between the right to perform funeral rites and taking i. 257; Mitākṣara and Dāya-bhāga doctrines on 257; whoever takes i. has to offer pinda to the deceased 257

Inscriptions, see 'Epigraphia Indica'; Andhau Inscription 255; in a fire temple at Baku on the Caspian see 118; of Hoyāla king granting revenues of a village for meeting taxes levied on pilgrims to Benares 572; recording gifts of lands and houses,
coins and gold as prāyaścitta for benefit of deceased 182n

Intercalary month 546–547; all śrāddhas that come after Sapiṇḍana were not to be performed in 546; is called by various names such as Amhasaspati, Adhimāsa, Malamāsa, Malimluca, Samarpa 546; is to be discarded for all rites in honour of gods and pītas 546; purāṇas call it Puruṣottamamāsa 546; the śānvatsarika—śrāddha of one who dies in an intercalary month may be performed in the same intercalary month, but if there be no i.m. of that name, then in ordinary month of same name 446–447; thirteenth month and vendor of soma were condemned as pūpa (sinful) 546; was known even in the times of the Rgveda 546; what religious actions could be done in 546

Īśāvasyopaniṣad 606

Israelites, ancient, customs of, concerning the relatives of the dead 309

Iṣṭiśrāddha is Karmāngasrāddha, 9th among twelve classes of śrāddhas 457n

Jābāla, smṛti of 60n, 61, 136, 140, 146, 147, 152

Jābāli, smṛti of 64, 121, 134, 139, 142

Jābiloṇapaniṣad, 610n, 625

Jaimini, a of Pūrvamimamsāsūtra 9n, 20n, 24, 27n, 40n, 45, 53, 58, 61–63, 66n, 89n, 92, 112, 137n, 168n, 169, 208n, 310n, 353, 373, 419, 439, 440n, 442n, 447, 453, 454, 481n, 554n, 602n, 670, 672n, 687

Jaimini-grhya 355, 418

Jaiminiya-samhitā, of Sāmaveda 46n

Jains, accept the doctrine of tapas as a destroyer of sins 43; though they emphasized ‘ahimsā’, they encouraged religious suicide called Sallekhanā under certain circumstances 612

Jalakṛcchra, see ‘Toyakṛcchra’ 138

Jamadagni, smṛti of 43, 94, 163n, 464n

James, Prof. E. O. in ‘Christian Myth and Ritual’ 234n

James, William, author of ‘Varieties of religious experience’ 171n

Janasthāna (in Daṇḍakārya), said to be four yojanas in extent and Paścimavāṭi was part of it and it was so called after Janaka 710

Japa, a means of removing consequences of sin 44–51; distinguished from stuti 45; demands three things 46; food on which one should subsist, when engaged in 49; is expiation for sins unintentionally committed 46–47; original idea of, spiritual 46; of mantras, a hundred times where no particular number is specified 47; three kinds of 44–45; superiority of, over Vedic sacrifices and pākayajñas 47; upāṇsu J. described and praised 45; way in which śūdras and women were to engage in 49

Jāṭabhramākara sins 15, 35; expiation for, is Sāntapana and Prājāpatya 118

Jāṭukarnya, smṛti of 98,182n, 190, 206n, 209n, 225, 389n, 390, 469, 512, 531n

Jayaswal, K. P. author of ‘History of India’ (150–350 A.D.) 634, 689n, 762

Jerusalem, holiest place for Christians 552

Jesus, miraculously cured a blind man 174n

Jikana, 80n

Jivat-śrāddha or Jivaśrāddha 542–545; effigy representing a human figure is to be made of threads and pālāsa stalkson which the performer sleeps, then rises up and on the 4th day it is burnt 543–544; one cannot perform one’s Sapiṇḍana 544; performed by a man himself while alive for the benefit of his soul after death once every month up to 12 years and then he stops 544; procedure of, according to Baudhāyana-grhyaśaṣṭāṣṭra 542–544; procedure of acc. to Liṅga-puṇa, is substantially different 544; this śrāddha is a perversion of the
ancient idea of śrāddha 545; water and pinḍa are offered to himself with a mantra 544; word 'preta' is not to be used in this rite 544
Job, book of, in Old Testament 170
John, epistle of 41n
John, Gospel of St. 233
Jolly, Dr 540n
Journal Asiatique 176n
Journal, of American Oriental Society 154n
Journal, of Asiatic Society of Bengal 643, 644, 659, 664n, 688n
Journal, of Benares Hindu University 160n
Journal, of Bihar and Orissa Research Society 643
Journal, of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society 376n, 678n, 687n, 707, 745
Journal, of Department of Letters, Calcutta University 556n, 610n, 726
Journal, of Ganganath Jha Research Institute 736, 738
Journal, of Oriental Research, Madras 698
Journal, of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain 176, 235n, 636, 696, 706, 730, 767
Journal, of U. P. Historical Research Society 603n, 720n, 746, 760
Judicial function, separated early from the executive function of the king 69
Jyeṣṭhasamānī 46n, 384, 386, 450
Jyotirliṅgas, twelve, names and locations of 678–679; divergence of views about identifications of some J. 678n; each J. has an Upaliṅga 678n
Jyotiṣoma, 157 cups (grahas) used in, were to be cleansed with a strainer of wool, but not the camasas 310; one who offers the Adābhya cup in, goes to heaven while still living 157
Kadaliyana, 178
Kalīṣa, temple at Ellora is not one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas 678n
Kākini, value of 129
Kalanos, an Indian Gymnosophist from Taxila, accompanied Alexander and burnt himself to death at the age of 70, 612
Kāla, see under Time
Kālidāsa 160, 605, 691, 706
Kālikāpurāṇa, 467
Kalivarjya acts 65, 271, 302, 424, 425, 608
Kalpa, 164
Kalpataru, 21, 98, 108, (prāyaścitā), 131, 136, 148, 181 (mokṣakāṇḍa) 187n (mokṣakāṇḍa), 222n, 238n, 270n, 273, 274n, 289, 292n, 293n, 297, 305n, 315n (śrāddha), 334 (śrāddha). 339 (śrāddha), 368n, 371n (on śrāddha), 377n (śrāddha), 378 (śrāddha), 380n, 381n, 383, 385, 386, 391, 392, 396n, 398n, 400n, 401n, 424, 441n, 444n, 445, 455n, 457n, 458n, 463n, 468n, 469n, 471n, 473, 475, 477, 479, 481, 512, 514n, 517n, 518, 523n, 524n, 528, 529, 531, 532n, 536n, 537, 538n, 542, 555n, 559n, 560n, 561n, 569n, 610n (on āśauca), 623n; held that an anuvānita boy and unmarried girl incurred no sin by drinking surā 21, 98; its date 624n; verses quoted by it from Skandapurāṇa are not found in the printed purāṇa, but are found in the Lingapurāṇa 624n
Kīmasūtī, repeated in many ceremonies such as marriage, adoption, gifts made on approach of death 184n; repeated when making a gift of a cow on 2nd day after āśauca ends 545
Kīmya rites should be undertaken only when one is able to perform all parts of them 373
Kāñci, 711–712; famous temples of 712; history and antiquity of 711–12; Kāśi and K. are the two eyes of Śiva and K. is a famous Vaṁśavākṣetra 712; one of the seven holy cities of India and one of the most ancient towns in south India 678, 711;
regions around K. were frequented by Buddha, acc. to Hiouen Thang and K. had a stūpa 100 feet high built by Aōka 711

Kane Festschrift, 648n

Kāntipuri, one of the seven holy cities acc. to some 678, 762; divergent views about its location 678

Kāśya, 26n, 544

Kapadia, Dr. on 'Hindu Kinship' 368
Kapardin, 392n, 482

Karkabhāṣya, 447n, 482, 507n, 508n

Karma, see under 'birth', 'soul'; basis of, 39; doctrine of, is inextricably mixed up with that of pūnarjātma 35-39; doctrine of, appears to be in conflict with that of īrāddha 335; doctrine of, is opposed to the theory of the transference of merit (punya) from one man to another 66n; doctrine that there is no final release from the cycle of births and deaths by performance of meritorious deeds alone 167; doctrine of, illustrated in the Jain Uttarādhīyānasūtra by the story of brothers 445n; knowledge (true) destroys all k. 68, 611; main propositions of the doctrine of 38-39 and 612-613; modified by the theory of expiations for sins 40: three kinds of viz. saucita, pārabhdha and kriyāmāna and their explanation 612-613; whether good or evil does not perish without bringing forth its consequences 39

Kārmāṅgaśrāddha, 382

Karmavipāka, (fruition of evil deeds), see under 'sins', 'disease', 'actions'; Āpastamba-dharmaśītra says that a dūviya who murders a brāhmaṇa is born after undergoing torments of hell as caṇḍāla, paulkasa and other sinners are born as animals 175; doctrine of, was well-known to Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna 176; doctrine of, is not, acc. to some writers, to be taken literally but is an arthavāda 177; diseases arising from sinful acts subside by recitation of vedic texts, homa, gifts 173; physical marks indicative of sins committed in previous lives disappear on repentance and on undergoing expiation 173; residual consequences of sinful deeds in the form of deformed bodies or bodies with condemned signs or diseases 173; human beings alone are subject to doctrine of 176-177; smṛtis and purāṇas state into what animals, trees and creepers sinners are born after undergoing hell torments 173-174; some smṛtis say that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa in a later life suffers from leprosy, while others say that he suffers from phthisis 175; Yogāśītra says K. is of three kinds viz. birth (as a worm or animal), life (short), and experiencing torments of hell 176; treatment of K. is the longest in Prāyaścittasūtra 176; teaching of works on, comes to this that no man however sinful need despair 177; women guilty of theft and other sins become the wives of men guilty of same offences 177

Kāraṇaṅji, 484

Kāśī (Vārāṇasī, Banaras) 618-642; see under 'Sārnāth', 'sins', 'ōukāra' 'liṅgas', 'ascetics'; Ādikeśava-ghāṭ 636; after repairing to K. one should smash one's feet with a stone so that one may not be tempted to go to another place 566-567; Alberuni expressly states that Mahmud Gaznavi had not reached Banaras 623n; almost all Hindu temples at Kāśī were demolished by Moslem rulers from 1194 to 1670 A.D. 631; ancient history of Banaras from the Sat. Br., the Gopatha Br., the Upanīṣads, epics and purāṇas and Buddhist works 618-623; Avimukta is said by some to be that part of the holy place which is represented by a radius of 200 dhanus (i.e. 800
niṣad gives an esoteric meaning to Avimukta, Varanā and Nāsi 625-626; Jain works like the Kalpasūtra say that Arhat Pārśva was born in Varanaras 621; Jānavāpi, origin and importance of 638; Kapālamocana-ghāṭ at K., is ancient 639; Kāśikhandā, a part of Skandapurāṇa, devotes 15000 verses to Varanaras and sub-tirthas 623; known under five names from ancient times viz. Vārāṇasi, Kāśi, Avimukta, Ānandakānana and Śmāśāna or Mahāśmāśāna 624; landed and described at great length in several Purāṇas 623; līngas and tirthas at K. mentioned in some purāṇas are numerous 639-40; Lolārka is one of the twelve shrines of the Sun in K. 633n, 634; Mani-karnikā pool is the most holy among tirthas at K. 635; mantras recited when contemplating Mani-karnikā 633; Mlecchas, insects, birds, beasts, worms after death in K. find happiness 630; by identifying Asi and Varanā with Idā and other nāḍīs, mystic flavour is imparted to those names 631; name Avimukta, derived and explained in two ways 626; name Śmāśāna or Mahāśmāśāna due to various causes 626-627; name Vārāṇasi is derived from the two rivers Varanā (modern Bārṇā) and Asi, which are respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the modern city 625; name was spelt as Benares up to recent times, but now it is spelt as Banaras 618; Nārādīya-purāṇa says that Banaras was at first the city of Mādhava, but later on became a Śaiva-kṣetra 622n; Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa says that in the case of Viśvesvara-liṅga there is no blemish due to the touch of the untouchable 633; one should not commit the slightest sin in K. as punishment is relatively far heavier 638; Paṇcagāṇa-ghāṭ, so called because five rivers, Kīrāṇā
Dbuṭapāṇā, Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī are supposed to meet there 636; Pañcakroṣi pilgrimage by road is held the most meritorious of all and is described in detail 637; Pañcaciśṭhi (five essential śīrthas) named and described 633-634; present temple of Viṣvanātha was built by Abhayabai Holkar 633; questions about Banaras asked in the Skandapurāṇa 624; residents of K must repair to the river every day, take a bath in Maṇiśākṣikā and visit Viśveśvara 640; rules of conduct (particularly moral) for those who dwell in K. 638-639; results of sins committed outside K. but sinner dying in K, and of sins committed in K. by one who dies outside K. 640-41; several images of Kēśava existed at K. 636a; śrauddha should be performed at K. 639; stotra of Durgā called Vajrapāṇijara 638; sub-śīrthas at K. are numerous 638; temple of Bhairavaṇātha, supposed to be Kotwal of K., who wields a thick stone cudgel 638; temple of Durgā at K. very popular and much frequented 638; temple of Śaṅkṣi-Vināyaka 637; temple of Tārakesvara near Maṇiśākṣikā 635; temple of Viṣvanātha re-established by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa about 1585 A. D. was desecrated by Aurangzeb 631-32; there are about 1500 temples in K. built during the last 225 years, 632; there is in Kāśi a holy place at every step and there is not even as much space as a sesamum grain which has not a liṅga 631; there were one hundred temples in K. in Hiouen Thsang’s time and in one of them there was a copper image of Mahādeva about 100 feet high 631; though cremation of corpses is continually going on, yet Banaras, owing to the Ganges, is held purest 626; though Kāśi, Vārāṇasi and Avimukta are generally used as synonyms, sometimes a distinction is made in their extent 627-629; traditions of great learning associated with K. are vouched for by Kaśikhaṇḍa, Alberuni and Ain-i-Akbari 641-642; Vācaspati held that Avimuktesvara-liṅga is the same as Viṣvanātha, but the Skandapurāṇa treats them as distinct 633; Vana-parva states that by visiting Avimukt and by a bath there pilgrim becomes free from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder and by dying there secures mokṣa 629; Vārāṇasi was burnt by Nikumbha, a gaṇa of Śiva and was re-established by Divodasa 620; Viṣṇu is said by Kaśikhaṇḍa to have assigned a place called Dharmakṣetra to the north of Kāśi and stayed there in the form of Buddha 641; Viśveśvara or Viṣvanātha is the tutelary deity of Banaras and the principal temple in it and every resident is required every day to take a bath in the Gaṅgā and visit Viśveśvara 692; was burnt by Kṛṣṇa with his cakra in pursuit of a kṛtyā 622; was the capital of Brahmadatta kings according to the Jātakas and Purāṇas 621; was the capital of the Kāśis 619; was the name of a country long before the Sat. Br. was composed 619; yātrās of great liṅgas should be celebrated every month from the first tithi onwards 640

Kāśikā, com. on Pāṇini 162

Kāśikhaṇḍa, part of Skandapurāṇa, which see

Kāśināti-mokṣavacara of Sureśvarācārya 583, 612, 613

Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya 721

Kāśyapa 75, 94


Kāṭhakasambhūti, 10, 11, 20, 63, 160, 343, 410, 461, 479, 522, 523, 546

Kāṭhakāśruti 225, 371,
Kathopanisad 39, 155, 158, 162n, 165, 180, 350, 354n
Kātyāyana 104, 149, 259n, 263, 513n, 514, 517, 530n, 569; divided sins into five classes 15; on prices of cows, calves etc. 129; prescribes half fine for women 80; sūrti of, on steyā 22; sūrti of, on govadha 109
Kātyāyana, author of Chandogaparśīṣṭa or Gobhihasmṛti 297–298, 454; author of śrāddhasūtra (which see), 426
Kātyāyanasūtra-sūtra 37n, 63n, 203–204, 206n, 207n, 208n, 209n, 223, 224, 226, 246, 248, 249n, 250n, 255, 346n, 432, 433n, 511, 558, 681
Kauśika, sūrti of 67, 241
Kauśika—sūtra 53, 54, 58, 182, 198, 204, 206n, 207n, 208n, 238, 240, 242, 247n, 252n, 253n, 345, 346n, 355, 474, 479n
Kauśitaki—brāhmaṇa 57, 155–156
Kauśitaki-brāhmanopaniśad 8, 9n, 158, 165, 619
Kauśitaki-grhyasūtra 354, 402, 516, 520, 521, 525, 539
Kauṭiliya, 74, 75
Kautsa, 354
Kautsa hymn 48n
Kavaya, story of 558–559
Kavindracandradaya, edited by Dr. Sharma and Dr. Patkar 372
Kavindrācārya, pleaded with Shah Jehan for remission of taxes on Hindu pilgrims at Pryāgga and Kāśi and was given the title of ‘Sarvavidyānīdhāna’ and was felicitated by people throughout India 571–572
Kavya verse is Rg. X. 14, 3, 503n
Kāyasthas, of Benīgal, still observe āśauca for a month owing to social tyranny 271
Kielhorn, Dr. 643, 645, 650
K eth, Prof. A. B., a. of ‘Religion and philosophy of the Veda’ 2n, 38, 154n
Kenopaniśad, 756
Khaḍirāgṛhyasūtra, 53, 54, 112n, 346n, 354, 355, 358, 476, 487n, 574n
Khare, Mr. G. H., on ‘Śrīvīthala and Pandharpur’ in Marathi 716n, 717, 719n, 720
Khōh, copperplate 16n
Kīkṣa, same as Magadhā, supposed to be beyond pale of Aryanism 187n
Kīng, vide ‘fine’, ‘prāyaścitta’; had not to observe periods of impurity 297; had jurisdiction to punish sinners, if they refused to undergo prāyaścitta prescribed by parisad 70–71; had to make good from his treasury or from officers stolen property if it could not be recovered from thief 74; had to be informed in carrying out expiations for govadha or sins higher than it 70–71; helped in carrying out prāyaścittas prescribed by parisad 70; not to appropriate to himself fine recovered from one guilty of heavy guilt 71; neglect of penances was included among prakṛṭaka matters by Nārada which were solely dependent on the king 70; was to inflict branding and fine on those guilty of one of the first four mahāpātakas and that did not undergo expiation for same 71; was the ultimate heir and also performer of śrāddha for a person who has no relatives left 369
Kirste, Dr. 361
Kratu, sūrti of 226, 291n
Kṛcchra, means Prājapatiya 132; expiation for theft 101; method of performing described 120; general term for several expiations 132; word for several kinds of expiations 132–133
Kṛcchra—samivatsara 133
Kṛcchrātkṛcchra, 133–134
Krośa, measure of distance 590n
Kṛṣṇa, meditation on, is the highest means for removing sins 50–51
Kṛṣṇa, Dr., of Mysore Archaeological Survey 717
Kṛtyaratnākara, 140n, 321n, 352n, 371n, 374n, 375n, 419
Kṣatriya, alone could perform Aśva-
medha 131; killing of, when
amounted to brāhmaṇa murder 18
Kṣetraja son, defined 536n; to whom
and in what order he offers pīṇḍas
in a śrāddha 536, 537
Kṣetras, eight, each of Viṣṇu, Śiva and
Saktī 679n
Kṣirasvāmin, commentator of Amara-
kosa 112n
Kullīka, commentator on Manu-
smṛti 88, 90, 91, 93, 104n, 106, 131,
163, 271n, 275n, 305n, 330n, 461n,
464n, 481n, 537n, 606n
Kuṇḍapāyinām ayana, rule of 136
Kumāra, a. of smṛti 79, 98n
Kumāragupta, king of Madhva, entered
the fire of cowdung cakes at Prayāga
605
Kumārasambhava, of Kālidāsa 560
Kūrmapurāṇa 55, 186, 210n, 216, 220,
222n, 224n, 241, 274n, 276, 277,
283, 288, 290, 291n, 292, 293n, 298,
300, 301, 351, 370, 372, 374, 375,
377, 380, 381, 385, 387, 392, 395,
398, 402, 403, 404n, 409, 410, 411n,
419, 423, 448, 465, 466n, 468, 469n,
480, 483, 560, 566, 567n, 568, 570,
576, 586, 588, 594n, 597, 598n,
599n, 600n, 601, 605n, 606n, 607,
614, 615, 617, 623, 625n, 639n, 640,
653n, 654, 659, 683, 685n, 691, 695,
703, 704n, 705, 708
Kurujiāgala, 682
Kurukṣetra, (25 miles east of Ambala)
680-686; see under 'Vinasāna',
'Samantapaścaka', 'Pṛthūdaka'; all
beings in K. are freed from all sins
and also those that say 'I shall go
to K.' 684; Ashipura is a sub-tīrtha
685; boundaries of, in Tai, A. 681;
called Brahmāvarta 682; country
south of Sarasvati and north of
Dṛṣadvati was included in K. 682;
elenology of the greatness and sanctity
of Kurukṣetra in the Epic and purāṇas
684; exhaustive list of tīrthas in
K. 686n; explanation of the word K.
occuring in the Jāmbolanisad 610n;
extent of, was five yojanas in radius
683; fanciful derivation of K. 684n;
history of, fromṚgveda onwards
680-681; in the times of the
Brāhmaṇas, Sarasvati flowed through
Kurukṣetra 682; is so called after
king Kuru who ploughed the land
with a golden plough for seven krośas
all round 682n; lake Brahma-saras
or Pavanahrdra in K. 684-685; is
referred to under several names
683; limits of, described in a some-
what corrupt verse 683; said to
have been the vedī of Brahma 682;
seven holy forests of 561n, 686;
sub-tīrthas of 684-686; those dying
in K. do not come to the earth again
566, 682n, 683, 684; Vyasasthali
(modern Basthali, 17 miles south
west of Thanesar) is a sub-tīrtha
where Vyāsa resolved to die on the
loss of his son 685; was called
Samantapaścaka and then Kurukṣetra
682; was called Sannihati or
Sannihatā 686; was centre of Vedic
culture in Brāhmaṇa period and
was called Dharma-kṣetra 610, 683-
684
Kūsmāṇḍa—homa, as a remover of
sins 43; procedure of 43-44
Kūsmāṇḍa mantras 43, 46n; as purifi-
cers from sins 45; employed in
Vṛṣṇisarga 540
Kutapa. meanings of 376-377; deri-
vation of 376
Laghu-Āśvalāyana 221n, 225, 284,
285n, 287, 303, 421n, 480, 487n
Laghu-Atri 292n
Laghu-Hārita 19n, 44, 45n, 79n, 98,
214, 288, 293n, 294n, 306, 313n,
316n, 411
Laghu-ṛcchra, as prāyaścittā 150;
same as Śiśuṛcchra 150
Laghu-Śanṣkha 19n, 401n, 411n, 518n,
539n
Laghu-Sātālapa 104, 146n, 326n,
376n, 386, 454n
Laghu-Viṣṇu 79n, 148n, 291n
Lakṣmaṇasena, king of Bengal, mentions in a grant a Gāyāl brāhmaṇa 580
Lakṣmaṇasāstri, Pandit, of Wai 717n
Lalitavistara 650
Latuyana-kṛṣṇa-sūtra 62n, 681
Laukākṣi-grhyā 121, 130, 132, 140n, 147, 228, 518
Laukkāyatikā, touch of 115
Lauiriya Nandangarh, excavations at are supposed to show Vedic burial mounds 254
Law, Dr. B. C. 164, 688n, 726, 736, 749
Lefever, Dr. Henry, author of 'Vedic idea of sin' 2n
Legge's translation of Fa Hien's work 619, 650
Lepabhājaḥ or lepabhujah-see under śrāddha
Leviticus 309, 327n
Likhitasmiṁiti 266n, 411, 518, 654
Līlāvatī 129
Liṅga-purāṇa 51, 124, 181, 261, 298, 310, 325, 542, 544, 566n, 608, 623, 626, 628, 629n, 630n, 631, 639, 640
Liṅgas, numerous in Kāśi 640; two lists of 14 great l. in Kāśikhaṇḍa 640; 36 principal l. referred to in Kāśi-khaṇḍa 640
Lodge, Sir Oliver, in 'Christian Doctrine' 1n, 8n
Lourdes (in France), miraculous cure of diseases at 561, 641
Luke, Gospel of 38n, 41n, 171, 233
Ma-Atir-i-Alamgiri 632, 692n
MacDonell, Prof. A. A. 154n, 157
MacDonell and Keith, authors of 'Vedic Index' 726
Mādālaya-pañji, Oriya chronicle 698
Mādana-pārījata 10, 23, 24, 27n, 30n, 45n, 46n, 64n, 70n, 73, 76n, 78, 79n, 91, 97, 98n, 101, 103, 106n, 108, 119n, 121, 122, 126n, 127n, 133n, 134, 136, 137n, 139, 140, 142a, 143n, 145n, 147, 149n, 150, 151, 152, 162, 163n, 164, 175, 216n, 217n, 218, 221n, 258n, 259n, 261n, 262n, 270, 275, 280n, 288, 291n, 293n, 294n, 295n, 314n, 374n, 375, 381n, 408n, +25n, 441n, 443n, 445, 457n, 463n, +71, 514, 519, 520, 525n, 532, 536, 547n
Madanaratna, a work 52n, 82
Madhubrāhmaṇa is same as Madhuvidyā, which see, 449n
Madhumati verses 46n, 437, 496, 497, 507, 524
Madhūni, texts called, as purifiers from sins 45
Madhuvidyā, stated in Br. Up. and Chān. Up. 49n
Madhva, conflict about the dates of the birth and death of, 64 4n; wrote Mahābhārata-tātparyanirṇaya in gatakali +300, 644n
Madhyadesa, boundaries of 557-558n
Madhyamāṅgiras 88n
Madya (intoxicant), see under 'sūra', and 'brāhmaṇa'; forbidden to brāhmaṇas at all stages of life 21; ten kinds of 21
Magas buried their dead underground 234
Māghyāvarṣa rite 360-361; doubt about the real name 360; two views about the time of its performance 360; probably the precursor of the later Mahālayaśrāddha 361
Mahābhārata 164, 180, 181, 187, 188, 223, 237, 363, 371n, 450 (should be recited in Pārvanaśrāddha as it is dear to pītṛs), 561, 562, 585, 607, 608, 649, 652, 703, 709
Mahābharaṇi śrāddha performed in Bhādrapada dark half when the moon is in Bharani nakṣatra and is equal to Gayaśrāddha 533
Mahābhāṣya, of Patañjali 16n, 22n, 58, 295n, 400n, 408, 449n, 619, 621, 687, 706, 709, 711, 746, 756, 758, 763, 768
Mahādvākīrtya, sāman 46n
Mahākassapa, disciple of Buddha 235
Mahālayaśrāddha, see 'ascetics'; follows procedure of pārvaṇaśrāddha 532; is so called because it is the abode (ālaya) of the maha (festival for pitṛs) 531; is the most eminent among all śrāddhas 532; latter half of Bhādrapada when the sun is in Kṛṣṇa is called Mahālaya and Gajacchāyā 532; to be performed in the dark half of Bhādrapada when the sun is in the zodiacal sign Kṛṣṇa or Tula 530–531; is performed not only for benefit of paternal and maternal ancestors, but also for several deceased relatives together with their wives (such as son, uncles, aunts, sisters, father-in-law, friend, pupil) 533; various views as to the exact date on which M. should be performed 532; when the sun enters the sign of scorpion and no śrāddha is performed the pitṛs lose hope, pronounce a curse on their descendant and return to their abode 531

Mahānāmu, verses, as purifiers from sins 45, 46n
Mahāparinibbāna-sutta 234, 235n, 552, 621

Mahāpātakas, see 'brāhmaṇa murder'; first among them is brāhmaṇa murder 88; Saṅkhya prescribes praśyaścīttta of twelve years for one guilty of one of the m. 87–88

Mahāpitrayaśajña, performed in the Cāturmāṣya called Sākamedha 350, 426–27

Mahāraurava, Pāṇini teaches accent of 162

Mahārūdra 178

Mahāprāśthānike–parva of the Mahā-bhārata 607

Mahārāva, 133n, 134n

Mahārāva-karmavipāka, a work, 43, 121, 146n, 172n, 175, 178 (brief analysis of contents of)

Mahārānavapraṅga, 460, 479

Mahāsāntapaṇa, an expiation 147

Mahāsudassana-sutta 721

Mahâ-tapakrṣchra, 147

Mahâvagga, 66n, 677

Mahâvaśraja, sāman 46n

Mahâyaṇaś, five daily, prescribed for each householder of which sacrifice to the pitṛs was one 369

Mahâvâra-krṣchra, 148

Mahâdharâ, commentator of Vâjaśaneya-sambhâta 433n

Mahîśmati, capital of Anûpa on the bank of the Revâ 703; about the exact location of which scholars differ 706–707

Maitrakrṣchra 148

Maitrâyaṇî-sambhâta, 230, 426n, 427n, 428n, 433, 680

Maitrâyanî Upaniṣad 695

Maitrâyaṇîya-sûtra, 468, 473

Majjhima, 687

Mālâyâha sins 15–16, 35; expiation for 118–119

Man, see under 'death'; entertains a belief even in the Upaniṣads that the thoughts that dying man has at time of death determine what will happen to his soul 185–186; dying man taking sannyāsa was supposed to be free from the cycle of births and deaths 185; dying man should be made to give one or more of ten gifts 182; dying man, after one or more out of ten gifts, should donate a cow with calf and another cow called Vaitaraṇi 183; dying m. should repeat such mantras as 'Om namo bhagavate Vâsudevaya' or listen to Vedic texts or sāmans or the Gītā and other works 185; dying near śãla-grāma reaches highest abode of Viṣṇu or Viṣṇuṣṭha even though he be a mleccha 187; dying in a garden of Tulasī (basil) plants or with a basil leaf in his mouth attains mokṣa even if guilty of crores of sins 187; enemies of, according to Śûnti-parva 9; how m. incurs sin 10; m. on whose death no pîṇḍa was offered
or the sixteen śrāddhas were not performed remained for long in the condition of a pūṣca 265–266; if man dying is a knower of brahma, in his ear should be uttered Tai. Up. II. 1 and III, 1, 185; practice of taking down from the bedstead a dying m. and placing on a bed of kuśa grass or of sand on the earth 182; polluted by certain actions 51; sarvaprāyaścitta for dying man 184; son or other relative of dying m. should perform or make him perform vrataṇyājana, sarva prāyaścitta and gift of ten dānas 183; should, when dying, be taken near a holy place (like the Ganges) 186; various views about the fate of the departed m. in Upaniṣad times 155

Manasvatā verses are Rg. X. 57.3–5, 499

Māṇava-grhyasūtra 460, 58, 354

Mandalabrāhmaṇa is an Upaniṣad 449n

Māndhāṭr, author of Mahārṇava-karma-vipāka 172n, 178

Māndhāṭr, legendary king who was instructed by Indra 364

Man Mohan Chākravarti 698

Manitekhālai 712

Mantra, mūla m. of Śiva 699; of five letters (nāmaḥ Śivāya) 51; of eight letters (om namo Nārāyaṇaya) 51, 700; of twelve letters (om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya) 51, 700; to be recited at the commencement and completion of expiations 124–125

Mantras, see under Japa; from the several Vedas, how repeated 45; from several Vedas become powerful purifiers when accompanied by tapas 49; meaning of, need not be understood in śmaṭa rites 51; of two kinds, Vaidika and Āgamokta 51; same mantras often occur in different Vedic samhitās 433; to be repeated at the time of making gifts for a dying man 183; to be repeated on entering a house and touching ēm; leaves, fire and stone (āśmā) 238

Manu, as the promulgator of śrāddha rites and styled śrāddhadeva 349

Manu, as father of mankind in the Rgveda 349


Manvādi tithis 375

Manvantara 164

Marici, smṛti of 275n, 292, 305, 322, 351, 478, 514n.

Mārjana, (splashing water on head and other limbs with kuśas dipped in water) 120, 133

Mark, Gospel of 41n, 233

Marks branded on the forehead of one guilty of first four mahāpātakas 72

Marshall, Sir John, on Mohenjo-daro 234
Maskarin, a. of bhāya on Gautama-dharmasūtra 45n, 46n, 59n, 273 (m. in com. on Āsaucaśākā)
Mātāmahāśāddha or Daunhitra-prati-pat-śāddha 533
Matthew, Gospel of, 38n, 41n, 171, 233
Mathurā, (or Madhurā) 686-692; antiquity of, discussed 687-689; esoteric interpretation on Kṛṣṇa, Gopīś, Kālindī 691n; established by Śrīrughna 688; eulogy of M. in the purāṇas 690; Govardhana hill 691; Gokula or Vraj or Mahāvana 691; inscription of Kharavala refers to 688; inscriptions of Kuśāna rulers that refer to it 689; Kṛṣṇa left M. owing to the constant attacks of Jāra-sandha and established the Yādavas in Dvārakā 688; Megasthenes knew its connection with Heracles (Hari-Kṛṣṇa) 687; nine Nāga kings that ruled over M. 689; old temples of Mathurā were destroyed at Aurangzeb’s order 692; Pāṇini includes it in Varanādi-gaṇa 697; Ptolemy calls it ‘Modoura of the gods’ 687n; spoken of, as Śaurārya in Jaina works 687; twelve vana (forests) of M. 690-691; Vallabhācārya founded new Gokula 692; Vṛndāvana, highly eulogised in Purāṇas and by Kālidāsa, 691-92; centre of Caitanya’s movement 692; Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas left M. through the fear of Kālayavana, acc. to Brahmāpurāṇa 688
Matsyapurāṇa, 19, 23, 55, 72, 102, 129, 166, 176, 221, 271, 310, 335, 336, 338, 340, 344, 374, 375, 381, 385, 387, 389, 390, 392, 396, 403, 407, 410, 413, 414, 418, 420, 421, 422n, 423, 443n, 446n, 447, 448, 450n, 464n, 468, 470, 478, 480, 482, 484, 497n, 519, 533, 535, 539n, 540n, 560n, 561n, 564, 565n, 566, 567, 568n, 574n, 576, 582, 585, 587, 589, 594n, 597, 601, 602n, 605, 606n, 611, 613, 614, 615, 617n, 621, 623, 624n, 625n, 626n, 627, 629, 630n, 638, 639n, 641n, 653n, 654, 691, 703, 706, 708n
Mausalapaṇva, 223
Max Muller 8
Maxims, see under ‘nyāyas’; ‘caturdhā-kaṇaṇa’ 670; ‘Daṇḍavat prāyaścitānā bhavanti’ 75–76, 81; of the power of an authoritative śruti or smṛti text 66n, 67; of Kuṇḍapāyināyana 136, 137n; of niṣaḍa-shapati 24; of ‘phaḷavat-saṁnidhau apbalam tadaṅgam’ 481; of ‘Ṛātisṭhātra’ 62–63, 602n; of sarvaśākha-pratyaya 59–90, 453–455; of visaya-vyavasthā 87
McCridle, Mr. J. W., on ‘Invasion of India by Alexander the Great’ 612; on ‘Megasthenes and Arrian’ 687n, and ‘Ancient India as described by Ptolemy’ 187n
Measures of capacity, such as ādhaṇaka and drona 330
Measures of length or distance 590n
Medhatithi, commentator of Manu, 10, 16n, 52, 63, 75, 93, 102, 103, 124, 286, 316, 325, 326n, 327n, 362n, 365, 377, 380, 391, 394n, 401n, 416n, 444, 453, 464, 477, 483, 604, 606n, 611n
Meghadūta 619
Men; in case of m., guilty of suicide by fire, poison or the like, or who are patita, no cremation, no offering of water and no śaśāca are prescribed by Manu, Yāj, 301; water and pināḍ offered to men who die in angry fights with cāndīlas or with a brāhmaṇa or a snake, from animals or lightning do not reach them and perish in mid air, but this does not apply to those who die from inadvertence in this manner 301
Meru mountain 169
Mettasutta 550n
Brahma, by śrāddha at Gayā, on death in a fight for preventing seizure of cows and by residence in Kurukṣetra, 566, 654

Monasteries, founding of, in Europe, for adornment of the sins of the founder and his progenitors, 52n

Moral order in the world is upheld by the king and the profoundly learned brahmaṇa, 70

Mortmain, statute of, in England, to prevent accumulation of large estates with the Church, 52n

Mother Goddesses, worship of, is oldest and most widely spread form of religion, 529n

Mountains, see under 'Parvata'; are included among holy localities and as destroyers of sin, 560; Bhāgavatapurāṇa names 27 holy m. and Brahmāṇḍa thirty, 560; held by most ancient people to be the abodes of gods, 559; Rgveda holds valleys of m. and confluences of rivers holy, 559; seven great m. called 'kula-parvatas' of India (Bharatavarsa), 560n

Mīlakṛccha, 148

Mundāka—Upāniṣad, 42, 613n

Mundana (shaving the hair on the head as well as the moustache and beard), 575; no m. on the Ganges except at Prayāga, 575n

Munshi, Diamond Jubilee Volume, 181

Murder of brahmaṇa regarded as gravest of sins in early Vedic times; of bhṛṣṇa, worse than even murder of brahmaṇa, 11; of kṣatriya amounted to brahmaṇa murder in certain cases, 18; one may be guilty of, in five ways, 17; of women placed on same footing as murder of kṣatriya, vaisya or śūdra males, except in the cases of an Atreyi or a pregnant woman etc., 96; terrible secret expiation prescribed by Gautama for brahmaṇa, m., 126

Musical instruments, four classes of, 217n
Nāciketa fire 384n
Nāciketas, dialogue of, with Yama, in the Kathopaniṣad 180
Nāḍāpit, 585
Nāḍīstuti hymn is Rg X. 75
Nāgārjuna, a Buddhist philosopher who well knew the doctrine of karmaṇipākā 176
Nagna; people defined as n. should not be allowed to see a śrāḍḍha 395
Nāgapracaḥādana-śrāḍḍha 220
Naiṃiṣa, the best tīrtha on the earth acc. to Vanaparva 565
Nairāñjana, river on the banks of which the future Buddha dwelt for some time 646
Namaskāravatī verse is Rg. X. 15 2, 502
Nandana, park of Indra 166
Nanda-paṇḍita, commentator of Śaḍāṣṭītī 268
Nandipurāṇa 343
Nāṇḍāśrāḍḍha, same as Vṛddhasrāḍḍha 527; procedure of 528
Nandā tīthis are 1st, 6th and 11th, 373
Nārada, smṛti of 19, 31, 66n, 67, 70, 72, 74, 76, 162, 540n
Nārada purāṇa, 93n, 123n, 163, 392, 407, 411, 419, 424, 425, 449n, 456, 459n, 463, 555n, 560n, 564n, 570n, 573n, 574n, 575n, 576n, 585, 586, 588, 589, 592n, 594n, 595, 601n, 604, 605n, 606n, 607, 615n, 616n, 617, 623, 626n, 628, 629n, 635n, 636, 647, 649, 651, 653, 655n, 660, 661n, 665, 666, 667n, 668n, 670n, 677, 678n, 682n, 683n, 684, 685, 686, 690, 691, 695n, 696n, 699n, 700n, 701n, 703, 704n, 708, 710
Naraka, see under 'hell'; meaning of 161; nārakakaloka is mentioned in Atharvaveda 155; supposed to be a place below the earth 168
Nārāsmihapurāṇa, 600
Nārāyaṇa, commentator of Āśv. gt 58, 205n, 245n, 402n, 412n, 435n, 436n, 437n; commentator of Āśv. sr. 58
Nārāyaṇa, author of Antyeṣṭipaddhāti 185n, 212, 296n; author of Tristhālaśītu 633, 638
Nārāyaṇa-balī, described in Sholapur District Gazetteer 303n; procedure of, from different works 302-305; procedure of, when performed on 12th day after death for ascetics 304; should be offered one year after the death of those who commit suicide in any way not sanctioned by śastra and thereafter śrāḍḍhas may be performed for such persons 302, 525
Narmadā, (Namados of Ptolemy) 703-707; Amarakaṇṭaka dispels all sins 706; Bhrigu-tīrtha on N. 10 miles to the east of Broach a bath in which leads to heaven and death at which to mokṣa 706; earliest inscriptive reference is of 484-85 A.D. 705; is said to be holy everywhere and to purify the sinner by its very sight 704; is said to be 100 yojanas in length and two yojanas in breadth 705; Jāmadagnya-tīrtha where N. joins the sea and where Janārdana secured perfection 706; Kalpataru quotes only about 70 verses from Matsyapurāṇa (and from no other work) on N. 703, Mahēśvara (i.e. Cōmkāra) is a famous tīrtha on N. whence Rudra burnt the cities of Bāṇāśura 706; mantra addressed to N. frees one from danger of snakes 705; most sacred rivers after the Ganges are Naramā and Godāvari 703; most important place on N. is Mahāśmati 706-7; one who commits suicide by fire or water or fast at some tīrtha on N. or on Amarakaṇṭaka does not return to samīśāra 705; Purāṇas, such as Matsya, Kūrma and Padma deal at length with the greatness of N. and say that there are crores of tīrthas on it 703; Revā is a synonym of N. but the Bhāgavata and Vāmana-purāṇa seem to hold that they are distinct
703–704; rises from Amarakaṇṭaka which is the abode of Śiva and is said to have started from Śiva’s body 704–705; several rivers such as Kapiḷā, Eranḍi, Kāveri join N. 705; Suklaṭīrtha, where Rājaṛṣi Cāṇakya attained perfection 706; Viṣṇu-dharmaśūtra includes all places on banks of N. as eminently fit for śrāddha 704

Nāyikā, Antiquity and temples of 709–710; cave inscriptions 710; twenty five temples were destroyed by the Viceroy of Aurangzeb in 1680, 709

Nāyakaśastra of Bharata 690n; prefers dialect of Śūrasena for dramas 690n

Navagraha-yaṭṭha 178

Navagvas, a sub-division of pīṭras called Aghirases 192n; sometimes identified with seven sages 341

Navamiśra-śrāddhas 262, 517

Navaśrāddhas 262–263, 517; characteristics of 519–520; one should not partake of food at n. but if one does one must undergo pṛāyaścitā 263

Navya-Vardhamāna, 296n

Nayapaladeva, Pāla king of Bonga who died in 1045 A. D. 643

New Indian Antiquary 610n

Nīghaṇṭu 352

Nilakaṇṭha, contradiction between his Vyavahāramayūkha and his Pṛāyaścitā-mayūkha 78n

Nila kaṇṭha, commentator of Mahābhārata 565n, 570n, 608, 649n, 684n

Nilamaṣapurāṇa 560n, 724

Nilīmbaradāsa, author of Deul-tola 701

Nimi, dead body of, being covered with oil and fragrant substances was not decomposed for long 234

Nirgranthis, called heretics by Hiouen Thṣang dwelt in Kāñci in the time of the Chinese pilgrim 711

Nirṇayasaṅdhru 29, 190, 230, 231, 238n, 243, 256n, 258, 259, 261n, 262n, 263, 272, 282, 293, 294, 298, 301, 302n, 304, 318, 319n, 338n, 381n, 382n, 388, 398n, 405, 408, 425n, 473n, 482n, 493n, 512, 514n, 519, 521, 524, 534, 536, 538n, 541, 546n, 547n, 548n

Nirukta, 2n, 7n, 10, 48n, 161, 187n, 191n, 192n, 193n, 194n, 198, 200n, 342, 344n, 345, 351, 554, 557n, 561, 645, 681

Niska as a substitute for pṛāyaścitā 127–128; is gold weighing 32 raktikas 129; value of, 128n, 129

Nitya (obligatory) acts (such as Agnihotra, Dārśapūrṇamāsā) must be performed even though one may be unable to perform a subsidiary part thereof 373

Nityacārapaddhati 51, 149n, 240

Nityopavāsa-krīḍchra 141

Nūvāśapura (modern Newasa on the Pravara) 709; Jāñēsvara wrote his great commentary on the Gitā here 709n

Niyamas; meaning of 124; to be observed while undergoing expiation 121, 124; sauc as one of the, in Yoga 311

Non-Aryan peoples like Sakas 117

Nṛṣimhapurāṇa, 45n, 51, 391, 565, Numbers 309

Nṛṣyānas, 75n; sarvāṅgopasaṃbhāraṇyāya 373n, ‘yathā kanyā tathā haviḥ’ 397; yathāsaktinyāya 373n

Oldenberg, 193n, 245, 260

O’Malley, L. S. S. in District Gazetteer of Gayā, 643, 644, 659, 664n,

Om, employed before reciting a Vedic verse 50; expresses the idea of God 50; mystic syllable, said to be the door to heaven 50; repetition of, leads to concentration of mind 50, 69

Omkāra, and other liṅgas at Kāśi 639n
Ordeal of fire, mentioned in Tāṇḍya Bṛāhmaṇa
Osiris, Egyptian legend of, resembles Yama 342n
Ownership, private, none in forests, holy mountains, holy places, temples 377
Pāḍakṛcchra, 143
Padārthādarsa 319n
Padmapurāṇa, 165, 221n, 263, 266, 310, 338n, 344, 348, 361n, 372, 374, 375, 376n, 401, 403, 404, 407, 410n, 413n, 414, 418, 420, 423, 445n, 447n, 448, 449n, 468n, 480, 483n, 484n, 497n, 518, 521, 528, 530, 535, 536, 539n, 548, 549, 555n, 560, 561n, 562n, 563, 564, 565n, 566n, 568, 573, 576, 578n, 582, 585, 588, 591n, 594n, 597, 598n, 599, 600, 601, 603n, 605, 606n, 608, 614, 615, 616n, 617, 623, 625n, 626, 627, 628, 630n, 639 (dozens of verses are the same as in Kūrma), 640, 648n (borrows from Vanaparva), 649, 651, 653, 659, 661n, 664n, 682n, 683n, 685, 690, 691, 703, 707, 713
Pāḍonakṛcchra, 143; is ḍhths of Prājāpatya 143
Paṇḍiya 272n
Bāthinasi 17, 71, 110, 218, 239, 240, 276, 284, 291, 484, 519, 577n, 578
Paṭṭikya mantras are Ṛg. X. 15. 1–13
Pākayajñas or Mahāyajñas, five in number 47n
Pākayajñas are seven acc. to gṛhya-sūtras and dharma-sūtras 112n
Paṣadhara-miśra 59
Paṣiṇi, meaning of 278
Pala, quantity of 139n
Palāśa leaves, number of, used in making an effigy of a person for cremation 224–225
Paṇa, is copper weighing 80 raktikās 129
Paṇcagavya, could be taken by a śūdra without mantras in medieval times though forbidden in early works 143; to be taken at the end of each pṛyāścitta 121; ingredients of 141; materials of, taken with separate mantras 146; same as Brahmakūrca acc. to some smṛtiś 147; to be offered into fire with mantras and drunk for the removal of several sins of a petty nature 141
Paṇcāgividyā 188
Paṇcājanaḥ, meaning of 344–345
Paṇcāla, country of, was divided into north and south 682
Paṇcavimsa Brāhmaṇa 602
Pandharpur 712–722; all attendants in Viṭhobā's temple, except Badves, are called sevādhāris, who have hereditary duties to perform and are of seven sorts viz. Pujāri, Benāri, Paricāraka, Hariḍas, Dingre, Divte and Dange 714; chief temple in P, is that of Viṭhobā and behind it is the temple of Rakhumāl 713; derivation of name Viṭhala 721; description of Viṭhobā's image in Skandapurāṇa agrees with the present image and in the description by Tukārām are mixed up actual, legendary and ideal elements 720; description of the image of Viṭhobā at P. 714–715, 720; had risen in sanctity and importance in the 15th century follows from the fact that both Caitanya and Vallabhācārya visited it 718; image of Viṭhobā was the same before Hemādri as it is now 718; image of Viṭhobā is neither Buddhist nor Jain 722; is called Paṇḍurākṣetra on Bhūmarathi in an inscription of 1249 A. D., Paṇḍurāgapproa in another of 1270 A. D., Paṇḍarage in an inscription in the Viṭhobā temple itself of 1237 A. D., where god Viṭhalaideva and Paṇḍarika are both referred to and Paṇḍarāngapalli 716–717; large staff of priests and attendants in temple of Viṭhobā, the chief of whom are the Badves who are held to be trustees and guardians of the temple by the
BOMBAY HIGH COURT 713; modern
P. lies along the right bank of the
Bhima river 713; one of the most
popular places of pilgrimage in the
the Bombay State 712; ordinary and
special services in the Viṭhobā temple
treat the image as if it were some
high personage requiring bath,
dress, food, songs, sleep &c. 714;
P. cannot claim great antiquity 713;
Padmapurana mentions the image of
Viṭhala Visuṇu on the Bhimarathi
713; pilgrims to P. may be divided
into two classes, regular visitors and
occasional visitors and the first
class comprises those called Vār-
karis 722; pilgrims formerly used
to embrace the image of Viṭhobā
and also touched the feet, but since
about 1873 the feet alone are allow-
ed to be touched 715, 721; priests
of the goddess Rakhumāi are known
as utpātis 714; river Bhima is called
Candrabhāgā within Pandharapur
limits and its water is believed to
possess sin-purifying powers 716;
scheme of management for Viṭhobā
temple at P. 713n; several
controversial questions arise as
to Viṭhobā’s temple viz. date of the
installation of the image, whether it
is an old one, the ancient name of P.
and derivation of the word Viṭhala
716; story of Puṇḍlik 715; temple of
Puṇḍlik, who is not a god but a
devotee of Viṭhobā, is in the bed of
the Bhima river about 500 yards
east of Viṭhobā’s temple 715;
temples at P. are numerous and are
described in Bombay Gazetteer, vol.
20 pp. 434–468, 716; tradition that
the image of Viṭhobā was removed
several times by the Badves and
brought back 719; Vārkari cult,
characteristics of 722; Viṭhobā’s
image is variously called viz. Puṇḍu-
raṅga, Puṇḍhari, Viṭhval, Viṭhala-
nātha 721

Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmya, 717n

Pāṇini, 10, 16n, 22n, 58, 86n, 134,
360n, 384n, 391n, 400n, 408, 410n,
460n, 555, 561n, 619, 681, 703, 706,
707, 709n, 711, 731, 736, 743, 746,
756, 757, 765, 768

Pāṇḍulaṇē caves at Nasik 710n

Paṅktipāvana, (those who sanctify by
their presence a company of diners)
384–386, 389; long lists of paṅkti-
pāvana brāhmaṇas in Anuśānā-
parva and some purānas and in
Sāṅkhaliṅkīta and other works 385–
386; qualifications of, acc. to Hārīta,
are that he must be born in a good
family, must be endowed with vedic
learning, good character and decent
conduct 385–386, 389; yogins are
specialiy p. at śrāddha 388

Pāradārya (adultery with another’s
wife), expiation for 110; is a minor
sin 110; excludes Gurutalpamana
110

Pārāka is called Kṛchchra by some 132;
removes all sins 142

Pārāśara, smṛti of 22n, 24, 26, 40, 55,
70, 71, 74, 78, 84–86, 96, 97, 107,
109, 110, 112, 114n, 115n, 117, 121,
123, 127, 130, 136–139, 142, 143,
147, 208n, 214, 215, 227, 267, 270,
271, 275, 287, 289, 292, 295, 298,
299, 306, 307, 313, 323, 324, 326n,
327–329, 331, 332, 575

Pārāśara, an ancient astronomer that
preceded Varāhamihira 168

Pārāśara-mādhavīya 26, 28, 39n, 53,
55n, 59, 60, 61n, 64, 66, 67, 70, 75,
76n, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86n, 87n, 88n,
90n, 94, 95n, 98, 99n, 109n, 111n,
113, 114, 121, 123, 124n, 125n,
126n, 127n, 128n, 131n, 132, 134,
139, 140, 141n, 142, 143, 144n, 147n,
149, 152, 153n, 173, 175, 177, 210n,
214, 215, 217n, 218n, 227, 237, 238n,
256n, 257n, 258n, 261n, 274n, 280n,
284n, 290, 291n, 292n, 293n, 294n,
298n, 299n, 302n, 306, 326, 334n,
373, 375, 377n, 380n, 383n, 519n,
548, 575
Pāraskara 287n
Pāraskara-grhyasūtra 46n, 57n, 113, 210, 211, 220, 221, 227, 238, 239, 277, 282n, 283, 300, 313, 334, 355, 358, 361, 539, 574n
Parāvartana, see under śuddhi 118
Parekh, Mr, Manilal C., author of 'Vallabhācārya' 692
Pargiter, translator of Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 726, 745
Paridhikarma 244–246
Pārijāta 296n
Parināh, in Kuruksetra 558, 681
Parisaraka 558–559, 680
Parīṣad, vide under prāyaścitta; details of constitution of 85; even a learned man, when guilty of a sin should approach a p. of learned brāhmaṇas and after declaring his guilt ask them to prescribe penance 84; had jurisdiction to decide what expiation should be prescribed and the king did not probably interfere 69–70; duty of p. to take compassion on the weak, boys and old men 86; incurred sin if through affection, greed or ignorance expiation was reduced 86; not to prescribe expiation that would end in death 76, 126–127; of a number of brāhmaṇas proficient in Dharmaśastra alone entitled to reduce expiation through compassion and not one man alone 86; of learned brāhmaṇas knowing proper expiation and not declaring it incurred sin, 86; procedure before p. 84–85; unanimous decision to be given by p. as far as possible 86
Parṇakūrca, an expiation 142
 Parsi scriptures on Yima (i.e. Yama) 192n
Pārvāna-śrāddha, see under 'piṇḍas'; acañāna required in six items at, 459; agnaukarana in Āp, gr, 436, 438; agnihotrin cannot perform p., except on amāvasyā, acc. to Manu 462; apātrakā-pārvānasrāddha in Mithilā explained 486–486; Āsv. gr, omits several details of p. found in some smṛtis 438n; brāhmaṇa is the āhavanīya fire in, 444n; conflict of views about the ancestors to whom piṇḍas are to be offered at śrāddha on amāvasya 472–476; dakṣinā was to be given to brāhmaṇas in p. according to the ability of the performer, 446, 451, 501; darbhās are double-folded in p 434, 441, 505; details of p. vary in modern times according to the country, the veda or śākha of the performer or acc. to the eminent writer the performer follows or according as he is a Saiva or Vaiṣṇava 485; difference of views as to the stage at which piṇḍas were to be offered in p. 470–472; different manuals on śrāddha have been followed in medieval and modern times 486; divergence of views from very early times as to the number of āhūtis in p., as to the deities, as to the order of naming the deities and the form of words to be used 462–463; eleven brāhmaṇas are invited in Mithilā villages even by poor men, but it is often difficult to secure a very learned man (called pātra or mahāpātra) to officiate 483; epigraphic evidence about gifts of land made at p. and other śrāddhas 431n; feeding of daīva or vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas at p. not mentioned in Āsv. gr though mentioned by Manu, Vas, and Yāj., 435n; food offered on the hand of brāhmaṇas was to be mixed with the food served in the plates placed before them and then eaten by them 443n; food served to the brāhmaṇas in p. should be rich and steaming hot and should be silently eaten by them and its good qualities should not be declared by them while they are eating 465; formula of presentation if the performer does not know
the names of his ancestors 477; gradual addition of details to p. from ancient vedic times to modern times illustrated 485; great divergence of views from the sūtras onwards as regards mantras, details and order of items in p. 426; holy texts should be repeated while brāhmaṇas are engaged in dining at p. 439, 449–50; holy texts to be repeated varied from writer to writer 444–445; if gotra of ancestors be not known, the performer should employ the gotra name Kāśyapa 477; if holy texts to be repeated not known to performer, he should recite Gāyatri mantra 450n; if one is unable to perform p every month, Śrāddha-tattva recommends that one should perform it thrice a year or at least once a year when the sun is in the sign of Kanyā 510; if performer has no śārta fire he is to offer homa food on the hand of the brāhmaṇas invited at p. 436–437, 443n, 461; important differences of other sūtras from Āsv. gr on p. 438; in all cases where a question is to be put or permission taken, the performer addresses the most eminent among the brāhmaṇas invited or all of them together, 442n, 505; in southern and western India brāhmaṇas invited at śrāddha are worshipped, while in Bengal effigies made of darbhas are worshipped 458; is the pattern or norm of other śrāddhas 426; Kātyāyana and some others say that everyone has to follow his own sūtra as to the words ‘svāhā’ and ‘svadhā namah’, as to the mode of wearing the sacred thread, as to the number of āhūtis and as to the stage at which pīṇḍas are to be offered 426, 462, 471; larger the number of brāhmaṇas invited for p. the greater the fruit or reward acc. to Āsv. gr. 434; Mahābhārata was among the texts to be recited when brāhmaṇas were engaged in dinner at p. 450; mantras for invoking Viśve-devas in p. 458; mantras at moistening of pīṇḍas given by Āpastamba-mantrāpātha differ from those in Baud, gr. and Vaikhānasa gr. 438; mantras to be recited at the time of offering each of the pīṇḍas in p. differed from ancient times 476–477; method of pādārthānusamsaya is the rule, but sometimes that of kāndānusamsaya has to be followed 442n; most of the fundamental conceptions and items of p. as performed in modern times are clearly brought out even in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 431–432; names and gotras of the ancestors should be mentioned in offering pāda, arghya, gandha, pīṇḍa etc. 443n, 449, 451; number of āhūtis in agnaukarana differs in different works 462; order in which the brāhmaṇas invited at p. are to be dismissed at the end 447; performer of p. and brāhmaṇas invited at it should abstain from sexual intercourse on the night of the śrāddha day 448; performer collects portions from all kinds of food cooked for śrāddha, puts water over them and spreads them on darbhas for the benefit of various deceased persons 450–51; performer has to refer to ancestors in a certain order about his relationship to them, their names and gotras and the case relation in which the words are to be used 459; pīṇḍa is offered to each ancestor after mentioning his gotra, his relationship to performer and name (all in vocative) 476; pīṇḍas should be offered to male ancestors near the remains of the food eaten by the brāhmaṇas and the procedure mentioned in pīṇḍaśātīyajña is to be followed 446, 451; pīṇḍas were to be separately offered to mother’s paternal ancestors 472; procedure
of p. acc. to Āśv. gr. 434–438; procedure of p. acc. to Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana 439; procedure of p. acc. to Yājñavalkya-smṛti 440–448; procedure of p. acc. to Padmapurāṇa 448–452; procedure of p. in modern Bengal for Śāmavedins, Yajurvedins and Rgvedins is respectively that laid down in the pāddhatīs of Bhava-deva, Paśupati and Kālesi 486; procedure of pratisāṁvatsarika-śrāddha (which differs very little from p.) for Rgvedins in Western India 487–503; procedure for maternal ancestors is the same as that for paternal ancestors 446; procedure of p. for Yajurvedins of the Nāḍhyan-dina Sākā in Bengal set out in Yajurvedi śrāddhatāvīsa is based on Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana 504; rūtus (seasons) are identified with six ancestors and offered salutation 450n, 479; rules about making māndalas in front of performer's house for receiving daiva and pitrīya brāhmaṇas 456–457; rules of etiquette about serving food and eating śrāddha dinner and related matters 463–466; rules of pīṇḍapitr-yajña are extended to p. acc. to Āśv. gr. and Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana 434, 503; sam āṣṭāyapa 494; sākāla in pratisāṁvatsarika-śrāddha in Western India in modern times 387n; several options about the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited if three paternal and three maternal ancestors are to be invoked in p., 440n; several purāṇas add details not included in sūtras, Manu and Yāj. 456; several purāṇas contain detailed description of p. 448; some hold that śrāddha for maternal ancestors is to be performed separately while others say that śrāddha is to be offered at the same time for paternal and maternal ancestors 473; some smṛtis emphasize the participa-

tion of the wives of paternal ancestors in p., 475; some verses from the purāṇas are to be recited, while brāhmaṇas are engaged in dinner at p. 445; some writers proposed that nine pīṇḍas should be offered, three to pitarvarga, three to mātravarga and three to mātāmahāvarga 508n; three āhūtis are to be offered according to some and two according to others in Daksināgni or maṅgra fire or on brāhmaṇas' hand 443n; three pīṇḍas are prescribed for paternal ancestors and three for mothers' paternal ancestors by Kātyāyana and Gobhila 472–473; thumbs of brāhmaṇas invited for śrāddha in p. should be moved in the food served in the plates 444, 467; tīla water offered in the midst of mango trees serves two purposes 449n; vaisvādeva brāhmaṇas are to be seated facing east and pitrīya ones facing north 458; vaisvādeva brāhmaṇas have precedence in all items except two viz., in washing the hand smeared with remnants of food and the final send-off at the end of śrāddha 458; Vedic works refer generally to the three paternal ancestors as the devatās of p. and not to any other relatives, male or female, 380, 472; verses called saptavāyāda are to be recited at p. while brāhmaṇas are dining 445; Viśvedvas Purūrava or Purūravas and Ārdrava are the two to be invoked in p. 457; water is offered to pitra in p. with the Pitrītirha 435n; when the wives of ancestors came to be associated with them in p. cannot be satisfactorily solved, but they had certainly become associated in the sūtra period 474–476; where paternal ancestors are honoured there maternal ancestors must be honoured acc. to Dhaumya and others 473; where yavas are employed in the daiva part of the p.
Persons, cremating patilas through affection or offering water or śrāddha to them had to undergo prāyaścitta 301; declared by express texts as not liable to observe āśauca 305; that should be abandoned for certain actions of theirs 32n; that do not cause impurity to others while performing certain services to the community (such as physicians, barbers, craftsmen), although they may themselves be in āśauca 299–300; (persons) to whom some taint attaches (such as those who kill themselves by starting on the great journey to the Himālaya or by fast) do not cause periods of āśauca 300

Phalakṛcchra 146

Pilgrimage, vide under Tirthayātra; as purification for anuspātakas 106; merit of, may be collected vicariously such as by some one dipping an effigy made with kuṣas in holy water or by engaging a man to go to a tirtha for money 577–578; p. to a place supposed to be holy for the curing of diseases is not rare even in these days 561; to Benares as the only superior expiation for all sins 55; was prescribed in some cases as expiation by the Peshwas for brāhmaṇa murder 55

Pindaś, middle one of three was to be eaten by the performer’s wife, if she desired a son 480, 500n; materials from which they were to be made 478, 498n; purāṇic mantra to be repeated when p. are placed on line drawn on the ground or altar 479; rules about size of 478; were to be placed on darbhas spread on the ground or on an altar 478

Pindar 180

Pindapitrāyajña (performed on amāvasyā of each month by an āhitāgni) was known to early Vedic Literature 349, 358; is a śrāddha 349n; not performed by āgnihotrins in the Deccan or performed only once

rite, sesame are to be employed for all purposes in the pitrya part 442n; whether daily vaivādēva and balihoma should be performed before or after p. 452; wives of patrilineal ancestors i.e., the mother, paternal grand-mother and paternal great-grandmother were not associated with their husbands in the times of the Vedas (except probably in one passage of Vāj. S.) and Brāhmaṇas and in almost all sūtras 472

Parvata, is a dual duty with Indra in the Rgveda 559; rivers Vipās (Beas) and Śrutndri are described in the Rgveda as issuing from the lap of mountains 559

Pāśupatas, touch of, required bath with clothes on and they were not to be invited for śrāddha dinner 395

Pālīs (animals) of two kinds, grāmya and āranya 110

Pāṭaka, derivation of 10

Pataniya meaning of 10; sins called 12–13

Patañjali, author of Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyi 16n

Pathak, Prof. K B. 716

Pāτil, Dr. D. R. on ‘Cultural History of Vāyūyūga’ 558n

Pātita, son of, was Condemned, but not daughter 106

Patiivrata, miraculous power of, extolled 237

Pātrarācchra—same as Parṇakūra, but a title less severe 142

Pauḍarakāra-māhātmya 717n

Pavamānāsūktā 330

Pāvamānī verses (Rg. IX. 1. 1–10) as purifiers 45, 244; verses to be repeated in śrāddha 444

Pavitravatī verses 120, 133 (beginning with ‘pavamānaḥ suvarjanāḥ’) Pavitraṣṭā, prescribed for one desirous of śrāddha 312

Penal Code, Indian 17

Penances, in Europe 129n
a year, 362; description of, in Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 427–28; description of, from Satapatha Brāhmaṇa 429–431; rules about, are set out in Xāv. Śr. S. 435n

Pipiliḥā-madhyā, variety of Cândrāyaṇa 135

Iprahava vase, Inscription, the oldest found up to date (375 B.C.) 235n; seven hundred articles found in the vase were not relics of Buddha, acc. to Fleet, but of his kinsmen 236n

Pitṛyākarma, described 203n

Pitṛbhakti of Śrīdatta, 334n, 335n, 412, 447n, 486.

Pitṛdayitā, 182, 210, 261, 526, 527, 541

Pitṛgāthās, 388n, 405, 539

Pitṛmedha in Satyāśādha-śrutaśūtra 254

Pitṛs, see under 'soul', 'yama'; afternoon is the proper time for 345; ancient Vedic texts and practice sharply distinguish between gods and p. 345; are sometimes identified in the Rg. with seven sages 341; are identified with Vasus, Rudras and Śdityas 334, 335, 337, 339; belief that p. move about as birds 339; belief that p. assume an aerial form and enter the brāhmaṇas invited for dinner at śrāddha 340; called Agniśvātta and Barhiṣad in Rgveda 195, 201; called ārumukha and nándimukha 528; created by Brāhmaṇa along with gods, asuras and human beings 342; derive sustenance and water when a bull let loose digs up earth or drinks at a pool 541; differences in the procedure of the rites for gods and p. (such as wearing the sacred thread, the direction to be faced, circumambulation, use of svāhā for gods and svadhā for pitṛs) 345–6; different classes of, are Kāvyas, Āṅgirasas, Rkvans, Vairūpas, Atharvans, Bṛgus, Navagvas and Daśagvas 192, 341, 593; division of pitṛs into Somavantaḥ, Barhiṣadaḥ and Agniśvātaḥ 343; earlier and later p. 341; element of the fear of pitṛs is not wanting even in the Rgveda 347; enjoy delight in the company of Yama 193; fire is supposed to take the spirit of a cremated person to the pitṛs 342; Fravashis of Parsi scriptures correspond to pitṛs of ancient Indian works 341n; idea of, is Indo-Iranian 341n; identified with R̄tus (seasons) in Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and Manu 428, 430, 450n; interpretation of the word p. by the Ṭryasamāja 339; in many passages of the vedic literature pitṛs mean three deceased male ancestors 347; invocation of, in Rgveda X. 15, 194–195; invocation of, after mentioning their gotra and names 348; invoked for conferring various boons such as happiness, wealth and heroic sons even in the Rgveda, 346; in Vṛddhi-śrāddha are called Nāndimukha 359n; love soma drink 194, 342; man becomes free from debt due to p. by offering water mixed with sesame, by letting loose a bull and by lighting lamps in the rainy season 541; Mann says gods sprang from p. 344; meanings of the word p. are two, viz. a man's three immediate male ancestors and the ancient ancestors of the human race supposed to reside in a separate world 340–41; names of the pitṛs of brāhmaṇas and the other varnas 343–44; number of classes of, changed in later times 348; of him who does not offer śrāddha on amāvāsyā even with water or vegetables go away after cursing him 351; of three grades in the Rgveda, lower, middling and higher 341; presentation formula in Sat. Br. differs from that of Tai. S. 347–348; regale themselves in the company of gods, particularly of Yama 341–42; several classes of,
named by Manu who connects them with varṇas 344; seven classes of acc. to some Puraṇas 344, 348; Skandapurāṇa speaks of nine classes of, 344; spoken of as mortal by Śat. Br. while gods are spoken of as immortal 346; sometimes sages are said to be distinct from pitṛs 347; supposed power of p. to benefit or harm the living led to the cult of the dead in ancient societies 339; three classes of p. 348; three male ancestors of a man are called p. and identified with the deities Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas 335; took the south 345; twelve groups of pitṛs mentioned by Śāsiṭapa 344; water is offered to pitṛs like Āṅgaras, Kratu, and Kaśyapa while pindaśas are offered to three male immediate ancestors 347; Vāyu and other puruṇas distinguish between p. who are above and p. who are laukika viz. father, grand-father and great-grand-father 348; were in a class apart from the gods 344–345; were supposed to have some divine characteristics though they are placed in a class apart from gods 346; when gratified by śāddha bestow on their descendants long life, progeny, wealth, learning, all happiness, heaven, and mokṣa 335, 337

Pitrītirtha, part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger 435n

Pitrjānā, the word occurs even in the Rgveda X. 16. 10 and in Śat. Br. 201, 369; means tarpana, acc. to Manu 369

Pitrīya verses are Rg. X. 15, 1–3, 503n

Planets, Navagrahaśānti, in which each planet is assigned a country and a gotra 178

Pitato 180

Pollution, see purity, purification, śuddhi; excreta, urine, semen, blood, fat, marrow, intoxicants were held to be causes of great p. while dogs, village swine, cats, wax from ear, nails, phlegm, discharge from eyes and perspiration were the causes of insignificant p. 316; three kinds of soil when polluted, viz. amedhīya (impure), duṣṭa (soiled), malinī (dirty) with illustrations and means of purification 317–18

Prabhākara, mimamsā school 170

Prabhāndhacintiśāna 571n

Pracetas, smṛti of, 216n, 218, 219, 276, 409, 413, 521

Prācināvitin, meaning of 487n

Prahlāda, a devout asura, fought with Nṛsiṁha 659

Prajāpati 95n, 295, 374, 376, 386, 407, 409, 411, 413, 417, 419, 420, 465, 531n, 532, 533n, 669

Prajāpati, a God 345, 352; is the devatā of all rites where none is specified 357n

Prajāpatya kṛcchra 103, 132, 145–146; expiation for sin of gurvaṅganāgama by mistake 103; for jātibhrāmṇakara acts if done unintentionally 118; substitutes for several varieties of p. 127–128, 145; kṛcchra if used without qualification means p. 145

Prakaṇaṇapadiśākā, of Śālikanātha, a Mimamsā work 170

Prakīrṇaka, sins called 36; expiation for 119

Prāṇahuti mantras 138

Pranavaṇanda, Śwāmi 760

Prānayaṇa, as a means of removing the consequences of sins 42; as substitute for other severe expiations 127

Pratītā water 209, 501

Prāśīna-upaṇiṣad 186

Prāṣṭī-yāvaka (or Praṣṭī-yāvaka) 143–145; results of drinking the gruel in pr. for 6, 7, 11, or 21 days, 145

Pratiloma castes, are for purposes of āśauca like śūdras acc. to some, while the Mit. says that there are no periods of āśauca for them 288–289; saṃskāras like upanayana were not to be performed for, 50; to be treated as śūdras 50n
Pratisāṃvatsarīka or Pratyābdika śrāddha 487–503, 529–530; no pr. in intercalary month 530; partakes of the character of pārvana in the case of one’s parents but of ekoddita in the case of other relatives 530; to be performed every year on the day of death 529
Pratīyamnāyas, meaning of 127; varius p. for prāyaścittas 127–128
Pratīyavasita, meaning of 113; nine kinds of 95, 113
Pravaraśthiyaya, 537
Pravaraṃaṇjarī 538n
Prayāga, see ‘suicide at P., ’tirtha,’ śrāddha’; 596–617; Agnitirtha, a sub-tirtha 615; Aksaya-vaṭa is the most famous sub-tirtha at P. death at the foot of which or suicide from which was believed to lead to highest worlds 614; at the very sight of P. or by taking its name or by applying its clay to the body a man becomes free from sins 597; bath in month of Māgha at P. highly praised 617; Bhogavati, vedi of Prajāpati, sub-tirtha of P. 614; boundaries of P. 599; confuence of three rivers at P. came to be associated with om and with Pradyumna, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Hari 601; Daśāśvameśhaka, a sub-tirtha of P. 614; derivation of the word Prayāga in various ways 598; distinction between Prayāga-mandala, Prayāga and Veṇī or Triyena, each subsequent one being smaller in extent but holier than each preceding one 598–599; gift of kapilā cow and the marriage of a daughter in ārṣa form at P. highly eulogised 600; gifts made according to one’s ability at P., in Kurukṣetra, on Gaṅga, at Puskara, Setubandha, Gaṅgādvāra, Naimśa produce inexhaustible results 600–601; greatest holiness in, 586; greatness of the confuence of Gaṅga and Yamunā occurs in a khila verse 596–597; greatness of, described in the Mahā-bhārata and some Purāṇas 597; is called Tirtharāja in some Purāṇas 597; is said to be the middle vedi for Brahmā and is called Prajāpati-kṣetra 597; is known as Trivenī; is not destroyed at the end of a kalpa and Brahmā, Viṣṇu (as Veṣṭimādha) and Rudra as the sacred Vaṣṭa stay there at the end of kalpa 600; Kalpataru quotes on P. only Vanaparva and Matsya and no other Purāṇa 601; mantra to be recited when women offer their cut hair at P. 603; meaning of the statement ‘those who die at P. are not born again’ discussed 611–614; officers were appointed in Kashmir for supervising suicide by fast 605; one dying at P. becomes immortal 547; one dying on the way to P. reaps great benefit even without reaching it 615; practice of suicide at P. has great antiquity 612; procedure prescribed by Triśṭhaliṣetru for a man committing religious suicide at P. 610, 611; Pratiṣṭhāna or Śāmurakūpa, a sub-tirtha of P. 614; reference to a bath at P. in the purāṇas generally means a bath at the confluence of the two rivers 599; removal of sin is the only result of tonsure at P. 602; sub-tirthas under Prayāga 614–615; śrāddha has to be performed at most famous tirthas 616; theory of medieval writers was that at the time of death in Prayāga or Vārānasī the Lord Himself whispers in the ears of the dying man higher knowledge or the Tāraka mantra and that moṣa does not result directly by dying at a tirtha, 612–613; three rivers, Gaṅga, Yamunā and Sarasvati (between the other two) are believed to meet at 597; tonsure at P. discussed and great importance attached to it by digesta 601–602; Urvāśipulina, a sub-tirtha of P. 614–615; Veṇīkṣetra is within the limits of P. and is twenty bows in length 599; waters of the
Ganges are white, while those of the Yamuna are dark at P. 596a; whether suicide at P. and other tithas would involve no sin 603–611; widows have to touse real their head at P. but women whose husbands are living are to cut of only two finger- breadths of tresses according to most writers and all boys whose śudā ceremony has been performed are subjected to tonsure 602; word P. generally means the Veṣi or confluence of the rivers in all passages except where there are express words to the contrary 603n

Prāyāscitā (expiration); see under brāhmaṇa, caste, cāndrāyana, incest, mahāpātakas, pātaka, penance, punishment, sinners, theft, tonsure, touch; adhikārin for 77 ff; all persons including even cāndālas are liable to 77–78; amusing examples of mishaps for which p. is provided in Brāhmaṇa texts 58; and punishment were same for some misdeeds, such as incest 72; baths with ashes, clay, cowdung, pañca-gavya in 124; boy over five and less than eleven years had not to undergo p. personally but through father, brother or the like 78–79; branding on forehead, if p. for the first four mahāpātakas not undergone 72; called Sāntapana 118; cases in which both p. and punishment were given 72; caste of sinner and of the person sinned against made a difference in p. and punishment 80–81; child less than five years is not liable for any crime or liable to p. according to some 79; conventional meaning of, acc. to the Mitākṣara 60; consequences of not performing p. for sins 133–154; derivation of the word p. 59–60; destroys sins unintentionally committed 61; discriminatory treatment about p. depending on caste gradually became obsolete 82; does not destroy sin intentionally committed but makes the sinner fit for association with others 63; easier p. came to be prescribed in course of time 127; ending in death destroys sin 64; ending in death is forbidden in Kali age acc. to digests 65; for adultery 43, 111; for brāhmaṇa murder by kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra 91, 95; for eating the flesh of certain birds and certain fish was fast for one day or three days 101; for grave sins there was difficult p. and easy p. for trivial lapses 84; for guru-tāṣa-gaman 103–105; for intentionally committed sin is double of that for unintentioned sin 64, 80, 83; for killing any animal other than a cow or bull 110; for particular sins 87–116; for persons kidnapped by mlecchas or raiders, sold or treated as slaves, made to kill cows or eat forbidden food and returning to their own country depended on the caste of the person so treated 117–118; for prakāraka (miscellaneous) lapses 119; for pratyavasita (ascetic reverting) to the life of an householder 113; for surāpana 96–98; for theft of brāhmaṇa’s gold of a certain weight or of non-brāhmaṇa’s gold 101–102; for unintentional brāhmaṇa murder 92; for thefts of various articles were different 102; for touching certain men, certain unclean objects like bones, women in monthly illness or recently delivered, animals like dogs or crows 114; for upapātakas 84, 107; for woman guilty of adultery 104–105; gift of one, two, three or four cows to be made at the end of each p. acc. to the varṇa of the sinner 121; homa to be performed in all p. 120; if not performed for one year, then double p. to be prescribed 75; in cases of sins described as equal to brahmatyā or surāpana p. is half of what is
prescribed for latter 93; in medieval times came to be gifts and dinner to brāhmaṇas 128; is either krutārtha or puruṣārtha 58; is hardly ever performed now except in the form of gifts of cows or money to brāhmaṇas, pilgrimages, recitation of vedic texts or japa of the names of a deity 87; Kṛcchra, Atikṛcchra and Cāndrāyaṇa are p. prescribed for all sins 84; king’s position as to punishment and p. in ancient times 71–72; liability to p. depended on usages of countries 82; lesser p. for abettor or inciter of brāhmaṇa murder than the actual murderer 90; Literature on 77; many p. prescribed for grave sins were terrible and were to be self-inflicted 76; mantras to be recited in p. and in beginning and at the completion 124–125; matters to be considered in prescribing p. or punishments were the same, viz intention or its absence, first lapse or repeated lapse, time, place, age, caste, learning, wealth, āśrama 73–83; may be administered to śūdra but without japa and homa 78; meaning of 57; means also doing something to get rid of the fault arising from some accidenta happening or mishap 57; p. mentioned in śruta works are passed over in this volume 58–59; Mitākṣarā solution of conflict about efficacy of p. 65; sinner not to ignore parisad and not to prescribe p. himself 71; numerous prāyaścittas prescribed for same sin in smṛtis 87; pañcagavya to be taken in each p. 121; p. partakes of the character of naimittika and kāmya actions, 60–61; Pātimokkha meetings of Buddhists 165; parisad may prescribe p. for lapses for which no particular expiation is prescribed 84; person drinking through ignorance intoxicated, human urine and the like had to undergo p. of Taptis-kṛcchra and also punarupanayana if he was dvija 97; persons of different āśramas were prescribed different p. 83; persons over 80 years old and boys less than 16, women and diseased men are liable to only half of ordinary p. 79–80; persons who were to resort to secret p. 125; prescribing the giving of cows by Āp., Baud., Manu and Yāj. on killing kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra explained 71; procedure as prescribed for taking p. after consulting parisad has varied in details from time to time 119–121; proper times for performing p. 119; purposes of, as conceived by the smṛtis are purging of sin, satisfaction of sinner’s mind, admission to intercourse with others 63–64; rahasya (secret) p., rules about 125–126; reason why it should be conceded that sins are destroyed by p. 68; recitation of the Gāyatrī verse ten thousand times is p. for all sins, acc to Parāśara 84; relation of p. to punishment. 69, 71; role of king, king’s officers, learned men and sinner in relation to 70–71; same vrata for striking a brāhmaṇa with intention to kill as for brāhmaṇatāyī though victim recovers 95; rules as to food and other matters to be observed in p. 124; severity of, depended on whether the lapse was the first one or was repeated 82–83; should be sought from parisad at once after a sinful act 119; slight p. could be carried out without informing king 70; smṛtis provide that if a sinner died in the midst of the period for which p. was prescribed he became free from sin here and in next world 83; smṛtis prescribed some terrible p. 126; stages (four) in the matter of expiation 85; śūdras had to take p. without mantras and homa 146; to be moulded on the lines of punishment 75; thirteen p. for brāhmaṇa murder
History of Dharmaśāstra

88–93; p. for twelve years had a sliding scale of substitutes in medieval times 128; two forms of the word p. 57; two kinds of, acc. to Sabara, in śruti texts 58; two meanings of the word in old Vedic texts 57; varied according to rules for śāhu laid down for the several āśramas 83; various kinds of, p. prescribed by sūtra for eating and drinking what ought not be eaten or drunk or for drinking from a cāndāla’s pot 99; Vedic indications in support of view that even sins intentionally committed are destroyed by p 62–64; were of two kinds, viz., those undergone openly and those that were undergone secretly 125; when a man attempts suicide by fire, water, poison or the like and is saved or recovers p. is for three years 95; when no specific p. prescribed for a lapse, then recitation of vedic texts, tapas, fast and gifts may be resorted to 84; when one is bitten by a harlot, a dog, monkey, ass, jackal or the like p. is pṛāṇāyāma 110; whether rules on p. were made earlier than the rules about punishments, where the same act is liable to both 69–70; while undergoing p. the sinner has to observe certain rules such as ahimsā, truthfulness 120–121, 124; women had to take p. without vedic mantras 146

Pṛāṇāśācittamayūkha, 24, 25, 30n, 59n, 67n, 78n, 83n, 84n, 86n, 121, 122, 123n, 128n, 129, 130, 137n, 142, 146n, 150n

Pṛāṇāśācittamuktāvali (ms.) 15, 65, 112, 113, 117n, 128n, 150

Pṛāṇāśācitta prakaraṇa, 21n, 23, 24, 25n, 26, 28, 59n, 74n, 75n, 79n, 80n, 81n, 82, 94, 95, 96n, 97, 98, 106, 109, 114, 132, 134, 142n, 149

Pṛāṇāśācittaprakāśa, (part of Viśamitrodāya, ms.) 16n, 21, 22, 25n, 26, 27n, 28n, 41n, 45n, 47n, 51n, 55n, 56, 60n, 61, 64n, 65n, 67n, 70n, 76n, 78n, 84n, 85, 87n, 88n, 90, 91, 95n, 98, 104n, 107, 108n, 116n, 121, 122, 124, 128n, 131, 132, 134n, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 146, 148, 149, 150n, 151, 152

Pṛāṇāśācittā-sāra, 65n, 70n, 76n, 78n, 84, 86n, 94n, 101, 106, 113n, 121, 123n, 125n, 127n, 128n, 129, 130, 131n, 132n, 134, 139, 140, 143n, 147, 148, 149n, 150, 152, 176, 177

Pṛāṇāśācittā-tattva, 17n, 28, 40, 50n, 51, 60, 67, 75, 79n, 84n, 86n, 90, 108, 109, 117, 119, 121, 122, 123n, 127n, 129, 131, 132n, 217n, 576n, 577n, 578, 589n, 590,594, 602n, 603

Pṛāṇāśācittaviveka, 10, 17, 18n, 19n, 21, 22n, 23–26, 28, 32, 40, 41, 50, 55n, 59n, 60, 61n, 63n, 75n, 77n, 79n, 80n, 81n, 83n, 86, 87n, 88, 90n, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99n, 101, 103, 104n, 105n, 106, 108, 111n, 114, 115n, 121, 123n, 125n, 129, 131, 132n, 134n, 142n, 146n, 148n, 150n, 153n, 162, 163n, 265n, 313n

Pṛāṇāśācittendusekhara of Nāgojībhaṭṭa 77, 119, 121, 129, 152

Predestination, doctrine of 9

Pṛetaśāḍṭhas, 262n; eighteen details omitted in 262n

Priyolkar, Mr. A. K. 715n, 721

Pringle-Pattison, author of 'Idea of immortality' 171n

Pṛthūdaka (modern Pehowa) is called Brahmayonīrītha 685; is the holiest of tīrthas, acc. to Vanaparva 566, 685; religious suicide at, mentioned by Vanaparva 608, 685

Ptomey 765

Pṛthvīcandrododaya 351n, 406n, 424n, 425n, 459n, 464n, 503n, 513n, 515n, 520n, 529n, 535, 547, 555n, 574n, 578n, 580n, 616n, 652n

Puckle, Bertram S., author of 'Funeral customs,' describing funeral customs of England, France, Jews and peoples of Europe 191n, 232n

Pūjāratnākara, 187

Fulastya, 351n, 424, 481
Punaḥstoma, a śrauta sacrifice which removes sine 62

Punarjanma, doctrine of, apparently conflicts with the theory of śrāddha 335; doctrine of, very succinctly put forth in Br. Up and Bhagavadgītā 335

Punarupanayana; details that are done or omitted from those of upanayana 98

Punishment, and expiation for certain acts are the same 31, 72; based on considerations of the castes of the offender and the person aggrieved had ceased to be operative by about 12th century A.D. 82; by king with a fine of the first or second kind can offenders allow to associate with other members of the society, but not those awarded the highest fine 67, 76; by king was deemed in some cases to have purged a man of sin 73; depended on the caste of offender and person aggrieved acc. to smṛtis 81; for incest viz excision of testicles and death was for non-brāhmaṇa offenders 72; for many acts was light in India as compared with western countries probably owing to the liability of the perpetrator to undergo expiation 68; of brāhmaṇas guilty of one of the first four mahāpātakas 72; of persons other than brāhmaṇas guilty of the first four mahāpātakas 72; some acts not liable to be punished by the king or State made the authors liable to prāyaścitta 68; some acts punishable by the king entailed no prāyaścitta 69

Punpun, sacred river where orthodox pilgrims get shaved before proceeding to Gayā and perform śrāddha also 580–581

Pūrṇa, a coin equal to sixteen paṇas in value 129

Pūrṇās 243, 272, 302; abound in stories that appear to modern minds absurd and puerile 659; contain thousands of verses on śrāddha 262; contain stories that may be divided into several classes and many of them were meant to satisfy the cravings of the human mind for the marvellous, the unusual and the horrible 622–623; closely follow gṛhyaśūtras, Manu and Yāj, and contain numerous verses that are identical with those of Yāj, and often employ the same mantras and formulae 448, 452; often describe the quarrels and bickerings among high gods and sages 623; procedure for śrāddha is the same in all purāṇas 448; proposed an easy way for all to remove consequences of sins, viz. remembering the name of Nārāyaṇa 50; several p. devote considerable space to āśuca 272; state that gods like Indra and Kṛṣṇa fought, that Gaṇeṣa’s tooth was shattered by Paraśurāma who wanted to fight with Rāma and that sages cursed Viṣṇu, Indra and Dharma 623; state that even gods like Viṣṇu, sages like Vasiṣṭha and great kings attained their positions by pilgrimages 56

Pūrṇa, śrāddhas 262

Purification, see under ‘food’; of things, (dravyas) 312–333; divergence of views about p. of various objects 316; five to seven means of p. of land, acc. to Vasiṣṭha, Yāj, and others 317; general rule for p. of large quantities of corn, clothes and many other articles is that sprinkling with water suffices but if quantity small then washing with water necessary 329; of house. when polluted, by sweeping or cowdunging, but far more p. necessary if a dog, a śūdra, mleccha, cāṇḍāla or paśīna dies in it or cāṇḍāla stays in it 321–322; of gold and silver by water or fire (if pollution slight) 325; of cloth and yarn 330; means of purification of metallic things, earthenware, wooden things, of cloth, bones, iron 315; none for infants up to the time of anna-
prāšana (taking cooked food for the first time), or up to one year or up to upanayana 312; matters to be considered in prescribing p. of polluted things are time, place, the body, the thing to be purified, the purpose for which the thing is to be used, origin of defilement, condition (of the thing) 316; of metals and precious stones 325-326; of idols or images made of iron or other metal or of stone 318-319; of temples when polluted 318-319; of water 322-323; of body by ācamana, bath etc. 331-332; of small quantities of liquids (oil, ghee etc.) by two kuśas dipped in water and of large quantities by sprinkling water 330; of substances depended on many circumstances such as being metallic or not, solid or liquid, being large or small in quantity 331; of polluted corn and cooked food 328; procedure of p. of images polluted in various ways 319-320; procedure of p. of a well in which the dead body of an animal with five nails (man or beast) is found or it is extremely polluted 332; some birds or animals were always pure or deemed to be pure as to certain parts of the body such as a cow except as to its mouth, goats and horses as to their mouths 312-313; sprinkling with water is the mode of p. when large quantities of corn or clothes are polluted 314; substances that bring about p. of all polluted things are water, clay, paste of soap berries, bilva fruit, rice, mustard cake, salts, cow’s urine and dung 314; of vessels and pots when slightly or extremely polluted 326-327; of vessels and implements used in Vedic sacrifices 327-328; water deemed even in the Rgveda to be a means of p. 321; water and earth are to be employed for p. of things or bodies smeared with foul matter till the foul odour is removed 314; ways of p. of ground 316-317; what things do not need p. and are always pure 312-14

Purity, see under 'bath,' 'śauca,' 'śuddhi'; causes of, are time, fire, religious rites, clay, wind, mind, spiritual knowledge, expiations, water, repentance and fast 315; extremely exaggerated importance attached by medieval brāhmaṇas to ceremonial p. on births and death and led to such prescriptions as the one that if a śūdra, patita or mleccha died in a brāhmaṇa’s house, the latter became impure for months 273, 282; great care taken for the purity or cleanliness of vessels used in sacrifices and of offerings in early vedic times 310; great emphasis laid by ancient and medieval Indians on p. of mind, body, place where they resided or performed religious rites, of food 332; ground in a brāhmaṇa’s house, in a temple and in cowpens is held to be endowed with p., unless it has been polluted 322; inner p. and the food that one eats 100, 332-333; Manu declares that mental purity is the highest of all kinds of p. 311; of the body effected by various means such as rinsing the mouth, bath 311; of sacrificer’s body in śrauta rites was effected by the adhvaryu priest rubbing the sacrificer’s body twice with three bunches of seven darbhas each 311

Puronuvākyā (invitatory prayer) 543 (in Jīvat-śrāddha), is recited by the hotṛ priest while seated 543n

Puruṣagati, a sāman 46n

Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90), is deemed to be a hymn that purifies one of sins 45, 48, 304, 320; is of 18 verses in Vāj. S and Tai. A. 543; to be repeated at pārvaṇa-śrāddha 439, 444, 449n, 488, 507; to be repeated in Vṛṣot-sarga 540

Puruṣottama-tīrtha (Jagannātha Purī) 692-703; see 'Caitanya'; army of
attendants at temple of Jagannātha divided into 36 orders and 97 classes 699; Brahma and Nārada purāṇas deal exhaustively with P.693; Caitanya settled at Puri in 1515 and died there in 1533 A.D., 702; conflict of views about the builder of the great temple at, 698; description of the car festival of Jagannātha which is the most important of the 24 high festivals at Puri 697-698; five important tīrthas at 699; Gundīcā-yāṭrā for seven days 700-701; indications showing that P. was a place of Buddhist sanctuary 695-696; legend of Indradynuma who established wooden images of Kṛṣṇa, Balabāma and Subhadra 694-695; Mitra surmises three periods in history of P. viz. early Hindu period, Buddhist period and Vaiṣṇava period 695; not described by Kalpataru on tīrthas 693; no truth in the stories about suicide by falling before the car of Jagannātha 698; one of the four most important tīrthas in Orissa, the other three being Bhuvanesvara, Konarka and Jajpur (Yayatipura) 693; peculiar features of P. are that no distinction of caste is observed, hot cooked rice, car festival 697; pool called after Indradynuma 694-695, 700; pool of Mārkaṇḍeya, story of 699; P. was probably called Nilacala in ancient times, Kṛṣṇa worship was introduced from northern India and three images of wood were established early 695; religious suicide at, recommended to dvijas by Brahma purāṇa 608; regrettable feature of Jagannātha temple is the existence of obscene sculptures on the walls 702; Rgveda X. 155.3 is supposed by Śāyana to refer to P. 693; sacred enclosure of Jagannātha with 120 temples and the pagoda of Jagannātha in four chambers described 696-697; sacred vāta at P. 699-700; story of Jagannātha in the Brahmapurāṇa 694-695; three images described by Hunter and Mitra which are supposed to correspond to Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha 695n, 696; veṣyās (dancing girls) at temple of, referred to in Brahma purāṇa 702-703; works on 692-693 Puruṣottamakṣetratattva of Raghunandana 583, 693,

Pūrvāmāṃsā, see under 'Māṃsā'
Pūṣan, protects cattle and hands over the departed to pitṛs 198; worshipped in Vṛṇotsarga rite 540
Pūṣārana, all ten thousand crores of tīrthas are present in, 565
Puspakṛcchra, 143
Pūṣṭidrādha 282
Putra (son); all three descendants of a man were deemed to confer equally great spiritual benefit upon him 366; Manu says that by the birth of a son man wins the worlds, secures immortality by a grandson and reaches the abode of the sun by a great-grandson 366; Mitākṣara included the great-grandson also in the extended meaning of the word 367-368; who deserves to be called p. 365
Putrikāputra, 473, 474, 536n; to whom does he offer piṣṭas in a śrāddha and in what order 537
Quack, liable to be punished, if person treated by him died as a result 19
Raghavan, Dr. V. 701n
Raghavānanda, commentator of Manu 93
Raghunandana, author of Śrāddhatattva, Gayārāddhapaddhati and other works 594; closely follows Tīrtha-cintāmani of Vācaspätī in his Tīrthayātratattva 671
Raghunātha, commentator of Trīṃśat śloki 255n, 276n,
Raghuvaniśa 158, 596n, 688, 691, 703, 706,
Rājata, a sāman 46n
Rājatarahgini 52, 571, 605, 724
Rājvāde, Khaṇḍa 56n
Rākṣoghana hymns (Ṛg. IV. 4. 1-5 etc.), 439, 449n, 450n, 497, 507
Raktikā, weight of 129
Rāma, performed sacrifices accompanied by a golden image of Śita 226; when an exile in Ćaṇḍākā forest gratified his pīṭhas by offering sīguda, badara and bīva fruit 416
Rāmāyana, 214, 223, 233, 237, 416, 534, 597, 617n, 653n, 688, 707, 710
Rāmatāpaniṇiḥ-upaniṣad 614
Ramprasad Chanda 247n
Rathtanta, a sāman 46n, 450
Ratnāvali, of Nāgarjuna 176
Rātrisattra, see under ‘maxim’; meaning of 62-63
Rauhīna, a sāman 46n
Raurava, a sāman 133
Raurava, a hell supposed to be below the earth 168
Rāyamukuta, 117n
Raychaudhuri, Dr. Hemacandra 726
Repentance, as a means of removing the consequences of sins 41-42; by itself not sufficient to destroy effects of sins, acc. to some digests 42
Report on the ‘Doctrine of the Church of England’ 171
Reynolds, Reginald, author of ‘Cleanliness and godliness’ 311
Ṛgveda, 2, 6, 10, 11n, 20, 34, 36, 37, 42, 43n, 45, 46n, 48, 49, 98, 100n, 112n, 120, 126, 127, 133, 140, 141, 144n, 145, 146, 154, 156, 159, 162n, 165, 182n, 183n, 187n, 189n, 191-201 (translation of Ṛg. X 14-18 with notes), 192n, 193n, 194n, 196n, 198n, 203, 205n, 206, 21n, 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 241-246, 249n, 250, 254, 266, 267, 269n, 304, 307, 320, 321, 341-344, 346, 347, 349, 351, 376, 384, 429n, 434, 435n, 437, 439, 441, 442, 444, 446n, 447n, 448, 449, 450n, 452, 457, 458, 460, 468, 487n, 488-496, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 507, 523, 524, 527, 540, 543, 544, 554, 555, 556, 558, 559, 561, 578, 585, 603n, 607n, 619, 643; 645, 680, 681, 693n; occult powers came to be attributed to the words of 49
Ṛgvidbhāna, prescribes numerous hymns and verses of the Ṛgveda for the removal of sins and diseases and the destruction of enemies 49; provides that one should repeat at the time of death the sūkta ‘nānānam’ (Ṛg. IX, 112), 183
Rhys Davids, Mr. 235, 236n, 628
Rivers, invoked and named in the Ṛgveda and other Vedas 555-558; said to be ninety-nine in some passages of the Ṛgveda 556; falling into the sea are holy 560; some great rivers are said to be specially holy at certain times 560n; some great rivers are seen by most Indians in two aspects, physical and spiritual or divine 585; three principal r. of three groups of seven each are Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu 556; what are the seven r. of the Ṛgveda 557
Ṛkvans, a class of pīṭhas associated with Ṛhaspati, Viṣṇu, Soma and other gods 192n
Ṛṣicāndrayaṇa 132
Ṛṣyasṛṇa 221, 547n
Ṛta, different from sacrifice 3; distinguished from satya 4; had a threefold aspect 2; meaning of, in the Ṛgveda 2, moral imperative is 4
Rudradāman 255
Rudradhara, author of Śudhīhīveka 269
Rudraikādaśini 178
Rudras, anuvākas of Tai. S. called r. as purifiers 45, 46n; are eleven 490; are employed in Vṛcotsarga rite 540
Rudraskanda, commentator of Khādīra gr. 359n
Sabara, author of bhāṣya on Jaimini’s Purvamīmāṃsāsūtra, 9n, 24n, 27n, 40n, 45n, 53n, 58, 62n, 66n, 89n, 112n, 137n, 168n, 169, 170, 208n,
310n, 353, 419n, 440n, 453n, 454n, 481n, 687n
Sabdakalpadruma 87
Sabhāparva, 622, 688, 692
Sacrifices, Vedic, are supposed by some European writers to be magic 38; implements used in, were burnt with the body of the sacrificer on his death except those of copper, iron and clay 197n, 207–208; in śmaṛta s animals are not killed now but only māṣa grains are used 362; some aḥītāgniś also do not offer meat but only piṣṭapasā (flour effigy of animal) 362; were originally propitiatory 44
Saddharmapundarika 176
Śaḍaśīti, a work on śāśva in 86 Anuṣṭubh verses by Kausikādiyā 268, 270n, 274n, 283, 293, 294, commentary on, called Śuddhicandrīkā by Nandapaṇḍita 273
Śaḍhānā, by Tagore 852n
Śadyaḥśāauc, see under 'ascetic', 'brahmačārin', 'king'; meaning of 293–296; occasions of (where one becomes pure by a mere bath on a relative's death) 297–299
Sages, of the Rgveda had some faint glimmerings of a dark pit for wicked persons 154–155; prayed to Varuṇa, Ādityas and Agni to free them from sin 36; say that they violated the dharmas and vrataś of gods and implore forgiveness 36–37
Sāhasa, divided into three kinds (when meaning fine for offences) 76; divided into four kinds (when meaning offences) 81n
Śakas 117
Śākalohasas 48
Śākamedha, one of the Cāturmāyasas; pīṇḍapitṛyajña performed in 201
Śākapūṇi 645
Śākuntalā, an Apsaras, is said in a gāthā in Sat. Br. to have conceived Bharata at Nādapit 595
Saledore, Prof. B. A. 716n
Śālikānātha, author of Prakaraṇa-paṇcikā 170
Salt, manufactured, condemned for use in ārddha but natural salt from a lake allowed 416; was not to be directly served to dining brāhmaṇas in a ārddha 466
Śalvāparva, 237, 582, 688n, 684n, 685, 686, 710
Śāmans, as purifiers of sin 45; should be repeated from 10 to 100 times for removal of sins as expiation 49
Samantapaṇcaka, represents the five pools of kṣatriya blood that Paraśurāma collected in revenge for his father's murder, subsequently turned into holy pools 682
Śāmanveda, 46n, 110, 116, 133n, 203n, 307
Śāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa 18, 23, 49, 60, 95, 96, 100, 107, 110, 116, 130, 132, 133.
Śaṁsarga, a mahāpātaka, when 25–29, 103–106; expiation for association with one guilty of mahāpātaka was not death but an observance extending over years 106; extension of, in medieval works 27; half expiation if s. was due to ignorance 106; nine kinds of 25–26; results of, in the four yugas 26; three kinds of 26
Śaṁskāra-Patnamālā of Gopinātha, 482, 509
Saṃskāras, all were once performed for women also but without Vedic mantras except at marriage 190; are performed for śūdras but without Vedic mantras 190; two saṃskāras, viz. at birth and at death are absolutely necessary for all 190 Samudrakara, author of bhāṣya on Śrāddhasūtra 406n


Saṅkatumārasamhitā, 633

Saṅcayana (collection of the charred bones of a person cremated) 240-244; bones of a male are collected in an urn without protuberances and of a woman in an urn with protuberances 241; collected charred bones should be cast into the Ganges or some holy river or into the sea, since the deceased would remain in heaven as long as even a particle of the bones remains in the Ganges 234; of the dead are cast at Prayāga 243; even in modern times, particularly in towns and cities, the collection of charred bones is done immediately after cremation 242; four modes of the disposal of charred bones, acc. to Sat. śr. 246n; great divergence of views about the day on which this is to be done, but many works lay down 4th day after cremation 240-241; Kauśika-sūtra and Satyaśāda-trāutasūtra differ in details, the most important being that the urn is deposited at the root of a tree 242; men and women (but not mixed up together) may collect 241; no S. for one whose upanayana has not been performed 244; procedure of, in Ṛgveda 241; procedure of, acc. to Antyeṣṭi-paddhati 242-243; rattling noise should not be made in collecting 241; relatives return to house without looking back, bathe and offer śrāddha to deceased alone 241; rite of casting ashes into the Ganges described 243-244; some smṛtis made the day of S depend on the varna of the person deceased 241; some prescribed certain tithis and nakṣatras for S. 241; some sūtras prescribe a śanī rite called paridhi-karma after S. while others do so after āśauca ends 240; urn (in which bones are collected) to be put in a pit 241

Śaṅghyā; though Gobhiṇa prohibits performance of S. during days of impurity, Mit. says that a man in days of impurity may offer water to the Sun in worship and that mantras (except those of prāṇāyāma) may be revolved in the mind 240

Śaṅdilya, smṛti of 243n
Śaṅdilyavidyā 186

Śaṅghāṭastrāddha 547; meaning of 547; when several people die at the same time on the same day, the order in which the śrāddhas are to be performed is determined by the nearness of relationship to the performer 547

Śaṃghaṁ, a work on Dharmaśāstra 217n, 268, 455n, 541n

Śaṅkalpa for taking expiation should be made on 14th tithi and actual expiation may be done on amāvāsyā, 119

Śaṅkaraśārya, 20n, 53n, 66n, 67n, 68, 100n, 158, 162n, 165, 186n, 188, 189, 344n, 384n, 481

Śaṅkarikaraṇa sūtras 15, 35; expiation for 118-119

Saṅkha-Likhita 99, 116n, 142, 150, 162, 163n, 221, 243n, 297, 300, 314, 368, 386, 463, 467, 578n
Saṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa 45, 345, 354, 559n
Saṅkhāyana-grhya-sūtra 54, 354, 355, 357n, 358, 359n, 360, 362, 384, 402, 463, 470, 474, 516, 521, 525, 539, 574n
Saṅkhāyana-srautasūtra 57, 127, 200n, 203, 204, 205n, 207n, 208n, 209n, 224, 225n, 238, 240, 244, 246, 271, 463, 511n, 537
Saṅkhya philosophy, tenets of 9
Saṅnavatīrāḍḍha of Raghunātha 381n, 382; of Sivabhaṭṭa, son of Govinda 382
Sannyāsin, reverting to the life of a householder is to be treated as a cāndāla even after undergoing penance and his children born after his lapse are to dwell among cāndālas 113
Saṅtāpana, is expiation for acts called Jātibhrānasakara 118; is same as Brahmakūrea, according to some digests 147
Saṅtiaka chapter is Vāj. S. 36, 10 ff, 151
Saṅtiparva 9, 10, 25, 54, 74, 100n, 104, 164, 166, 170, 181, 185n, 187, 237, 349, 350, 364, 387n, 534, 540n, 570, 685n
Saṅti rite, after saṅcayaṇa 244–246; at the end of āśauca 306–307; mantras in, for followers of different Vedas 307
Sapiṇḍa, two meanings of 510
Sapiṇḍa relationship extends to seven generations 483
Sapiṇḍas, had to observe no āśauca, but only sadyah-śauca for those who met death in defence of cows or brāhmaṇas, or met death through king's wrath, or for those that were killed in battle 305
Sapiṇḍikāraṇa or Sapiṇḍana śrāddha 520–525; conflict of views about mother's s. 524; could be performed at the end of a year after death or at the end of four, six or eleven months or three fortnights or on 12th day after death or on the happening of a lucky event (birth of a son or marriage) 520; different times after death prescribed for this śrāddha in ancient works 520ff; even if s. be performed within one year, still for one year food and a jar of water should be given to a brāhmaṇa 521; four pīṇḍas are to be prepared, one for the preta and three for his deceased paternal ancestors and then the performer divides the peta-piṇḍa into three parts and puts each third into each of the three ṗiṇḍas with the two mantras 'ye samānā' 522; mantras differ in different works 523–524; means the reception of a deceased person into the community of pītṛs to whom pīṇḍas are offered 520; navāśrāddhas, 16 śrāddhās and s. must be performed by one heir alone, though there be many heirs, but after a year śrāddha may be performed by each heir separately 526; no auspicious rite like marriage can be performed until sapiṇḍana of a deceased family member has been performed 525; no sapiṇḍana for a person unless he had upanayana performed 524–525; no sapiṇḍana for those who left off their faith or committed suicide or became ascetics or were born of mixed unions, or for patīta women 525; number of brāhmaṇas to be invited 522; on completion of s. the preta ceases to be so and becomes one of the pītṛs 523; of woman who became a sāti or was made a putrīkā or was married in the āśura form 524; partakes of both ekoddīṣṭa (applying to preta) and pārvana (applying to three ancestors) 523; procedure of, described 522 ff; saṅkalpa in s. 521 n; this śrāddha
and ekoddīśṭa-śṛddha are performed for women also 524; to be performed in the afternoon 523; twelfth day is generally commended for several reasons 520–521; twelfth day after death is the only day for s. for śīdras, acc. to some 521; two meanings of the word āṛta 523; was to be performed after the sixteen śṛddhas 520, 521; widow" dying sonless has no s. performed for her, but only ekoddīśṭa 524

Saptācīs mantra 430n, 458n, 459
Saraka, a tīrthā on Sarasvati 559
Sārasvatīsattātras, described 558–559, 681; the country between Vinaśāna and Plākṣa Prasravaṇa was the proper locality for 558; three S. 557–558

Sārasvati-tīrthā 559, 681
Sarasvati, see under ‘Sindhu’; described in some purāṇas as springing from Plākṣa tree, as flowing through Kurukṣetra and Dwāltavana 556n, 686; Alberuni’s account of another S. that falls into the sea near Somanātha 686; description of in the Rgveda 556–557; disappeared in the desert sands in the times of the Brāhmaṇa texts 557; following the course of, from the sea to its source was an expiation 93; has a two-fold character as a river and as a divinity 198n; is now identified with Sarsuti which is lost in the desert sands near Bhatnair 557; question whether S. is the same as Sindhu discussed 556n; seven Sarasvatis that encompass the world 686; seven very holy rivers connected with S. 686; the dīkhā of the Sārasvata sattras was to be performed on the south bank of the dry bed of S. 557; three hymns are addressed to S. as a deity in the Rgveda 556; Vāj. S. says that five rivers fall into the S. 557

Sarasvatīvilāsa, a work 82
Sarayū, river 556

Sārnāth, about five miles north of Banaras where Buddha delivered his first sermon 641
Sarvādāna, method of Agnihotra 461
Sarvajña–Nārāyaṇa, commentator of Manu 93, 362n.
Sarvānuśrāma 619
Sarvatprāyaścitā, for dying man 184
Sārvarājyāḥ (ṛcaḥ) 203n
Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa 8, 10, 20, 37, 39
44, 54, 57, 58, 62n, 70, 117, 155, 157, 168, 189n, 194n, 196n, 203n, 204n, 205n, 206n, 207n, 208, 209n, 210, 223, 225n, 246, 248, 249n, 260, 321, 339, 343, 345–348, 353, 369, 376, 383n, 402n, 417, 418, 429, 462, 472, 476, 477n, 559n, 574n, 585, 606, 618, 680, 703
Sātālapa, smrī of 40, 108, 115, 172, 174, 178, 220, 280n, 295n, 305, 311, 314n, 325, 332n, 344, 348, 399, 475, 515n, 519n, 528; on Karmavipāka 172n
Satī, see under ‘wife’; wife burning herself on her husband’s funeral pyre or burning herself some time after her husband’s death 237, 604h; Brāhmaṇa woman was to burn herself along with her husband's body, but not after its cremation, but women of other classes could do so 237; Nāradapūrāṇa does not allow a woman to burn herself if she has a young child or if she is pregnant or if she has not attained puberty or she is in her monthly illness 237, 604–605; practice of, was common to all women including cāndāla women 237; Rgveda X. 18. 7 slightly changed was recited at the burning of, 199n
Saṭ-triṃśan-mata, 18n, 102n, 114, 128n, 293, 332n, 364, 414, 541n, 548n
Satya, vide under rta
Satyāsādha-śrauta-sūtra, 191n, 204, 206n, 207n, 208n, 211, 212, 218,
General Index

224, 225, 226n, 233, 240, 242, 244, 245n, 246, 248, 251-254, 361

Satyavrata, 419n
Šatyaśāni, 383n

Sauca, see under 'purity', 'śuddhi'; consists in avoiding abhakṣya (what ought not to be eaten), by association with those only who are uncondemned, and firmly abiding by one's prescribed duties 310; four kinds of, acc. to a smṛti viz. mone-
tary, mental, bodily and of speech 310; is one of the five niyamas of Yoga 311; means removal by means of clay, water, cowdung and the like of the besmearing, the oiliness and odour of a thing that causes impurity 314; mental attitude is the highest thing in, acc. to Padmapurāṇa 310; of two kinds, bāhya (of the body) and ābhyan-
tara, the latter being superior to the former 310; Vanaparva speaks of three kinds of, viz. in speech, actions and that brought about by water 310

Saunyakṛṣeṣṭha 152

Saunaka, 243, 540n, 544; condemned the begetting of a son by a deva from a śudra woman 14n; procedure of Nārāyaṇabali, from 304

Saunakāṭhavaṇasrāddha-kalpa 479

Saurapurāṇa, 51, 371n, 373, 388, 392, 396, 443n, 456n, 471n, 514

Sāvitrī, (Gāyatrī verse), as purifier of sins 45

Sāvyam, meaning of 487n

Sāyana, 193n, 194n, 197n, 228n; bhāṣya of, on Rgveda 556, 559n, 693n; bhāṣya of, on Sāmavidhānasrāhmana 59n; bhāṣya of, on Tai. Br. 427n, 462n; bhāṣya of, on Tai. Ā. 39n; bhāṣya of, on Tai. S. 426n

Sea, every, is holy 560

Sea voyage; a brāhmaṇa, who undertakes sea voyages, is unfit to be in-
vited at śāddha 393

Setu, 55, 94; pilgrimage to, as an ex-
piation for the murder of a brāhmaṇa who has studied four Vedas 94

Sewel, on image of Jagannātha 696

Sheol, was the name the Hebrews gave to the gloomy abode of the dead 170

Sherring, M.A, author of 'The sacred city of the Hindus' 618n, 631, 632

Siddhāntāśekhara, 319n

Siddharāja, king of Anahilavād-Vide under Somanātha

Silappadikāram 767

Silver, said to be produced from the eye of Śiva and therefore dear to pitṛs 420

Sin, apātrikaraṇa 15, 35; Āśvamedha deemed to be free from all 37; confession of, supposed to remove effects of 37; how s. arises has been a difficult problem 8-9; idea of, bound up with conception of rta in the Rgveda 2; idea of original s. not accepted by many people 8n; idea of, varies at different ages, in different countries and different religions 1; is difficult to define 1; is transferred from man to man by sitting or sleeping together, by dining in same row or by using same conveyance 26; means of removing consequences of 37, 40, 41-56; most frequent words in the Rgveda for sin are āgasa and enasa 5; murder of brāhmaṇa, graves 10; potentialities and consequences of, are two-fold 65; Rgvedic sages acutely conscious of 5; seven kinds of, named in the Nirukta 10; source of, is the Devil, acc. to Christianity 8n; water was supposed to remove 37; what is s. 1; words for s. in Rgveda, discussed 5-8

Sindhu, question whether Sarasvatī is really Sindhu 556n; seven Sindhus spoken of in some passages of Rgveda and Atharvaveda, 556

Sinners, see under 'karmavipāka'; enumerated in Tai. Br. 11; had to undergo three burdens 76; guilty of
mabāpātakas may become pure by Āsvamedha or by visiting all tīrthas 91–92; three classes of, acc. to Vasīṣṭha 13; who feel no repentance and do not perform pṛyaścitta fall into terrible Hells and after undergoing tortures in hells are born again as men suffering from deformities or diseases or as animals, insects, trees and shrubs 153, 154, 172

Sins, are removed not by pṛyaścitta alone but also by confession to others, gifts, meditation on God 50; bodily sins 173; difference in punishments or expiation based on intention or absence of it or on repetition 17; divergence among sūtras as to classification of 12; five classes of, acc. to Kātyāyana 14; five enumerated in Chāndogya Upaniṣad 12,16; homas and mantras may purify a man from sins that have not become public 125; many s. are punishable by the king as crimes, though penances are provided for them 68; mental sins 173; nine classes of, acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15; redemption of, by monetary payments or bequests of property to churches in Christian belief 52n; supposed to be centred in the hair 122, 574; three classes of, acc. to Baud. Dh. S. 13; three classes of, acc. to Mānu 173; three kinds of viz. bodily, in words and mental 173; classes of, acc. to Āp. Dh. S. 12; two kinds of, viz. intentionally committed and unintentionally committed 61; unintentionally committed s. are destroyed by repeating Vedic texts 63; views differed as to whether all sins committed in past lives are destroyed by entering Kāśi or whether only those of the present life 638; vocal sins 173; which diseases arise as the results of which sins 173

Sīrkar, Dr. D. C., 698

Sīva-puruṣa 445n, 519, 678n, 679

Śivasākhalpa, sacred Vedic texts from Vāj. S. 48

Śkandapurāṇa 164, 187, 337n, 351, 352n, 363n, 369n, 370n, 371n, 372n, 374, 375, 376n, 380, 381n, 382n, 385, 389, 391, 392, 394n, 399, 405, 407, 409n, 413, 416n, 418, 440n, 442n, 448, 450n, 452 (closely follows Āśv. gr. and Vāj.), 458n, 466, 468, 469, 478, 484, 512, 514, 517, 530, 531, 539n, 547n, 555, 562, 563, 564n, 566n, 573n, 577n, 578n, 579n, 589, 595, 596n, 597, 598, 603n, 607, 612, 613n, 616–625, 627, 630n, 631, 633–639, 640, 641n, 678n, 695, 725; is said to have 81000 verses acc. to Matsya-puruṣa 624n

Sloka-Gautama 531n

Smith, Vincent, author of 'History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon' 720n

Śmrтis, conflict of, on the periods of impurity, resolved in various ways by Madanapārījāta 270n; contain varying details of the same rite 89; one view is that details of all śmrтis should be combined, if not in conflict 89–90; prescribe pṛyaścittas for brāhmaṇas partaking of śraddha food 387; put uncleanness on birth and that on death on the same level 309; ‘sarva-śākhā-pratyaya-niyama’ applied to 89–90; some authors like Viśvarūpa held the view that details about a pṛyaścittas in each śmrти should be kept separate and not combined 90

Śmrтиcandrikā 45n, 48n, 53n, 54, 82, 114n, 115n, 149n, 220, 227n, 231, 243n, 256n, 257n, 261n, 262n, 268, 270n, 273 (on āśauca), 275n, 276n, 282n, 285, 287n, 291, 292n, 305n, 311, 332n, 338n, 350, 369n, 370n, 372n, 374n, 375, 376, 377n, 381n, 382n, 383n, 394n, 395n, 404n, 405n,
406n, 407n, 409n, 412, 415n, 416, 417a, 419n, 420, 421n, 422n, 423n, 443n, 444n, 446n, 455n, 457, 458, 459n, 460, 462n, 463, 464, 468n, 469n, 473n, 475n, 477n, 478, 481, 484n, 514n, 520, 523n, 524, 531n, 532n, 546n, 547n, 569n, 578n, 591n, 651, 652n

Smṛtimuktaḥala of Vaidyanātha 18a, 22n, 29, 60n, 67, 90n, 94, 95n, 101, 107, 148, 164n, 220, 240, 268n, 269, 273, 282, 288, 290, 296, 302n, 383n, 399n, 486 (followed by Madras śmārta brāhmaṇas on śrāddha), 532, 546n

Smṛtiṣāgara 119n
Smṛtitrātavali 670n
Smṛtisamuccaya 574
Smṛtiṣāra 296n,
Smṛtyarbasāra 27, 56, 91, 92, 95n, 101, 129, 175, 177, 229, 230, 257, 272n, 286, 289, 291n, 304, 316, 318, 325, 365, 374n, 375, 416, 459n, 473n, 508n, 521, 526, 532n, 668n, 669

Snakes, supposed to subsist on wind 335

Soma, camasas filled with s., can be drunk by priests one after another without incurring any blemish 328; distinguished from surā 20; extent of period of s. sacrifice 96; is food only of brāhmaṇas 196n; is king of brāhmaṇas 196n; throws in a pit those who do not observe Soma's ordinances 154

Somanātha, tax on pilgrims going to, was levied by Siddharāja, king of Aṅahilavād, but was later remitted at the intercession of his mother 571

Somāyana, an expiation 151-152

Son, of patita was condemned and excluded from inheritance 106; saved father from hell called put 161; what makes a son a real son 654n

Sons, one should desire to have many sons, so that at least one may visit Gayā 652-653; twelve kinds of, recognized in ancient times, of whom the kṣetraja, the patrikāputra and dattaka most important 536

Soul, at time of death of one body enters into another new one 335; eight qualities of, mentioned in Gautama and others 310; śāuca, one of the eight qualities of the soul 310; was supposed to become, after death of body, associated with Yama and pitṛs 342

Souls, see under 'funeral rites', 'pīṇḍas'; after the death of the body are supposed to assume a body called ātivāhika, that such a body is secured by human beings alone and not by other beings 265; bodies that are secure after death are called ātivāhika by some and yātaniya by others 266; of departed persons who offered sacrifices when living become shining stars in the firmament 137, 166; supposed to take on a new bright body on cremation in Rgveda 193, 342; survival of, after death of body, is emphatically asserted in Tai. Br. 157

South Indian Inscriptions 712n

Śrāddhā, is addressed as a deity in the Rg. 351, 496-497; various definitions of 352

Śrāddhā, see amaśrāddhā, aparāhna, Āryasamaja, brāhmaṇas, corn, ecli- pse, food, hemaśrāddhā, śiva- śrāddhā, kutaṭa, Māghyāvara, ṭaṅkāṭavāna, ṭarvānaśrāddhā, pīṇḍa-pitrājñā, pīṇḍas, pīṃs, putra, salī, soul, śrāddhā; afternoon preferred for s., except for Vṛddhī-śrāddhā and Āmaśrāddhā 370; agnaukaraṇa, discussion about 461-462; āhūtagni should not perform s. on any day except dārśa, acc. to Manu 371n; among the brāhmaṇas invited at s., two are meant for gods (and are called daiva or vaivādeva brāhmaṇas) and three for pitṛs 403,
Devala recommends that an elaborate ś should be performed only once a year, 383; differences in many details of ś have arisen in the days of the Purāṇas, 363; differences among sūtras whether young or old learned brāhmaṇas were to be invited 386; digests on ś, utilized in this volume, 363; discussion of the question what Hindus of the 20th century should do about śādhas 549–551; discussion whether a performer of ś should perform the rite strictly in accordance with the gṛhyaśūtra of his own Veda or Śākha or may include details found in other works, 452–455; discussion whether performer of ś studying one recension of the Veda must invite brāhmaṇas studying the same recension or could invite one who had studied any of the three Vedas, 397–398; discussion whether the daily Vaiśādeva is to be performed before the starting of ś, rites or after they are finished 483–484; divergent views as to the stage when śvāhana of piṭra is to be made and about the mantras to be employed at ś, 460–461; doctrine of, carried to excess 383, 513; doctrine of offering balls of cooked rice to ancestors at ś, presupposes or requires that the ancestors are even after 50 or 100 years from their deaths capable of enjoying in an ethereal body the flavour or essence of the balls wafted by the wind 335; doctrine underlying the conception of ś is apparently opposed to the dogma of karma and punarjanma, 335; eight matters to be avoided by brāhmaṇas invited at ś, 411; emphasis on inviting very learned brāhmaṇas became practically nugatory by the rules of some smārtaś that one should not partake of śādha for three years after sapiṇḍana and that laid down various pṛyaścittas for dining at śādha in the first, second or third
year after Sapindaana 548; enumeration of 96 śrāddhas to be performed in a year 382-383; even in modern times learned brāhmaṇas are unwilling to dine at a ś., particularly within a few years of death 387, 548; examination of the explanation of the doctrine of ś. offered by Purāṇas and medieval digests 338-339; exclusiveness and pride of sub-castes even among brāhmaṇas go so far that Bālambaṭṭi recommends that Mahāraṣtra brāhmaṇas should not invite for ś. brāhmaṇas of other castes even if very learned and particularly Kōṇaṇaṇaṇaṇas and that men of one's own sub-caste should be preferred even if they are of blemished character 398; explanation how māsiśrāddha came to be called the prakṛti (the norm) of all śrāddhas 258; explanation given by Purāṇas and digests how food offered into fire or eaten by brāhmaṇa invitees at ś. is enjoyed by the departed whatever form they might have attained after death (such as a god or dāitya, beast, or snake or grass) 335-337; five classes of, acc. to Brhaspati and others 381; flowers allowed and condemned for employment in ś. 416; food offered in ś. is believed to be enjoyed by departed spirits in the world of pīṭhas 340; frugal or poor dinner not to be offered in certain śrāddhas and on certain occasions 406; gift of bedstead used by the deceased to a brāhmaṇa and his wife with appropriate mantra and other details recommended by some purāṇas but severely condemned by the Padmapurāṇa 535-536; gifts of wealth, lands and houses on death of kings and great warriors and eulogies of such gifts and particularly of cooked food 534; guests coming by chance, while ś. rites are in progress, should be honoured, since yogins wander over the earth for the good of people in various forms 396; if a brāhmaṇa, who is pākṣipāvana and fulfills the conditions laid down in Manu III. 132-146 be not available, one may invite as the next best course even a bandhu, father-in-law, son-in-law, one's teacher of the Veda or pupil, daughter's son, wife's brother, a sagoṭra or even a brother 387; if a performer can afford to invite at ś. only one brāhmaṇa, then he should prefer a chanter of the whole of Śāma-veda 399; if it is not possible to perform all śrāddhas (except Sapindaanaṇaṇaṇaṇa) according to detailed procedure, they may be performed by the procedure called 'sāṅkalpaviddhi' 532; if no brāhmaṇa be available on śrāddha day, effigies with darbhas should be made, śrāddha offered and fees and materials may be given later to other brāhmaṇas 406, 514; if primary procedure for a rite as laid down in śrutis or smṛti cannot be carried out, then one may resort to some substituted procedure 513-514; in eclipses the appropriate time for ś. is sparsakaṇa 372; inquiry into the learning and qualities of brāhmaṇas to be invited at ś. was allowed but not as to those who came by chance uninvited 391; in ś. on the birth of a son or in ś. offered by even a good śūdra there is no feeding of brāhmaṇas 482; institution of, had a hoary antiquity even at the time of the Āp. Dharmasūtra 349; inviting Baudhānas, Nirgranthas or those who espouse the Pāncarātra or Pāṇḍātata or Kāpālika doctrines forbidden 395; kāmya ś., examples of, 373; kuśas to be used in ś., rules about 417-418; leavings of food in the plates of the invited brāhmaṇas and the viśīra on darbhas were the share or lot of persons of the family dying young and the leavings fallen on the ground were the lot of deceas-
ed slaves of the family 470a, 500; leavings of food in the plates of brāhmaṇas should not be removed or swept away till sunset, as the spirits of those that were offered no water regale themselves with them 468; leavings of food cooked for śrāddha dinner should not be given to a person inferior in qualities or to a śūdra 468; literature on Ś is enormous in extent 362-363; long lists of persons not to be allowed near a Ś 380; Mahālayaśrāddha 530-533; main underlying conception of śrāddha viz. a tender and affectionate regard for one’s relatives, is admirable 550; mantra to be repeated at the beginning and end of all śrāddhas 458; mantras at āvāhana in Ś 460; mantras repeated in Ś, are deemed to carry food to the pīṭhas that are invoked by their names and gotras and as accompanied by Vasus, Rudras and Adityas 338; many works disapprove of extravagance in inviting a large number of brāhmaṇas at Ś, since a large company affects five desiderata, viz. respectful treatment of brāhmaṇas, securing a proper place, proper time, purity and meritorious brāhmaṇas 403-404, 550; mūṣya preparations highly recommended in Ś 421-422, may be performed on any day, if particularly appropriate materials or holy brāhmaṇas are available or the performer is near a sacred place 370; meant originally a sacrifice for the pīṭhas on amāvasyā 369; method of giving invitations to brāhmaṇas for Ś 406-409; milk, which was allowed and which was condemned for use in Ś 315; mokṣa results from performance of Ś 350; monthly Ś on amāvasyā was the prakṛti (norm or model) of which Āstakā and other śrāddhas were modifications 361-362; nai-mittika Ś 373, 381; non-Aryans (called dasyus in the Mahābhārata) like Yavanas, Mlecchas, Kirātas, Śakas, Cinas may perform śrāddhas 364; no legal machinery exists to enforce the liability to perform śrāddha of the deceased whose wealth was inherited by an heir 510; no pīṇḍadāna on certain śrāddhas, such as āmasṛāddha and on yugādi days 481; no scrutiny should be made about a brāhmaṇa of whom nothing is known, since śiddhas roam on the earth as brāhmaṇas 389; no Ś, to be offered to father or mother if he or she became a mleccha (by forcible or voluntary conversion) and the pīṇḍa to be offered to him or her should be offered to Viṣṇu 483; no Ś for deceased ascetics except pārvāṇa on the 11th day after death and every year afterwards 519; not to be performed on 14th of the dark half of a month for anyone except for those killed by poison or snakes or beasts or in battle or by brāhmaṇa’s wrath 370a; number of brāhmaṇas to be invited did not depend on the means of the inviter, but on whether he could honour them all well 403; number of brāhmaṇas to be invited differed acc. to the views of different authors and works 402-404; observances for inviter and invitee 410-412; offerings at Ś, acc. to some Purāṇas, become transformed into that kind of food that the pīṭhas require in the new bodies they might have assumed acc. to doctrine of karma and offerings due to wealth acquired by unjust means gratify pīṭhas that are born as cāndālas 352; on amāvasyā is mīya (obligatory) 426a; on 11th day after death, two views about 519; on thirteenth day of dark half of Bhadrapada highly eulogised 360; one can offer pīṇḍas only to three ancestors beginning with one’s father and not to 4th, 5th or 6th ancestor even if one or more of the first three ancestors
be alive, 365, 511; one knowing only
the Gāyatrī verse but leading a well-
regulated life was to be preferred at
the Gāyatrī verse but leading a well-
regulated life was to be preferred at
the four Vedas and īśīkāsas and so on
the four Vedas and īśīkāsas and so on
389; order of preference
389; order of preference
among invitees at ā, viz., first ascetics,
among invitees at ā, viz., first ascetics,
a brahmana who has studied
a brahmana who has studied
the four Vedas and īśīkāsas and so on
the four Vedas and īśīkāsas and so on
389; origin of the institution of ā,
from Manu or from the Boar in-
carnation 349; pārvaṇa ā. 431-514;
carnation 349; pārvaṇa ā. 431-514;
performance of ā, at night or
twilight or when the sun has just
twilight or when the sun has just
risen is forbidden (except in eclipses)
risen is forbidden (except in eclipses)
375; performed at a holy place and
375; performed at a holy place and
on yugādi or manvādi tithis yields
on yugādi or manvādi tithis yields
inexhaustible gratification to the
inexhaustible gratification to the
piṭras 374; performer of ā, calls the
piṭras 374; performer of ā, calls the
piṭras to be present at the rite after
piṭras to be present at the rite after
taking permission of the invited
taking permission of the invited
brahmaṇas for the invocation 348;
brahmaṇas for the invocation 348;
performer of, should as a rule invite
performer of, should as a rule invite
a brahmana who has studied some
a brahmana who has studied some
recension of the Veda and who is
recension of the Veda and who is
not of same gotra as the performer,
not of same gotra as the performer,
who is not connected by marriage
who is not connected by marriage
or who is not a teacher or a pupil or
or who is not a teacher or a pupil or
a friend, though some exceptions
a friend, though some exceptions
were recognized 385; performer of,
were recognized 385; performer of,
should not observe a fast on śraddha
should not observe a fast on śraddha
day, but should partake of the food
day, but should partake of the food
left after being served to the invited
left after being served to the invited
brahmaṇas or should at least smell
brahmaṇas or should at least smell
it 469-470; performer of, should
it 469-470; performer of, should
wash house floor, should cowdung
wash house floor, should cowdung
it, should wash the clothes and
it, should wash the clothes and
cleanse vessels the previous day 409;
cleanse vessels the previous day 409;
persons (of over 50 kinds) to be
persons (of over 50 kinds) to be
shunned at ā, according to Gau-
shunned at ā, according to Gau-
tama, some of whom could be invited
tama, some of whom could be invited
at a rite for gods according to others
at a rite for gods according to others
400-401; persons and animals that
400-401; persons and animals that
should be ejected from the place of
should be ejected from the place of
ā, or should not be allowed to look
ā, or should not be allowed to look
at it or disturb it 379-380; piṇḍas
at it or disturb it 379-380; piṇḍas
are made by the performer or by his
are made by the performer or by his
wife with the food that remains
wife with the food that remains
after agnaukaraṇa and mixed with
after agnaukaraṇa and mixed with
sesame, honey and ghee and are
sesame, honey and ghee and are
offered by the piṭrīṇaḥ 498n;
offered by the piṭrīṇaḥ 498n;
piṇḍas offered to the great-grand-
piṇḍas offered to the great-grand-
father, the grand-father and father
father, the grand-father and father
are declared to be identical respec-
tively with Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa
respectively with Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa
and Pradyumna and the offerer of
and Pradyumna and the offerer of
piṇḍas with Aniruddha 350-351;
piṇḍas with Aniruddha 350-351;
piṇḍas of cooked rice or flour were
piṇḍas of cooked rice or flour were
not to be offered in śraddha per-
not to be offered in śraddha per-
formed on equinocial days, on sah-
formed on equinocial days, on sah-
krānti, on solstitial days, on ekādaśi,
krānti, on solstitial days, on ekādaśi,
or trayodaśi or on Magha and Kṛṣṭiṇa
or trayodaśi or on Magha and Kṛṣṭiṇa
naksatras 481; piṭras assuming aerial
naksatras 481; piṭras assuming aerial
forms were supposed to hover round
forms were supposed to hover round
and enter the brahmaṇas invited at
and enter the brahmaṇas invited at
ā. 390, 401, 407; piṭryā verses are
ā. 390, 401, 407; piṭryā verses are
each repeated loudly with zhāva at
each repeated loudly with zhāva at
the end of ā, rite 502; place that is
the end of ā, rite 502; place that is
full of insects or is arid or burnt by
full of insects or is arid or burnt by
fire or terrific in aspect or gives out
fire or terrific in aspect or gives out
painful sounds or fetid smell is unfit
painful sounds or fetid smell is unfit
for ā. 379; points in which modern
for ā. 379; points in which modern
Madras manuals differ from those
Madras manuals differ from those
used in Western India 504; polluted
used in Western India 504; polluted
by asuras is purified by sesame and
by asuras is purified by sesame and
by tying a goat near the place 419;
by tying a goat near the place 419;
poor man may offer, instead of sum-
poor man may offer, instead of sum-
ptuous food, uncooked corn, or some
ptuous food, uncooked corn, or some
vegetables or some slight fee or a
vegetables or some slight fee or a
few grains of sesame to a brahmaṇa
few grains of sesame to a brahmaṇa
with water or may offer grass to a
with water or may offer grass to a
cow or raise his arms and repeat
cow or raise his arms and repeat
loudly that he has nothing 425-426;
loudly that he has nothing 425-426;
practice of presenting the clothes,
practice of presenting the clothes,
ornaments, bedstead, the horse and
ornaments, bedstead, the horse and
the like used by the deceased to the
the like used by the deceased to the
brahmaṇa invited for śraddha and
brahmaṇa invited for śraddha and
also of donating an umbrella and
also of donating an umbrella and
sandals on the completion of śraddha
sandals on the completion of śraddha
535; praise of the importance and
535; praise of the importance and
benefits of, 349-351; pratisāṃsvatasa-
benefits of, 349-351; pratisāṃsvatasa-
rikā or pratyādbi ā. 529-530;
rikā or pratyādbi ā. 529-530;
prāyaścittas prescribed by sūtris
prāyaścittas prescribed by sūtris
for dining at a pārvāṇaśraddha, or
for dining at a pārvāṇaśraddha, or
vṛddhiśraddha, sapindana and other
vṛddhiśraddha, sapindana and other
śraddhas 387-388, 548; prāyaścittas
śraddhas 387-388, 548; prāyaścittas
prescribed for partaking of food at
prescribed for partaking of food at
Navaśraddhas, monthly śraddhas
and yearly ones 548; principal act in a rite is the feeding of brāhmaṇas 349; procedure if only one brāhmaṇa could be invited or was available 403, 513; procedure applicable to śṛāddha by one whose father was alive was extended by Viṣṇu to one’s mother’s paternal ancestors 513; procedure if the performance of a śṛāddha on a particular day is rendered impossible by an obstacle such as śāuca 547–548; proper places for the performance of 377–379; qualifications of brāhmaṇas to be invited were few in the gṛhyaśāstras, but smṛtis and purāṇas add many more and enlarge the lists of those that should not be invited 384–390; question how śṛāddha was to be performed if one or more of the three paternal ancestors were alive was discussed from ancient times and opinions varied 511–513; rewards for performance of śṛāddha in an eclipse 375; rewards for performing ś. on 28 nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī (including Abhiṣipti) 374; rewards for performing ś. on the several week-days 373–374; rewards for performing ś. from the first to the 15th tithi of the dark half 372; rewards for performing ś. on even tithis and even nakṣatras and uneven tithis and nakṣatras 370; rewards of piṇḍadāna 503; right to inherit is based under the Dāyabhāga on the capacity to offer piṇḍas to the deceased owner and not on actually offering them 510; rules as to the day (tithi) on which saṃvatsarīka śṛāddha is to be performed if the day or month of death or both are not known 530; rules for testing the brāhmaṇas to be invited at a ś. 390–391; rules of conduct for the performer of ś. 401–402; rules on removal of particles of food left in plates from which brāhmaṇas dined 468–469; sapindi-karaṇa, 520–525; several views about the final disposal (pratidṛṣṭi) of piṇḍas 480–481; should be begun on Kutaṇḍa (8th out of 15 muhūrtas of the day) and should not extend beyond Rauhaṇa (12th muhūrtta of the day) 376; should be performed when one dreams an evil dream or when evil planets affect the nakṣatra on which a man was born 372; should not be performed in mleccha localities 378; should not be performed in the Triśākhu country and in the countries of Kāraskaṇa, Kaliṅga and others and in countries to the north of the Sindhu river 378–379; should not be performed on Nandā tithis, on Friday, on 13th of the dark half, on the nakṣatra of one’s birth 373; sixteen śṛāddhas are laid down by numerous works as necessary to free the spirit of a deceased person from the condition of being a ṛetaka and piṣāca 518; sixteen śṛāddhas, divergence of views about what they are and particularly whether sapindi-karaṇa is included therein or not 518–519; sixteen śṛāddhas were and are now performed on the 11th day after death 520; some authorities allow anyone to perform śṛāddhas (except sapindi-karaṇa) for any relative, particularly at Gayā 364–365; some Purāṇas condemn scrutiny into the character and learning of brāhmaṇas to be invited but digest explain away such passages as referring to śṛāddhas at tirthas 391; some purāṇas inculcate the performance of śṛāddha on a profuse scale, particularly at Gayā 404–405; some smṛtis laid down very strict rules about the qualifications of brāhmaṇas for a ś. 399–400; some smṛtis recommend lavish expenditure on ś., Bṛhaspati requiring an heir to spend on ś. half the property inherited by him 404; some writers hold that in ś.
agnaukaraṇa, pīṇḍadāna and feeding of brāhmaṇas are all principal 482; some works lay great emphasis on inviting ascetics or yogins at ś. and say that a yogin is superior to a hundred brāhmaṇas 388; some works state that rites for pīṭhas deserve pre-eminence over those for the gods 483-484; specific times most proper for performing ś. 371; spot chosen for ś. should be clean, should slope towards the south, should be cowdunged, covered on all sides and should be unfrequented and not owned by another person 377; śrāddhā is the mainspring or root of 351; ś. may be separately offered to the mother in the Anuṣṭakā rites, in Vṛddhiśrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of the day of death, but in other cases it is performed along with her husband 475, 662; śrāddhādhikārīn, general rule about, was that husband should not offer pīṇḍa to his wife, nor father to his son, not elder brother to younger one, but exceptions to this were recognized 364-365; substances and utensils proper for being used at śrāddha and those not proper 412-413; śuddhi (purity) should be specially secured in seven matters in ś. viz., the body (of the performer), the materials, the wife, the place (of performance), the mind, the mantras and the brāhmaṇas 413; sugar is sacred and may be employed in sacrificēs to gods and manes 414; texts support both views, viz. that food is offered direct to the deceased ancestors in ś. and also that Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas are the pīṭhas and devatās of ś. 339; three classes of, viz. nitya, naimitīka and kāmya 369-370; three sanctifying things in ś. are dauhiśītra, a Nepal blanket and sesame 413; three views as to what is the principal item in ś., whether feeding of brāhmaṇas, or offering of pīṇḍas or both 481-482; tilas (sesame), great importance of, in ś. 418-419; times for performing ś. 360, 369-377; times on which ś. was obligatory (nitya) according to Viśu Dh. S. 372; times proper for kāmya ś. are eclipses, days of solstice, equinoctial days, Vyaṭiṇāta, sāṅkrānti and śrāddhas performed on them give infinite pleasure to pīṭhas 372; times for which pīṭhas are gratified by the offering of the flesh of several animals 422-424; tīrtha-śrāddha, see under Tīrtha; treated under five heads viz., how, where, when, by whom and with what materials 340; to whom should the sons of two fathers, such as kṣetraja, puriṅkāpura and dattaka offer pīṇḍas 536-538; twelve kinds of, according to Viśvāmitra 381-382; two classes of, viz., ekoddīta and pārvana 380; use of flesh in ś., great divergence of views on 422-425; use of plantain leaves as plates was allowed by some and forbidden by others 421; use of wealth obtained by bribery or from pātita persons, or arising from bride-price or declared unlawful is condemned 412; Vaiśvādeva is to be performed before pīṇḍadāna in such śrāddhas as Navāsrāddha and after pīṇḍadāna in yearly śrāddha, in maḥālaya acc to some, while Hemādri gives more elaborate rules depending upon whether the performer was an abhītāgni or one who had no śrauta fires 471-72, 484; variation in the names of Viśve-devas 457n.; vēdic benediction finely worded and comprehensive to be uttered by brāhmaṇas on accepting an invitation for ś. 409; vegetables, fruits and roots recommended and condemned for use in ś. 415-416; vessels of iron condemned for use in ś. 421; vessels of metals, particularly of silver, should be used in śrāddha, 420; vessels to be used in offering

H. D. 114
**arthya** water, for cooking śrāddha food, for dining and for serving 419–421; vessels to be used in ś. may be made from sacrificial wood or from pañja or from a sea product (conch-shell) 420; views differed as to whether mother included stepmother in Pārvana 475; Viṣṇu is to be regarded as dwelling in the three piṇḍas for the father, grand-father and the great-grand-father 349, 351; Viśve-devas are generally mentioned in Manu and Yāj, but later smṛtis enumerated ten of them, two of them being assigned to each of five classes of śrāddhas 457; Vṛddhiśrāddha, meaning of, 359n, and it is same as Nandiśrāddha 527; was offered to three immediate ancestors, father, grandfather, great-grandfather 365; water, quality of, to be employed in ś. 415; what food is of the nature of ṛṣav and fit for ś. 412; what men and women should engage in cooking ś. food 462–466; when ś. is performed at a tirtha the piṇḍas should be cast into the sacred water, otherwise they may be cast into fire or water or handed over to a brāhmaṇa or may be allowed to be eaten by a cow or goat 480–481; who are entitled to offer śrāddha (śrāddhādhikārīn) 364–365; who are lepahājajah or lepahāginah 483; who are the deities of ś., the three male ancestors or Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas 348; whoever took the wealth of the deceased had to offer śrāddha and piṇḍas to the deceased even under the Mitakṣara system 364, 510; who should be invited for śrāddha dinner according to the grhya and dharma sūtras 384–385; who was the real recipient of the offerings made in śrāddha viz. the brāhmaṇas or pitrās 460; women and śodras should get ś. performed through a priest or they may themselves perform ś. without mantras but only mention the name and gotra of the deceased 365; word śrāddha does not occur in any authentic and ancient vedic work, but only in the Kaṭhopaniṣad 349–50; worship of ṛtus (seasons) in ś. provided for in some digestas 433n.

Śrāddhacandrikā of Divākara-bhaṭṭa 363

Śrāddhakalikā, 381n, 412, 459n

Śrāddhakalpa of Śridatta for sāma-vedins 486

Śrāddhakalpa of Nandapandita, 334n, 336, 337, 371n, 381n, 382n, 387n, 398n, 403n, 409, 481, 483, 531n, 533, 535n, 540n, 541n

Śrāddhakarikā, 548n

Śrāddhakriyākaumudi, 266n, 334n, 376n, 380n, 407n, 408, 409n, 410n, 417n, 418n, 455n, 457n, 473n, 476n, 512, 514n, 518n, 519n, 520n, 523n, 524n, 531n, 532n, 546n, 547n, 548n

Śrāddhamayūkha, 544

Śrāddhaparājā, 261, 269n, 334, 342n, 349n, 350, 351n, 377n, 378, 379n, 386n, 388n, 389n, 391n, 398n, 399n, 401n, 408, 409, 410n, 411, 414n, 421, 457n, 458n, 460, 463, 467n, 471, 473n, 475n, 476n, 477n, 478n, 479, 529, 542, 544, 569n

Śrāddhataratva of Lakṣmipati 486, 535n

Śrāddhisāngraha, 459n

Śrāddhisāra 335n, 338n, 350, 471, 532, 533

Śrāddhasaṅghya (part of Tojarānanda) 455n, 457a, 475, 476n

Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana 352, 408, 409, 411, 419, 423, 424, 435n, 439, 442n, 466, 470, 472, 478, 486, 504, 516, 521, 525

Śrāddhatattva of Raghunandana 263, 336n, 351n, 352n, 370n, 380n, 406, 407n, 408, 409n, 445, 456, 450n, 457n, 458, 464n, 475n, 476n, 479n, 486, 510, 516n, 520n, 527, 530n, 546n
Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara 334, 380n, 381, 396 (one of the longest lists of persons unit to be invited at śrāddha ), 406, 416, 486 (description of apātraka pārvanāśrāddha), 524n, 526n, 540n, 541, 545n, 548n Śrīdatta, author of Pīṭbhakti 335n, 447n, 460, 486 Śrīsūkta, 444 Śrotriya, meaning of 384n Srughna, modern Sugh on the old Jumna about 40 miles from Thanesar 651n St John, Gospel of, 174n Stein, Sir Aurel, translator of the Rājatarangini, 725, 755, 759 Steya (theft), becomes mahāpātaka only when brāhmaṇa's gold of a certain quantity is stolen 22-23, 101; meaning of, acc. to Ap. 22; none in certain cases, even if one appropriates without owner's consent 23; of two kinds, viz. accompanied with force (such as robbery or dacoity) and effected clandestinely 101; prāyaścitta for theft of brāhmaṇa's gold weighing 80 raktikās or more was death for all offenders except brāhmaṇas 101; prāyaścitta for brāhmaṇa guilt of the māhāpātaka steya same as for surā of flour 101; prāyaścitta for, depended on various circumstances 101 Story, of Ajigarta, who agreed to slay his own son when famished 100; of Bharadvāja, who, when famished, accepted many cows from Bṛhu, a carpenter 100; of Ekata, Dvita and Trita, 11, 11n; of the birth of Yama and Yami from Vivasvat 198; of Indradyumna, 694-695; of Kavaśa and Sarasvatī 558-559, 680; of Naciketas 384n; of Nimi who performed śrāddha for his predeceased son 364; of Paṇḍīraja Vāsudeva, who challenged Kṛṣṇa with the help of king of Kāśi 622; of Sagarā's son reduced to ashes by the wrath of Kapila 595; of 'saptavyādhas' 445n; of Śunahṣeṣa 274; of ten Viśve-devas to be invoked in five classes of śrāddhas 457n; of Talādhāra and Jājali 570; of Usasti Cākṛayāna and his partaking of forbidden food 100, 681; of Vāmadeva, who desired to eat dog-flesh when famished 100; of Viśvāmitra, who proceeded to take the haunch of a dog from the hands of a Cāndāla, 100; of Vyāsa, who, when on the point of cursing Kāśi, was ordered by Śiva who had assumed the form of an householder not to enter Kāśi except on the 8th and 14th title, 638-639 Strīparva 223 Sudarśana, commentator of Āp. gr 472 Süddhi (re-conversion) modern movement of, for taking back those converted by force, fraud or otherwise, 118 Süddhi, see under 'āśauca', 'purity', 'śauca'; āśauca most important subject under 267; comprehensive term including purification after āśauca, purification of a person after contact with an impure object or person or certain evil occurrences and purification of food, pots, wells, temples &c. after they are deemed to be polluted 267; emphasis on, laid as early as Rgveda 310; is an attribute, acc. to Süddhiviveka, that confers a capacity or privilege for the performance of all dharma 269; literature on, is very extensive 270; Manu divides it into two, viz. süddhi after death (pretaśuddhi) and ś. of things (dravyasuddhi) 267, 309; means of purification 315-316; of dravya, is of two kinds, viz. purification of the body and of an external object 309; one desirous of, should perform Pavitṛṣṇi 312; smṛtis contain extremely contradictory dicta, particularly on periods of impurity, with the result that the
Mit. remarks that the usages in its day were altogether different from those in the śrēṇis 270

Śuddhīcandrika, com. on Saṭṭhaśī 270;
by Vināyaka alias Nandaprakāśa 273, 276n, 295n

Śuddhikaumudi of Govindaśānti 212n, 264n, 267, 269n, 270n, 273, 277, 296, 316, 313n, 317n, 318n, 322n, 323n, 324n, 326n, 328n, 332n

Śuddhimayukha of Nilaśānti 273

Śuddhīpaṇi, 296n

Śuddhīprakāṣa (part of Vīramitrodaka) 182, 183, 185n, 187n, 212n, 217, 218, 219n, 222n, 224, 225, 226n, 227, 229, 237, 262a, 263, 267n, 273, 275n, 278n, 282n, 284, 285n, 290n, 291n, 292n, 293n, 294n, 296, 299, 300n, 301, 304n, 311, 313n, 317n, 322n, 323n, 324n, 326, 327n, 330, 332n, 348, 349n, 541

Śuddhiśārddha 382

Śuddhiśattva of Raghunandana, 186n, 187n, 238, 256n, 265n, 273, 282, 290n, 295, 296n, 299, 306

Śuddhīviveka of Rudradhara 269, 285, 306n, 319n

Śūdra, see under 'śāṁkāras'; could drink any kind of intoxicant without incurring sin 21; could not drink pañcagavaya in early times, though allowed to drink without mantras in medieval works 142; disability of a śūdra who does not wait upon or serve a dviya 50; how to perform japa for removal of sin 49; homa could be performed for, in ordinary fire through a brāhmaṇa, acc. to some digests 78; prāyaścittā for killing a crow, hamsa, dog or the like same as for killing a śūdra 110; prāyaścitta for, was only 1/4th of that for a brāhmaṇa sinner, except as to offences of violence against a dviya 81

Śūdrakamlākara 142, 364n, 477n

Sugatisopāna of Pratihastaka 486

Suicide, 604–613; see under 'sati'; Alberuni's remarks on religious s. 610; by starting on the Great Journey (mahāprasthānagamana) or by falling in fire or from a precipice forbidden in Kali age 302, 308; Dharmashastra writers generally condemn s. as a great sin 604; divergent views of Hārīta and Manu as to allowing s. as a prāyaścitta for grave sins like incest 604; every kind of s. was not condemned by the ancient śrēṇis 525; exceptions to the condemnation of suicide are found in the epics, śrēṇis and purāṇas 302, 525, 604–605; five meritorious kinds of suicide mentioned in Ain-i-Akbari 605n; gradually there was a revulsion of feeling against suicide at Prayāga or other tirthas and against starting on the Great Journey in the Himālaya 608; great poets like Kālidāsa believed that those who killed themselves at Prayāga or Vāra became free from the cycle of births and deaths even though they had not correct knowledge of the Supreme Reality 605; historical examples of kings committing religious suicide at holy places 605; householder was allowed to commit s. even if all right, by fall, or fire or drowning if his life's work was done, or if he does not desire the pleasures of life and is a Vedāntin 604; important verse found in Vanaparva and some purāṇas relied upon for the approval of religious suicide at Prayāga 606; Kūrma-purāṇa recommends four modes of religious s. and promises residence in heaven for thousands of years 607; an old man or a man unable to observe rules of bodily purification or a man so ill as to be beyond medical skill was allowed by some śrēṇis to kill himself by jumping from a
precipice or by fire or by drowning or fasting or jumping from Vaṭa tree at Prayāga 604; one who, knowingly or unknowingly, wilfully or unintentionally, dies in the Ganges, secures on death heaven and mokṣa (according to Šadma) 607; psychology behind religious s. 611; religious suicide at Puruṣottama is referred to in Brahma-purāṇa 701; religious suicide was allowed at Prayāga or at the Vaṭa there or at some other tīrthas 604, 608; some medieval digests allowed religious s. to all varṇas while Tīrthapraṅkāśa restricts it to members of castes other than the first 609; some smṛtis, the Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas do recommend religious s. at Prayāga and other holy places 607–608; some writers of medieval times combat the view that religious s. is permitted 608–609; Tristhaliseta refuses authority to commit s. at Prayāga to any person abandoning his old parents, young wife and children and to women who are pregnant or have young children or have no permission from husband 609; wife was allowed to die on her husband’s death by sahagamana or anumaraṇa 604

Śūlapāṇi 104n

Sumantu 18n, 80, 258, 350, 415, 616n

Surā, kṣatriyas and vaiṣyas incurred no sin by drinking any intoxicant other than surā prepared from flour 97; meaning of, 20–21; sharply distinguished from Soma 20; sidra incurred no sin by drinking even surā prepared from flour 97–98; uninitiated boys and unmarried girls had to undergo 1th prāyaścitta (i.e. 3 years) for drinking surā and, if intentionally done, for six years 98; word, occurs in the Rgveda 20

Suraṇāḍrāyana 151

Surāpāṇa (drinking of surā) 20–22; a mahāpātaka, when 20; alternative prāyaścitta for 96–97; forbidden to boys whose upanayana has not been performed and to unmarried girls 21; means taking surā down the gullet and not merely touching it with the lips 22; prāyaścitta for kṣatriya or vaiṣya guilty of 97; twelve years’ prāyaścitta for, is meant for one who drinks surā (from flour) through ignorance or force 97

Śūrasena, country, the capital of which was Mathurā 682n

Suresvara, author of Kāśīmṛtimokṣavicāra 614

Śurātata 415n

Sūtaka, employed in the Ait. Br. 269; three meanings of, in smṛtis, viz. (1) impurity on birth, (2) impurity on death alone, (3) impurity on both birth and death 269

Suttanipāta 176, 550n, 707

Suvarṇa, meaning of 23, 129, 139n

Suvarṇakṛchchra 151

Suvaśtu (modern Swat), a river mentioned in the Rgveda 534

Svarga, actions that lead to, enumerated in Anuśasanaparva 166; ancient astronomical works located svarga thousands of yojanas above earth 168; description of the pleasures of 165–166: definition of svarga in an oft-quoted verse 169–170; great drawback is that no new merit is accumulated there and that when the store of merit is exhausted one has to fall down from heaven and to be born again 166; is a place for those who die in battle 165; is not directly seen by any one, but one has to believe in its existence 170; means unsurpassed joy in another life, according to Šabar, Kumārila and a few others 169; varying views about what is meant by 168–170; Vedas, smṛtis and purāṇas hold view that s. is a place above the earth 168

Svargārohaṇika-parva 164
Sven Hedin 760
Svišta, 357n
Syrians, customs of, about impurity on death 309
Tabus (or taboos), most important in all ancient and modern primitive societies are those concerning the dead, women in child-birth and women in monthly illness 309
Tagore 552n
Taittirīhya Āraṇyaka 43, 45n, 112, 113, 146, 155, 184n, 191n, 200n, 211, 212, 227n, 230, 242, 245n, 246, 252, 304, 369, 384n, 441, 469n, 488, 496n, 540, 543, 681, 736, 768
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 11, 37n, 38, 40, 62n, 69, 122, 133, 137, 157, 184n, 189n, 230, 254, 266, 275, 329, 342, 343, 345, 365, 384n, 394n, 409n, 426n, 427, 428, 433, 434n, 446n, 462n, 472, 543, 680
Taittirīya-Pratisūkhya 45
Taittirīya-samhitā 10, 20, 37, 43n, 44n, 45n, 46n, 48, 52, 57, 62n, 63, 69, 110n, 124n, 133, 145, 155n, 157, 159, 160, 168n, 197n, 201, 229, 230, 266, 309, 345, 347n, 348, 352, 353, 365, 384, 409n, 419, 426, 428n, 433, 435n, 439, 441, 442, 444, 447, 450n, 452, 460, 466n, 468, 472, 476, 477n, 497n, 499n, 539n, 540, 543, 546, 550n, 554, 555, 593n, 607n
Taittirīya-Upaniṣad 8, 158, 614
Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa, 62n, 69, 557, 768
Tantra, meaning of, 440n
Tantravārttika, 20n, 387n, 453n, 687n
Tapas, see fast; as a means of removing consequences of sins 42–43; means 'niyamas' (restraint or strict observances) 400n; periods for which it is to be practised 43; what constitutes 42, 54
Tapakṛcchā, expiration for brāhmaṇas for selling things and animals that should not be sold by them 117; great divergence of views about 138–139
Tāraka, mantra variously explained as om or the mantra 'Śrī-Rāma-Rāma-Rāmeśtit' 613n, 614, 635
Tārpaṇa (satiating with water) 120, 133; if one cannot perform an elaborate t., one may offer three handfuls of water with sesame and kuśas and the three mantras from Vāyupurāṇa 120, 592n; is either principal or subsidiary (āṅga), the first being performed every day by a dvija householder for gods, sages and pīṭḥs and the second as part of suṇā or of brāhmaṇayāja 592n; sannyāsin has not to do it but a widow has to perform it for her husband and his relatives 592n; must be done, even if day be not auspicious, at a tīrtha, in Gayā, in the dark half of Bhādrapada with water mixed with sesame 592n; one whose father is living has not to perform tārpaṇa 592n; was called pīṭrjayāja by Manu 369; water is poured with both hands in t. 592n
Tattvārthakaumudi, com. on Prāya-śāstra-viveka 266n
Tātparyadāraṇa, com. on Āp. gr 354n
Taulvali, views of, on ārādhā 511
Teacher, a brāhmaṇa who is t. for hire or who is taught by a hired t., or whose teacher is a śūdra is unāt to be invited at a ārādhā 393
Temples, see under 'polluted', 'purification', 'purity'; are holy 560; throwing open of, to all people held to be untouchable, by Legislative action in Bombay and C. P. 320–321
Text, nothing too heavy for a text 66n
Theft, see 'steya'; punishment for, was death in some cases 69; misappropriation of deposit was like t. and misappropriator was punished as a thief and had to return deposit or its price 72; person guilty of, had to restore thing stolen or its
price 74, 102; person guilty of, approached king with club 73, 101; prāyaścitā for, was to be double if the thief could not restore thing stolen or its price 102; prāyaścitā and punishment for, were same in some cases 73–74

Thomas, Dr. F. W., editor of Bṛhaspatya-sūtra 679; volume of Indian and Eastern studies presented to, 648n

Tilas, four kinds of, 419; great importance of the use of, in ārāddha 418–419; supposed to have sprung from body of Viṣṇu 419

Tilak, author of 'Arctic Home in the Vedas' 192n; far-fetched explanation of Navagyas and Daṅgayas by, 192n

Time, for any religious act is of two kinds, mukhya (principal or proper) and gaṇa (inferior) 377; in conflict between proper time for a religious act and the complete means or materials for it the former should be preferred 377

Tirthacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati, 563n, 566n, 567n, 568, 570, 572n, 573n, 574, 576, 577n, 579, 582, 584, 586n, 587n, 588n, 589n, 590n, 599, 596n, 601n, 602, 609, 616n, 628n, 629, 631n, 633n, 648n, 652n, 662n, 667n, 668n, 672–673n, 674n, 675n, 699n, 700, 701n

Tirthakalpataru of Laksāmīdhara, 561n, 562n, 563n, 565, 566n, 567n, 570n, 572n, 573, 575, 577n, 578n, 579, 582, 584, 587n, 589n, 599, 601, 607n, 608, 613n, 616n, 629n, 630n, 637 (takes no notice of Pañcakroṣi pilgrimage at Kāśi), 639n, 641n, 651, 653n, 668n, 683n, 684n, 685n

Tirtha-prakāśa, 10, 560n, 561n, 562n, 563n, 567, 568, 569n, 570, 572n, 573n, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578n, 579, 582, 595, 596n, 601, 609n, 612, 627n, 628n, 633, 655n, 662n, 683, 684n

Tirtharatnākara of Anantabhaṭṭa, probably the largest work on tīrthas, is yet in Ms. at Bikaner, 582

Tīrthas, forests, mountains, holy rivers and t. have no owner and cannot be possessed by a person as owner 590; do not occupy a prominent place in the sūtras, in Manu and Yājñavalkya, but are highly lauded in Mahābhārata and Purāṇas and declared superior to sacrifices in several respects 561–562; Literature on t., is far more extensive than on any other topic of Dharmaśāstra 581–582

Tīrthasāra (part of Nṛsinhaprabhāṣā) deals mostly with tīrthas in the Deccan and Southern India, 565, 582, 707, 717n, 718

Tīrthasaukhya, part of Toḍārānanda, 582

Tīrthatattvā of Raghunandana 582

Tīrthenduśekhara of Nāgęśa, 575, 582

Tīrthayātrā (pilgrimage to holy places) 552–722; see 'Gaya,' 'tīrtha,' 'woman,' 'tonsure'; advantages of t. to the community and to the individual pilgrim 553; all religions lay great emphasis on the sanctity of certain places and enjoin pilgrimages to them 552; ancient Dharmaśāstra works lay emphasis on visits to tīrthas because of the benefits derived therefrom 553; as a means of removing the consequences of sins, 55–56; brāhmaṇa born and bred at a tīrtha like Mathurā or Gaya should be preferred to a stranger, though the latter may have mastered all the Vedas 579; brāhmaṇa should wander about tīrthas acc. to Brahmaṇapurāṇa after his capacity to perform yajñās has come to an end 570; classification of tīrthas into four, viz. daiva, (established by gods), āsura (associated with asuras like Gaya), ārṣa (established by sages such as Prabhāṣā) and Manuṣya (established by kings like Manu, Kuru) 567;
dharmas common to all men include truthfulness, restraint of mind, charity, abhināśi and t. 553-554; digests on tīrthas follow a process of selection, i.e. each describes only a few tīrthas known to it 565; digests have a tendency to make every religious act more elaborate and harder 573; fast at a tīrtha is optional according to Kalpataru but if observed it confers special rewards 473, 584; five classes of people do not reap the rewards of pilgrimage 563; four places of pilgrimage for Buddhists 552; fourteen acts which a pilgrim had to give up after reaching the Ganges or other tīrtha 578; held superior to Vedic sacrifices in several respects by the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas 561-562; honouring the pīṭhas at the time of starting on t. is specially obligatory on rich men 574; house-holder whose wife is chaste must go on a pilgrimage with her, otherwise he would not reap the fruit of t. 568; idea in the Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas was that t. may help those who have no high moral qualities in removing their sins while those that possess moral qualities gain a great store of merit by t. 562-563; kārpāti-veśa on t. 573; large rivers, mountains and forests have always been venerated in India as sacred and as the abodes of gods 552; literature on, is more extensive than on any other single topic of Dharmaśāstra 580-582; Mahābhārata lays the greatest emphasis on the cultivation of high moral and spiritual qualities if the full reward of t. is to be reaped 562; Mahābhārata and some purāṇas emphasize that a pure mind is the real tīrtha and that it is better to stay at home and perform one's duties including performance of Vedic sacrifices than undertaking t. 570; Mahābhārata and Purāṇas contain at least 40000 verses on t. 582; meaning of tīrtha in the Rgveda and other vedas is either 'road' or 'ford' and rarely a holy place 554; meaning of tīrtha in this section 555; meaning of tīrtha is sometimes extended to places where Agnihotra and śādha are performed, to temples, to house where Veda is being studied, to cowpens, parks, where an aśvattha tree exists, where a teacher stands or a chaste woman dwells 564; mode of travel, use of conveyances, horses, bullock carts, wearing of shoes, rules about these in Purāṇas and digests 576-577; munḍana and kṣaura distinguished 575; not only men of all varṇas but also women and even ēṣudālas have adhikāra for t. 567-568; number of tīrthas declared by Vāyu, according to Matsya, Padma, Nārdarīya and other Purāṇas, is 35 millions in the sky, the aerial regions and the earth 564; number of tīrthas, acc. to Varāhappurāṇa is 60 thousand crores 564; one should not enter upon an examination of the worth of brāhmaṇas at a tīrtha 578-579; one who wants to undertake t. should pay off his three debts, should provide means of maintenance for his sons and consign his wife to their care 571; rewards promised for baths at tīrthas 727; rites to be performed when a person undertakes a t. 572-73, 583; rivers in general, certain named rivers and waters are referred to with great veneration as early as Rgveda 555; sacred places for Moslems 552; sankalpa to be made at starting on t. 577; Shah Jehan, emperor, remitted the tax levied on pilgrims at Prayāiga and Kāši owing to eloquent pleading of Kavindrācārya 571; six rivers having their sources in the Himalaya and six to the south of Vindhyā are declared
to be most holy devatīrthas by Brahmapurāṇa 567; some digests state that a pilgrim has to wear the kīrpaṣṭi dress at all tīrthas when he is actually travelling, while others say that he has to do so only at Gayā 573; some purāṇas say that some virtues may be called mental tīrthas and purity of mind is the highest tīrtha 563; some say that tonsure and fast are necessary at all tīrthas except at Kurukṣetra, Viśāla, Virājā and Gayā 574; śrāddha has to be performed at most famous tīrthas, but from the procedure of śrāddha are omitted arghya, āvāhana, entering the thumb of the invited brāhmaṇa in the food served, the question about being satiated and viśīra 616; śrāddha may be performed at any time after a pilgrim reaches the tīrtha 616; śrāddha at tīrthas consists, if the whole procedure cannot be followed, in offering pīṇḍas of barley meal or rice cooked in milk, cake of sesame or jaggery and one should offer a single pīṇḍa to all relatives after pārvanaśrāddha and another pīṇḍa for servants, slaves, cattle, trees etc., 616-617; tended to foster the idea of the fundamental unity of India and Indian culture 553; tended to level up all men by bringing them together to the same holy rivers and shrines 553; three grounds on which tīrthas are said to be holy 554-555; tonsure and fast are not obligatory but only kāmya according to Kalpataru but otherwise according to others 573-575; t., sacrifices and various gifts are the means of cleansing the mind 563; t. yields full fruit only if performed bare-footed 576; t. yields fruit to men of all varṇas and āśramas 563; use of bullock-cart condemned in Matsya-purāṇa as leading to hell and of other conveyances (not drawn by bulls) as fruitless, but Kūrma recommends to those who are unable to walk conveyances drawn by mules, horses or men 576; use of a conveyance is according to Kalpataru condemned only in pilgrimage to Prayāga 576; use of a vessel allowed 577; view that the institution of t. was first started by Buddhists and Jains is wrong 558; was deemed very early to be a way of redemption of sins for men and women 569; was favoured by writers on Dharma-śāstra by prescribing that no money was to be demanded by a ferryman or a toll officer from a pilgrim, from a pregnant woman, from a vedic student, forest hermit or ascetic, but this was not followed even by Hindu kings 571; whether tonsure at the time of starting on a pilgrimage is obligatory 573; who are eligible for or have adhitkāra for t. 567-571; widows, ascetics and śāstras have to cut all hair on pilgrimage 575; women could not undertake t. without husband's permission 569; works on, repel by their over-statements and exaggerations, when they state that pilgrimage to a particular tīrtha will yield all one's desires in this world and the next, that even gods secured perfection at Puṣkara, that Pṭhūδaka is the holiest of tīrthas etc. 565-566

Tirthayātra-tattva, of Raghuṇandana (published in Bengali characters) 669n, 670, 673n, 674n

Todarāṇanda, 59, 376n (on śrāddha), 382n, 398n, 408n, 417n, 457n, 461n, 462, 475, 476n, 484n, 582

Tolappar, followed by Madras Vaiṣṇavas on śrāddha, 486

Tonsure (vapaṇa or muṇḍana), vide under Prayāga; Āp.Dh.S. provides that all sapindas younger than the deceased had to undergo tonsure 218; differ
ence between munda and kaśura 575; differed according to extent of expiation 123; forbidden in the case of one whose wife was pregnant 122-123; in prāyaścittas, 122-124; in case of married women whose husbands were alive was restricted to cutting off two finger-breadths of hair 123, 574, 575; may take place on 2nd, 3rd or other day up till śrāddha on 11th day after death 217; mode of, in daiva form declared in Tai Br. 122; mode of daiva t. prescribed for ādhāna, īṣṭi and soma sacrifices 122; necessary because sans were supposed to resort to the hair of those that became pilgrims 574; not insisted upon in expiations for king, prince or learned brāhmaṇas, but then they had to undergo double the usual penance 123; no tonsure in cāndrāyana performed solely for accumulating merit 135; no tonsure if cremation took place at night 217; none at Gayā 669; occasions when t. should be undergone 122, 574; of performer of cremation rites 217; three kinds of, asura, daiva and mānuṣa, of which only the last two are allowed 122; religious occasions for tonsure 573-575; restricted to hair on the head and lips generally (the top knot, hair on eyebrows and on the trunk being excepted) but in expiations the exception was not enforced 122-123; seven cases where t. is obligatory 217, 574; unnecessary acc. to some, in expiations other than cāndrāyana 124; whether obligatory when starting on a pilgrimage 573-74; widows, śīdhas, and ascetics had to submit to t. of all hair in prāyaścitta and tirthayātra 123, 575

Touching, prāyaścitta for t. certain men, women in certain conditions, animals &c 114; included indirect touching also for purposes of prāyaścitta 114; t. cāndrālas, mlecchas, bhīllas and Pārāśikas, entails a bath with clothes on 114; t. Baudhas, Pāsupatas, Laukāyātikas and atheists required expiation by bath with clothes on 115; t. shoemaker, washerman, fisherman, hunter, dog, nāja and several others requires sipping water as purification 115

Tosakrcchra (also called Varunakrcchra), a prāyaścitta, described 140.

Triakakuda, a peak of the Himalaya, from which an eye salve was brought 559

Trikāndoamanda, 226, 311, 377, 399n

Trimadhau, 384, 449n.

Trimāt-ālokī 255n, 273, 276n, 281n, 286n, 290, 292, 300; com. on, by Raghunātha 273, 285n, 286n, 296n

Trita, see 'Ekata'

Triṇāciketaḥ, explanations of 384n

Triśākku, boundaries of the country of 378-379

Trishali, means the three holy places of Prayaṇa, Kaśi and Gayā 596

Trishalisetu of Nārāyanaghaṭṭa 365n, 405, 565, 577, 582, 596, 598, 599, 600n, 601n, 602, 603, 607n, 609, 613n, 614, 615n, 617, 624n, 625n, 626n, 627n, 628n, 631n, 632, 633, 635, 638, 639n, 640n, 648n, 652n, 654n, 655n, 657n, 661, 662n, 663n, 666, 667, 668n, 669, 670, 673n, 676n, 677n

Trishalisetusārasaṅgraha, 568n, 582, 609n, 616n

Triśuparṇa, explanations of 384n, 449n

Tulāpuruṣa, an expiation 139

Tulasī, leaves should be avoided in śrāddha acc. to Smṛtyarthasāra, but others allow them 416-417

Tup-ṭāka of Kumārilā on Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṁsāstra 169

Turska (Turk), treated as low as cāndrāla 115
Turushka-daṇḍa, means, in Gāhādvāla inscriptions, money levies imposed by Moslem rulers and raiders 572n
Tylor, author of 'Primitive culture' 585
Uḍḍālaka-vrata, described 111; expiration for vrātyātā 111
Udyogaparva, 704n, 707
Ūha, substituting another word or words in place of a part of a mantra or the like 514–515, 517
Untouchability, no question of, arises when bathing in holy waters, in marriages, in religious festivals, in a battle, in case of invasion, when a town or village is on fire 569–570
Untouchables, no purification required even for dvijas for touch of, on certain occasions such as battle, fire, religious festivals and marriage processions 115,332
Unvala, Dr. J. M. 118
Upacāra, meaning of, 489; 5 and 16 upacāras in worship 583n, 676
Upahavya, a sacrifice 63n
Upaniṣad texts, japa of, as purifier from sins 45; repeating or uttering into the ear of a dying man Up. texts 185; speak of the soul proceeding by the path of arciṣ, day, etc, 265
Upapātakas, derivation of word upapātaka 35; expiration for all u is same as for govardha or it is Cāndrāyana, Parāka, Gosava or subsisting on milk for a month 107; fifty-one u. enumerated by Yāj. set out 33–34; govardha stands at the head of all u. 107; if a brāhmaṇa killed a kṣatriya, vaisya or śūdra, it was an upapātaka, unless the kṣatriya or vaisya was engaged in soma sacrifice 95; if repeatedly committed, make a man patti 35; number of, varies from śruti to śruti and from time to time and was very large 32, 106; purification for, by repeating Veda thrice while fasting 107; what are u. acc. to Baud. Dh. S. 14
Upavāsa (fasting), as a means of removal; sins 52–54; meaning of, 52
Upavitin, meaning of, 487n
Usages, of countries, marrying a maternal uncle's daughter prevalent in Deccan and Southern India but condemned by Manu and Baudhāyana 82; to be considered in giving decisions 82
Udanaś, śruti of, see Anānasam śruti; 323n, 409, 470n, 519n, 521, 524n
Usurer, a brāhmaṇa who is u. is unfit to be invited at śraddha 393
Utpala, commentator of the works of Varāhamihira 168
Uttarāchyanasūtra 43, 165, 445n (story of seven brothers), 646, 687
Uttarāṇāmacarita 601
Uttarāyana, those who die in, proceeded by the Devayāna and do not return 188; waiting for, on the part of Bhisma explained 188–189
Uttāpinyaḥ, verses 200n, 242
Uvāja, commentator of Vājasaneya samhitā 433n
Vācaspatsi, on dharmaśāstra 282n, 575; author of bhāṣya on Yogasūtra 22, 50n (different from preceding)
Vācaspatsi, author of Candanadhenu-dūña 542n
Vaidārthi-yogas, 13 in a year, 383n
Vaidya, Mr. M. V. 648n
Vaidya, Dr. P. L. 176n
Vaidikasārvabhaumns works on pūrva and apara kriyās, followed by Vaiṣṇavas in Madras 486
Vaiṣṇayanti, com. on Satyārādha-srautasūtra 265n, 253n, 254; com. on Viṣṇudharmasūtra
Vaiśkīnāsamasrautasūtra 112n, 223, 225, 227, 231, 240, 241, 304, 355, 474, 491n
Vaiśkīnāsasrautasūtra 57n, 191n, 233, 365n
Vaiṣṇavāṁṛta, a work 187n
Vaiṣṇavīṛk is Rg. I. 22. 17 (idam Viṣṇur-vi-cakrame), 466n
History of Dharmaśutra

Vaiśnavī yajus is Tai S. I I. 3.1
(Viṣṇo havyām raṅgasva), 466n

Vājasaneyasambhitā 20, 37n, 38, 43–44,
46n, 48, 57, 69, 124n, 137, 138, 146,
155, 182, 197n, 209–211, 229, 240,
248–251, 296, 298n, 300n, 306, 317,
346, 348, 352, 357n, 384, 409n, 419,
426n, 427n, 429, 430, 432, 433, 435n,
439, 441, 442, 443n, 444, 447, 449,
450n, 452, 460, 464, 466n, 468, 472,
477n, 479, 480, 486, 497n, 498, 502,
505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 515, 522,
540, 543, 546, 554, 557, 559n, 606

Vaiśvadeva 144
Vaitaranī, river in the nether world,
full of foul smell and blood 163n
Vajra, a prāyaścītta 149
Vajrapañjara, a Durgāstotra in Kālī-
kanḍa 638

Vākyabheda, fault of 226
Vāmadevyagāna 307
Vāmadevyāna verses 307

Vāmanapurāṇa 240, 296, 298n, 302n,
306, 317, 324n, 325, 535n, 556n,
560n, 564 (fine rūpakā about the
soul being a river full of the water
of control), 565n, 566n, 568, 625n,
626, 655n, 659, 682, 683, 684, 685,
686, 704n, 712; chapter 12 of, is
called Karmavipāka 177

Vānaparva 165, 166, 310, 371n, 559n,
561, 562, 565, 567, 582, 589n, 593,
598, 601, 603n, 606n, 608, 614, 629,
647, 649, 651, 653, 682, 685, 704,
707

Vānaprastha (forest hermit), has to
observe no āśauca on a relative’s
death (except bath) 298; no āśauca
for relatives on death of 305; three
daily baths prescribed for 311

Vapana, see ‘tonsure’

Varāha (coin) was equal to five
rūpakas 151

Varāhapuruṣa, 160, 212, 348, 360, 371,
374, 385, 387, 388, 392, 396, 399,
401, 405, 409, 425, 445, 448, 456,
458, 460, 463, 473, 480, 482, 483,
484, 564n, 579, 582, 587, 589, 594n,
666n, 690, 691, 708, 711

Varāhamihira (see Bṛhat-samihita) 168,
376n

Vāraṇasi, see under Kāśi

Vāraṇīkā (courier) 129

Vārkhakhanda 354

Vārttikas, on Pāṇini 354n, 619, 687,
703, 707, 745

Varuna, as lord of waters even in the
Rgveda 140; called king in the
Rgveda 193

Varuṇapāṭhacchra, a prāyaścītta 140

Varuṇaprāghṛṣa, one of the cāturmās-
yas 37–38; was a rite in which the
sacrificer’s wife had to confess
directly or indirectly whether she
had a lover 40

Vasiṣṭhadharmaśītra, 13, 14, 16, 18,
24, 22n, 23, 25, 25, 32, 35, 40, 42, 44,
46n, 47, 48, 51, 54, 61, 62n, 68, 72,
73n, 74, 75, 77, 83, 88, 91, 93, 95,
96, 97, 99, 103–107, 110–112, 121,
122, 125, 128, 130, 135, 138, 142,
143, 150, 172n, 174, 175, 214, 218,
219, 223, 239, 258n, 281, 297n, 314n,
315, 316n, 317, 325, 327, 360, 365,
366, 368, 370, 392, 394n, 398, 401,
403, 410, 411n, 413, 423, 425, 435n,
440, 454, 464n, 467, 468, 524, 536n,
560, 606, 653

Vasus, are eight 490

Vāyupuruṣa, 181, 339, 343n, 344,
345n, 348, 349, 364, 368n, 372, 373n,
374, 378, 380, 385, 388n, 390, 392,
395n, 396n, 397, 399, 404, 405, 411,
412, 414–416, 417n, 418–420, 423,
446n, 449n, 458, 464, 479, 481,
484n, 519n, 539n, 541n, 545, 550n,
560, 563, 566n, 573, 579, 590n,
592n, 607n, 617, 620, 622, 644,
649–651, 653–656, 660, 661, 662,
668–676, 683, 688, 689, 704, 708n

Vāyavya-kṛcchra, 150

Vedāṅgas, six 386

Vedāntasūtra, 20n, 53n, 66n, 67, 68,
100, 158, 161, 165, 186n, 188, 189,
265, 344, 481n, 613
Vedánta texts, japa of, as purifier from sin 45–46
Vedas, japa of the sahmítas of all, as purifier from sin 45–46, 128; japa of single verses or prose passages of, efficacious to remove sins, acc. to some smrtis 48; study of, consumes all guilt 47; views differ as to stopping of Veda study and performance of śrauta rites by relatives during days of impurity 240, 300
Vedás, five, of Brahmá are Samanta-paícaka (northern), Prayága (middle), Gayáśiras (eastern), Virajá (southern) and Puśkara (western) 682n
Vendid (Parsi scriptures) 192n, 231n
Vidyápati, author of or helper of the author, queen Visvásadévi, of Gaṅgá-vákyávali 583n
Vidyániśva, author of Dvádaśayátrá-prayogapramána 697n
Vidyásúkta, 444
Vijnánésvara, author of Mitákṣará 129, 368
Vinasána, place where river Sarasvatí disappeared in the sands, was holy 682, 684
Vinayaka-ántal 178
Virajá or Virajá 574n
Virajáksétra, extends a little beyond Jaipur in Orissa 694n
Virásana, a posture 148
Visála, is Ujjayani or Badariká 574
Visamaśreácchádhas 263
Visú 544, 574; explanation of the Rgveda verse stating that V. took three steps 645; repeating one thousand names of, as a means of driving away a disease 178; repeating one thousand names of Visú in the ear of one dying 185n
Visudharmásútra; the commentator states that it is the Káthakiyá-śáradhaprayoga that the sûtra sets out in chap. 73, 461n; some verses of, are the same as Bhagavad-

**General Index**

917

Visudharmottara-purána 47, 76n, 117, 131, 140, 141, 149, 150, 153, 164, 177, 265, 344, 349, 350, 378n, 397, 411, 418, 422n, 423, 441n, 447, 448, 452, 453, 458n, 459, 461, 463, 466, 480, 481, 482, 521, 528, 539n, 540n, 541n, 553n, 561n, 563, 576n, 578
Visúnpada, hill of this name existed near Delhi at Meharauli 646n; occurs in the Nirukta and Visudharmasútra 645, 653; south of river Vipášá 647n
Vivajit, a vedaic sacrifice, as práyaścitta for bráhmaṇa murder 91, 92n
Visvámitra, smrti of 23, 75, 108
Visvarúpa, commentator of Yájnavalkya-smrti, 10, 18, 19n, 23, 32, 33, 35, 66n, 75n, 90, 107n, 108n, 111n,
161n, 225n, 274n, 313n, 316n, 321, 324n, 330n, 336, 371n
Viśṭhalabhūṣana of Gopālācārya 717–718
Viśṭhala-rū-mantra-sāra-bhāṣya of Kā-śānātha Upādhyāya 721
Vivādaratnākara, 69, 109n
Vivāgasuyam (Vipikā-śrutam) 176
Vivavat, marriage of, with daughter of
Tvasta 198; Yama and Yami are children of, 198.
Vrata, three ways of observing v. on
Darśa-pūrṇāmasa ṛṣṭi 52
Vratodiyāpana, description of, at time of a man's death 183–184
Vrātya, is one whose upanayana has not been performed at proper time
111; páyakaśita for being a, 111–112
Vrātyastoma, a Vedic sacrifice 62;
 prescribed in the case of him whose upanyana was not performed at the
proper time 62n; used for bringing into āryan fold persons not born
into it 118
Vṛddha-Atri 292n
Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati 25n
Vṛddha-Gautama 112n, 137, 174, 386, 389, 392
Vṛddha-Hārīta 15, 32, 36, 65n, 75, 123, 164, 216, 225, 226, 504, 575
Vṛddha-or Vṛddhī-kṛčchra 150
Vṛddha-Manu 222n, 285n, 371n, 390, 532
Vṛddha-Parāśara 113, 503n
Vṛddha-Sātātapa 441n
Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha 263, 383, 372, 470, 529, 547
Vṛddha-Viṣṇu 80
Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya 114n, 210n, 302, 509n 525
Vṛddhiśārdhā—see Nāndimukha- śrād-
hī; mātriśārdhā is a part of it and
if a sufficient number of brähmaṇas
is not available then women who
have a son and whose husbands are
alive may be invited for groups of
mātri and mātāmabhis 529
Vullamy, C. F., author of 'Immortal
man' 180, 232n, 342n, 347n
Viṣṇusarga (letting loose a bull) 539–
542; if a bull be not available on
11th day after death an effigy of a
bull made of darbhas and flour or
clay may be employed 541; great
importance of, 541; none for a
woman, but a cow together with its
calf may be donated for her benefit
542; procedure of Viṣṇudharmanottara
closely follows that of Viṣṇudharma-
sūtra 541n; procedure of, according
to Viṣṇudharmasūtra 539–541; quali-
ties of the bull to be let loose for
the benefit of pitṛs 539–540; under-
lying idea of this rite 542
Vyāghra 59n, 75, 517, 520
Vyāghrapāda 477n
Vyāhṛthīoma, should be of 28 or 108
oblations 121
Vyāhṛtis (mystic syllables 'bhūr,
bhuvah, svaḥ ') 121, 490
Vyāsa 22, 28, 54, 80, 83n, 105n, 106,
187n, 369n, 469, 514, 520, 546
Vyāsākrčchra, same as Mātrākrčchra
150
Vyātipāta, defined 171n; thirteen v.
yogas in a year 383n
Vyavahāracintāmaṇi 119n
Vyavahāramayūkha 257n, 280, 535n,
538n, 569
Vyavahāranirṇaya 280n
Water, all deities are centred in waters
553; at a āparā or from a jar placed
near a well or from a leather bag,
should not ordinarily be drunk
except in distress 325; difference of
opinion as to the number of handfuls
of water to be offered after cremation,
viz. 10, 55 or 100, 218–219;
duty of sapindas and samānodakas
to offer water to deceased 221; held
to be a great purifier even so early
as the Ṛgveda 321; hymns and
verses in the Ṛgveda addressed to
waters as divinities 321, 555; in-
voked for carrying off sin 7, 555;
mixed with gold over which the Gayatri verse had been recited employed as purification of cooked food 328; no pollution recognized in large reservoirs 324; number of handfuls of water to be offered to deceased depended upon the usage of the country or on caste 219; offered to a deceased person after cremation by any or all sapindas 218–220; of a flowing river, spring and deep tank is always pure 322–323; w. and mud on roads, though trodden by low castes, dogs and cows become pure by the wind and sun 323–324; person could, if he chose, offer water to his deceased married sister or daughter or to a friend, to father-in-law on their death 221; procedure of offering water to deceased 219; purification of 322–323; purification of, is brought about by the sun, moon and wind and by means of the urine and dung of cows 324; rain water deemed to be impure for ten days 324; symbolic dialogue between person offering water to deceased and that person’s relatives or brother-in-law or with a king’s officer, 221–222; should be sipped or touched when a man engaged in religious rites hears a mantra addressed to pitrs, scratches his body, looks at a low caste man, or allows wind to escape from his abdomen, laughs loudly or utters an untruth, touches a cat or a mouse, uses harsh words or has a fit of anger 321; what water is deemed to be pure 322–23

Well, purification of static water in wells and small reservoirs is same 324; when a well or a reservoir with a dam is constructed by men of the lowest class no paryasictta is prescribed for bathing or for drinking that water 3.4; when deemed to be extremely polluted 323

Wife, see under pativratā; even a kṣatriya wife of a brāhmaṇa āhitāgni, if she died before him, was to be cremated with his sacred fires, acc. to Viśvarūpa 226; husband had to observe a brief āsānca on the death of a wife who had left him or had intercourse with another of the same or higher varṇa, but had to observe no āsānca if she lived with one of lower varṇa 290; of āhitāgni was cremated with his sacred fires and sacrificial implements if she died before him 225; of āhitāgni dying after him was to be cremated with nirmanthya fires 226; of brāhmaṇa, even of the śūdra caste, was not to drink surā 22; of dvija was forbidden the drinking of surā 21; of deceased dvija was made to lie on the wooden pile in cremation ground and then made to get up, acc. to sūtras 207; of sacrificer in Varuṇapaghāsa had to confess whether she had a lover 37–38, 40; virtuous w. alone was cremated with śruta or smāra fire 226; was given only two alternatives by Viṣṇudharma-sūtra and others on husband’s death, viz. becoming a sāti or leading a life of perfect celibacy 256; was authorised to perform funeral rites and yearly and other śrāddhas for her husband with Vedic mantras by some late works, though some purāṇas were against this 259

Wilson, translator of Viṣṇupurāṇa 726, 763

Winternitz, Dr. M., author of ‘History of Sanskrit Literature’ 646n

Witness, bearing false w. was like drinking surā 72; is promised heaven if he tells the truth but hell if he lies 161; w. telling a falsehood for saving a man from death penalty had to offer a rice oblation to Sarasvatī 44

Woman, even a patita woman was to be given bare maintenance and was not to be cast on the street 105; how
to perform japa for removal of sins 49; Hindu w. succeeding as heir to her husband has a qualified ownership over inherited property, she could alienate validly a small part of her deceased husbands' estate on pilgrimages to Gayā, Pandharpur and some other tirthas 569; no expiation for killing a woman intentionally, acc. to Viśvarūpa 18; whatever a woman does relating to benefits to be derived by her after death without the permission of her husband or husband's father or her son becomes fruitless 569; who became patita and did not undergo expiation could be excommunicated by process called Ghaṭasphoṭa 105

Women, āśauca for married w. in the case of the death of parents or brother or in case they hear of it beyond ten days, within a year or after a year from death or of death of grandfather 278–279; in case of married w. if they were delivered or died at father's house then only the father has to observe āśauca for one or three days, but none otherwise, acc. to Viṣṇu 278; four classes of, that were to be altogether abandoned and not given even starving maintenance 105; guilty of offence liable to death sentence are to be punished with cutting off a limb 80; married w. had to observe āśauca for three days for death of parents or step-mother if ten days had not elapsed from death or for the remaining days out of ten 278; may perform prāṇāyāmas and give gifts as penances in secret 125; of dvija classes guilty of adultery with a śūdra could be purified by a penance if they do not give birth to a child of the intercourse 105; of all varṇas were allowed to drink pañcagavya as remover of sins 142; three acts specially condemned in women, viz. sexual intercourse with a man of lower varṇa, causing abortion, killing husband 105; rules about uncleanness for women in monthly illness are older than Tai. S. 309; that have adopted heterodox views and practices, that are thieves of gold and the like, that attempt to kill husbands, that are unchaste, that drink liquor or attempt suicide should not be offered water on death and no āśauca should be observed for them 301; tonture of entire head prescribed for all women at Prayāga by Raghunandana, though others did not agree 603; were regarded as unclean on child birth, the duration of impurity depending on the sex of the child 309

Worlds, of Indra, Prajāpati, Varuna, Vāyu and other gods promised in the Upaniṣads 165; three w. 165, 342, 343; three loka of devas, pīśa and of worms and creeping beings in the Upaniṣads 188

Yajña, was dharma par excellence in the Brāhmaṇa period 680

Yajñakṛṣchra 148

Yajñapātras, cremation of sacrificer with, is pratīpattikarma of the pāstras, 208n; some were either donated or thrown into water on the death of the agnibhitra 208

Yajñāsvāmin, 148n


Yajñāyudhas (implements of sacrifice) are ten 168n

Yājñikadeva, commentator of Kātyāyana-śrautasūtra 206n

Yajñopāvīta, the prācināvīta mode of wearing 407

Yajñopavita, explained 487n

Yajurvedi-śārdhataattva of Raghunandana 486, 504, 509n, 516

Yājñya (offering prayer), 543 (in jīvātri śārdhā)

Yama, called king in Rgveda 193, 343; Citragupta, chief assistant of, 160; descriptions of the abode of Yama and his assistants in the Purāṇas 160; fierce servants of, drag sinners to various tormenting hells 167; gradually came to be looked upon as a dreadful punisher of men for evil deeds 160, 343; heaven as abode of, in Rgveda 156, 342; identified with Mṛtyu even in the Rgveda 159; Y. in the Veda 159–160; in jīvātri śārdhā Y. and his servants are gratified 543, 544; is at least Indo-Iranian deity 159; is lord of men and drinks Soma with gods 159; is really a god of the middle region 342; is supposed to allow departed souls and pīṭras to visit the world of men at time of śārdhā 401; is styled king in the Rgveda and the gatherer of people 159, 342; is said to have been the first mortal and to have made a way to Heaven 159, 192n; mentioned as a god by himself in Rg. X. 135, 343; names of Yama 593, 594n; pīṭras are said to enjoy delight in the company of Y. in Rgveda 160; pīṭras called Aṅgtrases are particular-ly associated with him 341; son of Vivasvat, the sun and brother of Yami 159, 192n, 198; soul of departed man was supposed in the Rg. to become associated with Yama and pīṭras 342; though Y. is a beneficent god in Rigveda and Atharvaveda, there is still an element of fear 159; two dogs of, that are sons of Saramā, guard the way and mark the doings of men 159, 193

Yama, smṛti of, 19n, 40, 44, 64, 65n, 95, 108, 113, 119, 121, 124, 125n, 131, 133, 139, 140, 142, 147, 148n, 150, 164, 175, 216, 219, 227, 228, 240, 266n, 289n, 313, 324n, 350, 368, 377, 386, 400n, 491, 408, 444, 464, 477, 479, 518n, 525, 575, 590, 669

Yamagāthās, what are, 227n

Yamasūkta, Rg. X. 14

Yamas, meaning of 121, 124; to be observed while undergoing expiation 121

Yāmi verse is Rg. X. 14. 4

Yāmya, a praśaścitta 149

Yaudhājapa, a Sāman 132–133

Yava, boiled and offered to Varuṇa, deemed to be destroyer of taint due to partaking of the food of guilds, harlots, śūdras and others and of other sins 144

Yavamadhya, variety of Cāndrāyaṇa 135

Yavanas, 117

Yāvaka, a praśaścitta 149

Yati (ascetic) burial of, from ancient times to modern times 229–231; disposal of the bodies of four kinds of, 229; no cremation is done, nor water offered nor āśauca observed by sons and sapinjas on death of, 230, 305; on death of, his sapinjas have simply to undergo a bath and nothing more and a yati and brahmačārin have to observe no āśauca (except a bath) in all cases and at all times 281, 298; paraphernalia of, 229n; procedure of
rites on death of, 229-230; procedure
added by the Nirñayasindhu and
Dharmasindhu 230; reason why yatis
were buried and not cremated 231
Yaticandrāyaṇa 149
Yatisāntapana 149
Year, beginning of, in very ancient
times 354
Yima (Yama) in Parsi scriptures 192n
Yogas, 27 in a month, 383n
Yogasūtra, 22, 50, 176, 311, 352;
bhāṣya on 352
Yogayājñavalkya or Yogi-Yāj. 134n,
140n, 243n, 324, 473n

Yogin, superior to 100 brāhmaṇas and
so should be invited at a śrāddha for
dinner 388, 398-399
Yojana, extent of 92, 286, 590n, 628
Yuga 164
Yugādi līthīs, what are 374, 636n
Zoroastrianism, idea of hells in 165;
regards burial of a human body in
the earth as a grave sin 231n
Zoroastrians, disposed of the dead by
exposure of dead bodies to vultures
and other birds 231n
## INDEX OF IMPORTANT WORDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abhicāra</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhidroha</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhīṣasta</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhivānyā</td>
<td>426n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ābhuyadīkaśrāddha</td>
<td>359n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ācarāya</td>
<td>281n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādhāna</td>
<td>574n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādyā (srāddha)</td>
<td>518n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āgas</td>
<td>5–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agha (sin)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agha (āśauca)</td>
<td>267–268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agniśvātta</td>
<td>195n, 343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agradirbīṣu</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreredīṣu</td>
<td>11n, 394n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āgṛbahāyaṇī</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āhāvā</td>
<td>503n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ākalkaka</td>
<td>562n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ākṛtīdabana</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ākṣayodaka</td>
<td>508n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āmantraṇa</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amāṭya</td>
<td>199n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amhas</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīt 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāḍya</td>
<td>402n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anāśaka</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anavasthā</td>
<td>61n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anṛṣṭa 5, 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuṛgabhaka</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anukalpa</td>
<td>387, 513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anupātaka</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anustaraṇī</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apāṅkṣetya</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aparāhāṇa</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apośāna</td>
<td>496n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āprīta</td>
<td>315n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aratni</td>
<td>470n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arghya</td>
<td>419, 435n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aranyāni</td>
<td>561n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ārūḍhapatiṇī</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āśaucaśampātā or Āśauca-sannipātā</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akṣāma</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṣṭākā</td>
<td>354n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asūcikāra</td>
<td>12, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asūtra</td>
<td>193n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ātatarīya</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ātivāhika</td>
<td>160n, 265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atidesā</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atithi</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ātreśī</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āturasannyāsa</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atyantopahata</td>
<td>315n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audumbara</td>
<td>73n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avakīraṇī</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avibhākataśāya</td>
<td>365–366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barhiṣad</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijīn</td>
<td>536n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brāhmabandhu</td>
<td>400n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brāhmamedha</td>
<td>228n, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brāhmaṇaśbruva</td>
<td>270n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brāhmaṇaśgrya</td>
<td>400n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brāhmodya</td>
<td>464n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brṛṇa</td>
<td>11n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caityavṛṣa</td>
<td>115, 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cāṭa</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cāndrāyaṇa</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caturbotarāḥ</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citi</td>
<td>115, 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citrikaraṇa</td>
<td>706n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daṇḍakalita</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darbha</td>
<td>417n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dauhitra</td>
<td>376n, 413n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desāntara</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhruvaśrāddha</td>
<td>517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didhiṣu or—ṣū</td>
<td>11n, 394n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didhiṣūpāti</td>
<td>11n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimbāhava</td>
<td>305n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugdha</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durbrāhmaṇa</td>
<td>399n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durīta</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dvākṛta</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekāha</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekaddiṣṭa</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enas 5–6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enasvin</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gajacchāyā</td>
<td>371n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gavyūti</td>
<td>590n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaṭasphoṭa</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
History of Dharmaśāstra [Vol.

Ghoṣaśānti 178
Gaṅgāśāla 105n
Goṭraja 266n
Guru 24
Gurutalpaga 23
Hatya 17
Havīśya 149
Hiranyaprāśana 49n
Īśāpūrta 193
Jaṭhila 419n
Juṅgita 105n

Kāṇya 60n, 369–370
Kāṇḍānasayama 442n
Kapālīka 395
Karmavipāka 172–173, 176
Karpāṭiśe 573n
Kāryāsamanvita 473n
Kauravya 681n
Kycchra 145
Kriya 261
Kṣetrin 536n
Kumbhīpāka 163
Kūśa 491n
Kutapa 376–377, 413n

Lepadha 158
Loka 165
Loṣṭaciti 251
Madhuini, 45n
Madhyama (kriya) 261
Maṅgīvārsha 360
Mantha 426n
Manvādi 375
Mārjana 120, 133
Mātarāḥ 529
Maukhā 27n
Mekṣaṇa 443n
Mūlakarma 35

Nagana 395
Nagnaprachādāna 220
Namaḥśiṣa 60n, 369
Naḷada 203, 203n
Naṇḍi 528n
Naṇḍimukha 359n
Namaḥśiṣa 347n

Navamiśra 262–63, 517
Navavārāddha 262–63, 517
Nilavrṣa 540n

Nimantarana 408
Nimittī 18
Nirākṛti 394n
Nirgrantha 395
Nirārtha 289n
Nirmāya 418
Nirmāthya 226
Niśāda 174
Niśkṛaya 40n
Niśya 60n, 369
Niyama 121

Padārthānusamaya 442n
Pākayajñā 112n
Paksiceti 158n
Pañcayānāḥ 344n
Pañcāmṛtsanāna 364n
Pāpa 8
Parāvartana 118
Paridhi 199n
Paridhiyā 199n
Parismāhana 213
Paristaraṇa 213
Parivadana 33
Parivina 11n, 12
Parivitta 11n
Parivividāna 11n, 12
Parśad 86
Pāvana 380
Parā prápta 12
Parīkṣāna 213
Pāta 275
Pātaka 1, 10
Patañjala 10, 12
Pātīyāśraṇāda 219
Pāvamāni 45
Pavitra 440n
Pāṇḍānāhārayaka 362n
Pipālakāmadhyāya 135
Pitṛmedha 228n, 254
Pitṛtiṣṭha 435n
Pitṛyajña 201
Prājapatiya 145
Pranapāṭ 347n
Prāsaṅgika 15
Prasava 275
Prārṭhāraṇa 207n
Prasṛtiyāvaka 143
Prasūti 275
Index of Important Words

Pratipattikarma 208n, 334n
Pratyavasita 95, 113
Prāyaścitta 57–60
Prāyaścitti 57
Preta 523
Pṛṣadājya 292, 205, 527n,
Puṇ-śoḍaśī 673
Pulkasa 174
Pūraka-pīṇḍa 262
Pūrva (kriyā) 261
Purunuvākyā 543n
Puskaraka 255
Puṣṭi-śrāddha 382
Putra 161
Ratni 417n
Ṛta 2
Ṛtvik 281n
Sadyah-sauca 295–296
Sajyotiḥ 282n
Sakula 366
Sallekhanaś 612n
Samānodaka 260n
Sampradāna 460n
Samśrava 447n
Sanāsthājapa 494
Śānyoḥ 194n
Sañcayana 240
Saṅgava 376
Sankalpavidhi 532
Sāñtapana 225n
Satya 4, 5
Sāvāśauca 269
Sesas 196n
Smaśana 205n, 247n,
Śodāśikarmā 672
Śparśakalā 372
Spraṣṭāprasti 332
Śraddhā 352
Śrāddhika, śrāddhīn 352, 410n
Śrāt 352
Śrauva 27n
Śrāva 275
Śrotiśya 384n
Steya 22, 23
Śrotiśya 202n
Śrīśoḍaśī 673
Śuddhavati 48
Śuddhi 118, 267
Śumbala, 225n
Sūryābhhinimruka 11
Sūryābhyudita 11
Sūtaka 269
Suvarṇā 23
Svarga 169–170
Svasthānaviruddhi 145
Svāsūrya 281n
Tāntra 440n, 445n
Tantu 269
Tapas 42–43
Tāta 347n
Tāha 115n
Tīrtha 202n, 554
Trikādruka 194n
Triṇāciketaḥ 384n
Trisuparnaḥ 384n
Tugvan 554
Turuṣkadaṇḍa 572n
Upasparśa 114n
Uṛha 514n
Upavāsa 52–53
Upavasatha 54
Utkrānti-dhenu 183
Utpavana 330n
Uttapana ni 227n
Uttara (krīyā) 261
Vadha 17
Vādhrānas 355
Vaitaraṇī (cow) 183
Vapana 122
Vāpana 318n
Varṇasāṅkara 288
Vardhāṇa or Vardhāṇasa 422n
Veṇa 115, 174
Vibhaktadāyāda 366
Vikīra 484, 500, 507n
Vīrahan 11, 155
Viṣamaśrāddha 263
Viṣṭara 440n
Vratalopa 112
Vratodyāpana 183
Vṛtiya 33, 111, 222
Vṛṣṭya 111
### History of Dharmaśāstra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vṛddhiśrāddha</td>
<td>359n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛjina</td>
<td>6-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛṣali</td>
<td>104n, 394n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛtra-dākṣu</td>
<td>250n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vyāma</td>
<td>205n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vyatipāta</td>
<td>371n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yājyu</td>
<td>543n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yama</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yātaniya</td>
<td>160n, 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yauna</td>
<td>27n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yavamadhyā</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yāyāvara</td>
<td>571n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yogādi</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
India — Dhanbad