HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀASTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL
RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW)

BY

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PREFACE

It is a little over ten years since the first volume of my History of Dharmaśāstra was published. In the preface to that volume I expressed the hope that time and health permitting I might issue in a few years the second volume dealing with the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra. For several years thereafter whatever leisure I could secure from professional work was devoted to the collection and orderly assortment of the vast Literature on Dharmaśāstra. After my return from a few months' visit to Europe in 1937 I commenced the work of writing the second volume. It soon became apparent to me that to compress within the limits of a single volume the development of the thousand and one topics that fall within the purview of Dharmaśāstra would present only a scrappy and faint outline of the whole field. To add to the difficulties of my task my old painful complaint (duodenal ulcer) recurred with far greater virulence than before, so much so that, partly on medical advice and partly out of despair, in October 1938 I gave up the work altogether. When relief did not come even after six months' total abstinence from literary labours I resumed, in spite of my extremely painful complaint, the work of writing, for fear that otherwise the extensive materials that I had been collecting for nearly two decades might be entirely lost to the world of Sanskrit scholars and that my labours might be altogether wasted. Being afraid that my strength and resolution may not last till the completion of the rather ambitious undertaking, I decided upon bringing out in two volumes the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra. The present volume contains the treatment of varṇa and āśrama, the śaṁskāras, āhṇika and ācāra, dāna, pratiṣṭhā and utsarga, and śrauta (vedic) sacrifices. The next volume (the last) will deal with the following topics: vyavahāra (Law and procedure), āśanca (impurity on birth and death), śrāddha, prāyaścitta, tīrtha, vrata, kāla, śānti, the influence of the Purva-mimāṃśa and other śāstras on Dharmaśāstra, customs and usages modifying Dharmaśāstra, the philosophical background of Dharmaśāstra, and future developments in Dharmaśāstra. Looking to my past performance I am unwilling to make any promise about the time when the next volume may be

H.D. A
expected to be published. I may state, however, that in view of the fact that at present I am in much better health than I have been for several years I shall try to publish it in three years more.

Excellent works dealing with distinct topics of Dharmaśāstra have been given to the world by eminent scholars. But so far as I know no writer has yet attempted single-handed to survey the whole field of Dharmaśāstra. From that point of view this volume partakes of the nature of a pioneer undertaking. It is therefore to be expected that such an ambitious project will manifest the defects of all pioneer work. The circumstances (adverted to above) in which this work had to be written and the great hurry with which it had to be rushed through are other factors that are responsible for the awkward or obscure expressions and the errors that it may contain. I mention these matters for lessening the surprise that such blemishes might lead my friends to feel and not for blunting the edge of adverse criticism. The critic is certainly entitled to mercilessly criticize the work for its shortcomings and mistakes. Some readers may complain that the present work is prolix, while others may say that the space devoted to several topics is meagre. I have tried to pursue a middle course.

There was great temptation throughout this work to compare ancient and medieval Indian customs, usages and beliefs as disclosed by dharmaśāstra works with those of other peoples and countries. But I have tried to omit, as far as possible, such comparisons. Whenever I indulge in them I do so for several reasons. It is the fashion among many writers, both European and Indian, to hold the caste system and the dharmaśāstra view of life responsible for most of the evils from which India suffers at present. To a very large extent I do not subscribe to that view. I have endeavoured to show that human nature being the same in essentials throughout the world, the same tendencies and evils manifest themselves in all countries, the same abuses prevail and the same perversions of originally beneficent institutions take place everywhere and anywhere, whether particular countries or societies are within the grip of the caste system or any other casteless system. Undoubtedly the caste system has in fact produced certain evils, but it is not singular in this respect. No system is perfect and immune from evil effects. Though I have been brought up in the midst of the Brahmanical system, I hope it will be conceded by scholars
that I have shown both sides of the picture and that I have endeavoured to write with detachment.

A few words must be said about the extensive quotations from Sanskrit works and the references to modern Indian Legislation and case-law. For those who cannot read English (most pandits and śāstris do not) the quotations will be of great help in understanding at least the trend of the arguments. Besides Indian scholars are as a class poor and cannot afford to purchase numerous books. Nor are there many good libraries in India where all works of reference can be had. For all these reasons thousands of quotations have been cited in the footnotes. The quotations are mostly drawn from published works and references to mss. are few and far between. I hope that the numerous quotations will not intrude themselves on the attention of those who want to read only the English portion of the work. Legislative enactments and case-law have been referred to for showing that many regulations of dharmaśāstra are still very much alive, that they govern the every-day life of Hindus and permeate all classes of Hindu society in spite of the fact that a considerable part of dharmaśāstra has become obsolete. Similar remarks apply to the numerous references to inscriptions on stone and copper. These latter serve to prove that rules laid down in the dharmaśāstra were throughout two thousand years observed by the people and enforced by kings and that such rules were not mere precepts composed by dreamers or scholastic pedants.

I acknowledge with great pleasure that I am under deep obligations to many predecessors and workers in the same and other fields and to many friends. Among the works to which I had to refer constantly and from which I derived the greatest benefit I must specially refer to the following: Bloomfield’s Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith, the Sacred Books of the East edited by Max Müller (vol. II, VII, XII, XIV, XXV, XXVI, XXIX, XXX, XXXIII, XLI, XLIII, XLIV). As I was handicapped by the fact that I know little German and less French, I could not fully utilise all the work done by modern European scholars. I am highly obliged to Paramahamsa Kēvalānanda Svāmī of Wai for constant help and guidance (particularly in the śrauta portion); to Chintāmanśāstri Datar of Poona for assistance in the chapter on dārśa-pūrṇamāsa and for carefully going through the other chapters on śrauta; to Mr. Keshav Lakshman Ogale for his work on a
portion of the Index; to Tarkatirtha Raghunātha Śāstri Kokje for reading through the whole work and suggesting additions and emendations.

Besides, assistance in various ways during the progress of the work for over three years was very kindly rendered by a host of friends, among whom I should like to make special mention of Prof. H. D. Velankar, Prof. Rangaswami Ayyangar, Prof. P. P. S. Śāstri, Dr. Alsdorf, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mr. N. G. Chapekar, Mr. G. H. Khare, Mr. N. C. Bapat, Pandit Rangacharya Raddi, Mr. L. S. Dravid (a Sāmavedī of Poona), Pandit S. D. Satavlekar, Mr. P. K. Gode. Thanks are due to all these and other friends for their help and interest in this volume. I must state, however, that I alone am responsible for the views and mistakes contained in this work.

In a work containing thousands of quotations and references it is very likely that many slips have occurred. Besides it is very much to be regretted that several misprints have crept into the footnotes by the loss or displacement of dots and other loose parts of Sanskrit letters in the process of printing.

15th June 1941

P. V. Kane
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. I. R. = All India Reporter (edited by Mr. V. V. Chitaley of Nagpur).
All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad Series.
Ānan. or Ānand. = Ānandāśrama Press edition, Poona.
Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.
Āp. gr. = Āpastamba-grhyasūtra.
Āp. Ṣr. = Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra.
Āśv. gr. = Āśvalāyana-grhyasūtra.
Āśv. Ṣr. = Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra.
A. S. W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India Reports.
Baud. D. S. = Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra.
Baud. Ṣr. = Baudhāyana-śrutasūtra.
B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.
Bom. = Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series.
Bom. H. C. R. = Bombay High Court Reports (vol. I-XII).
B. O. R. I. = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Cal. = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta Series.
Com. = Commentator or Commentary (according to context).
C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes (Law Reports).
D. C. = Deccan College Collection of Sanskrit Mss.
Dh. S. = Dharmasūtra.
Die Frau = Die Frau im Brahmanismus by Dr. M. Winternitz (1920, Leipzig).
History of Dharmaśāstra

E. C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.
E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.
F. n. = Footnote.
Fick = The Social organization in North-east India in Buddha's time (translated from German by Dr. Shishir Kumar Maitra; 1920).
Gaut. = Dharmaśātra of Gautama.
Gr. R. = Gṛhaśatratākara of Caṇḍeśvara.
G. S. = Gupta saṁvat.
H. A. S. L. = History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by Prof. Max Müller (1859).
Hir. gr. = Hiranyakesi-gṛhya-sūtra.
I. A. = Indian Antiquary.
I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.
I. L. R. = India Law Reports series.
Ins. = Inscription or inscriptions.
Kāthaka S. = Kāthaka Saṁhitā.
Kaut. = Kautīlya's Arthaśāstra.
L. R. I. A. = Law Reports, Indian Appeals (decided by the Privy Council), the number of the volume being inserted between L. R. and I. A.
Mait. S. = Maitrāyaṇi-saṁhitā.
Mānava gr. = Mānava-gṛhyasūtra.
Mārk. or Mārkaṇḍeya = Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.
Mit. = The commentary Mitākṣara on Yājñavalkya Smṛti.
Moo. I. A. = Moore's Indian Appeals.
n. = footnote.
Pān. = Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī.
P and M = Pollock and Maitland's History of English Law.
Pār. gr. = Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra.
Par. M. = Parāśara-Mādhavīya.
Pat. = Patañjali's Māhābhāṣya.
List of Abbreviations

Q. = Quoted.
Rel. and Phil. = Prof. Keith's 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads.'
Rg. = Rgveda.
Rit. Lit. = Hillebrandt's 'Ritual Litteratur Vedische Opfer und Zauber'.

Sam. K. = Samskāra-kaustubha of Anantadeva.
Sam. P. or Pr. = Samskāraprakāśa of Mitramiśra.
Sam. R. M. = Samskāra-ratna-mālā of Gopinātha.
Sān. gr. = Śāṅkhyāyana-grhya-sūtra.
Śat. Br. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East (ed. by Prof. Max Müller).
Sch. C. O. = Scheduled castes Order of 1936.
Sm. C. = Smṛti-candrikā.
Sm. M. or Smr. M. = Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha.
Śr. P. N. = Śrautapadārthanirvacana.
S. V. = Sāmaveda.
Tai. Ār. = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.
Tai. S. or Sam. = Taittirīya Samhitā.
Tr. = Translation or translated (according to context).
Up. = Upaniṣad.
Vāj. S. = Vājasaneyā Samhitā.
Vaik. or Vaikhānasa = Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra.
Vas. or Vas. Dh. S. = Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra.
Viṣṇu. Dh. S. = Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra.
V. S. = Vedānta-sūtra.
Yāj. = Yājñavaalkya-smṛti.
Yati. Dh. S. or Yati-dh. = Yatidharma-samgraha.

History of Dharmashstra

कौशिकीक मा.उ. = कौशिकीकार्याविशेषपरनिपिष्ट
म. ५. ० श्री. र. = श्रीवचस्यबाहकर
शी. ० शी. व. मू. = गौतमवास्मूष्ट
श्री. उ. = छान्दोकयापिनिनिद्र
ब्र. = पूर्णमांसामानु
ब्र. ० ब्र. = गौरिणीयापिनिनिद्रवाहण
तै. आ. = तैतिरियाविश्वक
तै. उ. = तैतिरियापिनिद्र
तै. ब्र. = तैतिरियाविश्वक
तै. सं. = तैतिरियाविश्वक
परा. मा. = पराठाम्बाचीय
पा. = पाणिनीवायापायी
पूर्वी. = पूर्विगोपीमामूष्ट
ब्रह्म. = ब्रह्मस्मृति (as quoted in
digests)
ब्रह्म. उ. = ब्रह्मवाचकोपिनिद्र
ब्री. म. = ब्रीमीषवाचस्मूष्ट
ब्री. ब. ० ब्री. २. मू. = ब्रीमीषवाचस्मूष्ट
ब्र. = भाग्य
मधु = मधुस्वति
मिता. = मितास्यरा (भाग्यवाचस्मृतिदीक्षा)
मेया. = मेयानिधि (मधुस्वतिभाष्यकार)
मै. सं. ० मेया. सं. = मेयावर्षिणीसंधित
मेयी. उप. = मेयावर्षिणी
वति व. सं. = वतिवाचसःखं
बां. ० बां. = बांवाचसःखं
बां. सं. = बांवसःखंसंधित
वि. वि. = विवाचवितमानि
विवेकप्र = शास्त्रवाचस्मृतिदीक्षा ० विवेकप्र
वि. र. = विवाचवस्तरीक
ब्र. सं. ० ब्र. सं. = ब्रेचानवसामानीथव
व्य. सं. ० व्य्र. सं. = व्यवाहारमूल
शतप्रत्रा. = शतप्रत्राविश्वभाष
शां. म. = शाङ्कावतरंग
शां. ब्रो. = शाङ्काध्यायभेद
शुद्र. ० शुद्र. ० शुद्र. = शुद्रवाचस्मूष्ट
बर. की. = संस्कारकोस्मुष्ट
सं. प. = संस्कारप्राकाश
सं. र. मा. = संस्कारवस्तुस
स्मितिव. = स्मितिवन्दिक
स्मु. ० स्मु. ० स्मुनिसु. = स्मुनितमुखास्त
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

(of important works and authors referred to in this volume)

N. B.—Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are conjectural and only tentative.

4000 B.C.—1000 B.C.—The period of the Vedic Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. It is possible that some hymns may go back to a period even earlier than 4000 B.C. and that some Upaniṣads (even out of those that are regarded as the principal and the earliest ones) are later than 1000 B.C.

800 B.C.—500 B.C.—The Nirukta.

800 B.C.—400 B.C.—The principal śrauta sūtras (of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kāṭyāyana, Śāṅkhyāyana, Lāṭyāyana, Drāhīyāyana, Satyāśādha) and some of the grhya sūtras (Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba &c.).

600 B.C.—300 B.C.—The dharmaśūtras of Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, Vasishtha and the Grhya-sūtras of Pāraskara, Baudhāyana and some others.

600 B.C.—300 B.C.—Pāṇini.


300 B.C.—100 A. D.—Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

150 B.C.—Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

200 B.C.—200 A. D.—Manuṃrti.

100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Yajñavalkya-ṃrti.

100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

100 A. D.—400 A. D.—Nāradaṃrti.


300 A. D.—500 A. D.—Bṛhaspatiṃrti (not yet found).

300 A. D.—600 A. D.—Some of the extant purāṇas viz. Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Mārkandeya, Kūrma, Matsya.

400 A. D.—600 A. D.—Kāṭyāyanaṃrti (not yet found).


650 A. D.—750 A. D.—Tantratvārtika of Kumārila.

788 A. D.—820 A. D.—Śaṅkarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher.
600 A. D.—900 A. D.—Most of the other smṛtis and some of the
purāṇas.
900 A. D. —Medhātithi, com. of Manu
1100 A. D. —Mītākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara.
1100 A. D.—1150 A. D.—Kalpataru of Lakṣāmidhara.
1100 A. D.—1150 A. D.—Jimūtavāhana.
1125 A. D. —Aparārka.
1150 A. D.—1200 A. D.—Smṛtyarthaśāra.
1200 A. D.—1225 A. D.—Smṛticandrīkā.
1150 A. D.—1300 A. D.—Haradatta.
1150 A. D.—1300 A. D.—Kullāka.
1260 A. D.—1270 A. D.—Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmani.
1300 A. D.—1380 A. D.—Mādhavacārya, author of Parāśara-Mādhavīya.
1360 A. D.—1390 A. D.—Madanapārijāta.
1425 A. D.—1450 A. D.—Madanaratna.
1520 A. D.—1570 A. D.—Raghunandana.
1610 A. D.—1640 A. D.—Kamalākaraabhaṭṭa, author of Nirṇaya-
sindhu and Südrakamalākara.
1650 A. D.—1680 A. D.—Anantadeva, author of Saṁskāra-kaus-
tubha.
About 1686 A. D.—Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha.
1700 A. D.—1750 A. D.—Nāgojībhaṭṭa.
1750 A. D.—1820 A. D.—Bālambhaṭṭa, author of Bālambhaṭṭa.
1790 A. D. —Dharmasindhu (of Kāśīnātha).
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marriage. Purposes of marriage. Qualifications of a desirable bridegroom. Rules for the selection of a bride. Lakṣaṇas (indicatory characteristics), bāhya (visible) and abhyantara (invisible or inferrible). Four or five grounds for preferring a particular girl. Selecting a girl by asking her to take one out of several lumps of clay gathered from various places. In ancient times brotherless maidens not accepted as brides. No unmarried woman was deemed in medieval times to go to heaven. Restrictions as to caste, gotra, pravara and sapinda relationship. Breach of these rules rendered a so-called marriage null and void. Age of marriage for men not fixed. Age of marriage for girls varied at different periods. In the ancient sūtras girls were married about the time of puberty. Reasons for insistence on pre-puberty marriages in Yājñavalkyasmrī and other works not clear. Examples of inter-caste marriages in Vedio Literature, in dharma and grhya sūtras and snrtis and in inscriptions. Anuloma marriages allowed till about the 9th century A.D. Sapinda relationship explained in the Mit. Rules about prohibition of marriage on the ground of sapinda relationship. Conflict of texts as to these rules. Marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter. Conflict on this point among medieval writers and among several castes. Narrowing of sapinda relationship permitted by writers of digests only on the ground of usage. Meaning of 'viruddhasambandha.' Sapinda relationship of the adopted son. Meaning of sapinda according to Dāyabhāga and Raghunandana. Marriage between sāgras and sarpavaras forbidden. Meaning of 'gotra' and 'pravara' in Vedic works. Gotra and pravara of importance in several matters. Gotra in the sūtras and digests. Divisions and sub-divisions of gotras. Each gotra has one or more pravaras. Gotras of kṣatriyas and vaishyas. Names of kṣatriya kings among gotras and pravaras. Marriage of sāgras and sarpavaras void according to the writers of digests. Persons that have power to give a girl in marriage. Sale of girls in marriage in ancient times. Taking monetary consideration for one's daughter condemned. Father's power over his children. Conflict of views among writers as to ownership over one's wife and children. Infanticide, medieval and modern. Auspicious time for marriage. Medieval works introduced difficulties on astrological grounds. Forms of marriage. Meaning of rākṣasa and paśāca marriages. Svayamvarā. Only two forms of marriage in vogue in modern times. Procedure of marriage in the Rgveda and in the grhya sūtras. List of the several elements in the marriage rite and
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their description. When marriage becomes complete and irrevocable. Marriage brought about by force or fraud.

Chap. X. 542-549

Madhuparka. Procedure of it from the sūtras. Arkavivāha (marriage with the arka plant). Parivedana (marrying before an elder brother or sister).

Chap. XI. 550-582

Polygamy, polyandry, rights and duties on marriage. No evidence for polyandry in Sanskrit Literature except in the case of Draupadi. First duty of wife was to co-operate with the husband in all religious matters. Wife not authorised to perform religious rites independently or without husband's consent. Precedence among co-wives in religious matters. Theory of debts with which every man was supposed to be born, one being the debt to his ancestors and discharged by procreating sons. Duties of wife dwelt upon at great length in all smṛtis and digests. Foremost duty of wife is to obey her husband and honour him as god. Ideal of a pativrata. Wife's conduct when husband was away from home on a journey. Supernatural powers ascribed to pativrata. Wife's right of residence and maintenance. Husband's power of correction. Humane treatment even when wife guilty of adultery. No identity of husband and wife for secular or legal purposes. Position of women in ancient India. Estimate of the character of women in Sanskrit works. Passages condemning women's character. High eulogy of and reverence for the mother.

Chap. XII. 583-598

Duties of widows. Rules of conduct for widows for one year after the death of the husband. In widowhood woman to lead an ascetic life, avoid luxuries like perfumes, flowers, chewing betel nut. Widow (except one's mother) declared to be most inauspicious. Her rights in a joint family, and as heir to husband's separate property. Widow's position improved by recent legislation. The practice of tonsure of brāhmaṇa widows has no sanction in the vedas and smṛtis (excepting one or two). Examination of texts relied upon in support of this practice. Only Skandapurāṇa and medieval digests insist on tonsure. Practice gradually evolved from about 10th or 11th century. Sentiment that a woman should not be killed on any account.

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Position of women became assimilated to that of śūdras in religious matters. Certain advantages conceded to women, Practice of purda did not exist for women except for queens and ladies of high or noble rank.

CHAP. XIII. 599-607

Niyoga. Great divergence of views about the origin and purpose of this practice. Stringent conditions were laid down by smṛtikārās before niyoga could be resorted to. Breach of the conditions severely condemned and made punishable. Some even very ancient writers on dharma did not allow this practice. The Mahābhārata is full of examples of niyoga. Some writers held that texts permitting niyoga applied to śūdras or to girls who were only promised in marriage to a person but not actually married to him (as he died in the meantime). Three views upon the question 'to whom the child born of niyoga belonged.' Niyoga forbidden in the Kali age by Brhaspati and other smṛti writers.

CHAP. XIV. 608-623

Remarriage of widows. The word 'punarbhū' does not necessarily mean 'remarried widow'. Nārada on the kinds of punarbhūs and svairiṇīs. Baudhāyana and Kaśyapa on 7 kinds of punarbhū. Smṛtiśas (except those of Vasiṣṭha, Nārada and one or two others) prohibit remarriage of widows. Rules for a wife whose husband is unheard of for many years. Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act of 1856. Appalling number of child widows. Verses of Rgveda and Atharvaveda supposed to refer to remarriage of widows examined. Divorce unknown in Vedic or Dharmaśāstra Literature. Kauṭilya on divorce. Divorce law in England and Roman Catholic countries.

CHAP. XV. 624-636

Sati. Forbidden in India from 1829. Practice of widow burning obtained in many countries. Practice of Sati very limited in ancient times. Sahagamana and anumaraṇa. Brāhmaṇa widows were not allowed anumaraṇa. References to practice of Sati in classical Sanskrit Literature and epigraphic records. Rewards promised to Sātī. Some commentators were opposed to this practice. Restrictions imposed against widow-burning by the smṛtis. Procedure of the rite of widow-burning. Widow-burning more prevalent in Bengal than anywhere else owing to the higher rights of succession granted to wives.
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637-639

Vēṣyā. The institution existed from Vedic times. The rights of concubines to maintenance.

CHAP. XVII.  
640-695

Āhnikā and ācāra. Importance of the stage of householder. Grhaṇa grouped into śālīna and yāyāvara. Duties of householders described in detail in many smṛtis and digests. Various ways of dividing the day. Smṛtis usually divide the day into eight parts. Actions to be done on getting up from bed, such as hymns of praise to God, repeating the names of famous personages like Nala and of persons that are supposed to be cirajīvins. Auspicious and inauspicious sights on getting up from bed. Rules about answering calls of nature. Cleanliness of body (tāvca) in various ways. Ācamaṇa (sipping water). Dantadāvaka (brushing the teeth) existed from the most ancient times. What twigs to be used for it. Times when there is to be no brushing of teeth. Snāna (bath). Kuṣas necessary in most religious acts. Rules about collecting kuṣas. Snāna twice a day or thrice according to some. No bath at night (except on rare occasions). Natural water preferred to water drawn from wells or hot water. Procedure of bathing. Rules about the clay to be employed for smearing and cleaning the body. Ten good results of a bath. Six varieties of bathing with water. How one who is ill is to be purified. Tarpana as a constituent part of snāna. Clothes to be worn by a householder. Making marks on the forehead after bathing. Urddhva-puṇḍra and Tripuṇḍra. Śaiva and Vaiśṇava sectarians condemning each other’s marks. Śaṁdhīyā after bath. Homa. Two views about performing it before or after sunrise. Agniḥotra twice daily. Three or five or six fires. When to begin maintaining grhya fire. Materials for ḫavis. Homa to be offered by oneself or by one’s son, pupil, brother, sister’s son or a similar relative. Wife or unmarried daughter may offer homa in grhya fire if householder be ill. Japa of Vedic texts. What are maṅgala (auspicious) objects. The matters described so far occupy first eighth part of the day. In 2nd part revision of Vedic texts, collecting fuel sticks, flowers, kuṣas &c. In 3rd part one was to find out means of maintenance and to earn wealth. In 4th part mid-day bath. Then tarpana of gods, sages and pīṭās. A brief tarpana is also prescribed.
CHAP. XVIII. 696-704

Mahāyajñas (five daily observances or sacrifices). These are mentioned in the Śatapatha Brahmaṇa and Taṅtirīya Āraṇyaka. Mahāyajñas distinguished from śrauta rites in two ways. Sentiments that prompted the five yajñas in very remote days. Later on purpose of Mahāyajñas stated to be atonement for injury to life caused by daily acts. The five yajñas in order of performance are brahmayajña, devayajña, bhūtayajña, pīṭrayajña and manusya-yajña. Brahmayajña. Earliest description in Śatapatha Br. and Tai. Ār. Brahmayajña for Rgvedins described.

CHAP. XIX. 705-740


CHAP. XX. 741-748


CHAP. XXI. 741-756

Nṛyajña or Manusya-yajña (honouring guests). Guests honoured from Rgveda downwards. Who is an atśthi. Modes
of showing honour to guests. Motive of the injunction about guests was universal kindliness. Taking leave of a guest.

CHAP. XXII. 757-806

_Bhojana_ (taking meals). Importance attached to purity of food. Rules about _bhojana_ in Vedic Literature. Direction in which to take food. Times of taking food. Vessels to be used in _bhojana_. Preliminaries before _bhojana_ (such as _ācāmana_, _prāṇāhūtis_ &c.). Posture at time of eating. How much to eat. How _pāṇktis_ (rows of dinners) were distinguished. Who are _pāṇktipāvana_ _brāhmaṇas_. Etiquette at time of _bhojana_. Occasions (like eclipses) when abstaining from food was prescribed. What food should or should not be eaten. Various grounds on which food was forbidden. Flesh-eating in Vedic times. Sacredness of cow. _Pañcagavya_. Occasions when cow could be offered in sacrifices. Rules about the flesh of beasts, birds and fishes. Causes of the giving up of flesh-eating. _Kṣatriyas_ have been meat-eaters from ancient times. Rules about taking milk and its products and about certain herbs and vegetables. Exhaustive list of persons whose food may not be taken. Great fluctuations about the rules as to whose food may not be taken by a _brāhmaṇa_. Laxity about food prepared with ghee, oil or milk. Food from five classes of _śūdras_ could be taken by _brāhmaṇas_ in the times of _sūtras_, but later on this was forbidden. Rules about persons who could cook and serve food for _brāhmaṇas_. Drinking liquor in ancient times. All intoxicants forbidden to _brāhmaṇas_ from _sūtra_ times, but some intoxicants allowed to _kṣatriyas_ and others. _Madyas_ of various kinds. _Tāmbūla_ after _bhojana_. Acts to be done after _bhojana_. Rules about sleeping. Sexual intercourse between husband and wife. Rules about _Rajasvala_ (a woman in her monthly illness). Rules about the distribution of the king's duties—in the several parts of the day and night.

CHAP. XXIII. 807-818

_Upākarma_ (starting of the session of vedic studies) and _utsarjana_ (cessation from vedic studies). Divergence about time of _upākarma_. Explanation of the importance attached to the month of _Śrāvaṇa_ and the _Śravaṇa_ constellation. Procedure of _upākarma_ in ancient times. Analysis of the constituents of _upākarma_ in modern times. Holiday after _upākarma_. Divergence about times of _utsarjana_. Description of modern _utsarjana_.

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CHAP. XXV.  837-888

Dāna (gifts). Dāna is a special feature of householder’s stage. Gifts highly extolled in the Rgveda. Gift of horses censured in some works. Gifts of land were not favoured in very early times. Difference between dāna, yāga and homa. Meaning of īṣṭapūrta. All could make gifts (including women and śudras). Persons fit and unfit to be donees. What things could be donated and what not. Three classes of things that could be given. Dānas of three kinds, viz. nitya, naimittika and kāmya. Making gifts in secret eulogised. Certain gifts should not be spurned. Gifts of certain things forbidden. Proper times for making gifts. Generally gifts not to be made at night. Gifts at times of eclipses, saṁkrānti and on āyana days specially recommended. Proper places for gifts. Presiding deities of various articles of gift. General procedure of making gifts. Kings were required to make various kinds of gifts to brāhmaṇas. Spending money for marriages of brāhmaṇas and settling them in houses highly eulogised. Gifts of land the most meritorious. Smṛti rules about land-grants followed in epigraphic records. Verses deprecating the resumption of gifts made by earlier kings. Prior gifts to temples and brāhmaṇas excepted in grants of villages. Taxes remitted in royal grants. The eight bhogas in relation to land grants. Discussion whether king is owner of all lands in the kingdom. Gifts called mahādānas described in purāṇas. Sixteen mahādānas. Procedure of Tuḷa-puruṣa and other mahādānas. Gift of cows highly extolled. Gifts of ten kinds called dhenuś such as of ghee, jaggery &c. Ten kinds of gifts called parvata or meru dānas viz. of heaps of corn, salt, sesame &c. Establishing a pavilion for distributing water. Gift of books. Gifts for propitiating planets. Founding of hospitals. Expiations for accepting gifts which should not have been accepted. When gift becomes irrevocable. Kinds of invalid gifts. Gifts to dharma held void by modern courts.

CHAP. XXVI.  889-916

Pratisthā and Utsarga (founding of temples and dedication of wells &c.). Women and śudras also could spend on pūrta-
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dharma, though not on īṣṭa (vedic sacrifices). Charitable works for the benefit of the public came to be regarded as more meritorious than sacrifices. Procedure of dedicating a tank or well to the public in the sūtras. Procedure prescribed in purāṇas gradually superseded the sūtra procedure. Meaning of dāna, pratiṣṭhā and utsarga. Trees highly valued in ancient India. Trees supposed to save a man from hell just as a son did. Worship of trees. Consecration of images in temples. Image worship in a public temple or privately. Procedure of consecration of images according to the Matsya-purāṇa. In later times other details added from Tantra works. Three kinds of Nyāsas viz, mārkaṇḍya, tattva-nyāsa and mantra-nyāsa. Consecration of the image of Viṣṇu from Vaikhānasa Śrīśāntasūtra. Practice of attaching dancing girls to temples is comparatively ancient. When re-consecration (punah-pratiṣṭhā) becomes necessary. Jīrnodhāra (repairing or re-constructing a dilapidated temple &c.), time and procedure of Founding of māthas (monasteries or colleges for teachers and pupils). Distinction between a temple and a mātha. Mathas said to have been established by the great teacher Śaṅkarācārya. The origin of māthas in general. How property of mātha devolves. Appointment and powers of the head of a mātha. How rulers and courts in ancient and medieval times controlled administration of temple and mātha properties. Modern legislation dealing with religious and charitable endowments. Yogakṣema is impartible. Control of founder on work dedicated to the public. Powers of a shebait to remove an idol or to establish another.

CHAP. XXVII.

Vānaprastha (forest hermit). Vaikhānasa, ancient word for vānaprastha. An ancient work called Vaikhānasa sūtra or śāstra. Time for becoming a vānaprastha. Principal points connected with being a vānaprastha. If he suffers from an incurable disease, he may start on the great journey till the body falls to rise no more. Intricate classification of vānaprasthas in Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra and others. Members of all varṇas except śūdras could become vānaprasthas. Members of princely houses as vānaprasthas. Ending one’s life by starting on the great journey (mahāprasthāna) or by fire or water or falling from a precipice when and why allowed. Historical examples of this practice. This practice prohibited in the Kali age. Most of the duties prescribed for vānaprasthas
are the same as those for sannyāsins. So vānaprastha stage forbidden in Kali age by the Nārada-purāṇa and other works.

CHAP. XXVIII. 930–975

Sāmnyāsa (order of ascetics). Life of giving up worldly ties, of begging and contemplation on the Absolute known to the earliest Upaniṣads. Jābālopaniṣad prescribes rules for ascetics. The most salient features of sāmnyāsa gathered from the dharmaśūtras and smṛtis. Tridāṇḍi and ekadāṇḍi ascetics. Four kinds of ascetics, kuticaka, bahudaka, haṁsa and parama-haṁsa and their characteristics. Popular notion that the parama-haṁsa is beyond all rules and prohibitions combated by ancient texts. Vidvat-sāmnyāsa and vividiṣā-sāmnyāsa. The turīyāṭīta and avadhūta kinds of ascetics. Opinions as to whether sāmnyāsa was allowed only to brāhmaṇas or to all three varṇas. According to smṛtis and medieval works a sūdra could not become an ascetic. Women in rare cases adopted the ascetic mode of life. The word sāmnyāsa conveys two distinct ideas. Some held that sāmnyāsa was meant only for the blind and the cripple. Ascetics were to give up wife and home and were not to revert to householder’s life. Ten orders of advaita sāmnyāsins following Śaṅkarācārya’s doctrines and their mathās. Disputes among the heads of these mathās as to properties and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. How successors to the pontiffs of the mathās are appointed. How and why sāmnyāsins gave up doctrine of ahimsā in medieval times. A sāmnyāsin is severed from his family and loses rights of property in it. By custom certain sāmnyāsins called Gosāvis were allowed to have wives and concubines. Procedure of sāmnyāsa according to the sūtras. Procedure of sāmnyāsa according to Dharmasindhu. Principal elements are; eight śrāddhas, sāvitri-praveśa, virajāhoma, declaration of leaving home, all wealth and desires and taking vow of ahimsā, giving up of topknot and sacred thread, teaching by guru of pañci-karaṇa and mahāvākyas (like tat tvam-asya), giving of a new name by the teacher, yogapatta (p. 962), paryaṅka-śauca. Sāmnyāsa in extremis (ātura-sāmnyāsa). Controversies about giving up śikhā and yajñopavīta. Daily duties of an ascetic. No impurity on his death for his relatives and vice versa. Ascetic heads of mathās claim in modern times jurisdiction in matters of caste, excommunication, expiations for lapses. In ancient times pariṣads (assemblies of learned
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men) exercised these functions and kings acted on their advice. The number of persons required to constitute a pariṣad for deciding a doubtful point about dharma. Śiṣṭas constitute a pariṣad. Meaning of śiṣṭa. The council of eight ministers established by Śīvājī and the duties of the Pandītrao, one of these eight. Pandītrao took advice of the pariṣads of learned brāhmaṇas on questions of re-admission of converts, expiations &c. Many features of asceticism are common to all religions. It is a partial truth that Indians have the highest regard for the ascetic.

Chap. XXIX. 976-1008


Chap. XXX. 1009-1090


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CHAP. XXXI. 1091-1108

Cāturmāṣyas (seasonal sacrifices). Four Cāturmāṣyas each called a parvan, viz. Vaiśvadeva, Varuṇapraghāsa, Sākamedha and Śunāśirvāna, respectively performed on Full moon days of Phālguna, Aṣṭāda, Kārtika and on the 5th full moon day from Sākamedha or two or three days before it. Observances on all parvan days such as shaving head and face, not using a cot, avoiding meat, honey, salt and sexual intercourse. Five offerings common to all Cāturmāṣyas. Cāturmāṣyas may be performed throughout life or for one year. Three special offerings in Vaiśvadeva-parva. Nine prayājas and nine anuvyājas in Vaiśvadeva. Varunapraghāsa performed in rainy season outside the house. Two vedis prepared, to north and south, respectively in charge of adhvaryu and pratiprasthātṛ. Procedure is like that of Vaiśvadeva. Four special offerings in this in addition to five common to all. Procedure of Varunapraghāsas. The wife has to declare or indicate if she has any paramour. Concluding avabhṛtha (bath) in a river or the like. Sākamedha requires two days. Three iṣṭis and a mahāharis of eight offerings to eight deities. Then pitṛyajña (called mahāpitṛyajña) on a separate vedī. Also Trāyīambaka homa offered to Rudra. Śunāśirvānaparvan has three special offerings to Śunāśira, Vāyu and Sūrya. Iṣṭi called Āgrayāṇa (offering of first fruits) in Sārad on Full moon day. Other iṣṭis performed for some specific objects e. g. putreṣṭi for son, Kārīṛṣṭi for rain &c.
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CHAP. XXXII. 1109-1132

Nirūḍhapaśubandha or Paśubandha (animal sacrifice). A victim is offered in Somayāga also, but as part of it. Nirūḍhapaśu is an independent sacrifice to be performed by an āhitāgni every six months or once a year. Six priests required in this sacrifice. Procedure of animal sacrifice. Selecting a tree and making a yūpa (sacrificial post) and a head piece (caśāla) for the post. Preparing a vedi and a raised platform on it called uttaravedi and a square hole thereon called nāhī. Animals sacrificed for Indra-Agni or Sūrya or Prajāpati. Eleven prayāja offerings. Verses from Āpī hymns employed. The eleven prayāja deities. Śāmitra fire for roasting omentum of the victim, Hotr's recitation of the Adhrigu formula. Choking to death or strangling of the he-goat. Omentum taken out and offered by the adhvarya into Āhavantya fire for Indra-Agni or Sūrya or Prajāpati. Six priests, sacrificer and his wife perform Mārjana. The limbs of the victim that are cut off, and portions of which are offered as paśu-purodāsa. Heart of victim is roasted with a pike on śāmitra fire and offered as havis to Manotā. Priests and sacrificer partake of idā constituted by remnants of the limbs of the victim. Upayāja offerings of a part of the entrails along with the Anuyāja offerings. The hotr repeats the formula called Sūktavāka. Maitrāvaruṇa throws his staff into fire. Offerings of Patni-saṁyājas with portions of the tail. Kāmyāḥ Paśataḥ (animal sacrifices from various desires). Ekādaśīna, a group sacrifice of eleven victims.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1133-1203

Agniṣṭoma. Sacrifices are divided into iṣṭi, paśu and soma. Seven forms of soma sacrifices, Agniṣṭoma, Atyaṅgaṅṣṭoma, Uktīya &c. Soma sacrifices divided into ekāha, ahūna and sattra. Jyotiṅgaṅṣṭoma, often identified with Agniṣṭoma, usually lasts for five days. Chief rites performed on those five days. Time for performing Agniṣṭoma. Priests invited and honoured with Madhuparka. Requesting the king for sacrificial ground (devayajana). Sacrificer and his wife undergo apsu-dikṣā and subsist on milk or light food. Purification of both with bunches of darbhas. Procedure of dikṣāṅgayā iṣṭi after which sacrificer comes to be called dikṣita. Even a kṣatriya sacrificer was announced as a brāhmaṇa. Observance of the dikṣita and his wife and people's conduct towards him. Observance of silence by sacrificer twice daily. The praṇāṇya iṣṭi. Purchase of Soma and the drama of haggling about its price. Cow offered as its price is taken back. Bundle
of Soma stalks placed on antelope skin spread on a cart, that is brought to the east of the prāgvaṁśa. Recital of the Subrahmanya litany by the Subrahmanya priest. A goat is presented to king Soma. Oxen are released from the cart, soma bundle taken out of the cart, placed on a couch of udumbara wood and brought to the south of the āhavanīya. Ātithyestī (isti for hospitably receiving king Soma) follows. Then comes Tanūnaptra (a solemn covenant of the sacrificer and priests not to injure each other). Pravargya and Upasad follow. Pravargya was a sublime rite supposed to endow sacrificer with a new body. Not necessary in every Agniṣṭoma. The heated milk is called gharma and the pot of heated milk Mahavīra or Sarinā. Wife was not to look at it (at least in the beginning), nor śūdras. On 2nd, 3rd and 4th days Pravargya and Upasad performed twice. How pravargya apparatus is discharged (udvāsana). Upasad is an īsti. Mantras repeated in Upasad refer to sieges of iron, silver and gold castles. On 2nd day of upasads Mahāvedi is prepared, on which a quadrangular platform (called uttaravedi) is raised and a square hole called nābbha is made on which fire is brought on the 4th day from the original āhavanīya. Erection of the havirdhāna-mandapa in which two carts are kept. Digging of four holes (called upavarae) below the forepart of the shafts of the southern cart. A mound (khara) to east of uparavas for keeping soma vessels on. Erection of sadas to the west of the havirdhāna mandapa. Planting of an udumbara post in sadas. Preparing eight dhīṣnyas (seats), six in sadas, one in the āgndhrīya shed and the eighth in the mārjaliya shed. On uparavas kuśas are spread, over which two boards of udumbara are placed and a hide thereon. On the hide are stones for crushing soma stalks. Offering of an animal to Agni-Soma. Then follow offerings of āhya called Vaisarjina to Soma. Fire is carried to the uttaravedi, and established on āgnidhra dhīṣnya. Bringing Vasatīvarī water in a jkr and keeping it in āgnidhra shed. Last day is called ‘sutya’. Repeating of a long prayer called Prātaramuvāka by hotṛ long before day-break to Agni, Uṣas and Āśvins. Making ready of five offerings. Filling of ekahana pitchers by adhvaryu and of pannejana vessel by the sacrificer’s wife. Extracting Soma from a few stalks, filling the upāṁśugraha and offering its contents. Then comes Mahābhīṣṇa (principal pressing). Offering soma from various cups to several deities. Viprud-ṭhoma. Priests come creeping towards the north corner of the great vedi, where the
Synopsis of Contents

Bahiśpavamāna laud is to be chanted by the udgātṛ, prastotṛ and the prati-hartṛ. Some of the other priests and the sacrificer become choristers. The nine verses of the Bahiśpavamāna stotra set out from the Rgveda and method of their manipulation when sung in the sāma chant exhibited. Notes on the parts and svaras of sāmans. Rites of offering the savaniya animal. The five savaniya offerings of cake &c. Offerings of soma from dvidevutya grahas (cups). Camasonnayana (filling of nine camasas) for the priests called Camasādhvavaryus. The offering of soma from the cups called śukra and manthin. Two chips of wood offered to the asuras, Śaṇḍa and Marka. Acchāvāka priest’s request and filling his camasa with soma. Offering of tīngraham. Kṣatriyas were not authorised to drink soma. The hotṛ performs japa, āhāva (hotṛ’s call) to which there is pratigara (response of adivaryu), hotṛ offers prayer called tūṣṇīm-sāma, twelve clauses of nivid, then hotṛ recites the ājyaśastra. Enumeration and distribution of the twelve stotras and śastras of Agniṣṭoma. Explanation of stoma, stobha and stotra. Meaning of Rathantara and other sāmans. Chanting of stotras other than Bahiśpavamāna near audumbari post in sadas. Four ājya-stotras in morning pressing. The 2nd śastra called Prauga recited by hotṛ and three more repeated by maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmanāccharāsmin and acchāvāka. At the end of morning pressing priests go out of the sadas. For the mid-day pressing priests again enter sadas. Procedure of mid-day pressing similar to that of morning pressing. The priest grāvastut wears the cloth, in which soma stalks were tied, as a turba and repeats many verses from the Rgveda. The chanting of the Mādhyanandina-pavamāna-stotra. The dadhigharma rite, then the offering of paśu purodāsa and the five savaniya offerings (cake &c.). Distribution of daksinā to the several priests, sight-seers and others. The yajamāna throws antelope horn in cātvāla pit. Five offerings called Vaiśvakarmanā. The Marutvaiṭya śastra. Prṣṭha-stotra and Niṣkevalya śastra. Three more Prṣṭha stotras and three śastras recited by maitrāvaruṇa and two others. Procedure of evening pressing similar to mid-day pressing. Ārbhava-pavamāna chanted. Rbhus connected with third pressing. Haris prepared from savaniya paśu offered. Vaiśvadeva śastra. The Pāṇīvata cup to Agni Pātnavat. Chanting of Yajñāyajñya stotra also called Agniṣṭomasāman. Wife of sacrificer pours pūnnejana water over her thigh and udgātṛ priest looks at her. Aṇimāruta-śastra recited by hotṛ. Hāriyoj ana cup offered to
Indra. All priests wait on āhavanīya with Mindū mantras. Avabhrthā (final bath). All vessels except four sthālls are thrown into water. Yajamāna casts antelope skin in cātvāla pit. Avabhrthā sāman chanted. The nīlkhana of the sāman is repeated by all priests, yajamāna and his wife at three places on their way to reservoir of water. Yajamāna and wife enter water, rub each other's back. Handful of kuśa thrown in avabhrthā iṣṭi. Puroḍāsa offered to Varuṇa and then to Agni and Varuṇa. The unnetṛ brings out yajamāna, wife and priests. They offer fuel sticks. The Udayantiya iṣṭi (concluding). Anubandhyā rite (offering of a barren cow to Mitra and Varuṇa) or only payasyā. Then five offerings called Devikā to Dhātr, Anumati, Rākṣa, Sīvālī and Kuhū. Udavasāniya iṣṭi like punarādhēya. Theories about the identity of the soma plant and its relation to the moon. In the Deccan a substitute called 'rāṣēra' is employed for soma.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1204–1223

Other soma sacrifices. Brief descriptions of Ukthya, Śoṣaśin, Atyagniṣṭoma, Atirātra and Aptoryāma. Vājapeya may be regarded as an independent sacrifice. Number 17 predominant in it. 17 cups of soma and 17 cups of surā for Prajāpati. A race with 17 chariots and 17 drums beaten. Vājapeya to be performed only by a brahmāna or kṣatriya who desired-super-eminence or overlordship. Horses of the chariots are made to smell caru of wild rice. When race starts brahmat priest repeats Vājī-sāman. An udumbara post as the goal for the chariot race. Chariot of sacrificer is in front and the rest follow at a distance. Chariots go round udumbara post and return to sacrificial ground. The principal wine cup is held by the pratiprasthāṭr and other sixteen are held by those who joined in the race and they are drunk by those latter. Ladder raised against yūpa and the sacrificer climbs up and holds a dialogue with his wife. Animals for Prajāpati are offered at time of mid-day pressing. Adhvaryu declares yajamāna to be saṁrāṭ Certain observations after Vājapeya. Fees distributed are 1700 cows, 17 chariots with four horses yoked to each, 17 dāsis &c. After Vājapeya a king should perform Rājasūya and a brahmanā Brhaspatisava. Jaimini's conclusions about Vājapeya. Viśvajit, Gosava and Sarvasvāra among Ekāha sacrifices briefly described. Āhina sacrifices extending over two to twelve days of soma pressing. Description of the twelve days of the Dvāśāha. Differences between Dvāśāha as an ahina and as a sattra. Rājasūya. A
very complex ceremony extending over a long period (over two years), and comprising many separate īṣḍis, soma sacrifices and animal sacrifices. Rājasūya to be performed only by kṣatriyas. Its relation to Vājapeya. Dīkṣā on first day of bright half of Phālguna. The Pavitra sacrifice which is like Agniṣṭoma. One year thereafter Abhisecanīya. Five offerings one on each day after Pavitra sacrifice. On Full moon of phālguna īṣṭi to Anumati. Cāturmāyas performed for one year, between the parvans of which darśa and pūrṇamāsa rites are celebrated. After Śunāśirīya several rites. Twelve offerings called ‘ratninām havīṃśi’ on twelve days in the houses of the ratnas (viz. the king, his queens, state officers &c.) offered to different deities. Abhisecanīya (consecration) rite on first of Caitra and follows procedure of Ukthya. Eight offerings called Devasūhāvīṃsi. Waters of seventeen kinds in seventeen vessels of udumbara from Sarasvatī river and other sources. Pārtha homas. Holy water taken in four vessels. Sacrificer recites āvid formulae. Four principal priests sprinkle him with water from four vessels and a kṣatriya, vaiśya and a friend of the king do the same. Story of Śunāḥśepa recited by hotṛ for sacrificer’s benefit. King takes three strides called Viṣṇukramas. Remnants of anointing water handed by king to his son. Symbolic march for plunder of cows. Dice-play which is so arranged that best throw comes to the king. Avabhṛtha follows. For ten days after Abhisecanīya offerings called ‘Saṁśrpām havīṃśi’ are made to Savitṛ and other deities. The Daśapeya, in which each of the camasas of soma are drunk by ten brāhmaṇas (i.e. in all 100). Very large daksīṇāḥ prescribed e.g. some say 24000 cows should be presented. After Daśapeya some observances are kept by the sacrificer for one year. At the end of the year, the kṣavāvānīya ceremony took place. Then two rites called Vyūṣṭi-dvīatra at the interval of a month. One month after 2nd Vyūṣṭidvīatra the Kṣatradhṛti rite. One month after that the Sautrāmanī īṣṭi.

CHAP. XXXV. 1224–1255

Sautrāmanī and other sacrifices. Sautrāmanī is one of the seven Haviryaṇīs according to Gautama. Chief characteristic was offering of surā (wine) in it, in modern times milk being offered instead. Kokili and Caraka-sautrāmanī. Procedure of both. Sautrāmanī takes four days, during first three of which wine is prepared from various ingredients and on last day, three cups of milk and three of wine were offered. Three goats
were killed in this and fourth to Brhaspati. Method of preparing wine described. Remnants of the wine offered were not drunk by the priests, but a brāhmaṇa was hired for drinking them or they were poured on an ant-hill. Persons for whom Sautrāmaṇi was offered. Avabhṛtha and then āmikṣa to Mitra-Varuṇa and an animal to Indra. Ātvamedha. Horse-sacrifice in vogue even in Rigveda. It was a sacrifice for three days, to be performed by a king. Time of commencement. The four queens accompanied by princesses and large retinue come near the king. Rules about colour and qualities of horse. Guards of the horse, when it is let off to roam over the country. During horse's absence for a year three īṣīs every day to Savitṛ. Chants by a brāhmaṇa after the īṣīs every day and also by a kṣatriya lute-player. Hotṛ recites to the king surrounded by his sons and ministers the narrative called 'Pārīplava.' Every day for a year four oblations called Dhṛti made in the śhavaniya. At the end of the year horse was brought back and sacrificer took dīkṣā. 21 yūpas, each 21 aratnis high. Large number of animals tied to yūpas slaughtered. Horse taken to a lake, bathed in it, brought back and anointed by the queens on various parts of the body. Dialogue between hotṛ and brahmā. When horse killed, queens go round horse, fan it with their garments, crowned queen lies by the side of the horse and both are covered with mantle. Abusive and obscene dialogues between hotṛ and crowned queen, between brahmā and favourite wife, between four principal priests and chamberlain on one side and the queens and their attendants on the other. Fat and blood of the horse offered. Brahmodya (theological dialogue of questions and riddles). Mahīman offerings. Remnants of these sprinkled over the king and offering to 12 months. Avabhṛtha on third pressing day. Offerings on the head of a bald man who dips into water to 'Jumbaka' (Varuṇa). When sacrificer comes out of water after avabhṛtha bath, persons guilty of grave sins plunge into it and become free from sins. Large fees on first and third pressing days. Ātvamedha rare even in ancient times. Description of Ātvamedha in the Mahābhārata. Epigraphic references to Ātvamedha. Sattras. Their duration is from twelve days to a year or more. Dvādaśāha is the archetype. Sattras divided into two classes, rātrisattras and sāhīvatsarika. Gavāmayana is model of all sattras of one year or more. Scheme of the parts of Gavām-ayana. When dīḵṣā commenced. General rules applicable to all sattras. Though all are yajamānas and
also priests in a sattra, one of them is called grha pati. Peculiar
procedure followed as to diksa. Brahmodya on 10th day or
abuse of Prajapati. Rules to be observed while diksa lasts.
Most interesting day is Mahavrata, which is the last day but
one in sattras. Harp with a hundred strings, brahma and
sudra engage in praise and abuse of those engaged in sattra.
Fight of arya and sudra for a white circular skin; abuse by
harlot and brahma garin of one another. Drums beaten on
corners of vedi. Wives of sacrificers become choristers for
chanting. Dance round marjaliya by servants and slave-girls
singing popular airs referring to cows. Sattras of a thousand
years believed by ancient writers to be mythical and
Jaimini states that in such descriptions samvatsara means
'a day'.

Agnicayana (piling of the fire altar). This rite is the most
complicated and recondite of all sruta sacrifices. Satapatha
Brahmana is leading work on it. Fundamental conceptions
underlying it are cosmological. Construction of fire altar
in five layers is ananga of Somayaga. Five victims are first
offered. Heads built up into altar. Clay for the bricks how
brought, mixed and prepared. First brick called Agha prepared
by wife of sacrificer. Ukh (pan) prepared from same
clay, from which he prepares three bricks called Visvajyotis.
Other bricks prepared. Description of the piling of the altar
in five layers. Several forms of altar and of bricks. Bricks
are of various sizes and have various names. Three bricks
called svayamattapah. Ground measured and ploughed.
Furrows sown with several corns. Several things such as a
lotus leaf, golden ornament, golden image of a man are first
placed, then a living tortoise is enveloped in moss and made
motionless and then altar is constructed on it. Each of five
layers contains 200 bricks according to Satyasada, but others
give larger numbers. Time required for piling varies. Peculiar
mode of cooling altar. Numerous offerings. Procedure of Somayga followed with a few variations. Observances for a year
after cayana.
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(with references to editions &c.)

N. B. Works referred to only once or twice and most of those already set out on pp. 19n, 179n, 195n, 321n, 624n, 713n have been omitted.

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VOLUME II

CHAPTER I

THE TOPICS OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

Manifold are the topics that have been included under Dharmaśāstra from very ancient times. The Dharma-sūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha deal in greater or less detail principally with the following subjects: the several varṇas (classes), āśramas (stages of life), their privileges, obligations and responsibilities; the saṃskāras performed on an individual (from garbhādhāna to antyesti); the duties of the brahma-cārin (the first āśrama); anadhyāyas (holidays on which Vedic study was stopped); the duties of a snātaka (one who has finished the first stage of life); viyāha (marriage) and all matters connected therewith; the duties of the grhaṇa (house-holder's stage);  śauca (daily purification of body); the five daily yajñas; dāna (gifts); bhakteśvāhakṣaya (what food should one partake of and what not); śuddhi (purification of persons, vessels, clothes &c.); āśauca (impurity on birth and death); antyesti (rites on death); śrāddha (rites performed for the deceased ancestors and relatives); śrīdharma (special duties of women) and stitupindharma (duties of husband and wife); dharmas of kṣatriyas and of kings; vyavahāra (judicial procedure, and the sphere of substantive law such as crimes and punishments, contracts, partition and inheritance, adoption, gambling &c.); the four principal classes, mixed castes and their proper avocations; āpaddharma (actions and avocations permitted to the several castes in extreme difficulties); prāyaścitta (sins and how to expiate them); karmavipāka (results of evil deeds done in past lives); śānti (rites on the happening of portents or for propitiating the planets &c.); duties of vānaprastha (forest hermit) and samnyāsin (ascetic). All these subjects are not treated in any fixed or settled order in the sūtra works. To take only one example, the subject of partition and inheritance occurs at the end of the dharma-sūtra of Gautama, while Vasiṣṭha places the same subject in the middle of his work (17th chapter) and Āpastamba deals with those topics after finishing
three-fourths of his work (in II. 6. 14). Further, some works on dharmaśāstra give very elaborate treatment of certain topics of which only faint traces are found in the ancient dharmaśātras and metrical smṛtis. Such topics are vratas (which may be looked upon as extensions of the subject of gifts), utsarga and pratiṣṭhā (dedication of works of public utility and of temples and shrines), tirtha (sacred places and pilgrimages to them), kāla (auspicious times, festivals &c.).

A glance at the above list will convince anyone how the conception of dharma was a far-reaching one, how it embraced the whole life of man. The writers on dharmaśāstra meant by dharma not a creed or religion but a mode of life or a code of conduct, which regulated a man's work and activities as a member of society and as an individual and was intended to bring about the gradual development of a man and to enable him to reach what was deemed to be the goal of human existence.

From this standpoint various divisions of dharma were suggested. Dharma was divided into śrauta and smārtta. The first comprised those rites and ceremonies with which the Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas were chiefly concerned, such as consecration of the three sacred fires, the Full moon and New moon sacrifices, the solemn soma rites &c. The smārtta comprised those topics that were specially dealt with by the smṛtis and that concerned the various classes and stages of life. The present work will concern itself principally with smārtta dharma and śrauta dharma will be dealt with concisely in an appendix. Some works divide dharma into śrauta (Vedic), smārtta (based upon smṛtis) and śiṣṭācāra (the actions of the respected in society). This classification is based on the three sources of dharma viz., śruti, smṛti and śiṣṭācāra, as observed by Baudhāyana. Another and more comprehensive classification says that dharma is sixfold, viz. dharma of varṇas (injunctions based on varṇa alone such as 'a brāhmaṇa should never drink wine' or 'a brāhmaṇa should not be killed'), āśramadharma.

1. दार्शनिकोत्सर्ग-सत्त्वोपिन्यो भौस्तवकालम्। रस्मादेव परमस्माट्वार्थद यमेश्वरीरिन्याया। लक्षणार्थ 144. 30-31। वायुप्रायां 59, 31-32 and 39, 'अत्यथाज्ञानवितीय-पुरुषोद्वारितेतरिवाचसुकृते, दुर्श्रवणवाचबुद्धि अविभाज्यानि। अत्यथाज्ञानवितीयानि। वाचकवाचवनाका।' वर्ण, श्र. I. part 1 p. 64.
2. पैलिविका धार्मिक सुविद्यालेखोपरिः। सिद्धाविजयवर्ष्ण। भविष्यवंश भविष्यवंशायनां॥ अद्वैतसमकाने 141, 65; वनवते 207. 83। 'वेदोद्वारका: यथावतः संसारायु बाध्य:। विद्यावादवर्ण विधिनन्दी सविधायमानी।' श्र. लक्षणार्थ 354. 6 also.
3. अभित्राष्ट्रधर्मकों यस्मिन्द्वातिविश्व। रस्मादेव द्वितीयेतर्युती। विद्याविना॥ श्र. लक्षणार्थ 1. 1. 1-4.
(such rules as ‘begging’ and ‘carrying a staff’ enjoined on a brahmačārī’), varṇāśrama-dharma (rules of conduct enjoined on a man because he belongs to a particular class and is in a particular stage of life, such as ‘a brāhmaṇa brahmačārī should carry a staff of palāśa tree’), gunadharma (such as protection of subjects in the case of a crowned king), naimittika dharma (such as expiation on doing what is forbidden), sādhāraṇa dharma (what is common to all humanity viz., ahimsā and other virtues). This classification appears to have been an ancient one. Medhātithi on Manu II. 25 speaks of fivefold dharma (only omitting sādhāraṇa dharma from the abovementioned six) and quotes the explanations of them from the expounders of smṛtis. Hemādri (vṛata-khaṇḍa p. 5) quotes 16 verses from the Bhavisyapurāṇa on the six-fold dharma. It will be noticed from the above that all matters (except sādhāraṇa or sāmānya dharma) have varṇa and āśrama as the pivots round which the whole of dharmaśāstra revolves. It is therefore that in ancient smṛtis like those of Manu (I. 2 and 107) and Yājñavalkya (I. 1) the sages are represented as asking the great expounders of those codes to impart to them instruction in the dharmas of varṇas and āśramas.

Before embarking upon any treatment of varṇas it would not be out of place to say a few words about dharmas common to all humanity. Our dharmaśāstra works do not enter into any subtle or detailed examination of the principles of ethics or of the moral standard, nor are the concepts of duty, happiness or perfection subjected to any searching analysis. But

4. इति पञ्चायतनः परम इति विवरणकाराः प्रवचयालिति। निःशास्त्रं on मनु II. 25; अतः छ  
वर्णविधिशास्त्रविवरणहरि। तद्यथा—वर्णविधिशास्त्रां वर्णविधिशास्त्रविवरणहरिः निःशास्त्र च 
चारूपासेर्वविवरणैः। निःशास्त्रं on या. I. 1.

5. कुलोक्ष on Manu II. 25 and the Kṛtyaratnakara pp. 9-10 do the same. It is to be noted that some of these very verses are quoted as from Sumantu by the Smṛticandrika. (I p. 6).

6. Reference may be made to the ‘Ethics of India’ by Prof. Hopkins (1924) and ‘Hindu Ethics’ by Dr. John McKenzie in ‘Religious quest of India’ series. The former work is marked by a detached and fair attitude towards the ideas of the ancient Indians and their writings. The latter, I am sorry to say, is marred by the unsympathetic and supercilious attitude of a Christian missionary. Its key-note is perverse inasmuch as the foundation of the author’s criticism is the notion that one is not really moral unless one is engaged in active social service. There is very little warrant for

(Continued on next page)
this does not at all mean that the principles of ethics were passed over by dharmasastra works or were not highly thought of by them. From very ancient times truth is exalted above everything else. Rgveda VII. 104. 12 says "True speech and

(Continued from last page)

this hypothesis in well-known works on Ethics. To expose the fallacies in Principal McKenzie's work would require a volume. But a few words must be said here. What particular brand of active social service the learned author has in view is difficult to follow. I would like to make him a present of the following lines from the Encyclopaedia Britannica on Social Service 'The term social service is a comparatively new one in Great Britain. If it had been used previous to the 20th century it would have meant philanthropy and charity in the ordinary sense'. If the learned author means that ancient India never insisted on universal philanthropy and charity, he has read the Indian Literature in vain. Every house-holder was called upon by the Hindu Sastras to offer food according to his ability to students, ascetics and to all beings including the untouchable caṇḍālas and even dogs and crows. Every brāhmaṇa who could teach had to do so without demanding any fee beforehand. Mathās were established in all parts of India for expounding religious books, feeding students and the poor. There are ānmasātras even now where hundreds are fed every day. No necessity arose throughout the ages for a Poor Law in India with its attendant evils well portrayed in Dickens' famous master-piece 'Oliver Twist'. The above were some of the different aspects of philanthropy and charity which are now dubbed social service. In the third century B. C. Asoka had established hospitals not only for men but even for beasts and Yāj. 1.209 equates the free nursing of sick persons with gifts of cows. The learned Professor asks with an air of triumph and condemnation of all Indian morality (p. 251) 'Is there anything comparable to the movement which St. Francis of Assisi initiated and led?' The learned Professor has fallen into the frequent error of comparing a movement of the 13th century with Indian ideas over 2000 years old. Again I shall quote words from the Encyclopaedia Britannica. 'It would be an anachronism to think of Francis as a philanthropist or social worker or a revivalist preacher, though he fulfilled the functions of all these. Before every thing he was an ascetic and mystic'. The particular brands of Social Service that are now in vogue are mainly due to the ravages of Imperialism and extreme capitalistic tendencies. Besides he forgets that even the movement started by St. Francis had schisms and was guilty of all the moral evils that are associated with Western monastic institutions. Vide the recent and lucid book of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer on 'Evolution of Hindu moral ideals' (1935, Calcutta University).

7. सूचकप्रति विवेकादेशे नापत सुभाषित वाचनी पापहारी । सूचकप्रति विवेकादेशे
शास्त्रिकोशाति वर्णस्थ। कार्या VII. 104. 12.
false speech run a race against each other. Soma protects out of the two what is true and what is very straightforward and strikes down what is false. The conception of ṛta in the Rgveda is a sublime one and is the germ of the later doctrine of the rule of dharma. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 85) enjoins 'therefore let a man speak naught but truth.' In the Taittirīyopanisad (I. II. 1), the teacher when taking leave of his pupil at the end of the latter's studenthood places truth in the forefront of his exhortation and dharma next.

In the Chāndogya (III. 17) there is an allegory of a Soma sacrifice on life, where the dakṣinā (fee to be paid) is fivefold viz. the five virtues of tapas (asceticism), dāna (charity), arjava (straightforwardness), ahimsā (non-injury to sentient beings), satyavacana (truthfulness). The Br. Up. remarks that truth and dharma are in practical life identical terms.

One of the noblest prayers in all literature occurs in the Br. Up. (I. 3.28) 'from falsehood lead me unto truth, from darkness lead me unto light, from death lead me unto immortality.' The Mundākopaniṣad says 'only truth is victorious and not falsehood; the path of the gods is spread out by (the pursuit of) truth.' The Br. Up. inculcates on all the great need of three cardinal virtues, viz. self-restraint, dayā (compassion or love for all sentient life) and dāna (gifts or charity).

The Chāṇ. Up. says that the world of Brahman is free from all evil and only those who have lived as chaste students can enter the world of brahma. The Chāṇ. Up. V. 10 sternly condemns five sins, viz. theft of gold, drinking spirits, murder of a brāhmaṇa, desiring of one's guru's bed and association with these, as the greatest sins and in V. 11. 5 Aśvapati exultantly declares that in his kingdom there were no grave sinners. The Kathopaniṣad (I. 2.23) insists upon cessation from evil

8. Compare Aṣṭavakra. I. 1. 1. 1. 'অনেকের কে অনেকে বদন্ত বদন্তি' and I. 1. 1. 5. 'স যে সত্যেব বদন্তি'.


11. নিঃসরণঃ সিদ্ধেষু সরসু তদন্ততিত। ব্রহ্ম. ত্রি. V. 2. 3.

12. পারমাণবঃ পূর্ববর্তশাস্ত্রায়টী নাটামায়িত। নিঃসরণনামায়েন পীঠে মাতৃপীঠনামায়েন পীঠে নাটামায়েন পার্মাণব। কলেঃ. I. 2. 23; vide also I. 3. 7 and নৈতি ত্রি. III. 5 for a list of qualities of darkness which the student of a high and sublime philosophy has to avoid.
conduct, peace of mind and concentration as essential for the seeker after the Self. The Udyogaparva 43.20ff. speaks of the twelve vratas (vows or rules of conduct) for brāhmaṇas and verses 22-25 describe at great length the characteristics of one who is dānta (self-controlled). Sānti 160 contains an eulogy of dama (self-control). Sānti 162.7 describes how satya has 13 aspects and verse 21 says that non-injury to all beings in thought, word and deed, good will and charity are the eternal dharma of the good. 13 The Gautama-dharmasūtra (VIII. 24-26) holds that dayā (compassion or love for all beings), kṣānti (forebearance), anāstikā (freedom from envy), āsuc (purity of body, speech and thought), anāyāsa (absence of painful efforts or ambitions), maṅgala (doing what is commended), aṅkāpaṅga (not demeaning oneself before others), aśprāhā (not hankering after sensual pleasures or the possessions of others) 14 are the qualities of the soul and remarks that the person who has these eight qualities realizes non-difference from Brahma and reaches the world of Brahma, though he may not have all the other forty saṃskāras, while he who has all the forty saṃskāras but is not possessed of these eight qualities does not reach the world of Brahma. 15 Vasiṣṭha (X. 30) says that avoiding backbiting, jealousy, pride, egoism, unbelief, crookedness, self-praise, abuse of others, deceit, covetousness, delusion, anger and envy is the dharma of all āśramas and further (XXX. 1) he delivers a fine exhortation 'practise dharma (righteousness) and not adharma; speak the truth and not untruth; look far ahead, not
near; look at what is highest, not at what is not highest'. Apastamba Dh. S. (I. 8. 23. 3-6) calls upon all āśramas to eradicate faults that tend to destruction and to cultivate the opposite virtues (and gives long lists of both). This shows that in the scale of values mere performance of sacrifices and purificatory and other religious ceremonies ranked according to Gautama and other writers very low and the highest value attached to the moral qualities of the soul. There is no elaborate discussion of the questions as to why a man should tell the truth or abstain from hīṁsā (injury to sentient beings) and cultivate other high moral qualities. But it should not be supposed that no indications whatever are given of the reasons why this should be done. Two principles emerge if we closely examine the texts. In the midst of countless rules of outward conduct there is always insistence on the necessity to satisfy the inner man (āntara-purusa) or conscience. Manu IV. 161 says 'assiduously do that which will give satisfaction to the antarātman' (inner self); IV. 239 says 'No parents, nor wife nor sons will be a man's friends in the next world; but only righteousness.' 'Gods and the inner man mark the sinful acts' Vanaparva 207-54 and Manu VIII. 85, 91-92. Vide also Adi-parva 74. 28-29, Manu VIII. 86, Anuṣāsana 2. 73-74. The reason given for cultivating such virtues as dayā, hīṁsā is based upon the philosophical doctrine of the one Self being immanent in every individual as said in the words 'tat tvam-āsi'. This is the highest point reached in Indian metaphysics and combines morality and metaphysics. That doctrine requires us to regard the goodness or badness of one's actions from the standpoint of other individuals who will be affected by such actions. Dakṣa (III. 22) declares16 'one who desires happiness should look upon another just as he looks upon himself. Happiness and misery affect one's self and others in the same way'. Devala says that the quintessence of dharma is that one should not do to others what would be disliked by one's self.17 There-

16. पदार्थानां पदरीक्षतेऽधान: सुखशिक्षा। सुखद्रव्याः मद्यावलि प्रयास: तथा परे दुःख III. 22.

17. शुभां पदरीक्ष्येऽधान: सुखशिक्षा। पदार्थानां पदरीक्षते धान: न समाक्षरेत् दुःख शुभ र शुभं निषेधम्।।

Compare Astadhyāyī X. 12 'अतिशयों: वा पदरीक्षेऽधानं स पदरीक्षे।' अधिनियमपनम् 113. 8-9 न तत्तन्तृत: सम्बन्धित: अतिशयों: पदरीक्षेऽधानं:।

शुभां पदरीक्षेऽधानं: सुखशिक्षा। पदार्थानां पदरीक्षते धान: न समासायेत्।। 260. 20 and 25 नवन्त्रित: यद्यपि नेन्द्रायुहान्तं कमः पुष्पाः।।

चतुपत्ते शुभां वहासंविद्यायेत्। सवैं बविधायुहान्तं वहां साहसंविद्यायेत्।।
fore our texts lay down two seats of authority in morals viz.,
the revealed truth (śruti) that 'All this is brahma' and the inner
light of conscience. Another reason for cultivating high moral
qualities is found in the doctrine of the goals or ends of human
existence (puruṣārtha). From very ancient times they are said
to be four, dharma (right conduct), artha (economic interests),
kāma (satisfaction of sexual, emotional and artistic life),
mokṣa (liberation of the spirit). The last is said to be the
supreme end and to be attained only by the few and the vast
majority can only place it as an ideal to be attained in the
most distant future. As regards the other three, there is a
gradation of values. Kāma is the lowest of all and only fools
regard it as the only end. 19 The Mahābhārata says: 'A wise
man tries to secure all three, but if all three cannot be attained,
he secures dharma and artha or only dharma if he has a choice
of only one from among the three. A man of middling disciplin
prefers artha to the other two; dharma is the source of
both artha and kāma.' The dharmaśāstra writers did not
condemn kāma altogether, they recognise that kāma has a place
as a motive urging men to be active but they assigned it a low
place. They recognised that a man shares with lower beings
the impulses and emotions of sex, but that the satisfaction of
these impulses is of lower values than the moral and spiritual
ends proper for a developed human personality and therefore
insist that it should be subordinated to artha and dharma.
Gautama (IX. 46-47) says 'one should not allow the morning,
midday and evening to remain fruitless so far as dharma, artha
and kāma are concerned. But among these three one should
attach most importance to dharma.' Yāj. I. 115 says practically
the same thing. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 8. 20, 22-23) declares that
'a man should enjoy all such pleasures as are not opposed to

18. विषयवर्गम् कारानामात्रसः कवयति । गम्यावधारस्ते निर्विवांसांके न रक्तः ||
त्र्यां बाध्यवर्गिनिविनिविनिविनिविनिविनिविनिविनिविंदो ॥
त्यतरं काँटिन्यं नक्षिन्यं कांभवाह्यांकं ||
नष्ट नासाः कांभवाह्यांकं वाता वषों वातानं ।
द्वायं गम्यां विषयवर्गम् निन्यांसांके निन्यांसांके ।
स्त्रोदल्पं १२४, ३४-३८; विद्या ग्रंथिपरिशुल्क १६७.८-९ for the
statement that dharma is the best, artha is middling and kāma is
the lowest and that a man should so act that dharma would be the principal
goal of his life and that he should deal with others as he would
deal with himself 'नस्मार्यांस्त्राये निन्यांसांके निन्यांसांके ।
तया च सात्त्वदेशादिनित्वम् विषयवर्गम्।' The Mahābhārata winds up with the words कर्तव्यादिनित्वम् न वै काशिकी-
वृद्धार्थुस्त्राये ॥ गम्यावधारस्ते स शिष्यं न सिद्धां ॥ स्वाराहेन ५.६२; विद्या also
काशिकी ६०.२२, अलेय १५१.३७.
dharma. In this way one secures both worlds'. In the Bhagavadgītā (VII. 11) Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with kāma that is not opposed to dharma. Kauṭilya says "one may enjoy kāma provided there is no conflict with dharma and artha, one should not lead a life of no pleasures" and then true to his role of a writer on arthaśāstra, he proclaims that his own opinion is that artha is the principal of the three, as dharma and kāma both spring from artha." Manu (II. 224) after setting out several views about which of the three is principal states it as his own opinion that one should strive for all the three, but adds that if artha or kāma is in conflict with dharma one should give up artha or kāma as the case may be. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (71. 84) and Bhāgavata I. 2. 9 say the same. The Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana defines the three and says that out of dharma, artha and kāma each preceding one is superior to each following one and that to the king artha should be the highest goal. This teaching shows that there are proximate ends or motives and ultimate ends or motives, that the ultimate ends are really the most valuable and that the whole teaching of arthaśāstra points to this that all higher life demands discipline both of body and mind and requires the subjection of lower aims to aims of higher value. Manu further says (V. 56) that the natural proclivity of all beings is to hanker after the satisfaction of the common and lower desires of hunger, thirst and sexual gratification and therefore no stress is to be placed on them but on the cessation or curbing of these. The Upaniṣads recognize the
distinction between what is beneficial (hitā) and what is most beneficial (hitatāma). Sāntiparva (288, 20 and 330, 13) declares that what conduces to the greatest good of beings is 'satya.'

The Mitākṣara on Yāj. I. 1. remarks that ahīṃsā and other qualities are the dharmas common to all including even cāndālas. The qualities are variously enumerated and emphasis is laid upon different lists in different works. Śaṅkhaśmrī (I. 5) says that forbearance, truthfulness, self-restraint and purity are common to all vāṇas. The Mahābhārata says that three are the best qualities among all beings viz., absence of enmity, truthfulness and freedom from anger and in another place says that the best vrata (vow) for a man is threefold viz., he should feel no enmity (to others), should give and should speak the truth. Vasiṣṭha (IV. 4) says that truthfulness, freedom from anger, generosity, ahīṃsā (non-injury) and procreation of offspring are (the common dharma) of all (vāṇas). Gautama (X. 52) says that even the Śūdra has to submit himself to the dharma of truthfulness, freedom from anger and purity (of body and mind). Manu says that ahīṃsā, truthfulness, no wrongful taking of another's possessions, purity and restraint of senses are in brief the common dharmas of all vāṇas. Manu (IV. 175) calls upon all to take delight in truth, in dharma, in conduct worthy of an ārya and in purity. In the 3rd century B.C. the remarkable emperor Aśoka inscribed on stone in all parts of his empire the following list of virtues: compassion, liberality, truth, purity gentleness, peace, joyousness, saintliness, self-control; which bear a close resemblance to Gautama's list and even to a later list of St. Paul (vide Pillar Edicts II and VII in E. I. vol. II p. 249 and p. 272). Yāj. (I. 122) mentions nine qualities as the means of securing dharma for all (from the brāhmaṇa to the cāndāla). The Mahābhārata says that freedom from anger, truthfulness, sharing one's wealth

24. एतति निचतय अथ सर्वदेहात् च प्रजाः। निरुपेः भावसन सर्वविधेः सुविशेषः। आश्वमध्यमवर्त्तम 28.9। संपत्तिः हुय पुरावासः कुश्यकरोपत्तम सत्तु। स पुष्पिकी वृद्धिः सत्तु। च उप] परें वंधवं। अयुर्वैलम्ब 120.10.

25. सत्व देह तपस्वानी तुच्छसत्वाभिधिः बन्यानं च। पालिक IV. 4; vide पालिक X. 30 for 13 qualities prescribed for all āśramas.

26. अहिन्सा सर्वसाधना शैवोंसिद्धांसंसारिणः। एवं सामाजिक घाती चिंग्वेंद्र- भविष्यम्। मया X. 63; vide मया VI. 62 for ten gunās prescribed for all āśramas.

27. गूढः अतिप्रभुपस्यं। द्राक्ष: शान्तिः बुधि सवेनि धर्मसाधनम्। गर. I. 122; vide गर. III. 66.
with others, forbearance, procreation (of children) from one's wife (alone), purity, absence of enmity, straight-forwardness, maintaining persons dependent on one-self—these nine are the duties of all varnas. The Vāmanapurāṇa says that tenfold dharma is common to all and names these ten as āhūṁśa, satya, asteya, dāna, forbearance, restraint, quiescence, not demeaning oneself, purity, tapas. Hemadri (vratakhanda pp. 7-8) quotes several passages from the Brahma, Brahmavaivarta and Viṣṇudharmottara for several sādhāraṇa dharmas (virtues common to all varnas and āśramas). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra enumerates fourteen qualities as sāmānya-dharma.

The foregoing discussion establishes that all dharmāsāstra writers attached the highest importance to moral qualities and enjoined them upon all with all the emphasis they could command; but as their main purpose was a practical one, viz., to guide people to right acts in everyday life, they dealt more elaborately with the acts, rites and ceremonies that each person had to do with reference to his station in society. They are therefore found principally concerning themselves with varāśrama dharma and not with sādhāraṇa dharma (i.e., duties common to all alike).

Āryāvarta — One important question that is very much canvassed in works on dharmāsāstra is about the country or territory which should be called āryāvarta or which was a fit habitation for those who called themselves the followers of the Vedic religion. Therefore a few words on this subject would be quite relevant. The Rgveda shows that the centre of Aryan culture in the times of the Rgveda was the land of the seven

28. अक्रोधः सर्वार्थ चर्मेण सत्यवते समसत्वम्। अतः स्वेच्छमबुद्धिश्च सभीतमभेदो एव च।
अवर्तम भूतं वर्णमण्डले स्वप्रजापिताभिषेकान्तः। आसि । 60. 7-8.

29. अहिन्सा सत्स्रवयानां बुद्धिमानसा श्रामः। अकराभः षो श्रीर्थ च पवां रूपयः।
गुह्यगोस वहकर्मिक वर्णवेत्तः सांविवेत्तः। वायुविशाल 14. 1-2; महाभारतः 114. 16-18 prescribes the following as common to all varnas and āśramas.
'कुमारसमग्रं विवेकी सामाजिकताः। गृहस्तो श्रेष्ठधार्मिक स्वदेशविहारिताः।
वहितश्रेष्ठविवेदन्ति विवेदन्ति। मेनी वैषयविदेशविवेदन्ति विवेदन्ति।
अग्रसुः च साधारण वर्णवेत्ताः सामाजिकताः। आर्यवर्ती व स्वर्णवर्ती सामाजिकताः।

30. अवर्तम भूतं श्रीर्थ द्रव्यमित्र वसवतम्। आहिन्सा युगायुक्ती वीरधार्मिकम्।
अर्जुन छोटपराञ्च सैव विवेदन्ति धर्मः। अस्रवस्य च तथा यथा साधारण उच्चतेः।
सिद्धूर्वधर्मस्वरूपः 16-17; compare अप्र. प्र. 5. 18. 23. 36 for a long list of qualities prescribed for all āśramas and आन्तिकम् 297. 24-25 for 13 साधारणधर्मः
'आर्यसाधारणमित्र व प्रभुः (भूतः! द्रव्यवेत्ता) विवेदन्ति। आर्यसाधारणमित्रेऽव च सर्वत्रकोषेऽव च।
सत्यम् तत्त्वात् श्रीर्थ निवेदन्ति। आत्मार्थैव तत्त्वात् च वसवतैव साधारणम्।


rivers, viz. North-west India and Punjab. We find that the rivers from Kubbā (the Kabul river, in Rg. V. 53. 9; x. 76. 6), Krumu (the modern Kurram, Rg. V. 53. 9, X. 75. 6), Suvāstu (modern Swat, in Rg. VIII. 19. 37), the seven Sindhis (Rg. II. 12, 12, IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, X. 43. 3) up to the Yamunā (Rg. V. 52. 17, X. 75. 5), the Ganges (Rg. VI. 45. 31, X. 75. 5) and Sarasu (probably in modern Oudh, in Rg. IV. 30. 18 and V. 53. 9) figure in the Rgveda. Among the rivers of the Punjab the following are individually mentioned:—Sindhu (Rg. II. 15. 6 'he made the Sindhu flow northwards', Rg. V. 53. 9, Rg. IV. 30. 12, Rg. VIII. 20. 25 where reference is made to the medicine in the Sindhu, in the Asikni, in the seas and on mountains), Asikni (Rg. VIII. 20. 25, X. 75. 5), Paruṣṇī (Rg. IV. 22. 2, V. 52. 9), Vipās and Śudrī (Rg. III. 33. 1 where their confluence is spoken of), Vipās alone in Rg. IV. 30. 12, Śudrī alone in Rg. X. 75. 5, Dṛṣadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī (as very holy in Rg. III. 23. 4), Sarasvatī alone (Rg. VII. 95, the whole hymn is addressed to it of which verse 2 says it springs from the mountains; Rg. VI. 61 is another hymn addressed to it, v. 10 of which says it has seven sisters), Gomatī (Rg. VIII. 24. 30, X. 75. 6), Vitastā (Rg. X. 75. 5). Gradually the Āryans spread southwards and eastwards. The Kāṭhaka S.X. 6 speaks of Kuru-Pañcālas. In the Brāhmaṇas the centre of Āryan activities and culture shifted to the countries of the Kurus and Pañcālas and Kosala-Videhas. For example, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa remarks that in the lands of Kurupañcālas speech is at its best. In Śat. Br. XI. 4. 1. 1 Uddālaka Āruṇī is called a Kuru-Pañcāla brāhmaṇa and contrasted with brāhmaṇas of the north (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 51). Similarly the Kauśāntakī-br. (VII. 6) remarks that those who want to learn (best) speech go northwards or wait upon him who comes from that direction. In the Śatapatha we have the story of Videgha Māṭhava who went beyond the country of Kosala-Videha, crossed the river Sādanīra that came down from the Himālaya, and settled to the east of that river, where the country was a cultivated and civilized one in the times of that work, while in former ages it had been uncultivated (I. 4. 1. 4-17, S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. 105-106.). Even in the Buddhist
Jātakaś we see that being an 'udica brahmaṇo' was a source of great pride (vide Fick's work p. 40). The Tai. Br. speaks of the vedi of the gods as being in Kurukṣetra. Even in the Rgveda itself the country through which the rivers Drśadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī flowed is spoken of as the best spot (vide III. 23. 4). The Tai. Br. says that the Kurupaṇcālas go east in the winter and westwards in the last month of summer. In the times of the Upaniṣads also the Kurupaṇcāla country appears to have occupied a pre-eminent place. The Br. Up. (III. 1. 1.) says that when Janaka, king of Videha, performed a sacrifice the brāhmaṇas of Kurupaṇcāla flocked there in large numbers. Vide also Br. Up. III. 9. 19. The Br. Up. VI. 2. 1 and Chāndogya V. 3. 1 say that Śvetaketu went to the assembly of the Paṇcālas. Kaustakaki Br. Up. (IV. 1.) names the countries of Uśīnara, Matsya, Kurupaṇcāla and Kāśivideha as centres of intellectual activity and in II. 13 refers to two mountains one in the North and the other in the South (meaning probably Himavat and Vindhya). According to the Nirukta (II. 2.), the country of Kamboja was outside the limits of the country of Āryas, though the language spoken there seems to have been the same. The Mahābhāṣya lends support to this and adds that Surāśtra was not an Ārya country (vol. 1, p. 9). In the times of the Dharmasūtras great divergence of opinion prevailed on the question of the location of Āryavarta. The Vasiṣṭha-dharma-sūtra says, 'Āryavarta is to the east of the disappearance (of Sarasvatī in the desert), to the west of Kālakavana, to the north of the mountains Pāriyātra and Vindhya and to the south of the Himālaya'. It then refers to two more views held by other authors viz., 'Āryavarta is in the region between the Ganges and the Jumna' and 'where the black antelope roams about there is spiritual pre-eminence'. The Baud. D. S. (I. 1.27) gives the same limits of Āryavarta as Vasiṣṭha,

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33. त्रिभुज ये सामान्यतः। तथा तेषां कुञ्जनेषे नेत्रविरसि ।। ते. मा. V. 1. 1; निलसा शुद्धे वर आतुष्मथा क्षतपाते शुद्धर्ल्ले अद्वाकदु नवसयां अयािषि सयारयां रेविदीक अथ. III. 23. 4; for Kurukṣetra as a very ancient place vide Satapatha IV. 1. 5. 13 and Ait. Br. (chap. 35. kh. 4); आयाधि निषिद्धिन्ति। तत्तत्त्त्वविद्विदेनुष्मालान: अखो शनि ।। तत्तत्त्वविद्विदेनुष्मालान: अखो शनि ।। तत्तत्त्वविद्विदेनुष्मालान: अखो शनि ।। तत्तत्त्वविद्विदेनुष्मालान: अखो शनि ।। तत्तत्त्वविद्विदेनुष्मालान: अखो शनि ।।

34. आयाधि निषिद्धिन्ति। क्षतपाते नेत्रविरसि। वायुवर्गान: निषिद्धिन्ति। तत्तत्त्वविद्विदेनुष्मालान: अखो शनि। वायुवर्गान: निषिद्धिन्ति। तत्तत्त्वविद्विदेनुष्मालान: अखो शनि। वायुवर्गान: निषिद्धिन्ति। तत्तत्त्वविद्विदेनुष्मालान: अखो शनि। वायुवर्गान: निषिद्धिन्ति। तत्तत्त्वविद्विदेनुष्मालान: अखो शनि। वायुवर्गान: निषिद्धिन्ति। तत्तत्त्वविद्विदेनुष्मालान: अखो शनि। वायुवर्गान: निषिद्धिन्ति। तत्तत्त्वविद्विदेनुष्मालान: अखो शनि। वायुवर्गान: निषिद्धिन्ति। तत्तत्त्वविद्विदेनुष्मालान: अखो शनि। वायुवर्गान: निषिद्धिन्ति।
substituting the word 'vinaśana' for 'ādarśa'.\textsuperscript{35} Patañjali in his Mahabāṣya defines Āryāvarta several times in the same terms as Vaiśīṣṭha does.\textsuperscript{36} The Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita gives somewhat similar limits by remarking 'spotless spiritual pre-eminence is to be found (in the country) to the east of the countries of Sindhu and Sauvītra, to the west of the city of Kāmpīlī, to the south of Himālaya and to the north of Pāriyātra'.\textsuperscript{37} The extant Manusmṛti (II. 22) makes Āryāvarta coterminos with the whole of India north of the Vindhya by saying that the territory between the Himālaya and the Vindhya and extending up to the eastern and western oceans is known by the wise as Āryāvarta. The second view (viz. Āryāvarta is the region between the Ganges and the Jumna) occurs in Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1.28). In the Taś. Ār. II.20 special honour is shown to those who dwell between the Gāṅgā and the Yamunā. The third view (viz. Āryāvarta is the country where the black antelope roams about naturally) is the one given in most smṛtis. Both Vaiśīṣṭha (I. 14-15) and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1.29-30) quote an ancient gāthā from the Nidāna work of the Bhāllavins\textsuperscript{38} to the effect that wherever the black antelope roams about in the country lying between the Sindhu in the west and the rising mountain in the east, there is spiritual pre-eminence. So this view is a very ancient one and probably

\textsuperscript{35} अप्राणपुराणात् प्रत्यक्षस्मातवन्धनूर्वतिः बृहिणिनार्थ स्वपन्तमति परिमाणी तर्काचेष बिद्या प्रमाणार्थ हेतु तत् तत् तत् तत् तत्

\textsuperscript{36} काले दुर्गार्वर्तिः अधिकालनात्तिष्ठितार्थ स्वप्निन्यायिनी सत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्य

\textsuperscript{37} शास्त्रीयंतरसामान्यम् बृहिणिनार्थ स्वप्निन्यायिनी सत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्यसत्य

\textsuperscript{38} अधिकालकार्यान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य तत्त्वस्मान्य

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arose from some mythological account as is indicated by the commentary of Viṣvarūpa on Yāj. I.2 which quotes a prose passage of the Śvetāsvatara 'Sacrifice became a black antelope and wandered over the earth; dharma followed it in its wanderings'. This view of the limits of Āryavarta is maintained by Saṅkha (as quoted by Viṣvarūpa on Yāj. I.2), Viṣṇudharmasūtra 84.4, Manu II. 23, Yāj. I. 2, Saṁvarta 4, Laghu-Hārīta (I. p. 178), Veda-Vyāsa (I. 3), Brhat-Parāśara (p. 56) and several other smṛtis. The Manusmrṭī (II. 17-24) defines Brahmāvarta as the country between the holy rivers Sarasvati and Drṣadvatī,39 says that the traditional mode of conduct observed in that country is called sadācara, that the countries of Kurukṣetra, Mātasya, Pañcāla and Śrīvraja are styled Brahmarśideśa and are slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmāvarta, that Madhyadeśa is between the Himalaya and the Vindhya and to the east of Vīnasana and to the west of Prayāga, that Āryavarta is the country between the Himalaya and Vindhya up to the eastern and western oceans, that that territory where the black antelope roams about naturally is the country fit for sacrifices and the countries beyond constitute mlecchadesa, that men of the three higher varṇas should endeavour to live in these countries (viz. Brahmāvarta, Brahmarśideśa, Madhyadeśa, Āryavarta &c.) while a śūdra, when distressed for his livelihood, may stay in any country whatever. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (84.4) says that the country where the system of the four varṇas is not established is to be known as Mleccha country and Āryavarta is beyond that. This is explained by Aparārka (p. 5) as follows: one who desires to practise Vedic religion should live in one of the four countries viz. Brahmāvarta and others; if that is not possible, then in a country where there is establishment of the four varṇas and the black antelope roams about naturally; if both these cannot be had, then one should dwell in a country where at least one of the two (cāturvarṇya and black antelope) is found. The above discussion shows that in very ancient times the country south of the Vindhya was looked upon as beyond the pale of Aryan culture. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1. 31) says that the countries of Avanti, Āṅga, Magadha, Surāśtra, Daksināpatha, Upāvṛt, Sindhu

39. Vide Tāṇḍya Br. 25. 10. 13–14 for Drṣadvatī falling into the Sarasvati and 25. 10. 16 for the disappearance of the latter and Ait. Br. (chap. 33 kh. 3) for Kuru-Pañcāla, Vaśa and Uśīnara as included in the centre of India.
and Sauvitra are of mixed origin (i.e. not of pure Aryan ancestry), that a person who goes to Araṭṭaka, Kāraskara, Pundra, Sauvitra, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Prānūna (?) has to offer a solemn sacrifice like the Sarvaprṣṭha and that for going to Kaliṅga the praṣādācita is an offering to Vaiśvānara Agni. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 quotes a verse of Devala to the effect that if a man goes to Sindhu, Sauvitra, Saurāstra, the border lands (or Mleccha countries), Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Andhra he has to perform the Upanayana sāṁskāra over again.40 The Mit. adds a remark that this is so only if the man goes to these countries for some purpose other than pilgrimage. Gradually however as Aryan culture spread over the whole of what is now called India the view of the sages about the countries pre-eminently Aryan had to be given up. Medhatithi on Manu II. 22 explains that Aryāvarta is so called 'because Aryan again and again spring up there and because the Mlecchas even if they overrun it from time to time do not abide there for long' and then makes the following very sensible observation (on II. 23) 'if a kṣatriya king of excellent conduct were to conquer the Mlecchas, establish the system of four varpas (in the Mleccha country) and assign to Mlecchas a position similar to that of cāndālas in Aryāvarta, even that (Mleccha) country would be fit for the performance of sacrifices, since the earth is not by itself impure, but becomes impure through contact (of impure persons or things).41 As a result of the spread of Aryan culture eastwards and southwards and the frequent invasions of non-Aryan tribes on the north-west, the countries on the rivers of the Punjab came to be looked upon in the whirligig of time as unworthy of the Aryan to live in. Karpaparva 43. 5–8 abuses those who live on the Sindhu and the five rivers of the Punjab as impure and dhas mābāhya.42

40. सिन्धुवासियोः सौरस्वतीस्य अन्तःप्राप्ति सुपराक्षितोऽदमि। अक्षुरवस्तरं उपाययुतं गहताः प्रसन्नः।।

41. अष्टि वसन्तं तत्र पुनः पुष्य-सन्तकमासपंक्तिमात्र न निमर तत्र चर्चा च नीचो चामत्स: स्वयमः सर्वाधिक।

42. प्रामाण्यम् निर्दुष्यमणिभिर्विद्विषाधिकत्वम्। तद्व धार्मिका नाभुतीभिर्नाधीनतापूर्वविवेकमिह कर्त्तव्यम् 43. 7। कार्यं 44. 31–34 calls these countries Aṛatṭaka and 'nakṣadharmam.' Vide वेदं गहन तथा महाबन्धवं जय सिन्धुवासियो निवन्धादि अथात् नव नाभुतिका। द्विविधा आदिविधा न निरूपितम् द्वादश विवेकमार्गितं कलिचत्रादित्सकम्। कार्यं 44. 40 and 43.
Another word which is very often used, particularly in the Purāṇas, to denote the territory where the ancient Vedic religion prevails is Bharatavarṣa or Bhāratavarṣa. It occurs in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela (2nd century B. C.) as Bharadhavasa.43 The Mārkaṇḍeśyapurāṇa says that Bharatavarṣa has the ocean on the east, south and west and the Himalaya on the north.44 The Viṣṇupurāṇa (II. 3.1) says the same and Matsya (114-10) and Vāyu define Bharatavarṣa as stretching from Cape Comorin to the source of the Ganges.45 Sabara (not later than 5th century A. D.) in his bhasya on Jaimini (X. 1:35 and 42) shows that to him there was unity of language and culture from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin.46 Paithīnasī as quoted in the Paribhāṣa-prakāṣa (p.58) says that dharma is fully developed (lit. four-legged) in the country from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin.47 According to Mārkaṇḍeśya (53-41), Vāyu (vol. I chap. 33-52) and other Purāṇas Bharatavarṣa is so called after Bharata, son of Rṣabha, descendant of Śvēyambhūva Manu; while Vāyu (vol. II. chap. 37-130) appears to strike a different note by saying that Bharatavarṣa is so called after Bharata, the son of Dushyant and Śakuntalā. The Viṣṇupurāṇa says that after thousands of births a person secures life as a human being in Bharatavarṣa and this land is called Karmabhūmi (the land of religious actions) for those who want to secure heaven and final liberation.48 The Vāyu purāṇa says almost the same and adds that in no land other than Bharatavarṣa is karma prescribed for mortals. It is somewhat amusing to find that

43. Vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 79.
44. दृष्टिशास्त्रों दृष्टिपुर्वक अन्वेषण धर्मा द्वारा जाना गया है। विनायक देशभित्र राज्यों में राज्यों राज्यों हैं।
45. उन समय व्याख्या मेरी मानी मानी संदर्भित। विश्लेषण II. 3. 1; वायु vol. I, 45, 75-76 उन समय व्याख्या मेरी मानी मानी संदर्भित। वर्ण वर्ण वर्ण में मानी मानी मानी।
many of the countries of India that in modern times pride themselves on being most orthodox are declared by the Āditya-purāṇa (as quoted in the Smṛticandrika) to be countries unfit for habituation and to be such that a stay in them except for pilgrimage entailed loss of caste and prāyaścittas. The Ādipurāṇa (Ādityapurāṇa?) as quoted in the Paribhāṣāprakāśa (p. 59) says ‘no one, whether a dvija or not, born in Āravarta should cross the three rivers, Sindhu, Karmadā (i.e. Karmanāśa) or Karatoṣa except on a pilgrimage’ and that if he does so, he should perform the penance of cāndrayāṇa.

All smṛti writers and commentators generally restrict themselves to the duties of varṇas and āśramas as practised in Āravarta or Bharatavarsa, though in very rare cases (as in Yaj. II. 193) they provide for the observance of the usages of even heretics.
CHAPTER II

VARṇA

The number of works dealing with the origin and characteristics of the caste system in India is legion. Most of them, however, concern themselves with the detailed description of the bewildering variety of castes and subdivisions of castes in modern times and their present religious and social customs and usages. The origin of caste has given rise to great speculation and several schools of thought have arisen. Generally individual authors lay undue emphasis on one element or attach far too much importance to one point in tracing the origin of the caste system and its ramifications, such as race (Risley), tribe (Ibbetson), occupation (Nesfield). The study of the origin and development of caste in India is one of deep and absorbing interest to all students of sociology. A complete and critical examination of the several theories of caste advanced by distinguished authors and a detailed description of the hundreds of castes and subcastes now found in India is far beyond the scope of the present work. For those who want to make a thorough study of the most important works on caste a modest list is given in the footnote below.

50. J. N. Bhattacharya’s ‘Hindu castes and sects’ (1896); E. A. H. Blunt’s ‘Caste system of Northern India’ (1931); W. Crooke’s ‘Tribes and castes of N. W. Provinces and Oudh’ 4 Vol. (1896); N. K. Dutt’s ‘Origin and growth of caste in India’ (1931) and ‘Aryanization of India’ (1925); R. E. Enthoven’s ‘Tribes and castes of Bombay’ 3 Vol. (1920); R. Fick’s ‘Social Organisation in North-east India in Buddha’s time,’ translation by Dr. S. K. Maitra 1920 (deals only with the Buddhist Jātaka materials); Dr. Ghurye’s ‘Caste and race in India’ (1932); Ibbetson’s ‘Punjab castes’ (1881, reprint in 1915); S. V. Ketkar’s ‘History of caste in India’ 2 Vol. (1909 and 1911); Kitt’s ‘Compendium of castes found in India’ (1885); Nesfield’s ‘A brief review of the caste system of the North-west Provinces and Oudh’ (1885); O’Malley’s ‘Indian caste customs’ (1932) and ‘India’s social heritage’ (1934); Hayavadan Rao’s ‘Indian Caste System’ (1934); Risley’s ‘Tribes and castes of Bengal’ 1891 (mostly anthropometric data) and ‘People of India’ 2nd ed. 1915; R. V. Russell’s ‘Tribes and castes of Central

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The caste system has been highly eulogised and also most severely condemned by Western writers. Sidney Low in his 'Vision of India' (pp. 262–263, 2nd ed. of 1907) speaks of the beneficent aspect of the caste system in the following eloquent passage: 'There is no doubt that it is the main cause of the fundamental stability and contentment by which Indian society has been braced up for centuries against the shocks of politics and the cataclysms of Nature. It provides every man with his place, his career, his occupation, his circle of friends. It makes him at the outset a member of a corporate body, it protects him through life from the canker of social jealousy and unfulfilled aspirations; it ensures him companionship and a sense of community with others in like case with himself. The caste organization is to the Hindu his club, his trade union, his benefit society, his philanthropic society. There are no work-houses in India and none are as yet needed.' Abbe Dubois, who wrote about 130 years ago after being in close touch with Hindus of all castes for 15 years as a missionary, remarks (in his work on the character, manners and customs of the people of India, translated into English and published in London in 1817) 'I consider the institution of castes among the Hindu nations as the happiest effort of their legislation; and I am well convinced that, if the people of India never sunk into a state of barbarism, and if, when almost all Europe was plunged in that dreary gulf, India kept up her head, preserved and extended the sciences, the arts and civilization, it is wholly to the distinction of castes that she is indebted for that high celebrity' (p. 14) and he devotes several pages to the justification of this remark. Maine in his 'Ancient

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Provinces' 4 volumes (1916); Emile Senart's 'Les caste dans l'Inde' (1896) translated by Sir E. Ross (1936); M. A. Sherring's 'Hindu Tribes and Castes' 3 volumes (1872–1881); G. Slater's 'Dravidian element in Hindu culture' (1914); Steele's 'Law and customs of Hindu castes' (1863); Thurston and Rangachari's 'Caste and Tribes of South India' 7 volumes (1909); John Wilson's 'Indian castes' 2 vol. (1877); 'Mysore Tribes and castes' by S. V. Nanjundayya and Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, vol. I–IV with several hundred illustrations. Besides these there are numerous papers published in Journals such as Weber's in 'Indische Studien' vol. X pp. 1–160 (very exhaustive as to Vedic material); Dr. Ghurye's on 'Ethnic theory of caste' in 'Man in India' vol. IV (1924) pp. 209–271.
Law' (new edition of 1930 p. 17) characterises it as 'the most disastrous and blighting of all human institutions.' Sherring in 'Hindu tribes and castes' vol. III p. 293 says 'it is the most baneful, hard-hearted and cruel social system that could possibly be invented for damning the human race'. On the other hand Meredith Townsend in 'Europe and Asia' (edition of 1901 p. 72) wrote 'I firmly believe caste to be a marvellous discovery, a form of socialism which through ages protected Hindu Society from anarchy and from the worst evils of industrial and competitive life — it is an automatic poor law to begin with and the strongest form known of Trades Union'. There are others, though their number is small, that believe

51. E.g. Sherring in his 'Hindu Tribes and castes' vol. III p. 274 says 'It has been said with some truth that caste promotes cleanliness and order and is in a certain sense a bond of union among all classes of the Hindu community. Yet surely these ends might have been attained in a simpler manner and by a less antagonistic process. The invention of a project so wonderfully elaborate and intricate — a project of bringing into absolute subjection two hundred millions of the human species by robbing them of their independence, ...... the invention of a project like this, so prodigious and far-reaching was not needed to accomplish such useful and beneficent ends. That another and very different object was in view from the very first is abundantly manifest. This object was neither more nor less than to exalt the Brahman, to feed his pride and to minister to his self-will.' Equally sweeping condemnation can be and has been indulged in as regards feudalism and modern capitalism. Fick (p. 331) entirely scours the idea that the theory of castes was invented by the priests. There are several fallacies lurking in the above quoted passage of Sherring. In the first place, there is nothing to show that the caste system was invented by any body of persons who could impose their will on a continent. The system simply grew up in the lapse of ages. The population of Hindus when Sherring wrote may have been near two hundred millions, but it could not have been more than a small fraction of that colossal number during the thousands of years that the system has flourished. Besides writers like Sherring pass over the great achievements of Indians under the caste system in Literature, religion and philosophy, in handicrafts and in the fine arts and unduly exaggerate the defects of the system that have become glaring only in the machine-made civilization of the 19th and 20th centuries. These critics ignore the great adaptability of the system, whereby it preserved Indian society from social anarchy during ages of foreign invasions and internecine wars. While severely condemning the brāhmaṇas the critics altogether forget that the vast and varied Sanskrit Literature owes its production and preservation mostly to the sacrifice of the brāhmaṇas for ages. Under the caste

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that the caste system was an invention, an artificial product, due to the machinations of crafty brāhmanas. Every great institution has its extremes of good or evil. This work will endeavour to steer clear of downright and hypercritical condemnation of the caste system due to relying on modern standpoints and conditions of society and unthinking adulation thereof. It will try to present and balance facts and though it cannot help passing judgments it will leave the reader free to judge for himself as far as possible. In the present work the discussion will be mostly confined to the evidence of Sanskrit literary monuments, ancient and medieval. An attempt will be made to trace the origin of caste from Vedic times, to exhibit theories of the Dharmasūtra-kāras, other smritikāras and commentators on the subject and to describe the peculiar ceremonies, privileges, duties and responsibilities of Hindu castes as gathered from these works in Sanskrit. To discuss the feasibility or desirability of totally destroying the caste system or the ways and means of attaining that end is deemed to be outside the legitimate limits of this volume. It may, however, be expressly stated as the author's opinion, in order to avoid misunderstandings or fruitless speculations about his personal views, that he does not think that the caste system was an artificial product due to the intrigues, greed and cunning of brāhmanas, nor does he hold that it is feasible to destroy the whole edifice of the caste system in the near future. In the cities we may find some people taking their food together but the real India is in the villages, where in spite of the loud denunciations of reformers for a hundred years, the restrictions on taking food and inter-caste marriages are almost as rigid as they once were. Our efforts must be directed to wide and rapid spread of literacy among the village people, the diffusion of the idea of one people and one nationality and gradual fusion of small subcastes into larger-similar units. We in India have no doubt reached a critical stage in our history when old ideals, institutions and

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system, no man was allowed to be useless to the commonwealth and his conduct was a question of honour with his group. When all work was turned out with the hands, the caste system tended to preserve and augment the skill of artisans. Moreover what social organization is to be substituted and how is not made clear by these critics. Most of these critics have the western social system based on wealth and the industrial revolution in view; but that system also is as evil as or perhaps worse than the modern caste system.
habits are being shattered by the impact of new ideas and by the onrush of world forces. We have to decide whether we shall make or be able to make a clean sweep of all old ideals and institutions as so much debris and rubbish or whether while keeping the old ideals and some of the old institutions as foundations we shall build up a new social order and create and foster new habits of thought and action. It is beyond the scope of the present work to write more on this point.

A sort of caste system based on birth and occupation did prevail in many countries in ancient times as in Persia, Rome and Japan. But in all these countries it hardly ever made any near approach in rigour and complexity to the caste system that we have in India and instead of ramifying into divisions and subdivisions, it dwindled and disappeared in the course of time. No unanimity seems possible as to the several causes and circumstances which led in India alone to the evolution of the stupendous structure of caste. Not only is it impossible to hold that the origin of the modern complexity of the caste system is to be traced back to one single cause, but it is difficult to accept that even all the origins that have been postulated by the several authors can adequately and satisfactorily explain the modern caste system.

In most of the works on the castes in India a few features are pointed out as the characteristics of the caste system and as common to all castes and sub-castes. They are: (1) heredity i.e. in theory a man is assigned to a particular caste by birth in that caste; (2) endogamy and exogamy i.e. restriction as to marrying in the same caste and not marrying certain relatives or other persons, though of the same caste; (3) restrictions as to food (i.e. what food and water may be taken or not taken and from whom); (4) occupation (i.e. members of most castes follow certain occupations and no others); (5) gradation of castes, some being at the top in the social scale and others being deemed to be so low that they are untouchable. Some authors like Senart add another characteristic, viz. the caste council with its chief having in meeting assembled among other matters the power to regulate the conduct of its members, to impose the penalties of fine or excommunication for lapses. It may be said at once that this last is a feature

52. Vide Senart's 'caste in India' tr. by Ross pp. 66-73 (1930). Fick pp. 36-37 holds that there were no caste councils and no caste chiefs.
that is not found among most of the brāhmaṇa and ksatriya castes even in modern times and is not dealt with by dharmasāstra works. Endogamy is now the most prominent characteristic of caste and so is the theory that it is by birth. The other three are more or less fluctuating from province to province and age to age. In this work the first five characteristics of the caste system set out above will be subjected to a close critical examination on the basis of the Vedic and dharmasāstra material. We must also remember that the attributes of caste have not been the same throughout the ages. There is great difference between the popular conceptions of modern caste and the conceptions about it embodied in the ancient and medieval dharmasāstra works. In the twentieth century caste in India is a matter of marriage and to a much lesser extent of food and drink. As to vocations any one can at present follow any profession without fear of loss of caste excepting a few believed to be very impure and very degrading ones (like those of sweepers, butchers, tanners &c.). It is also not possible even now for any one to be generally accepted as a priest, unless he is or claims to be a brāhmaṇa. The old barriers that separated one caste or subcaste from another have been greatly shaken by the influx of modern ideas and the exigencies of the times and one may hope that in a few decades more caste will remain as a purely social institution regulating marriages and to a lesser extent commensality (and not a religious one). Western scholars, in spite of their most commendable patience and industry, often present, through ignorance or lack of first-hand knowledge, the number of castes as larger than what it actually is. For example, Sherring (vol. II, Introduction pp. XXII–XLVI) gives an alphabetical list of brahmanical tribes and remarks (XLVII) ‘Hundreds of these tribes, if not at enmity with one another, cherish mutual distrust and antipathy to such a degree that they are socially separated from one another as far as it is possible for them to be—as much as brāhmaṇas are from the lowest outcastes—neither eating nor drinking together nor intermarrying’. The list he gives is most misleading. To take only a few examples, he enumerates Athavle, Achwal, Abhyan-kara, Apte, Agashe, Bhanu, Bivalkar, Badye, Bhide, Bhagvat, Bhuskute, Bhat, Bodas as separate tribes; but it is well-known to people in Western India that these are the surnames (not subcastes) of the Konkanaśtha or Cītpāvana brāhmaṇas, who not only interdine, but also inter-marry among themselves,
provided there is no bar on the ground of sameness of gotra and pravara.

The word varna means ‘colour’ or ‘light’ in most passages of the Rgveda (e.g. I. 73.7, II. 3.5, IX. 97.15, IX. 104.4, IX. 105.4, X. 124.7). But in some verses of the Rgveda53 the word varna is associated with groups of people having a skin of a dark or fair colour. For example, we read in Rg. II. 12.4 ‘(Indra) who placed low the dāsa colour in a cave (or darkness)’; in Rg. I. 179.6 ‘the fierce sage (Agastya) cherished both varnas’; in Rg. IX. 71.2 ‘like one (a fighter) who strikes the people he (Soma) who is powerful goes giving out frequent roars; he exposes the Asura colour’; in Rg. I. 130.8 ‘Indra helped in battles the Ārya sacrificer…… Indra punished for the sake of Manu (the dāsas) who do not observe the ordinances and subdued (or killed) the dark skin’; ‘Indra having killed the dasyas protected the ārya varna’ (Rg. III. 34.9); ‘You (Indra) subdued for Rjaśvan, the son of Vidathin, Pīpura and powerful Mṛgaya; you mowed down fifty thousand dark (men), you shattered cities as old age does shatter good looks’ Rg. IV. 16.13; ‘Sonás, which strike away the dark skin’ Rg. IX. 41.1. In Rg. I. 158.5 a certain dāsa is called Traitana which name has a Persian ring about it; In Rg. I. 104.2 varna seems to be placed in opposition to dāsa. These passages make it clear that the Āryas and dāsas were two opposing camps and both were designated ‘varnas’ on account of the colour of their skins. The Tai. Br. I. 2.6 (with reference to the Mahāvrata in which there was a mock fight between a brāhmaṇa and a śūdra) says ‘that the Brāhmaṇa is the divine varna, and śūdra is the asurya varna’.54 If we can interpret the Rgveda verse by the help of the Tai. Br. then in Rg. IX. 71.2, the words ‘asuryam varṇam’ mean ‘śūdra tribe.’ There is no doubt that the word asura when applied to gods like Varuna has another meaning also in the Rg. In numerous places in the Rgveda the antagonism

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53. यीय दुर्ल वर्गस्मर्त शुद्ध। क्रं। क्रं। न. 12.4; उभों वर्गस्तुविन्यास। पुषो। क्रं। व. 179.6.

54. नास्ति नास्ति शुद्ध च त्वमात्र च भक्तेऽदते। तैहोऽन्यं वर्णं नास्ति। अद्यां नृत्यः नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृत्यः। नृ�.
between the āryas and dāsas or dasyus is emphasized and prayers are offered to Indra and other gods for having subdued or for subduing the dāsa in favour of the Ārya. Rg. I. 51.8; I. 103.3; II. 117.21; II. 11.2. 4, 18, 19; III. 29.9; V. 70.3; VII. 5.6; IX. 88.4; VI. 18.3; VI. 25.2. In Rg. I. 51.8 Indra is requested to mark who are āryas and who are dasyus. This does not mean that there was difference between the two in bodily appearance only; on the contrary the antithesis between the ārya who is referred to as ‘barhismat’ and the dasyu who is styled ‘avrata’ clearly shows that the emphasis was rather on the difference of their cults. That dasyu and dāsa are identical in meaning follows from the same epithets being applied to both and from the fact that dasyu and dāsa occur in the same verses as applying to the same enemy. In Rg. X. 22.8 dasyu and dāsa are used in the same verse as applicable to the same enemy. In Rg. X. 99.6 and 8 Indra is represented as killing both dāsa and dasyu respectively. The dasyus are described as ‘avrata’ (not obeying the ordinances of the gods) in Rg. I. 51.8, I. 175.3, VI. 14.3, ‘akrati’ (who perform no sacrifice) in VII. 6.3,65 ‘mṛdravācaḥ’ (whose speech is indistinct or soft) in VII. 6.3 and V. 29.10, ‘anāsaḥ’ (snub-nosed or dumb) in Rg. V. 29.10. It appears that dāsa and dasyu are synonyms and were sometimes styled asuras. For example, Sambara is called dasyu and dāsa in Rgveda VI. 31.4 and dāsa in Rg. VI. 26.5 and is also associated with asuras like Pipru in VI. 18.8; Pipru is spoken of as a dāsa in Rg. VIII. 32.2 and as an asura in X. 138.3. Varcin is styled dāsa in Rg. IV. 30.15 and VI. 47.21 and asura in VII. 99.5. In Tai. S. 57 (IV. 3.11.3) also it seems that they are held to be identical. The enmity between dāsa and ārya is breathed in such verses as the following: Rg. II. 11.4 ‘vanquish the tribe of dāsas by the sun (i.e. by the help of a brilliant weapon); Rg. I. 174-7 ‘You made the earth a pillow for the dāsa (i.e. you laid him low on the ground); Rg. III. 12-6 ‘Oh! Indra and Agni, by one effort together you shook ninety

55. अनानुष्ठान दृष्ट्यां दृष्ट्यां अनुष्ठानं अनुष्ठानं। लंं सर्वाभिनवचन वस्थृक्तसने दृष्टम्। में X. 22.8.

56. नसकं प्रवेशलं सुस्त्रावतं प्यियोलं अनुष्ठानं। सर्वस्त्रावविश्वासं प्रवेशलं अस्पृश्यं। में VII. 6.3. This verse applies seven epithets to dasyus. They are called paṇiḥ (greedy traders), āṃśaḥ (without faith). In Nirukta VI. 31 Yāska paraphrases सुवृत्तप्रियों as सुवृत्तप्रियों. In Rg. V. 34. 6-7 the dāsa is styled paṇi.

57. तेन दृष्ट्याण्ड भवति दृष्ट्याण्ड दृष्ट्याण्ड दृष्ट्याण्ड दृष्ट्याण्ड। में IV. 3.11.3.
cities that had dāsas as overlords’. It is not possible to say that dāsas or dasyus were some Aryan tribes that had fallen from the worship or culture of the Aryan singers of Vedic hymns. In many places the sage refers to the conquest for him by Indra and other gods of dāsas as well as Aryan foes. For example, ‘Protectors of the good! you (two) killed Aryan foes and dāsa foes’ Rg. VI. 60:6; ‘Oh Indra and Varuṇa! you killed dāsa foes and also Ārya foes and helped Sudās with your protection’ Rg. VII. 83:1. Vide also Rg. VI. 22:10, X. 69:6, X. 33:1, X. 102:3. This shows that though the āryans had become divided and fought among themselves, they kept āryas and dāsas quite distinct. The foregoing shows that in the times of the Rgveda there were two antagonistic camps, of the āryas and dāsas or dasyus, they differed in the colour of their skins and also in worship, speech and bodily appearance. Therefore, in the earliest period we find the word varṇa associated only with dāsa and with ārya. Though the words brāhmaṇa and ksatriya occur frequently in the Rgveda, the word varṇa is not used in connection with them. Even in the Puruṣasūkta (Rgveda X. 90) where the words brāhmaṇa, rājanya, vaiśya and śūdra occur the word varṇa is not used. Hence, one may reasonably say that the only watertight groups that are positively or expressly vouchsafed by the Rgveda are ārya and dāsa or dasyu. It is often argued that as the word brāhmaṇa denotes a caste in later literature, in the Rgveda also it must be presumed to have the same meaning. But this begs the whole question. No one denies that brāhmaṇa denotes a caste in later literature. But whether it has the same sense in the Rgveda must be determined on the materials furnished by the Rgveda itself. Some rely on the word ‘brahmaṇaputra’ in Rg. II. 43:2 as showing that a brāhmaṇa became so only by birth in the Rgveda. But the verse begins by saying that ‘you sing a Śāma like the Udgāt priest’ and so ‘brahmaṇaputra’ must mean a ṛtvij whose duty it was to recite śastras (the Brāhmaṇāccharīsin as Śāyana explains). It is generally conceded that the Puruṣasūkta is a much later hymn than most of the hymns of the Rgveda. In the whole of the Rgveda the words vaiśya and śūdra do not occur except in the Puruṣasūkta, though both of them occur in the Atharvaveda (V. 17:9 for vaiśya and IV. 20:4 and 8 for śūdra and ārya) and very frequently in the Tai. S. Besides we cannot forget that the final redaction of the Rgveda must be held to have been separated from the composition of the individual hymns by several hundred years (if not more) and that even if it be conceded
that at the time when the Puruṣasūkta was composed, the four varṇas had been constituted and had become castes, yet the same cannot be affirmed for the time of the original composition of the other hymns. The word brāhmaṇa occurs several times in the Ṛgveda: 58 'Oh brāhmaṇas, Oh pitṛs fond of soma! May the sinless Dyāvaprthivī (Heaven and Earth) tend to our welfare'; 'Like brāhmaṇas in the Atirātra where soma is to be drunk, uttering (words) round a lake full of water you have, Oh frogs, gathered together on that day of the year on which the rains begin' (Ṛg. VII. 103. 7); 59 'The brāhmaṇas, who drink soma, reciting prayers of the yearly sacrifice, have sent forth their speech' (Ṛg. VII. 103. 8). In this verse brāhmaṇas are expressly said to be getting 'brahma' ready. 'May Agni who devours everything make that (dead body) free from disease and (may) soma also (do the same) who entered into the brāhmaṇas' (Ṛg. X. 16. 6). 'When the brāhmaṇas worship together as friends in hymns (lit. speed of the mind) that are fabricated from their hearts' (Ṛg. X. 71. 8). In Ṛg. VI. 75. 10 brāhmaṇas are invoked for welfare along with pitṛs. This shows that the brāhmaṇas were highly venerated. The other verses establish that they were the reciters of hymns (brahma) and drank soma.

In Ṛg. VIII. 35. 16-18 we read 'You (Aśvins) urge on (or inspire) brahma, you urge on our thoughts (or actions), you kill the evil spirits and subdue diseases; (17) you urge ksatra (valour) and also men, you kill evil spirits (same as 16); (18) you urge on the cows and also the Viś (the rest is same as 16).’ Here it seems that the groups of people (viz. those who think and make songs, those who show valour and lead men, and those common people who tend cattle) are clearly meant. These verses may be conceded as pointing to the existence of three groups (brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas and viśāḥ) but there is nothing in them to show that these three had crystallised into somewhat like the castes of later times. In Ṛg. VII. 33. 11 Vasīṣṭha is addressed as brahman, but that does not mean that he was a brāhmaṇa (by birth), as he is said to have been born of Urvāṣī from Mitra and Varuṇa. Similarly, in

58.  नाध्यान्त: नित्रित साम्प्रतियत्रिन्तया नित्रित साम्प्रतियत्रिन्तया अनेकसः। क्र. VI. 75.10.

59.  नाध्यान्ताः अविश्वसे न सत्साहस्य स द्वैर्मातिर्विवृत्ताः। सत्साहस्य तदादेव परित्य फलवस्यहेः। इति वै नाध्यान्ताः सभिस्तिः कुमारमिव वा नाध्यान्ताः। क्र. 7. 103. 7; नाध्यान्ताः सभिस्तिः कुमारमिव नाध्यान्ताः। क्र. 7. 103. 8; अधिकाक्षांश्वं कुमारो सभिस्तिः ये नाध्यान्ताः। क्र. X. 71. 8; सत्साहस्य तदादेव परित्य फलवस्यहेः। इति वै नाध्यान्ताः सभिस्तिः। क्र. I. 164. 45.
Rg. IX. 96. 6 (Brahmā devānām) the word brahmā does not certainly mean 'brāhmaṇa by birth', nor does 'viprānām' mean 'brāhmaṇas by birth'. In that verse one who is super-eminent among a group is specified, just as the buffalo among animals, the hawk among carnivorous birds &c. In Rg. VIII. 33. 19 'look down and not up; bring your feet close together; may thy kasāplakas (legs?) be not seen, for though a brahmā, thou wert born a woman,' it is impossible to hold that the last words mean 'thou wert a brāhmaṇa woman'. If it is only intended to refer to the fact that she is a brāhmaṇa woman, there is no reason why the Perfect tense (babhūvitha) is used and not the present. Here 'brahmā' most probably means 'a priest of that name', as that is the meaning in Rg. II. I. 2 (brahmā cāṣi grhapatīs-ca no dame). The word 'brahmajāyā' in Rg. X. 109. 2, 3, 6 and 7 does not mean the wife of a brāhmaṇa by birth but rather 'wife of Brhaspati'. The whole hymn is obscure and more or less enigmatic or allegorical. In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa 35. 2-4 it is said that soma is the food of brāhmaṇas and that a ksatriya was to press the tendrils of the Nyagrodha tree and the fruits of Udumbara, Aśvattha and Plakṣa and drink the juice so pressed instead of soma. It appears, therefore, that the brāhmaṇas were a distinct group even in the earliest period of the Rgveda. Whether they were hereditary is certainly not clear; nor is there anything to show that there were restrictions as regards partaking of food from persons other than brāhmaṇas or as to marriage. That brāhmaṇas in the Rgveda were a class by themselves may be conceded, but whether they had become a caste by birth is a matter of opinion dependent on the connotation given to the word caste. Dr. Ghurye (Caste and race in India p. 42) thinks, probably following the Vedic Index (vol. I on Kṣatriya), that the reference in Rg. X. 71. 9 to a false claim for being regarded as a brāhmaṇa points to the conclusion that brāhmaṇas had become a caste. The verse literally translated means 'these (persons) who do not move below nor beyond, who are neither brāhmaṇas, nor engaged in pressing soma — they

60. नक्ष्यम् देवाणि पुष्य: कृष्णिनागुरुविनायी नाहस्य दुस्सनाम् । द्विनी धुमाणिः स्तव्यीशासिनां सोमं पश्चाद्यथौ रेसों । कृ. IX. 96.6; अन्धकारात्रेण संयतिः सतन्त्रं पान्को । न जे नक्ष्यम् वर्षं त्वमि नक्ष्यम् न धुमानि । कृ. VIII. 33. 19.

61. पुष्यनागुरुविनायीक्रं सोमाविनायी ।...स पादि सोमं नाक्राणां मक्ष: । अत्यन्तेऽति भवो भवेश्वरप्रसरायं दक्ष: वचनो च शराविनां प्रक्षेपितं भवायुधित्सुतानां तानि आवेशेऽति वर्षं भवन: । एवं जै. 35. 2-4; vide पुष्यनागुरुविनायीं III. 5. 22, III. 5. 47-51, III. 6. 36 and Sabara's bhāṣya thereon for this subject.
being ignorant and having resorted to speech in sinful (or coarse) language take to ploughshares and engage in (agricultural) operations’. It is difficult to see how there is here any false claim to be regarded as a brāhmaṇa. This verse means apparently that those who are not composers of prayers or drinkers of soma (because they are ignorant) are men of low speech and have to turn to agriculture. Even in the days of the dharma-sūtras restrictions as to food and marriage for brāhmaṇas were not at all as rigid as they became in medieval and modern times; but even when these restrictions were not rigid it was clearly laid down that a brāhmaṇa is so by birth alone. The word ‘brahma’ generally means in the Rgveda ‘prayer’ or ‘hymn’. Vide Rg IV. 6.11, VI. 52.2, X. 105.8, X. 141.5 (‘Oh Agni, make our prayer and sacrifice prosper by your flames’). Rg. III. 53.12 is ‘this brahma (prayer or spiritual power) of Viśvāmitra protects the Bhārata people’. In the Atharvaveda II. 15.4 (as brahma and kṣatra entertain no fear, nor are they harmed) brahma seems to mean ‘the class of brāhmaṇas’. The transition of meaning from ‘brahma’ (prayer) to ‘brahma’ meaning the class of those who composed or recited prayers is natural and easy. In the Rgveda I. 157.2 both brahma and kṣatra occur in the same verse where they probably mean ‘prayer’ and ‘valour’ respectively. In the Atharvaveda III. 19.1 both words occur and probably mean the same thing as in Rg. I. 157.2. In some Vedic works brahma and kṣatra stand collectively for brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas (e.g. Ta. Br. II. 7.18, Br. Up. I. 4.11, Kathopanisad I. 2. 24). The word kṣatriya is very frequently applied as an epithet to several gods; e.g. Rg. VII. 64. 2 and VIII. 25. 8 (in both to Mitra and Varuṇa), Rg. VIII. 67. 1 (to Ādityas), Rg. X. 66.8 (to gods in general). In some verses kṣatriya means ‘a king or a nobleman’; e.g. Rg. IV. 42.1 ‘the kingdom on both sides (heaven and earth) belongs to me, who am a kṣatriya and who holds sway over all living persons, so that all the immortals (gods) are ours (on my side)’; Rg. X. 109.3

62. तथा न अयं अनौचित्यं यज्ञ च चर्चय। क्र. X. 141.5; विभाष्यकर्तर्क संवधित नभवेत्। भारत नाम। क्र. III. 53.12.
63. यदुश्चायो युधिष्ठिरस्य मुलं दृश्यन्ति। सन्तस्य अनुस्वरूपं। अभावाय न गृहेण यूद्धनाय विणम्भवं यज्ञ यमं यशस्तव भगवानहि। क्र. I. 157.2.
64. भारत वें भारतं। अयं यज्ञं। क्र. III. 9.14.
65. सम द्वितिया राजस्य विषये सबिंगुन्धिष्य अस्मिन् यथा न। क्र. IV. 42.1. Acc. to the Anuśāsana this is a hymn of king Trasadasya son of Parukutsa.
(=Atharva V. 17.3) 'the domain of the ksatriya has been protected (from the sight of enemies). The word 'rajanya occurs in the Rgveda only in the Purusasukta. It occurs in the sense of ksatriya in the Atharvaveda V. 17.9. The same remark applies to the word ksatriya as to brahma. It is difficult to say whether ksatriyas were so by birth in the times of the hymns of the Rg. or were only a class more or less fluid. We find that the Rg. speaks of Devapi as the purohita of Santanu who became a king. The story is that both were sons of Raishi and that Santanu, though a younger brother, became king as Devapi was not willing to be a king. The result was a famine due to Santanu's transgression and so Devapi performed a sacrifice to induce rainfall. This shows that out of two brothers one became a king and the other a purohita. So kings and purohitas did not depend on birth. In Rg. IX. 112.3 a poet exclaims 'I am a reciter of hymns my father is a physician and my mother grinds (corn) with stones. We desire to obtain wealth in various actions.'

In Rg. III. 44.5 the poet wistfully asks Indra 'O, Indra, fond of soma, would you make me the protector of people, or would you make me a king, would you make me a sage, that has drunk of soma, would you impart to me endless wealth?' This shows that the same man could be a rishi or a noble or a king. Dr. Ghurye (in 'Caste and race in India' p. 44) thinks that the ksatriyas had become a compact body and he particularly relies on Rg. VII. 104.13 (= Atharvaveda VIII. 4. 13) which is cited in the Vedic Index (vol. I, p. 207) for the same purpose. That verse literally means 'Soma does not urge on the crooked one, nor the ksatriya who bears false. He strikes the rakshas, and strikes him who speaks falsely; both lie in the bonds of Indra.' The words 'ksatriya mithuyah dharyantam' are explained by Saya as 'Ksatriya who bears false words'. The 2nd half is only an expansion of the first half and so 'vajna' corresponds to 'rakshas' and 'asad vadayantam' is only a paraphrase of 'mithuyah dharyantam'. They may mean this that one who is a ksatriya, but has no strength as a ksatriya should have, is at

66. Vide Nirukta II. 10 for the story of Devapi and Santanu who were Kauravya brothers according to it.

67. काव्य ललाटे निषिद्धमधूलोगकार नन्द। नानाप्राणियो वशगो अहु गा इव तार्थम। रू. IX. 112.3. कारु means here 'composer of hymns'; Visvamitra is addressed as karu by the rivers in Rg. III. 33.10 'आ ते कारु घुष्यमाना सन्धी'. Vide निन्दिता VI. 6 for काव्यल।
the mercy of Indra. Unless we project our notions of the later state of society and the caste system when considering this verse, it is hardly possible to hold that this verse indicates that it refers to persons making a false claim for entrance into a compact body of ksatriyas by birth. Dr. Ghurye also says (p. 44) 'The 2nd order in society, the ksatriya, is known in the earlier portions of the Rgveda as rājanya.' I have not been able to find the word rājanya in the Rgveda any where except in the Purusasūkta. In the Aitareya brāhmaṇa (chap. 34. 2) the word 'rājanya' stands for a member of the 2nd class in society, while ksatriya means a king of whom land (for sacrifice to gods) is asked for by brāhmaṇa, rājanya or vaiśya.

Though the word vaiśya occurs in the Rgveda only in the Purusasūkta, the word 'viś' is very frequently employed in it. It generally means 'people or group of people'. In a large number of cases we have the words mānuśir-viśaḥ or mānuśīṣu vīṣu or mānuṣīṇām viśām, e.g. Rg. III. 5. 3, III. 6. 3, III. 11. 5 (invincible Agni goes in front of human groups), IV. 6. 7 and 8, IV. 9. 2, V. 1. 9, V. 8. 3, VI. 48. 8, VI. 47. 16 (viso mānuṣyān), X. I. 4, X. 69. 9. In some places we have 'dāsir viśaḥ' (the dāsa hordes) e.g. IV. 28. 4, VI. 25. 2. In Rg. III. 34. 2 we have 'On Indra, you are the leader of human hordes as well as of divine hordes' (where we have dāśīṃnāṃ viśām). Rg. VIII. 63. 7 (when loud invocations were sent towards Indra by the people consisting of five groups) shows that 'viś' means all the Aryan people. In Rg. V. 32. 11 Indra is styled 'pāṇcajanya' (favourable to the five people) and in IX. 66. 20 Agni has the appellation 'pāṇcajanyah purohitah' (the purohita of the five peoples). Sometimes jana and viś seem to be contradistinguished as in Rg. II. 26. 3 (sa ij-janena sa viśa sa janmanā sa putair-vājam bharate dhanā nṛbhiḥ). But the very fact that viś is qualified also as pāṇcajanya shows that

68. दूर्द ब्रह्मवीरांपस्तः कालगीणिति निष्क्रियः तैवित्तनागत युध्यानां।। रग. इ. 34. 2.
69. उत्तराजस्य विवेकत योगे अनुसूत। रग. VIII. 63. 7. शामकरा इन्हि bāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 4. 12 says that the word pāṇcajanya in Rg. VIII. 63. 7 means 'prajā' (people) and also notes that according to some 'pāṇca janāḥ' are devas, pātris, asuras, gandharvas and rakṣasas; while according to others they are the four varāṇas and niṣādas as the fifth. The Ait. Br. (13. 7) gives an explanation of pāṇca janāḥ similar to the first 'प्राज्ञाजनो वा यदुन्मेव घृंगुमेव सर्वाः वा दुस्तास्य जनेन्द्रविनादामश्च देवादार्थायाः संयथ्याः स विदुष्यते। The Nirukta (III. 8) in explaining Rg. X. 53. 4 remarks about pāṇca janāḥ, 'नम्ब्रवीर निष्क्रियैः देवा अन्याय रक्षासी तथा। ब्रह्मवीरेऽपि निष्क्रियं पालन वर्तमानम्।।'
there was hardly any distinction between jana and vīś. In the Rgveda frequent reference is made to five people (paṇca janāḥ); vide Rg. III. 37. 9, III. 59. 7, VI. 11. 4, VIII. 32. 22, X. 65. 23, X. 45. 6. In the same way the words kṛṣṭī (II. 2. 10, IV. 38. 10), kṣiti (V. 35. 2, VI. 48. 7, VII. 75. 4), carsāni (V. 86. 2, VII. 15. 2) are employed along with paṇca. We have also ‘pāncajayāsu kṛṣṭīsu’ in Rg. III. 53-16. So it is clear that vīś cannot in almost all hymns of the Rg. mean ‘vaiśya’ but means the ‘people’ or ‘āryan people’ when no epithet like ‘dāśā’ or ‘dāvī śā’ is prefixed. The Ṛit. Br. (I. 26) says that ‘vīśā’ means ‘rāṣṭrāṇi’ (countries) when explaining Rg. IV. 50-8 (tasmaī vīśā svayam-vānamante).

The word ‘dāsa’ in later literature means ‘a serf or a slave.’ It follows that the dāsa tribes that we see opposed to the Āryas in the Rgveda were gradually vanquished and were then made to serve the Āryas. In the Manusmṛti (VIII. 413) the śudra is said to have been created by God for service (dāṣya) of the brāhmaṇa. We find in the Tai. S., the Tai. Br. and other Brāhmaṇa works that the śudra occupies the same position that he does in the smṛtis. Therefore it is reasonable to infer that the dāsas or dasyus conquered by the Āryas were gradually transformed into the śudras. From being enemies they were brought into friendly relations and given a very subordinate position. Traces are visible even in the Rgveda that friendly relations had begun to be established between certain dāsas and the priests. For example in Rg. VIII. 46. 32 we read ‘the singer took a hundred (cows or other gifts) from the dāsa Balbūtha and from Tarukṣa.’ In the Puruṣasūkta (X. 90. 12) the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śudra are said to have sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of the supreme Puruṣa. In the very next verse the sun and the moon are said to have been born from the eye and mind of the Puruṣa. This shows that the composer of the hymn regarded the division of society into four classes to be very ancient and to be as natural and God-ordained as the sun and the moon.

We shall now see what position was assigned to the śudra in the Vedic Sarīhītās and Brāhmaṇas. In the Rgveda the Ārya is contradistinguished from the men ‘of dark skin.’ In the dharmasūtras we find the śudras spoken of as ‘dark varṇa.’

71. बुझ च कार्येन बुझं कीत्रियं कीत्रियं तस्य वृक्षेण श्रवणकृतस्य रुपं सम्प्रति मथ VIII. 413
Vide Ṛp. Dh. S. I. 9. 27. 11 which is the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 59. 72 'The śūdra among men and the horse among beasts. Therefore those two, the horse and the śūdra, are the conveyances of beings; therefore the śūdra is not fit (or ordained) for sacrifice' (Tai. S. VII. 1. 1. 6). 73 This shows that the śūdra could not perform the Vedic sacrifices and that he was employed for carrying persons in a palanquin or otherwise. In Tai. S. V. 7. 6. 3-4 we have 'put light (glory) in our brāhmaṇas, put it in our chiefs (or kings), (put) light in vaiṣyas and śūdras, put light in me by your light.' 74 This is a sure indication that the śūdra who took the place of the dāsa is here placed on the same level with the other three classes in the matter of the receipt of light from God and that far from being looked upon as an enemy, he had come to be looked upon as a member of the society (though the lowest in the scale). 'The śūdra is a moving burial ground; therefore one should not study the Veda in the vicinity of a śūdra.' 75 'He created the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatri, the rājanya with Tristubh and the vaiṣya with Jagati; but he did not create the śūdra with any metre. The Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa says 77 'Therefore a śūdra, though he may have many beasts, is not entitled to perform sacrifice, he is godless as no deity was created after him (as in the case of the other varṇas); therefore he does not go beyond washing the feet (of the three other varṇas), since he was created from the feet' (this last being an allusion to the Purussāuktam X. 90. 12 padbhyaṁ śuddro ajāyata). This shows that the śūdra, however rich in cattle he might be, had to perform the menial duty of washing the feet of āvijas. The

72. पवेशकारानि करेति पार्ये कुम्भ वर्णे वाच्या: सेवतानि:। चतुर्थकार वृद्धाश्रमयानि
निमिशे श्रुतांवहिता पापे॥ आप. य. खु. I. 9. 27. 11=चौ. य. खु. II. 1. 59=साधिकते 165. 29.

73. सूतेनातो जयी महामये कर्त्थो जयी महामये प्रवेशमये। ते. से. VII. 1. 1. 6.

74/75 से ली चेति महासुषु पचे जयी नमक्षिते।। 2-चो लोके सूतेनातो चेति चेरे 3-4

75. पयुष्क वा एताशुर्झने पञ्चकुट्रः। तस्मातोऽसयायिनः नाये एव।। This is quoted by Sabara on Jāmini VI. 1. 38 as a śruti. बलिदे य. ख. 18. 11-12 echoes these words 'स्वयं स्वयं शुरुहर्षे वे सुस्वे।। तस्मातोऽसयायिनः नाये एव।।' पयुष्क... चेति is cited as Satapatha Śrutī by the Śrdvakamālakāra (p. 3).

76. This is quoted by Vas. Dh. S. IV. 3. Vide Ait. Br. 5. 12 'भाष्यो वै श्राधृतं:।। एत्यशुरः वे रजस्यह:।। जातिः वै हैवः।।

77. तस्मातोऽसयायिन वर्णसाधतायं त्रिदेशाणि नायि ते काचन वृहक्ष्णाय तस्मातोऽसयायिन नायि ते हि सुस्वे।। तारण VI. 1. 11.
Satapatha Br. says that ‘the śūdra is untruth’ (S. B. E. vol. 44. p. 446), that ‘the śūdra is toil’ (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 410), and that a dikṣita (one who was initiated for a Vedic sacrifice) was not to speak with a śūdra (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 4). The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa remarks that ‘the śūdra’ is at the beck and call of others (the three varṇas), he can be made to rise at will, he can be beaten at will.’ When the father of Śunahṣepa79 (who had sold Śunahṣepa for 100 coins and had shown himself ready to kill him as a pasu for another hundred coins) urged his son to come back to him after the boy had been taken into favour by Varuṇa and Viśvāmitra, he contemptuously discards his father’s proposal with the words ‘one who commits an evil deed once may commit another sinful deed thereafter; you did not leave aside the śūdra’s line of conduct; you did what leaves no door for reconciliation.’ These passages show that the śūdra, though he had ceased to be an enemy of the ārya and had been allowed to be within the pale of society, was looked down upon, was assigned a very low position, had to perform work of toil as a menial and was not allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices. A clear line of demarcation was kept between the Ārya and the Śūdra in the times of the Brāhmaṇa works and even in the dharmaśūtras. The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa80 speaks of a mock fight ‘the śūdra and ārya fight on a hide, out of the two they so arrange that the ārya colour becomes the victor’. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.3.40–41 says81 that a brāhmaṇarī, if he cannot himself eat all the food he has brought by begging, may keep it near an ārya (for his use) or he may give it to a śūdra who is a dāsa (of his teacher). The same Dharmaśūtra82 (II. 2.3. 1 and 4) says ‘Āryas who are pure (by bath) should prepare the food for Vaśvadeva; . . . or śūdras supervised by āryas should prepare it’. Similarly Gautama X. 69 uses the word ‘anārya’ for śūdra and Gautama 12.3 prescribes heavy punishment for a

78. (शुद्र:) अनार्य: संवरः कामोऽदश्व: पमातत्त्वविनायामः। ये। या। 35.3
79 य पनकनामः कुयोऽकुदीनततोपपुर्ण । नामिना: वृंदावनम्: वामाधुर्यः स्त्री।
80. शुद्रविषे चर्चयो: वप्यवयोऽविबाध्यास्थिनित। ताप्मद्व 5. 14.
81. आचार्योऽद सेवस्ववारूपः। अत्युष्निः वा शुद्रः। आच। या। या। 1. 3. 40-41
82. आचार्योऽद महात्मके द्वेषदंस्ता: शुद्रः। आचार्यविषये वा शुद्रः संस्काराधः। शुद्रः।
आच। या। या। II. 2.3. 1 and 4.
sūdra having sexual intercourse with an ārya woman. Jaimini in his Purvamāṇsā sūtra (VI. 1.25–38) establishes after elaborate discussion that the sūdra has no adhikāra for the performance of Agnihotra and Vedic sacrifices. It is, however, somewhat gratifying to find that at least one ācārya, Bādari, espoused the cause of the sūdra and propounded the view that all (including sūdras) were entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices (VI. 1.27). In the Vedānta-sūtras also (I. 3.34–38) it is established that the sūdra has no adhikāra for brahmavidyā based on Veda study, though some sūdras like Vidura might have been endowed with the knowledge of brahma owing to sāṁskāras of former births. In the smṛti literature, however, a few passages are found allowing marriages of āryas with sūdra women (which will be discussed later on). Similarly sexual relations (illicit) between a sūdra woman and a man of higher varna are alluded to even in the Samhitās e.g. Tai. S.83 VII. 4.19.3 ‘when a sūdra woman has an ārya as her paramour she does not seek wealth for the prosperity (of her relations)’.

In Ait. Br. (8.1) there is the story of Kavaśa Allūsā, who was driven out from the sacrifice on the Sarasvatī with the words ‘Oh, son of a female slave, you are a rogue and not a brāhmaṇa; how did you take the dikṣā (initiation) as one of us’ and they carried him off to a sandy desert with the idea that he might die of thirst there. He when tormented by thirst ‘saw’ the hymn Rg. X. 30 and Sarasvatī came rushing to him.84 Further discussion about the sūdra and his disabilities will follow in another section later.

The position of the three varnas inter se (called collectively ārya) now requires consideration. It is clear that the Samhitās other than the Rgveda and Brāhmaṇa works show that the three classes of brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas and vaiśyas had become differentiated and their privileges, duties and liabilities had become more or less fixed in those times.

83. कुसुम बदृश्यकारा न धर्माव धन्वलित वि. स. VII. 4. 19.3 and Vaiṣṇaveya Samhitā 2330. ‘Ārya’ may mean an Ārya, or simply ‘master’ or ‘vaiśya’ (as in later literature). The words न...वती may mean ‘He (the father of the sūdra woman) does not desire wealth for his own prosperity’ (as he is pained by the event).

84. A similar story is told in the Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa XII. 3. The words ‘dāsyaḥ putrah’ may be only terms of abuse or they may mean that, though he posed to be a brāhmaṇa, he was the son of a brāhmaṇa from a dāsī.
In Rg. IV. 50.3 we read 'that king alone who places brahmā first (i.e. honours him) dwells happy in his house, for him the earth always remains prosperous and to him all the people (or kingdoms) bow down of their own accord'. 'Brahmanas' are gods that are directly seen' (Tai. S. I. 7. 3. 1); 'there are two kinds of gods; for indeed the gods are gods and the brahmanas who have studied and teach the sacred lore are the human gods'. Sat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 309, vol. 26 p. 341). In the Atharvaveda V. 17. 19 there is an assertion of the pre-eminence of brahmanas and the consequences of harming them or their cows. 'Therefore the brahma is the foremost' (Tai. S. II. 6. 2. 5, V. 2. 7. 1). 'Therefore the brahma shows his might by his mouth, since he was created from the mouth' (Tandy Br. XI. 1. 2). In the Ait. Br. (33. 4) Varuṇa, when he was told that a brahma boy would be offered in place of the son of the king Hariścandra, is made to say 'a brahma is indeed preferable to a kṣatriya'. The mere fact of birth as brahma's son is represented here as giving to the boy pre-eminence over a king's son. On the other hand the Sat. Br. says (V. 1. 1. 12) 'a brahma is not adequate to (competent to manage) a kingdom'. In the Tai. Br. it is said that playing on the vina (in the Āśvamedha) is to be done by a brahma and a rājanya (and not by two brahmanas), since wealth does not find delight in the brahma. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI. 5. 7. 1) lays emphasis on the four peculiar attributes of brahmanas viz. brāhmaṇya (purity of parentage as a brahma), pratirūpacarā (befitting deportment or conduct), yāsas (glory) and lokapakti (the teaching or perfecting of people). 'When the people are being perfected or taught by people, people endow him with four privileges viz. arcā (honour), dāna (gifts), ājīvayātā (freedom

85. एते वै देवा: तत्परं यद्व भक्तमः। ते तम. I. 7. 3. 1; भाषार्थं वृद्धार्थला: सर्वं वेदांतिनिष्ठ भक्तम् तद्भाबीमुणि वेदविश्वयो दिल्ले दि० तामकर्षणम्। नास्तीति।

86. नास्ति दुःखं त्वं केवलात्। ताण्डुर्यमः वा. XI. 1. 2; दूरान्त्य भक्तम्: तत्तदिशत्वं वधा तेन भक्तम्। च. 33. 4.

87. 'ते वै भक्तम: रावणवार्यः' लायक V. 1. 1. 12; S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 4.

88. नास्ति वर्षमना: नास्ति विनांतान्तिनिष्ठान्तिनि भक्तां भक्तां प्रक्ष्यं तस्मवात्वः कः होकार्कितं दुःखं परचनं अनुमितमे। भक्तम् च दुःखम: भक्तान्त्यां भक्तान्त्यां च। लायक XI. 5. 7. 1.
from being harassed) and avadhya (freedom from being beaten). The Śatapatha (V. 4. 6. 9) expressly mentions that brāhmaṇa, rājanya, vaisya and śūdra are the four varṇas. Teaching had become so much associated with the brāhmaṇas that when the brāhmaṇa Gārgya approached king Ajātaśatru for the knowledge of brahma, the latter replied “this is contrary to the natural order that a brāhmaṇa should approach a ksatriya with the idea he (ksatriya) will propound to me brahma.” In a separate section below all the privileges enjoyed by the brāhmaṇas will be set out at one place.89

89. स हौन्तःनातासु: मतिमेम चैवधृ जाल्म: अलिक्ष्मपायाय नष्टे स यज्ञः सिद्ध तृतीयोऽस्मि: अन्नन्तरमद्यमहानमार्गति। कौशलसिद्धगतिः। उ. IV. 18. In the Tai. S. IV. 5. 11. 9 we read यथ जाल्मसिद्धान्तमशिबप्रकाशविषयस्मिन् जाल्मार्गार्थज्ञामयाविषयस्मिन् यथेऽज्ञानैव पश्चात्जाल्मविषय कथा न पत्रेष्य। This literally means ‘if a brāhmaṇa and a non-brāhmaṇa come (to a man) asking him a question, then he should speak to the brāhmaṇa first; that he speaks to the brāhmaṇa first is really tantamount to speaking first to one-self; when he speaks away from the brāhmaṇa (i.e. he speaks to the non-brāhmaṇa first and then to the brāhmaṇa) that is really speaking away to oneself; therefore a brāhmaṇa should not be spoken away (i.e. postponed to non-brāhmaṇas).’ Manu VIII. 24 says that a king should take up the causes of litigants in the order of the varṇas (i.e. if there are two plaintiffs coming with complaints at the same time the brāhmaṇa’s complaint should be first attended to). Brhaspati says the same thing. Therefore the Tai. S. should be interpreted in the same way. Another meaning is possible viz. if a brāhmaṇa and a non-brāhmaṇa come to a person and ask him who is superior, the person should declare that the brāhmaṇa is the superior of the two (on account of his birth as brāhmaṇa probably or of his being a learned man). This sense of ‘adhi’ as meaning ‘superior’ is found in Manu I. 99 ‘since brāhmaṇa when born becomes (or is born) superior (to all) on this wide earth.’ Prof. Keith in his translation of Tai. S. (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 18 p. 203) says in a footnote “it is not absolutely certain that adhibhū means ‘decide in favour of’ rather than ‘speak in favour of.’” Vide also Vedic Index (II. p. 83). Dr. Ghurye (in ‘Caste and race in India’ p. 43) says ‘in a legal dispute between a brāhmaṇa or non-brāhmaṇa an arbitrator or witness must speak in favour of the former.’ It appears that Dr. Ghurye simply follows the rather guardedly expressed view of the famous Professor, but makes the sense more emphatic than Prof. Keith puts it and does not think for himself whether any other meaning is possible or more appropriate. Any stick is good for beating the brāhmaṇa with. The brāhmaṇas were never ashamed in the smṛti texts of declaring the privileges they

(Continued on next page)
The position of ksatriyas and their relation to the brāhmaṇas falls to be considered now. First of all with reference to the king several important passages may be cited. In some cases rājan means only 'a noble' or 'chief', as in Rg. X. 42. 10, X. 97. 6. In many passages rājan means 'king'. The government often seems to have been tribal, such tribes as Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus and Pūrus (Rg. I. 108. 8) being frequently mentioned (vide Rg. VII. 18. 6 for Bṛgus and Druhyus and VII. 18. 7 for Tṛṣus, VIII. 6. 46 for Yādvas). Whether kingship was by election it is not necessary here to discuss. The king was regarded as keeping the people within bounds. When a king was crowned, it was thought that 'a ksatriya was produced, a lord of all beings, the defender of brāhmaṇas (or of holy texts) and of dharma.' The Sat. Br. says 'for these two (śrotiya and king) are the upholders of the sacred law among men' (S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 106). That the co-operation between brāhmaṇa and ksatriya results in glory and success is frequently emphasized e. g. 'therefore a brāhmaṇa must certainly be approached by a ksatriya who is about to perform some act, for indeed that act of a ksatriya which is sped on by brāhmaṇa succeeds' (Sātspatpa, S. B. E. vol. 26 pp. 270–271). The purohita of a

(Continued from last page)

claimed. But they never claimed to be treated in a court of law as above truth and justice. If they had taken the Tai. S. passage in the sense in which Dr. Ghurya takes it they would never have scrupled to say so in śruti works and would have quoted the Tai. S. in support. Hence the meaning is different. There is no question here of an arbitration or judicial decision. In Rg. I. 100. 19 there is a similar expression 'May Indra speak in our favour on all days' (विभागेभो अथवा नो अस्तु). Vide Rg. X. 63. 11 and Vāj. S. 16. 5 for the verb 'vac' with 'adhi' in the sense of 'speak in favour of' or 'bless.'

90. तस्मादक्षय सम्मेव विहृदा : वै स. II. 6. 2. 2.

91. सत्त्वनाय विनयवच सुरसराधिनिविज्ञानिविज्ञानानि ... ब्राह्मणों गोपालानिः परमेश्वर गोविन्दानि । िि. 38 औ 39. 3.

92. Varuṇa is frequently called धुतत। (e. g. क्र. I. 25. 8 and 10 and once even the yajamāna is so called (क्र. I. 25. 6); the aphorism V. 4. 4. 5 explains क्र. I. 25. 10 as 'निपयत धुतत् दति। धुतत: वै धुतत् दति ..... एव ज अति ती तय ह व द्र: जूलयतु धुततः'). In Gāṇap VIII. 1 practically the same words occur 'दृश: दृश: धृतत: दृश: जोत्त का अवहम्मव जुलयतुः'. Manu IX. 322 and Nārada (prākṛtyaka 42) express the same idea.

93 तत्सत्स्य हिन्दुः कर्मकारवि गणिकारवि एव ज्ञानम्। स दैवत्तं तत्तु ज्ञानश्चर्वर फर्मचिन्ति। सत्यपि ब्रह्म IV. 1. 4. 6; the words नश्च वहैते occur in Gāṇap XI. 14.
ksatriya came to occupy a very high position. The Satapatha (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 270) lays emphasis on the importance of the purohita and cautions a brāhmaṇa against being the purohita of any king he meets with and adds that a brāhmaṇa may remain without a king, but a king should not be without a brāhmaṇa. Even the gods required a purohita, as the Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 1. says 'Viśvarūpa son of Tvaśṭṛ was the purohita of gods.' Śaṇḍa and Amarka were the purohitas of the Asuras (Kāṭhaka S. IV. 4). Agni is often called purohita (Rg. I. 1. 1., I. 44. 10, III. 2. 8). 'May we, purohitas, be awake in the kingdom (for its welfare) says the Tai. S. (I. 7. 10. 1). The Ait. Br. (chap. 34. 8) says the purohita is half the soul of the ksatriya' and contains an eulogy of purohita in the following words (40. 1) "for indeed the gods do not eat the food of a king who has no purohita; therefore a king when about to offer a sacrifice should have a brāhmaṇa as his purohita with the idea 'may the gods eat my food.'" The combination of the brāhmaṇa and the rājanya is said to be most desirable and that it is conducive to the eminence of both is declared in the Tai. S. (V. 1. 10. 3) "Therefore a brāhmaṇa who is supported by a rājanya is superior to another brāhmaṇa (not so supported), hence a rājanya who has a brāhmaṇa (to help him) is superior to another rājanya'. The Satapatha (V. 4. 4. 15) declares 'that king indeed who is not powerful to the brāhmaṇas (i.e. who is humble before the brāhmaṇas) becomes more powerful than his foes.' It is not to be supposed that this attainment of the supreme position by brāhmaṇas was an affair of plain sailing. Sometimes ksatriyas claimed higher position and also paid scant respect to brāhmaṇas. In the Satapatha we read 'whence the brāhmaṇa is an object of respect after the king' (S. B. E. vol. 41, p. 96); 'hence the people here serve, from a lower position, the ksatriya seated above them' Satapatha (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 94); 'hence when a nobleman approaches, all these people, the subjects crouch down by him on the ground' Satapatha (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 223); 'therefore there is nothing higher than the ksatria;
therefore the brāhmaṇas sits down below the kṣatriya in the Rājastya (Śatapatha 14. 4. 1. 23 = Br. Up. I. 4. 11). In the Atharvaveda several verses occur which declare the harm that results from disrespecting or injuring a brāhmaṇa or from robbing him of his cow. 'He who regards brāhmaṇa as food drinks of the poison of Tālmāta; he who injures a brāhmaṇa, the relative of the gods, does not attain to the world of pītrs' (Atharvaveda V. 18. 4 and 13). 'Those who spit on a brāhmaṇa or those who sent to him mucus remain biting the hair in the midst of a stream by their mouth; that kingdom sinks as water sinks a shattered vessel, where they injure a brāhmaṇa; that wicked act strikes that kingdom' (Atharvaveda V. 19. 3 and 8).

The stories of king Kārtavirya and Viśvāmitra who respectively carried off the cows of Jamadagni and Vasistha narrated in the Mahābhārata (Śānti 49 for Kārtavirya; Ādi. 175 for Viśvāmitra) and the Purāṇas show how several kings were high-handed and treated brāhmaṇas with no respect whatever. It appears that even the wives of brāhmaṇas were not quite safe at the hands of kings. 'The chamberlain (kṣat) of that king in whose kingdom the wife of a brāhmaṇa is thoughtlessly put under restraint does not march in front of cooking vessels with a golden ornament on his neck' (Atharva V. 17. 14). The somewhat mystical hymn (Rg. X. 109) where 'brahmajāya' figures prominently probably hints at the same fact (viz. the kidnapping of the wives of brāhmaṇas).

The Tai. S. says that 'the vaisya indeed sacrifices, being desirous of cattle' and that the gods having been defeated were reduced to the condition of being the vaisyas or 'vis of asuras'; 'the vaisya among men, cows among beasts, therefore they are to be enjoyed (to be eaten, to be subsisted upon) by others; they were produced from the receptacle of food; therefore they exceed others in numbers'. The Tai. Br. says 'the vaisya class is

98. ये ब्राह्मणं मवुद्धिन ये पालिनः मुङ्गीपरिष्रे । अवलेसन मवस्य गृहस्वरूप मववनिता । तवेः राजविविधिः प्रति भक्ष्यविवक्ष्यम ॥ ब्राह्मणं यहन्तिस्थिति तस्य विविधिः प्रति दुष्पुन्ना ॥ अध्ययः V. 19. 3 and 8.

99. नास्य क्षत्रिय निषेध्यतम: सुलभात्मविश्वासः । पालिनः राजस्य निषेध्यते वालन्तासालाक- विविध्याः ॥ अध्ययः V. 17. 11.

100. पुष्पसमांनां । येव तैस्यो भुजो । तेसं सं. II. 5. 10.2. तेसं द्वेषः । पालिन्याः । अनु- राथाः वेदाध्यायः । तेसं सं. II. 3. 7. 1.

101. नेत्रिः सर्वपर्यं साम: पशुयन तस्मा आयो अक्षधातुपुस्यस्यन्ता तस्मा ययं- सोडस्य: । तेसं सं. VII. 1. 1. 5

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said to have been born from ṛk verses, they declare the Yajurveda as the origin of the ksatriya, the Samaveda is indeed the source of brāhmaṇas'.

The same Brāhmaṇa further says 'the vis go away from (reside separately from) the brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas'. The Tāndya Br. says 'Hence the vāśya, though being eaten (i.e. subsisted upon) by others is not exhausted, since he was created from the prajanana (from the sexual parts of Prajāpāti); therefore he has numerous cattle, he has all the gods (as his patrons) and was produced with the Jagati metre, his season is the rains, therefore he is to be eaten by the brāhmaṇa and the rājanya, since he was created as lower (than those two classes)'.

The Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 335) says 'He thus assigns to the Maruts a share therein after Indra, whereby he makes the people (vis) subservient and obedient to the nobility'.

According to the Ait. Br. 35. 3 the vāśya is one who is the food of others, who pays taxes to others. These passages show that vāśyas were entitled to sacrifice, reared cattle, were far more numerous than the other two classes, they had to bear the brunt of taxation, they lived apart from brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas and were obedient to them.

The system of the four varnas had taken such deep roots in the period when the Brāhmaṇa works were composed, that we often meet with Vedic passages saying that it extended even to the gods, Agni and Bṛhaspati being the brāhmaṇas among gods; Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Yama being the ksatriyas; Vasus, Rudras, the Viśva Devas and Maruts being the viś, and Puṣan being the sūdra. Similarly it is said 'the brāhmaṇa is really spring, the ksatriya summer, and the viś are the rainy season.'

102. क्रमवो जात वैरवं कर्मचारू । यक्षवं क्रतिकस्तःसहवाशिः । सांवेदी चाल्लाहारां मभुधिः। । न. बा. III. 12. 9 ; तस्माद ज्ञातुपि शतान्त्रा विशोभक्षणस्यकालिनिः। । ते. बा. 1. 6. 5.

103. तस्मादेवरुपायमाने न कृत्यते मजनाशिक्षु प्रक्षमाशिरु यमाधवांशिवैवेदिवेदिवै हि जागती यथा । प्रक्षमाशिरु माधवाः । शतान्त्रेऽपि च राजाःपरः साधित्वैरैरर से पु: । तामालाबादम् VI. 1. 10.

104. अधातृद्वंशेः पुरचक आभाजित। । तत्रायथार्थातिहिः जातवकारभाप्रभारां करते। । शर्मवृष्ण IV. 3. 3. 10.

105. Vide Maitreyani Sam. I. 10. 13, Šatapatha 14. 4. 2. 23-25 which is the same as Br. Up. I. 4. 11. 13, Kauśitaki Br. 9. 5 and Ait. Br. (34. 5). Compare साहित्यिणी 203. 23-25 for Adityas being ksatriyas, Maruts as vāśyas, Aśvins as sūdras.
That there were other professions and crafts with specific names (which in later times at least became castes) even in the times of the Samhitās is quite clear. The Rg. speaks of vaptā (barber) in X. 142.4, taṣṭā (a carpenter or maker of chariots) in Rg. I. 61.4, VII. 32.20, IX. 112.1, X. 119.5; tvasṭā (a carpenter) in VIII. 102.8; bhiṣak (medicine man) in IX. 112.1 and 3, karmāra or kārmatā (iron-smith) in X. 72.2 and IX. 112.2, carmamnā (tanner) in Rg. VIII. 5.38.

The Atharvaveda mentions rathakāra (III. 5.6), karmāra (III. 5.6) and sūta (III. 5.7). In the Tait. S. (IV. 5.4.2) mention is made of kṣatṛ (royal chamberlain or doorkeeper), saṁgrahārī (treasurer), taksāṇ (carpenter) and rathakāra (maker of chariots), kulāla (potter), karmāra, pūṇiṣṭa (fowler), niṣāda, iṣukṛ (maker of arrows), dhanvakṛ (maker of bows), mrgayu (hunter) and śvani (those who lead packs of hounds). These also occur in the Vājasaneyā-samhitā 16.26–28 and these and a few more in Vāj. S. 30.5.13 and in Kāthaka Samhitā 17.13. In the Tait. Br. (III. 4.1 and the following anuvākas that deal with Purusamedha) we have āyogā, māgadha (bard), sūta, sāliṣa (actor), rebha, bhūmsa, rathakāra, taksan, kaulāla, karmāra, maṇiṣkāra, vapa (sower or barber), isukāra, dhanvakāra, āyakāra (maker of bow-string), rajusarga, mrgayu, śvani surākāra (vintner), ayastāpa (heater of iron or copper), kitava (gambler), bidalakāra (worker in wicker-work), kantakakāra.

The Śatapatha Br. XI. 8.1. speaks of kaulāla-cakra (the potter’s wheel). The Tait. Br. III. 8.5. mentions also rājaputra ugra. The Śatapatha (S. B. E. Vol. 41 p. 397) speaks of Marutta Āvikṣita as an āyogava king. This latter is a pratiloma caste according to the dharmasūtras (vide below). Whether in the Śatapatha that word has the same sense is doubtful.

The Tait. S. I. 8.9.1–2 mentions among the ‘ratnas’ (the jewels), the sūta, grāmaṇī, kṣatṛ, saṁgrahārī, bhāgadūgha (collector of taxes), aksāvāpa (superintendent of gambling). Vide also Tait. Br. I. 7.3. In the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (19.1.4) it is said that ‘eight brave persons hold up the kingdom viz. the king’s brother, the king’s son, the purohita, the crowned queen, the sūta, the grāmaṇī, kṣatṛ and saṁgrahārī’. Therefore it looks likely that kṣatṛ and saṁgrahārī were high officers of state and not castes. In the Sat. Br. XIII. 4. 1. 5 among the

106. नमः क्रुद्धम् संधीरूपम् यो नमो नामः क्रुद्धम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धम् क्रुद्धम् जयः नमः नामः नामः नामः क्रुद्धम् क्रुद्धम् जयः नमः नामः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो नमो नमः क्रुद्धायूपम् यो
guards of the horse let loose in the Aśvamedha there were 'a hundred sons of ksātra-saṁgrāhītṛs carrying clubs'. As the word 'ksātra' is prefixed to 'saṁgrāhītṛ' it follows that 'saṁgrāhītṛs' were officers who may have belonged to any varna. In the same passage mention is made of a hundred guardians who were the sons of sūtagrāmanis. In another passage of the same brāhmaṇa (XIII. 2. 2. 18) the sūtas and grāmanis are said to be no kings and yet are rājakṛt (i.e. king-makers). This means probably that they are the principal persons on whose support the king depends. The Śat. Br. V. 4. 4. 15–19 arranges brāhmaṇa, king, king's brother, sūta or sthapati, grāman, sajāta in a descending scale of powerfulness. So the sūta appears to have been originally an important officer. It is hardly possible to say with assurance that all these had become petrified into castes in the modern sense, particularly when several persons associated with these in the Vāj. S, and elsewhere were not castes such as the thief (taskara), the impotent (kliṣṭa), humpbacked (kubja), dwarf (vāmana); but most of the avocations and crafts referred to above have corresponding castes and subcastes for hundreds of years. It is therefore possible to say that in the times of the Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas these were groups founded on occupations that had become castes or were in process of developing into castes. The Tāṇḍya Br. speaks of Kirātas (who were and are non-Āryan and were aboriginal tribes). The Vāj. S. (30. 17) speaks of Paulkasa in connection with bhṛḥatsā (nauseating filth) and of cāndāla (in 30.21) in connection with vāyu (wind). The paulkasa and cāndāla occur in Tai. Br. (III. 4. 14 and III. 4. 17 (respectively). In the Chāndogya Up. (V. 10.7) the cāndāla is ranked with the dog and the boar. 'Therefore even if one knowing thus were to give the leavings of his food to a cāndāla that would in his case be an offering made into the

107. यथा वै क्षात्रोऽग्निनां राजकुटः प्रजामनवः। सत्वम तः XIII. 2. 2. 18.
109. अथवा ह यदेक वद्यादिप्रजायेदिन व्यावहरिः वा चक्रवर्षिणि वा भक्तिवेत्ता वा। ब्र. V. 10. 7. There were strict rules about giving one's uchchīṣṭa to another. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 11. 31. 25–26) did not allow a brāhmaṇa to give his uchchīṣṭa to one not a brāhmaṇa, unless certain rather obnoxious things were done to it. Manu IV. 80 forbids the giving of uchchīṣṭa to a sūdra (who is not a dependant) while Manu X. 125 allows it to be given to a sūdra who is a dependant.
Self as Fire'—Chandogya V. 24. 4. This shows that the cāndāla was the lowest in the social scale. ‘Just as a pāśya or vaideha, or the son of an ugra, after having made his bow strung &c.’—Br. Up. III. 8.2. In the Br. Up. IV. 3.22 mention is made of both cāndāla and paulkasa and in IV. 3.37 it is said¹¹⁰ that ‘just as when a king pays a visit, the ugras, pratyenasas (thief catchers), the sūtas and headmen of the village make arrangements for him with food and drink and with pavilions,’ Here ugras seem to be a group of nobles subordinate to the king. In later literature ugra is the offspring of a kṣatriya from a sūdra woman (Yaj. I. 91). In the Rg. X. 97.12 the word ugra occurs ‘You destroy disease just as an ugra who is a mediator or arbitrator (removes dispute).’ What ugra means here cannot be said with certainty. It may only mean a ‘formidable chief or king.’

The rathakāra and niṣāda deserve a passing notice. The Tai. Br. I. 1. 4 after stating that the brāhmaṇa should consecrate sacred fires in the spring, the kṣatriya in summer, the vaśya in autumn, ordains that the rathakāra should consecrate sacred fires in the rainy season. The question arises whether the rathakāra is a member of the three higher castes who has taken in economic distress to the profession of making chariots or is a person belonging to a caste other than the three higher varṇas. Jaimini in his Pūrvamimāṃsā-sūtra (VI. 1. 44–50) discusses this question and establishes¹¹¹ that the rathakāra is a member of a caste other than the three higher varṇas, that he has on account of the express words in the śruti the privilege to consecrate sacred fires with vedic mantras, that the mantra for the consecration of rathakāras is ‘ṛbhūnām tvā’ (Tai. Br. I. 1. 4) and that the rathakāras are the caste called Saudhanavana which is neither sūdra nor one of the three higher varṇas. Viṣṇuṭ differed (on

¹¹⁰ Pāṇini VI. 2. 60 teaches the accent of the word māvatas when compounded with rāga. According to Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 29) ugra is an anuloma caste sprung from a brāhmaṇa father and sūdra wife.

¹¹¹ यानानाधिकारायामाहत्स्थिति स्पष्टाश्चाय 

¹¹² पुष्पो भवनेव रक्षकार्ययोपयोगसर्वसंस्कृतं नात्यानुविच्छिन्तलाभ्यात्र भावानितिः सत्सत्यः 

Vide Śāṅkara-līlā I. 1.1 for the same rule. 

चातुर्य-निःस्वाबाधितस्तानेनन्यानेन स्वानुविच्छिन्तलाभ्यात्र भावानितिः अस्वाधिकरण श्रम- 

यथार्थप्रमुनायमध्ययतिं तः ग्रन्थि quoted in संबंधितकाहास p. 399 which says 

that this rathakāra is different.
Yāj. I. 10) notices that in some śruti the rathakāra though not belonging to the three higher varṇas, was allowed the privilege of upanayana, but adds that this dictum of the śruti is due to mistake, it being misled by the fact that he is allowed the privilege of ādhāna (consecration of sacred fires). In modern times the members of the carpenter caste in certain parts of the Deccan at least are in the habit of performing the upanayana and wearing the sacred thread.

With reference to an āṣṭi offered to Rudra a Vedic text says 'one should make a nisādasthapati perform this āṣṭi.' The Purvamāṇasā sūtra (VI. 1. 51-52) discusses the question whether this authorises a nisāda who is himself a chieftain or a chieftain (who is a member of the three higher varṇas) of nisādas. The established conclusion is that the āṣṭi is to be performed by a nisāda who is a chieftain though he be beyond the pale of the three varṇas, as the Karmadhāraya compound is the proper way of dissolving the compound and not the genitive Tatpurusā. The Ait. Br. (37. 7) says 'just as the nisādas, or selagās (thieves) or evil-doers seize a wealthy man in a forest and throwing him in a well run away with his wealth.' The Śāṅkhāyana Br. (25. 15) allows one who had performed the Viśvajit sacrifice (in which everything is given away) to stay in a settlement of nisādas whose food is the lowest that he is allowed to take. The Kātyāyanaśrauta-sūtra (I. 1. 12-14) says that 'the chieftain who is a nisāda can offer a caru of Gavedhukā corn to Rudra, but this offering is to be made in ordinary fire (and not in the fires consecrated with Vedic mantras) i.e. the permission to offer Rudra āṣṭi does not entitle him to perform Vedic consecration of fire (ādhāna). But according to Satyāṣāda kalpa III. 1 both the nisāda and the rathakāra are entitled to perform Agnihotra and Darśa-puṇḍamāsa.

113. वस्त्रो वायमानस श्रवणी राजाःपूर्वो हेमान्तो वा शरुं वैषवा वर्ष्य रावणाश्य।

114. स्वपिनिमवेद: स्वपिनधवसाम्यायोऽद पुर्वैः। VI. 1. 51.

115. यथा ह वा हुस शिषया वा महाशया वा पापहोता वा विभिन्नेऽय युद्धं युद्धता

116. निधव्यः स्वपिनितांसोयमेवः। ख्याताकपिनी नदीवत्ता। टायकोके। कालिको। ब्रह्म। I. 1. 12-14.

117. निधव्यवधर्षकाशंरवातास्तिग्रमातं वृक्षपूर्वामासं वा निबिन्दात्। सत्याभो

वाजस्ते III. 1.
The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa narrates that Viśvāmitra cursed his senior fifty sons, when they did not agree to his proposal to treat Śunahśepa (Devarāta) as his son, that they would associate with the lowest castes and that they became the Andhras, Pundras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas who are among the lowest of society and are mostly composed of dasyus. It is probably owing to this legend that the Manusmṛti (X. 43-45) is prepared to regard the Paṇḍrakas, the Odras, Dravidas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Čīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khaṇas as being originally kṣatriya castes, but later on reduced to the position of śudras by the non-performance of Vedio saṁskāras (like upanayana) and by the absence of contact with brāhmaṇas. Manu further adds that the various castes that are outside the (influence of the) four varṇas are all known as dasyus whether they speak the language of Mlecchas or of Āryas.

One very important question is whether the theory of the four varṇas with their peculiar privileges and duties described in the dharmaśutras and other smṛtis was merely a theory even in the most ancient times. When the Puruṣasūkta of the Rgveda speaks of Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra or when the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa expressly says that they are four varṇas, it appears to me that they speak of facts existing in their times and not merely of a theory which was to be striven for as an ideal. Smṛti writers try to place all their dicta in the frame-work of the varṇas because the four varṇas and their duties and privileges had been more or less clearly defined in the times of the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, which according to the authors of the smṛtis were śruti, eternal and infallible. They tried to approximate the state of society existing in their times to the varṇas which they held were of hoary antiquity. But there is nothing to show that the same difficulties were felt by the authors of the Vedic hymns and the Brāhmaṇas. The manner in which they refer to the privileges and disabilities of the several varṇas have such a deep ring of actuality that one must concede that the varṇas spoken of in them represented the

118. तदनुपर्यायार्थानां: भना महिष्ठित। त पुरुषोऽपि: हुष्ठा सत्यम् हुण्डिन्द्रण्य मुनिः हृदयुद्धस च च अविभाज्येद्वितीयोऽविभिन्नः। ए. वा. 33.6.

119. तदनुपर्यायार्थानां: भना महिष्ठित। त पुरुषोऽपि: हुष्ठा सत्यम् हुण्डिन्द्रण्य मुनिः हृदयुद्धस च च अविभाज्येद्वितीयोऽविभिन्नः। ए. वा. 33.6.
real divisions of society at least to a very great extent, if not
cent percent.

The preceding discussion renders the following propositions
most probable;

(1) that in the earliest times about which we have
literary records there were only two varṇas, the āryas and their
opponents the dasyus or dāsas; that the difference between the
two was based on difference of colour and culture and was thus
more or less racial and cultural;

(2) that centuries before the sahitā period closed the
dasyus had been conquered and were given a position subservi-
ent to the āryas;

(3) that the südras were the dasyus so subjugated and
made subservient;

(4) that the spirit of exclusiveness and pride of superio-
rity existing among the āryas with reference to dasyus soon
extended to groups among the āryas themselves;

(5) that by the time of the Brāhmaṇa Literature, 
brāhmaṇas (men supposed to be devoted to learning and priest-
hood), ksatriyas (kings, noblemen and some warriors) and
vaiśyas (the artisans and common people) had become sepa-
rated into groups more or less dependent on birth and that the
brāhmaṇa had come to be regarded as superior to the ksatriya
by the fact of birth;

(6) that even such low castes as cāndālas and pūlkaṣas
had been evolved long before the end of the Vedic period;

(7) that owing to cultural advance, division of labour
arose and numerous arts and crafts had been developed and
they were in process of contributing to the complexity of the
system by creating numerous sub-castes based upon occu-
pations;

(8) that besides the four varṇas intermediate castes like
the rathakāra had been evolved;

(9) that there were certain non-Āryan tribes which
were supposed to have been originally ksatriyas but fallen
later on.

120. That this theory of four varṇas was well-known to Buddhist
literary works is shown by Fick chap. II. p. 17 (the only difference
being that in the Buddhist works the ksatriya is put first and the
brāhmaṇa after him).
The close of the Vedic period is here taken as being not later than about 1000 B.C. How much earlier it may be placed it is not possible to say.

The following is a list of persons engaged in professions and crafts, which had probably become castes or were in the process of becoming castes, before the close of the Vedic period, as seen from the Vāj. S., Tai. S. and Tai. Br., Kāthaka Sam. (17. 13), the Atharva-veda, the Tāṇḍya Br. (III. 4.), the Ait. Br., the Chāndogya and the Br. Up. The meaning of some of the words is not quite clear and it is possible that some in the list were not at all castes or professions. They are arranged in the alphabetical order of Sanskrit (though transliterated). The meanings of most of them have been given above. Where the meaning is doubtful a question mark has been made.

Ajāpāla (goatherd)  Dāsa
Andhra                      Dhanuśkāra
Ayastāpa                    or
Ayogū or Āyogū             Dhanvakāra
Avipāla (keeper of ewes)   or
Ānda (?)                    Dhanvakṛt
Iṣukāra                     Dhaivara
Ugra                        Nīśāda
Kaṃṭakakāra or Kaṃṭakī-     or
     kārī (in Vāj. S.)     Naiśāda
Karmāra                     Puṁścalu
Kārī (dancer?)              Puṇjiṣṭa
Kītara                       or
Kīrāta                       Paṇjiṣṭha
Kīnāśa (cultivator?)        Puṇḍra
Kulāla or Kaulāla           Pulinda
Kevarta                      Paulkasa
Kośakārī (blower of bellows) Bāinda (catching fish in nets)
Kṣatry                      Bhiṣak
Gopāla                       Bhīmala (timid?)
Carmamna                    Maṇikāra
Cāndāla                      Māgadha
Jambhaka (?)                Mārgāra
Jyākāra                      Mūṭiba
Takṣan                      Mṛgayu

H. D. 7
Several centuries before the Christian era there were several castes. This follows not only from the dharmasūtras but also from the ancient Buddhist works and from the meagre existing fragments of the work of Megasthenes on India. Though Megasthenes was confused in his statements about the caste system as prevalent in his day, some propositions are clearly deductible therefrom. He states (pp. 40 ff.) that the whole population of India was divided into seven castes, (1) philosophers, (2) husbandmen, (3) shepherds and shepherds, (4) artisans, (5) military, (6) overseers, (7) councillors and assessors. Out of these 1 and 5 correspond to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, 2–3 to vaiśyas, 4 to śūdras; 6th and 7th correspond to adhyakṣas and amātyas (as in Kautilya’s Arthaśāstra) and are not really castes but occupations. He probably regards them as castes because the offices of the adhyakṣas and amātyas were generally hereditary or at least he gathered that they were so. Megasthenes’ further statement (pp. 43–44) that ‘no one is allowed to marry out of his own caste or to exercise any calling or art except his own’ shows that the prevailing tendency was that caste had become exclusive and mostly occupational in his day, though there must have been exceptions of which he was not informed.

The ancient writers on dharmaśāstra strive very hard to account for the bewildering ramifications of the caste system from the four varṇas that were spoken of in the śruti (revelation). There is unanimity on the theory that the numerous castes actually found in the country arose from the unions of males of different varṇas with women belonging to varṇas differing from their own. The divergences (and they are
many) among the several smrtikaras relate only to details. The smrti writers had before them the hoary theory of four varnas vouched for by infallible Vedic authority, but they were at the same time quite cognisant of the realities in society viz. the separate existence of numerous castes and sub-castes that had varying claims as regards social status and that were based in popular estimation on birth alone. Therefore, when one criticizes the smrti view of the derivation of numerous castes from the mixture or confusion (sanikara) of the four varnas as purely hypothetical and imaginary, the criticism is true only partially. The smritis were composed in different parts of India at different times and they were meant to supply a popular want, to guide the people and to reflect the prevailing state of society and popular feeling. Therefore, it must be admitted that the numerous castes mentioned in the smritis did exist at the time of the smritis, that the social status of the several castes might have varied from country to country or from epoch to epoch, that the peculiar avocations and means of livelihood assigned to the various castes reflected the real state of things. The element of hypothesis and speculation lies only in the theory of a particular sub-caste having sprung from the union of two persons belonging to two particular varnas or castes.

This description of the origin of the several castes was only indicative of the author’s view or of the accepted view about the social status of those castes in particular localities. There is here, as a matter of fact, great divergence of views among the several authors.

In the first place all writers on dharmaśāstra start with the propositions viz. (1) that the four varnas, brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śudra, are arranged in a descending scale of social status; and (2) that marriage is or was permissible between a male of a higher varna with a woman of a lower varna, but the union of a woman of a higher varna with a male of varna lower than her own is reprehensible and not permitted. There is a third proposition advanced by many writers that a man belongs to a particular varna or jāti by birth only i.e. if born in lawful wedlock of parents both of whom belong to that varna.

121. Śantiparva (297, 7-9) says ‘अनुभवम् वर्णमानम् हुः जन्मम्। अनवोऽवैलक्षिणि नै तै संकेतम्। श्रवणिकीवर्तमानम् तेन नेवेदव्यासस्य। सन्यासां उपस्थितां लोकं विवाहितयं वैश्याम्। अनुभवस्य वर्णं सातारामः सातारामत॥ एते अनुभावं वर्णेऽण्यो ज्ञाते तै वस्तवम्॥’
This is the view held by all medieval writers and digests and it is expressly said that a man belongs to a caste by birth and no actions of his can alter that fact, that several castes are like the species of animals and that caste attaches to the body and not to the soul (vide Sūtaśāṁhitā). When a male of a higher varṇa marries a woman of a lower varṇa, the marriage is said to be anuloma (lit. with the hair, in the natural order) and the offspring is said to be anuloma; when there is a union of a woman of a higher varṇa with a male of a lower varṇa, it is said to be pratiloma (against the hair, i.e. against the natural or proper order) and the children of the union are said to be pratiloma. These two words anuloma and pratiloma (as applied to marriage or progeny) hardly ever occur in the vedic literature. In the Br. Up. (II. 1, 15) and Kausttaki Br. Up. IV. 18 (quoted in note 89 above) the word ‘pratiloma’ is applied to the procedure adopted by a brāhmaṇa of going to a kṣatriya for knowledge about brahman. From this it may possibly be inferred that pratiloma and anuloma might have been employed with reference to marriages also (in the days of the Upaniṣad). Pāṇini (IV. 4. 28) teaches the formation of words from anuloma and pratiloma. They occur in Gautama (IV. 14–15), Baud. Dh. S. (I. 8. 8), Vasiṣṭha (18. 7), Manu (X. 13), Yāj. (I. 95) and other smṛti works.

One important question is whether the theory of anuloma or pratiloma castes presupposes a marriage or only a union (outside marriage) of a man and a woman. The Ap. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 1, 3–4) lays down 122 that a man must marry a virgin of his own varṇa with the rites prescribed by the stūtras and only the son born of such a marriage is entitled to the privileges and occupation of his father, that sexual intercourse with a woman who has been married by another or on whom the proper ceremonies of marriage are not performed or who

122. माखु. X. 5, मित्रप्रथमार्थ 16. 1; या. I. 90. The māṁsaka position is stated by the tattvāvatikā (on Ś. I. 2. 1) ‘न व्यवादनिविद्याविद्याबलाम् मनवान् किष्नदुन्ति।’ न देशाआयतिः सक्षमपूर्वा आभाष्यं न जन्मति: संबंधाः न वदनिनिष्ठाः जाति, किर्ति तत्रं सामाग्रिकस्तितनिविद्याद्य स्वेतसमविन्याः।’; the kutaśāṁhitā (निवन्धावद्यक्षेत्र 12. 51–52) सम्पर्क्यं जन्मन आदिरूपाः कार्यावरिष्टं ग्रामसिद्धिः वयं जातिसाधनं न भावति। साधू विशिष्टं वेदत्क पौरुषमेव न जानना। जापान्य सहाययान्मा जाध्वान्मा नाम जानति। जातार्थa quoted in अन्नोद्वर म. 452.

123. सर्वत्रपृथ्विपरिशरितिः वर्षय गणना: सक्षमान्वमन्विन्यां स्वेतम्। पुरवशाचर्तुमन्विन्यां स्वेतम्। सम्यक्यां जाननार्ते स बिच्छु:। तद्वर्ती दूरवशान्त मुद्र एव। आप. म. स. II. 6. 13. 1, 3 and 4.
belongs to another caste is condemned and that the son (and not the daughter) born of such an union is condemned (through the sin of the parents). So Apastamba looked with disfavour even on marriages called anuloma. He is entirely silent about anuloma and pratiloma castes. It is no doubt true that most ancient writers like Gautama (IV. 1), Vasiṣṭha (I. 24), Manu (III. 12-13), Yāj. (I. 55 and 57) prescribe that a person should by preference marry a girl of his own varna but also allow the marriage of a person with a girl of another varna lower than his own. Yāj. (I. 92) expressly says that the six anuloma castes, mūrdhāvasikta, ambāṣṭha, niṣāda, māhiṣya, ugra, and karana are so called only when they are the offspring of women married by men of higher varṇas. Manu (X. 41) says that the six anuloma castes are entitled to the rites (saṁskāras like upanayana) performed for dvijas, but that the pratiloma castes are like śudras (i.e. even when a pratiloma caste springs from a brāhmaṇa woman and a keśātriya or vaisya male they cannot have upanayana and other rites of dvijas performed for them, though both parents are dvijas). Kaṭṭilya (III. 7) also says that all pratilomas except cāndālas are like śudras; Viśnu says that they are condemned by all Aryas. Devala (quoted by Parāśara-mādhavīya I. 2. p. 122) says that pratilomas are outside the pale of the system of varṇas and are paṭita. The Śrītyarthasāra p. 13 says that anuloma sons and those born of the mūrdhāvasikta and other anuloma castes are dvijātis and are entitled to saṁskāras as dvijātis. Commentators like Kulluka (on Manu X. 11) say that, as no marriage is legally possible between a woman of a higher varna and a male of a lower varṇa, all the pratilomas are born outside lawful wedlock. Gautama (IV. 20) says that all pratilomas are dharmahīna, which is interpreted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 as meaning that they cannot have upanayana and similar saṁskāras of dvijas performed for them, though they are amenable to the rules of morality and entitled to perform vratas and prāyaścittas. Vasiṣṭha, Baudhāyana and several others do not make it clear whether, when they speak of pratilomas, they contemplate offspring of legal

124. ṣārthakāntāh ūṣṇa dhruvāntāt: । कृतीपि III. 7; समितिभाष्यां- । नििविनेता: । विभुषु 16. 3.

125. तेधौ सर्वार्थानां भिषोदय्योपभाष्यानांकुणामोऽत्यसंशास्त्रविभाष्यां सभितां यत्रतदार्थ । द्विभूषयां । अन्नपूर्णे। विभाष्यां संस्कृतिपूर्णे। नमस्ते इति विभाष्यां । तथा सूतर्विक्षेत्रान्तिविशेषाय विभाष्यां । रेदूतस्य संस्कृति । परिष्ठा । I part 2 p. 122; द्विभूषायेन भिञ्चार्थानं। नमस्ते। इति। रेदूतस्य संस्कृति। परिष्ठा । I part 2 p. 13.
marriages or only of illegitimate and adulterous unions. But it will be seen from the list appended below that Uśanas and Vaikhanasas almost always make a distinction between the caste assigned to the offspring of the union of parents of different varṇas, according as there is a marriage between the two or it is only a clandestine, illegitimate or adulterous union. For example, Uśanas says 126 that when there is a marriage between a kṣatriya male and a brāhmaṇa female, the offspring is called sūta, while the offspring of a clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa woman and a kṣatriya male was called rathakāra. So these two authors held that there could be a legal marriage when a woman of a higher varṇa married a male of a lower varṇa. 127 There were several other works like the Sūtasamhitā (Sivamāhāmyakhaṇḍa chap. 12. 12–48) where a similar distinction is made between the children of marriages and clandestine unions. The Mitr, on Yaj. I. 90 says that such progeny as kunda and golas (Manu III. 174), kātina, sahoḍhaja (who are all not due to intercourse in wedlock) are different from savarṇa, anuloma and pratiloma and are to be treated as śūdras and that the kṣetrajas son is to be treated as in a different category (since niyoga is allowed by the smṛtis and by the usage of śiṣṭas) and belongs to the caste of his mother. Aparārka (on Yaj. I. 92 p. 118) does not accept this view and holds that even kātina and sahoḍha may be held to be brāhmaṇas (if the begetter can be proved to have been a brāhmaṇa); while Viśvarūpa on Yaj. II. 133 says that kātina and gudhaja must be deemed to belong to the mother’s caste as the begetter may not be known and that sahoḍhaja (II. 135) is also to be so treated. These several kinds of secondary sons will be treated under inheritance.

A few words must be said about the word jāti. The idea of varṇa was as we have seen based originally on race, culture, character and profession. It takes account mainly of the moral and intellectual worth of man and is a system of classes which appears more or less natural. The ideal of varṇa even in the smṛtis lays far more emphasis on duties, on a high standard of effort for the community or society rather than on the rights and privileges of birth. The system of jātis (castes) lays all emphasis on

126. समर्प अनुशासनाचिन विवेचनाति समानानां। वांपय: वारा निपुदः वार्तमानस्विनिस्तिस्वा॥ आदिः प्राणिनां प्राणिनामभिः। समानानां। समानानां जीवे जीवेनां भाविनां। मयामति:। ओषधं च। ॥। ॥ ॥।

127. Vide Yaj. I. 95 which says that pratilomajas are asat condemned) and anulomajas are sat (good) i. e. entitled to the samāskāras.
birth and heredity and tends to create the mentality of clinging to privileges without trying to fulfil the obligations corresponding to such privileges. The word ‘jāti’ in the sense of caste hardly ever occurs in the Vedic literature. In the Nirukta (XII. 13) it is said ‘after agnicayana (the building of the fire altar), a man should not approach a rāmā (for sexual intercourse); rāmā is so called because she is approached only for pleasure and not for (accumulation of) merit; she is of a dark caste’. Here the word kṛṣṇajātiya occurs with reference to a woman of the śūdra caste. Almost these very words occur in Vasiṣṭha (18. 17-18) where for kṛṣṇa-jātiya the word kṛṣṇavarna is substituted. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 56 (yad-ucyate etc.) quotes these words as a brāhmaṇa text, but there the word is kṛṣṇavarniyā. Therefore, the use of the word jāti in the sense of caste can be traced back at least to the times of the Nirukta. Pāṇini (V. 4. 9) teaches the formation of words like ‘brāhmaṇa-jātiya’ derived from words ending in ‘jāti’ (in the sense of caste). The expression ‘jātidharma’ (rules of castes) occurs in Gautama XI. 20, Vasiṣṭha L. 17 and XIX. 7, Manu I. 118 and VIII. 41 and the word jāti (caste) occurs also in Ap. Dh. S. H. 3. 6. 1, II. 1. 2. 3, Manu (IV. 141, X. 11, 18, 40, 97), Yāj. (I. 95, 361, II. 69, 206, III. 213), Nārada (ṛpādāna 288) and in the vārtika on Pāṇini IV. 1. 137. Varṇa and jāti are sometimes clearly distinguished as in Yāj. II. 69 and 206. But very often they are confounded. In Manu X. 27, 31 the word varṇa is used in the sense of mixed castes (jātis). Conversely the word jāti often appears to be used to indicate ‘varṇa’. Vide Manu III. 15, VIII. 177, IX. 86 and 335, X. 41 and Yāj. I. 89 (in which latter sajāti appears to mean ‘savarṇa’).

Even when anuloma marriages were allowed there is no unanimity among the sages and the smṛtis as to the status of the progeny of such unions. Three different views are found. The first view is that if a male of one varṇa married a female of the varṇa immediately after it, the progeny belonged to the varṇa

128. अर्कित्रिच्या प रामावर्जिती न भवार्क्ष्यं ज्ञानावर्जिती। निश्चल्ल XXII. 18; the words ‘अर्कित्रिच्या ... प्रेषान्’ occur in सामान्यित्वम् 21. 7.

129. गतिगत्रिच्या प रामावर्जिती। कृष्णवर्जित रामाक्षेत्रेष्वेति। निश्चल्ल on या. I. 56.

130. ज्ञानावर्जित समस्तस्मृतिसति। पाणिनी V. 4. 9.
of the father; e.g. Baudh, Dh. S. 132 (I. 8. 6 and I. 9. 3) says that sons born to a person of a savarṇa wife or a wife of the varṇa next to his own are savarṇa i.e. the son of a brahmāna from a wife of the kṣatriya varṇa is a brahmāna. The Anuśāsana-parva 48. 4, Nārada (stripūnśa 106) and Kauṭilya (III. 7) say the same. Gautama IV. 15 as interpreted by Haradatta appears to say that the off-spring of a brahmāna from a kṣatriya wife is called savarṇa, but not the off-spring of a kṣatriya male from a vaisya wife or of a vaisya male from a śūdra wife. Fick (pp. 54-57) shows that even according to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka 'the family of the mother does not matter; the family of the father alone is important'. The second view is that the progeny of anuloma unions is in status lower than the father, but higher than the mother; e.g. Manu X. 6 'sages declare the sons begotten by dvijas on wives of varṇas immediately next to theirs as similar (to the fathers, but not of the same varṇa with the fathers) but tainted by the inferiority of their mothers.' The third view (and this is the common view) is that the progeny of anuloma marriages is of the same varṇa as regards its privileges and obligations as the mother's; e.g. vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 2 132 and Śāṅkha (prose) quoted by the Mit. on Yāj I. 91 and Aparārka (p. 118). A classical echo of this view is found in the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa 134 where king Duṣyanta exclaims aside to himself 'would that this girl were born of the sage from a wife who was not savarṇa'. Medhatithi on Manu X. 6 says that Pāṇḍu, Dhrtarāṣṭra and Vidura being kṣetrajña sons took the caste of their mothers. The Mit. explains the words of Śāṅkha by saying that the off-spring of anuloma marriages such as mūrdhāvasikta are not really different from kṣatriyas, that they have the same saṅskāras but they do not become kṣatriyas etc. and are dubbed by these names to indicate their mixed origin and come to form separate sub-castes. The pratītomas, as said above, are lower in status than any of the two parents.

132. तान्त्रिक चुनः सपूर्णांपत्तिः सवर्णः। माधवपारंदिपारं वावर्णः......, ग्र. I. 8. 6 and I. 9. 3; रात्रिक-वनः स्त्रीव द्वितीयमावर्णं जाते । अवदासन 48. 4; सवर्णा माधवपारं धपावर्णमान्यः। नाकृतु । (सवर्णाः 106); माधवपारंदिपारंत्वम् चुनः सपांत्य एकालाप्त्य अवदासन । कौटिल्य III. 7.

133. अनुकोणात्यातत्त्वादितः । विश्न 16. 2; 'नात्रसम्य क्षरिपथार्थपावर्णम्: क्षरिपथ्य पदवकार! क्षरिपयस्मिन्सद्वारपावर्णम् वैयक यथा स्वातः। वैयकम् क्षस्वर्णवर्णमा- विचा चुन्त्य एव वनात्म! राजा in मिथ्य; on या, I. 91.

134. अथि नाम ज्योतिर्पितायायार्थिपितिश्च मन्या राजाः। माधवपारं I.
The ancient dharmaśātras mention only a few mixed castes. Āp. Dh. S. mentions only cāndāla, paukasa and vāïna. Gautama names five anuloma castes, six pratiloma, one and eight others according to the view of some. Baudhāyana adds to those mentioned by Gautama a few more viz. rathakāra, śvapāka, vāïna and kukkanța. Vasiṣṭha names even a smaller number than Gautama and Baudhāyana. It is Manu (X) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (XVI) that for the first time dilate upon the avocations of the mixed castes. Manu refers to 6 anuloma, 6 pratiloma and 20 doubly mixed castes and states the avocations of about 23; Yāj. names only 13 castes (other than the four varṇas). Usanas names about 40 and gives their peculiar avocations. All the smṛtis taken together hardly mention more than about one hundred castes.

The number of primary anulomas is only six (vide Manu X. 10, Yāj. I. 91–92), but Manu names only three of them, viz. ambaśṭha, niśāda and ugra. The primary pratilomas also are six (vide Manu X. 11–12 and 16–17 and Yāj. I. 93–94) viz. sūta, vaidehaka, cāndāla, māgadha, kṣatr, and āyogava. Further sub-castes are said to arise from the unions of the anulomas and pratilomas with the four varṇas and of the male of one anuloma and the female of another, from the union of pratilomas among themselves and from the union of a male or female of an anuloma caste and the female or male of a pratiśoma caste. For example, Yāj. I. 95 defines rathakāra as the offspring of a māhiṣya male and a karaṇa female, i.e. it is a further mixture between two anuloma castes. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 95 says that upanayana and other savāskāras are performed for the offspring of anuloma persons marrying among themselves. The Smṛtyarthaśāra (p. 13) says the same. Similarly Manu X. 15 says that āvṛta and ābhira spring from the union of a brāhmaṇa with an ugra girl and an ambaśṭha girl respectively (i.e. from the union of a brāhmaṇa with anuloma caste girls). Manu X. 19 says that śvapāka is the offspring of a kṣatr male (a pratiloma) with an ugra female (an anuloma). Manu X. 33 defines maitreyaka as the offspring of a vaidehaka male and an āyogava female (i.e. from parents who are both pratiloma).
smṛti verse quoted\textsuperscript{136} by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 95 says that there are six anulomas, 24 doubly mixed castes (due to the union of the six anulomas with the four varṇas), 6 pratilomas and 24 doubly mixed castes (due to the unions of 6 pratilomas with four varṇas) i.e. in all 60 and further mixtures of these among themselves give rise to innumerable sub-castes. Similarly Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16.7\textsuperscript{137} says that the further mixed castes arising from the unions of mixed castes are numberless. This shows that before the time of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra (i.e. at least about 2000 years ago) numberless castes and sub-castes had been formed and the writers on dharmaśāstra practically gave up in despair the task of deriving them, even though mediately, from the primary varṇas. The same state of things was continued and was rather aggravated by the time of the nibandhakāras. Medhātithi on Manu X. 31 speaks of 60 mixed castes along with the four varṇas and adds that by the intermingling of these endless sub-castes are formed. The Mitākṣarā\textsuperscript{138} on Yāj. I. 95 observes that since the castes springing from the double intermingling of varṇas are innumerable, it is impossible to describe or enumerate them. Similarly the Kṛtyakalpataru in its prakīrtaka topic of vyavahāra section, when dealing with castes, merely quotes several passages from the smṛtis and does not add a word of its own about the castes, their names or avocations in its own day (first half of 12th century). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 94\textsuperscript{139} expressly says that the avocations of the pratilomas (about which Yāj is silent) should be understood from the smṛtis of Uśanas and Manu. Medieval writers on dharmaśāstra usually ignore the treatment in detail of the numerous sub-castes and content themselves with dilating upon the duties of the four varṇas.

There was great diversity of opinion among the smṛtikāras about the derivation and status of the several sub-castes. We find that the same sub-caste is known under five or six different names even so early as the present Manusmṛti.

\textsuperscript{136} गद्वेशनाशे भक्ति वदमये स्मृति समानांकेश्वराः परमात्माः 

\textsuperscript{137} गद्वेशनाशे भक्ति वदमये स्मृति समानांकेश्वराः परमात्माः 

\textsuperscript{138} गद्वेशनाशे भक्ति वदमये स्मृति समानांकेश्वराः परमात्माः 

\textsuperscript{139} गद्वेशनाशे भक्ति वदमये स्मृति समानांकेश्वराः परमात्माः
Manu X. 22 gives seven names for the same caste and Manu X. 23 gives five for another. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 92 explains that these different names are due to difference of locality. There is another difficulty. The same name given to a caste is differently derived by different writers (vide under niṣāda and pārasāva below). For the same sub-caste different names are given in different smṛtis (vide under kṛta and rāmaka). It became difficult to assign any peculiar derivation for groups of people and so Manu (X. 40), Vasistha (18.7) and Anuśāsana-parva 148. 29 laid down that men's sub-caste was to be known from their actions and occupations. This shows that according to most writers castes in the times of the smṛtis were predominantly occupational.

One word that frequently occurs in connection with castes and sub-castes is varṇasaṁkara (or only saṁkara). In Manu X. 12 and 24 the word varṇasaṁkara is used in the plural in the sense of mixed castes, while in Manu X. 40 (and in V. 89) the word saṁkara seems to be used in the sense of 'mixture or intermingling of varṇas'. Gautama (VIII. 3) employs the word saṁkara and says 'on the two (the brāhmaṇa and the king) depends the prosperity (of men), protection, the prevention of mixture (of varṇas) and the (accumulation of) merit (or the observance of dharma). Nārada (stripumāsa 102) says 'to be born from a union in the inverse order of varṇas amounts to varṇasaṁkara;' while Brhaspati quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru appears to apply the word varṇasaṁkara to both anūloma and pratīloma castes.

Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 16) says that those who are born of

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140. अत एव स्वरुपान्तिस्वविशेष्याधिकारन्तसांकुलावसनी वेदमेवन स्वविशेष्याधिकारन्तसांकुलावसनी।
141. एकादशैव वेदां पारिशिकायतनां वेदेभ्यन्तर्विशेष्याधिकारन्तसांकुलावसनी।
142. एकादशैव वेदां पारिशिकायतनां वेदेभ्यन्तर्विशेष्याधिकारन्तसांकुलावसनी।
143. एकादशैव वेदां पारिशिकायतनां वेदेभ्यन्तर्विशेष्याधिकारन्तसांकुलावसनी।
varṇasamāṅkara are called vrātyas. The Mit. on Yāj I. 96 applies the word varṇasamāṅkara to both anuloma and pratiloma progeny. Medhātithi on Manu V. 88 says that the word 'samkarajāta' indicates pratilomas like āyogava and that even though as regards anulomas there is intermingling (of varṇas), yet as they have the privileges of the caste of their mothers, even Manu himself does not apply the word saṅkiriṇayoni to them as seen above (Manu X. 25). Yama quoted in the Krtyakalpataru says 'Varṇasamāṅkara arises by the violation of the restrictions (about marriage); if the proper order of varṇas (i.e. male of higher varṇa marrying a woman of a lower varṇa) is followed, (the offspring) is entitled to be regarded as belonging to the system of varṇas, but if the reverse order is followed it is sin.' Manu (X. 24) says 'mixed castes arise by members of one varṇa having sexual intercourse with women of another varṇa, by marrying women who ought not to have been married (such as a sagoṭra girl) and by neglect of the duties peculiar to one's varṇa'. The Anuśāsanaparva 48. 1 remarks that 'varṇasamāṅkara arises from wealth, greed, desires, uncertainty about the varṇa (of a person) or ignorance about varṇa'. Even in such a philosophical treatise as the Bhagavad-gitā (I. 41-43), it is said 'when women become corrupt (or demoralised), intermingling of varṇas arises; saṅkara necessarily leads the whole family and the destroyer of the family to hell. By reason of these transgressions of the destroyers of families which bring about varṇasamāṅkara, the ancient caste observances and family observances are subverted.'

On account of the great emphasis laid on the prevention of varṇasamāṅkara the śṛṅtis ordain that it is one of the principal duties of the king to punish people if they transgress the rules prescribed for varṇas and to punish men and women if guilty of varṇasamāṅkara. Gautama (XI. 9-10) says 'the king should protect the varṇas and āśramas according to the śāstras and he should make them conform to their duties when they swerve

145. अन्यचारात् धर्मचिन्तामणिभिषेकः मित्रोधः आर्थरेषु : । अन्यत्रादानेच्छ समयम् संकीर्णविहतं महुःपूर्वकालविधियथिययं न धृतादशः । आदिभूमिः सम्मिप्रवेद्य संकीर्णविहतं परिविद्या: मित्रोधोपरतं दुःखति । संघर्षं न मेधा देशु V. 88.

146. अवधूतं तिलोपितं जायते वर्णसंसारं। आदिविषयं वर्णवें मित्रोपायं पालकम् ॥ यस् यथकः मृत्युः (प्रविष्ठस्त, महेर्षिः)।

147. अवधूतोपायादानाः परं नाम नानानविधानं। अन्तःनामात्पि स्तवानं जायते वर्ण-संसारं ॥ अनुशासन 48. 1.
from them;’ Vasistha (19. 7-8) ‘the king paying attention to all these viz. the observances of countries, castes and families should make the four varnas conform to their duties and should punish them when they go astray’; Visnu Dh. S. III. 3 and Yaj. I. 361, Markandeyapaurana 27, Matsyapurana 215. 63 say the same. Narada (stripurusa 113) says ‘when a brahma woman goes astray a candra is born from a sudra male (and the brahma woman); therefore the king should specially protect women from samkaras’. It is on account of this that so early as in the first centuries of the Christian era we see that king Vasishthiputa Sir Purumayi is extolled as having prevented the mixture of the four varnas (E. I. vol. VIII pp. 60-61, ‘vinivatitacatvavana-sakarasa’). That varnasamkaras had gone too far in the opinion of the author of the Mahabharata (Vansarpava 180. 31-33) follows from the following words which are despairingly put in the mouth of Yudhisthira ‘It appears to me that it is very difficult to ascertain the caste of human beings on account of the confusion of all varnas; all sorts of men are always begetting offspring from all sorts of women; speech, sexual intercourse, being born and death—these are common to all human beings; and there is scriptural authority (for this view) in the words ‘We, whoever we are, offer the sacrifice’. Hence those who have seen the truth regard character as the principal thing desired.’ Samkaracarya in his bhasya on Vedantasutra I. 3. 33 remarks that, though in his day varnas and ashramas had become disorganized and unstable as to their dharms, that was not the case in other ages, since otherwise the sstras laying down regulations for them would have to be deemed purposeless or futile.

Gautama (IV. 18-19), Manu (X. 64-65) and Yaj. (I. 96) speak of a peculiar doctrine called Jatyutkarsa and Jatyapakarsa. These passages have given rise to some divergence of interpreta-

148. चापधागै जायन्ते सुदार्शन महामातिर यथ सृजति। वर्षाद्राजः विशेषेन सिंहेन केशवं संकारत्। नारद श्रीयुत 113; vide also nārāda (Mahābhārata 2-6).

149. जातिरथ महामाते महामाते नारायणाऽः संकारताः। सार्वत्रात्श्वेयन धुर्मवधेव नासिंहे सप्तापम्। । वायुपनयः अत्यंत नारायणाऽः सम्यं सुधारं द्रुपादुः। दुधाराय अनमय च य जयामिद्रुपायः।। द्रुपाय कक्षायां विकृतेऽविदुर्यो तत्तदिशाम्। पुराणम् 180. 31-33.

150. द्रुपायाय नारायणैं अध्यात्मिकायाय अपीतकायाय अत्यन्तः। द्रुपाय व्यवस्थापिकाय शासनपर्वतम्। शासनपर्वतम् 10 वैद्यात्मक 1. 3. 33.
tion, but their general sense is clear. Gautama (IV. 18) says that according to the acaryas the anulomas when they marry in such a way that the bridegroom in each stage is higher or lower than the bride they rise to a higher or go down to a lower varna in the 7th or 5th generation (respectively). This is explained by Haradatta as follows: When a brahmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman the daughter born of this marriage is called savarna; if this latter is married to a brahmaṇa and a daughter is born and this latter is again married by a brahmaṇa and if this continues in the same way for seven generations, then when the 7th girl in descent marries a brahmaṇa, whatever child is born of that union belongs to the brahmaṇa varna (though in the preceding generations only the fathers were brahmaṇas and the mothers were all not strictly brahmaṇas, but only savarnās if at all). This is called jātyutkāraṇa (rise in status as a caste). On the other hand, when a brahmaṇa marries a kṣatriya girl and a son is born who is called savarna, then that son marries a kṣatriya girl and has a son and this is continued for five generations, then when the fifth son (in descent) marries a kṣatriya girl, the child born belongs to the kṣatriya varna (though in all the preceding generations the father was higher than kṣatriya and the mother only was a kṣatriya). This is jātyapakāraṇa (fall in status as a caste). The same rule holds good as regards a kṣatriya marrying a vaisya female and a vaisya marrying a śūdra female. The same rule applies among anulomas also e.g. if a savarna (as defined by Gautama) marries an ambaṣṭha girl and a daughter is born who again marries a savarna and this continues for seven generations, then the child of the 7th girl (in descent) from a savarna male becomes a savarna (rises in status); on the other hand if a savarna (offspring of brahmaṇa male and kṣatriya female) marries an ambaṣṭha girl and a son is born and that son marries an ambaṣṭha girl and their son marries an ambaṣṭha girl and this goes on for seven generations, then the child of

151. वर्णालनवद्वाएवायासिद्धान्तां नपञ्चमे पञ्चायमः। वर्णस्थलावानां च। वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै के | वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै वै
the 7th male (in descent) born of an ambaṣṭha wife becomes an ambaṣṭha (i.e., there is jātyapakarṣa as to anulomasa).

According to Manu¹⁵² X. 64 when a brāhmaṇa marries a śūdra woman, the daughter born is pāraśava, and if this pāraśava daughter marries a brāhmaṇa and the daughter of this latter union marries a brāhmaṇa and this continues for seven generations, then the seventh generation will be a brāhmaṇa (i.e., there will be jātyutkarsa). Conversely, if a brāhmaṇa marries a śūdra woman and a son is born, he is a pāraśava and that son marries a śūdra woman and their son again marries a śūdra woman and this goes on for 7 generations, the 7th generation becomes a mere śūdra (there is jātyapakarṣa). It will be seen that this differs from Gautama in several respects. In the first place for both jātyutkarsa and jātyapakarṣa seven generations are prescribed, while in Gautama they are 7 and 5 respectively (according to Haradatta). In the second place according to Gautama the 8th in descent from the first anuloma marriage secures jātyutkarsa, while according to Manu, the 7th secures it. Further Manu is silent about jātyutkarsa when the original parents are anulomas. Besides, the commentators of Manu shorten the period for rise or fall in jāti as stated below. Manu X. 65 extends the same rules to the offspring of the marriage of a kṣatriya with a vaiśya woman and of a vaiśya with a śūdra woman. Medhātithi and Kullūka extend these express words of Manu further by explaining that if a brāhmaṇa marries a vaiśya female and a daughter is born and she again marries a brāhmaṇa then in the fifth generation there will be jātyutkarsa; conversely if a son is born from a brāhmaṇa and a vaiśya wife, and he marries

¹⁵² The word 'yuga' is understood by Medhātithi (on Manu X. 64) and Kullūka to mean 'janna'; Sarvajña-nārāyana understands it to mean 'yugma' (pair of spouses). The meaning (yugma) is attached to 'yuga' by Aparārka on Yāj. I. 96 (p. 119). In the S. B. E. vol. II p. 196 Dr. Bühler compares Āp. Dh. S. II. 5,10. 10-11 with Gautama IV. 22. But the great scholar is not accurate here. Āp. does not speak of progeny of mixed marriages rising to higher status or being degraded to lower status after several generations; he rather speaks of a śūdra rising higher and higher in successive births. In the Anuvāsanaparva (chap. 27. 5-6, 28. 6-13) it is said that after numberless births śūdras and others become vaiśyas and so on. Vanaparva (212. 11-12) gives expression to the same idea. युगोत्साहे वि जन्मेण साधुपरिपातितेत:। वनात्मक त्वमः साधुप वातिष्ठेन तृप्तेन व ॥ अचे वलिलोकम वामापालिनादेः। सन्धि 212. 11-12.
a vaisya female and this goes on, then in the fifth generation
the son will be a vaisya (i.e. there will be jatyapakarsa).
Similarly if a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman then there
is jatyutkarsa or jatyapakarsa in three generations.

Yājñavalkya (I. 96) speaks of two kinds of jatyutkarsa
or jatyapakarsa viz. one due to marriage (as in Manu and
Gautama) and another due to the avocation followed. 'It should
be understood that there is rise in caste in the 7th or even in
the 5th generation; if there is inversion as to the avocations, then
there is corresponding similarity (of varṇa in the 7th or even 5th
generation).' This is elaborated by the Mitakṣarā as follows:
If a brāhmaṇa marries a śūdra woman and a daughter is born she
is a niṣādī; if this latter marries a brāhmaṇa and a daughter is
born and she in turn marries a brāhmaṇa and this goes on for six
generations, then the child of the 6th girl (in descent) becomes
a brāhmaṇa (he being 7th in descent); similarly if a brāhmaṇa
marries a vaisya woman and a girl is born, she is an ambasṭha;
if the latter marries a brāhmaṇa and a daughter is born and
this goes on in the same way, then the fifth girl in descent has a
child (from a brāhmaṇa husband) which is the 6th in descent
from the original anuloma marriage and which then becomes
a brāhmaṇa. If a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman and a
daughter is born who is called mūrdhāvasikā (Yāj. I. 91) and
she marries a brāhmaṇa, then the fourth in descent marrying
a brāhmaṇa has a child (5th in descent), then that child becomes
a brāhmaṇa. Similarly, if a kṣatriya married a śūdra female
and a daughter was born, she was called ugra, then jatyutkarsa
by marrying a higher male took place in the 6th generation.
If a kṣatriya married a vaisya woman, the daughter born was
a māhiṣyā and jatyutkarsa took place in the 5th generation.
If a vaisya married a śūdra woman, the daughter of the marriage
is a karani and if she marries a vaisya, then in the fifth
generation there would be jatyutkarsa. Certain peculiar
avocations and activities are prescribed for the four varṇas.
Each varṇa may in times of difficulty follow the occupation
peculiar to the caste immediately below it, but should not
follow the avocations peculiar to the higher varṇas; he must
however revert to his proper avocation when the difficulty is

153. आयुर्वधात्रूत्त श्रेष्ठ: सस्मे प्रवैधिकर्ता । भवेश्च नास्तिनां सर्वनां पुर्ववर्तवायर्योऽवर्तबोधृः । या. I. 96.

154. अनवेगंतः सर्वदन्ति श्रीर्वीर्यं हृदिनातिशिल्पं । न तु क्रियात्माच्यायस्तिः ।
वस्त्रिः II 22-23.
over (vide Vasiṣṭha II. 13-23, Viṣṇu Dh. S. II. 15, Yāj. I. 118-120, Gautama X. 1-7 &c.). If a brāhmaṇa begins to follow the avocations peculiar to a śūdra and has a son, who does the same and this goes on continuously for seven generations, the 7th becomes a śūdra (by caste). If a brāhmaṇa begins to follow the avocations peculiar to a vaiśya or a kṣatriya then in the 5th or 6th generation respectively there is fall in caste (i.e. the 5th or 6th becomes respectively a vaiśya or kṣatriya). Similarly if a kṣatriya follows the avocation of a vaiśya or śūdra and this goes on continuously, then the 5th or 6th (respectively) becomes a śūdra or vaiśya. Similarly if a vaiśya takes to the work peculiar to śūdras, then the fifth generation becomes śūdra.

Baud. 155 Dh. S. (I. 8. 13-14) gives another illustration of jātyutkāraṇa. He says 'if a niśāda (the son of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra wife) marries a niśādī (and this goes on continuously), then the fifth generation becomes free of the taint of a śūdra status, he can have upanayana performed for him and his son (6th from the original niśāda pair) can have a vedic sacrifice performed for him.'

These provisions would considerably lessen the rigour of the caste system based purely on birth. But one feels grave doubts whether such a method of jātyutkāraṇa or jātyapakāraṇa (particularly the one based on occupation) was or could be ever enforced in actual life. It would have been impossible to remember descent in a particular way for five or seven generations. The want of unanimity among the original smṛtikāraṇas and the commentators also points in the direction that the method advocated, though it might have originally some slight basis in fact, was only a hypothesis and an ideal. Hardly any examples of jātyutkāraṇa in the way set out by Manu or Yāj. occur in the literature on dharma-sāstra or in inscriptions. In the inscriptions we have authentic cases of inter-caste marriages only, but hardly anything further 156. From the Talgunda pillar inscription of king Kākusthavarman of the Kadamba family we learn that the Kadambas were originally of brāhmaṇa lineage, that the founder of the family was a brāhmaṇa.

155. नियतात्र निबोधनम् जातिवर्गार्थम् उपत्सिक । तवप्रवृत्तत्व वानवेद ।

156. Vide my paper published in the Journal portion of 38 Bombay Law Reporter on 'Inter-caste marriages in modern India, in the smṛtis and epigraphic records,' where several instances of inter-caste marriages are cited.
Mayūrasarman, who became exasperated with the Pallavas of Kāñcipuram and took up the sword to conquer the earth, that his descendants applied the affix ‘varman’ to their names (as if they were kṣatriyas, according to Manu II, 32) and Kakusthavarman (4th in descent from Mayūrasarman) married his daughters to Gupta and other kings. This shows that an originally brāhmaṇa family came to look upon itself as kṣatriya by virtue of pursuing the profession of arms and governing the people. In the Mahābhārata we meet with stories of kings who became brāhmaṇas. For example, Anuśāsana 30 speaks of Vitahavya, a king, as having become a brāhmaṇa; similarly Śalya (39, 36-37) speaks of Arśṭiṣeṇa, Sindhudvipa, Devāpi and Viśvāmitra as having become brāhmaṇas at a sacred spot on the Sarasvatī. In the Purāṇas also there are stories of kings like Viśvāmitra, Māndhātā, Samārthī, Kapi, Vadhryaśva, Purukutsa, Arśṭiṣeṇa, Ajañḍha and others as having risen to the status of brāhmaṇas. These are mythical sages and their rise is not stated to have been due to the principle of jātyutkāra. Ibbetson (Report on the census of the Punjab 1881, pp. 174-176) notes that brāhmaṇas following certain professions became degraded and that the caste was changed.

That the professional castes were wealthy and well organized follows from the dharmasāstra works and epigraphic records. In this connection the words Ārṇa, pūga, gana, vrāta and saṅgha deserve to be carefully studied. All these were called samūha (group) or varga according to Kātyāyana. These

159. Compare the following lucid note of the purāṇaśāstra I. part 2 p. 122: dharmikasānantakṣara paribhāṣāya prakāśitam eva bhūte samāvantārṇaḥ tuṁe āraṇīya-kṣetraṁo bhūte saṁvidāṁ kṣetraṁ ।
words occur in the Vedic literature, but the sense is generally ‘a group’ and there is no special meaning attached. ‘Śreni’ occurs in the Rg. I. 163. 10 (like flamingoes the horses press forward in rows or groups); both vrāta and gaṇa occur in Rg. III. 26. 6, V. 53. 11 and in numerous other places. The Kaśyaptaki Br. 16, 7 speaks of Rudra as pūga (as he is the head of the band of Maruts). Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 26 quotes a Brāhmaṇa passage about a group (saṅgha) of brahmacārins going about for alms. Panini teaches the formation of derivatives from pūga, gaṇa, saṅgha (V. 2. 52), from vrāta (V. 2. 21). In his time it appears the words had acquired specific meanings. The Mahābhāṣya explains (on Panini V. 2. 21) that vrātas are groups formed by men of various castes with no fixed means of livelihood but subsisting by the might (or strength) of their bodies (by bodily labour of various kinds). The Kāśika explains pūgas as associations of men of different castes with no fixed professions, who are solely bent on making money or seeking pleasure. Kautīlya in one place distinguishes between soldiers and śrenīs (guilds) and in another place says that the guilds of kṣatriyas in Kāmbhoja and Surāśṭra subsist by the profession of arms and vārtā (agriculture). Vas. Dh. S. XVI. 15 says that boundary disputes are to be settled by the evidence of the old men in the village or town or of guilds (śreni) when there is conflict of documentary evidence. Viśṇu Dh. S. V. 167 prescribes banishment for him who embezzles the wealth of associations (gaṇa) and who transgresses the conventions made by them. Manu (VIII. 219) has a similar rule about village and local associations (saṅgha). The above words are variously explained by the several commen-

161. वस. इत्य अध्यात्मिको वत्ते वधालिकु सैद्धान्तमत्ता: । स. I. 163. 10.
162. पृष्ठे व रहुः। तवें स्तेण प्रगेन समर्थवति। कौशीक्षा: भा. 16. 7.
164. अत्यन्तं जीवतं । पा. V. 2. 21 (अतील)। वधालिकु सैद्धान्तमत्ता: । पा. V. 2. 52.
165. अध्यात्मिको अध्यात्मिको अध्यात्मिको सतत्स: सतत्स: । तथा कर्म वातां तेन बालकमन्त्रां जीवलिति वानतिना:। सतत्स: vol. II. p. 374 (on पा. V. 2. 21)। काश्यके जातिव: अध्यात्मिको अध्यात्मिको सतत्स: पृष्ठे।। काश्यके on पा. V. 2. 21.
166. आदिपालयं: अध्यायः वहे में अन्तः प्रथम:। अर्थेन्द्र । VII. 1. p. 265। काश्यके अध्यायः अध्यात्मिको सतत्स: पृष्ठे।। काश्यके on पा. V. 2. 21.
tators (vide my notes to the translation of Kātyāyana verses 167 678–682 of that reconstructed sūta). Kātyāyana says 'Naigama is an association of citizens of the same city, vrāta is a company of soldiers carrying various arms, pūga is an association of traders and the like, gaṇa is a group of brāhmaṇas, saṅgha is a body of Baudhāyas or Jainas; and bands of cāndālas and śvapacās are called guṇa.' Yāj. (I 361) directs the king to punish kulās, castes, śrenis, gaṇas, if they transgress their rules (of conduct or business) and the Mit. explains śreni as a guild of sellers of betel leaves and the like and gaṇa as of 'helābukas' (horse-dealers); while Yāj. II. 192 and Nārada 168 (samayasyānapākarṇa 2) require the king to prevent the breach of the conventions of śreni, naigama, pūga, vrāta, gaṇa and to confirm them in their traditional occupations. Yāj. II. 30 says that pūgas and śrenis had authority to investigate disputes and that the pūga was a higher tribunal than the śreni. The Mit. on this explains that pūga is an association of people of different castes and different occupations that stay in one locality, while a śreni is a group of people of different castes, that subsist by the occupation of one caste and gives 'hedābukas' 'tāmbūlikas' (betel sellers), 'kuvindas' (weavers) and 'carmakāras' (shoe-makers) as examples of śrenis. In the Harsa stone of Chāhamāna Vīgraharāja (E. I. vol. II. p. 124) there is a reference to one dramaā for each horse given to 'hedāvikas.' In the Nasik Inscription No. 15 (E. I. vol. VIII p. 88) we are told that in the reign of the Abhira king Iśvarasena 1000 kārśāpaṇas were deposited with an association of potters as a permanent donation yielding interest, 500 with a guild of oilmen and 2000 with a guild of watermen (udaka-yantra-śreni) for medicines to be given to sick bhikṣus. No. 9 and No. 12 of the inscriptions at Nasik also contain reference to deposits of money with the guild of weavers. The Mathurā Brāhmi inscription of Huvigaka's reign mentions a guild of flour-makers (samitakara, vide E. I. vol. 21 p. 55 at p. 61). The Junnar Buddhist cave Inscription (A. S. W. I. vol. IV p. 97) refers to an investment of monies with the guild (śreni) of bamboo-workers and of braziers (kāśakāra). The Indore copperplate of Skandagupta (of the Gupta saṃvats 146) speaks of the deposit with the guilds of the

167. These verses are quoted in the विवरणसूत्रकर pp. 618–669, रघुविंशः, वालिस्तोलिः p. 426., परित. मात. (on 17वा.) p. 352 &c.
168. पृथ्वीराजसौभाग्यपुरुषसाधारितुं संस्कृतसमर्थ राजाः कुमार जनमवे तथा II पार्थ (संस्कृतसमर्थ 2).
oilmen of Indrapura for permanently securing a supply of two *palas* of oil (C. I. I. vol. III p. 70). Similarly it is said that a guild of silk weavers from Lāṭa (southern Gujerat) came to Daśapura (Daser in Malwa) and built a temple of the sun in the Mālava year 494 i. e. 437-38 A. D. (C. I. I. vol. III p. 81 = I. A. vol. 15 p. 194). These examples show that about the first centuries of the Christian era such castes as woodworkers, oilmen, betel sellers and weavers that are at present very low in the hierarchy of castes had very efficient caste guilds, so famous for their organization, integrity and stability that people deposited with them thousands for permanent services to objects of charity.¹⁶⁹

We shall now append a list of several castes enumerated or mentioned in smṛti and other dharmaśāstra works from about 500 B. C. to 1000 A. D. in alphabetical (Sanskrit) order. They are not given in a tabular form owing to numerous contradictory statements in the smṛtis themselves. References are given only to a few smṛtis, the principal ones drawn upon being the Dharmaśāstras, Manu, Yāj., Vaik. smāra-sūtra X. 11-15, Uśanas, the Sūtasamhitā (Siva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa chap. 12). It is hoped that the list is fairly exhaustive for the smṛti period. It will be noticed that many of the caste names collected here still occur under the same forms or under slightly modified forms of the names.

Andhra. Vide above note 118 quoting the Ait. Br. Manu X. 36 says it was a low subcaste sprung from Vaidehaka father and Kāravara mother and that Andhrs were to live outside the village and to subsist (X. 48) by killing wild beasts. In the edicts of Aśoka the Andhrs are associated with Pulindas (vide Rock Edict No. 13). The Udyogaparva (160.103) mentions Andras (probably as people of Andhradesa) along with Dravidas and Kāñcyas. In the Nālanda plate of Devapāladeva (E. I. vol. 17 p. 321) meda, andhraka and cāndāla are spoken of as the lowest castes. In Orissa one scheduled caste is noted as Ādi-Andhra (vide Sch. C. O. 1936).

Antya. According to Vas. Dh. S. 16.30, Manu IV. 79, VIII. 68, Yāj. I. 148, 197, Atri 251, Likhita 92, verse Āpastamba (III. 1) this word is a generic appellation for all lowest castes

¹⁶⁹ Vide ‘Local Government in Ancient India’ by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji pp. 29-34, 44 for pūga, śreṣṭi, gāna and saṅgha. Unfortunately some of the references (as printed) are wrong and not in point.
like the cāndāla. Vide the chapter on 'untouchables'. The word 'bāhya' has the same sense. Ṣap. Dh. S. I. 3. 9. 18 says that there is a cessation of Vedic study on the day on which bāhya santer a village; vide also Nārada (ṛṇādana 155), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16.14.

Antyaja. This word is applied to all lowest castes like the cāndāla in Manu IV. 61, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 36.7, Yāj. I. 273, Brhad-yama (quoted in Mit. on Yāj. III. 260). In Manu VIII. 279 the word is used in the sense of 'śūdra'. Various enumerations of the subdivisions of antyajas are found in the smṛtis. Atri 199 enumerates\(^\text{170}\) seven antyajas viz. rajaka (washerman), cārmakāra (worker in hides), nāṭa (dancer caste, represented in the Deccan by Kolhātis), burudā (worker in bamboos), kaivarta (fisherman), meda, bhilla. This verse is quoted as Apastamba's by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 265, while Aparākara p. 1123 ascribes it to Atri. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 260 distinguishes between two groups of antyajas, viz. the one quoted above which it says is not so low as another group of seven, which are called antyāvasāyins,\(^\text{171}\) viz. cāndāla, śvapaca (eater of dog flesh), kṣatrī, svāta, vaidehika, māgadha and āyogava. In the Mahābhārata (Śānti 101. 19) reference is made to antyaja soldiers and Nīlakaṇṭha explains that they were the kaivartas and bhillas of the border regions. According to the Sarvasvatvilāsa (p. 74) Pittamahā speaks of the seven castes of rajaka and others as prakṛtis.\(^\text{172}\) Is it possible that the Prākṛta languages were originally so called because they were spoken by these castes called prakṛtis? In the Sangamner plate of Bhillama II dated śake 922 (E. I. vol. II. p. 220) a village is granted with eighteen prakṛtis (meaning probably the eighteen guilds of washermen and others). The Viramitrodaya (vyavahāra p. 12) explains that śrenis mean the eighteen low castes such as the rajaka. This shows that these low castes had risen in social status in the medieval ages by their organization and

\(^{170}\) रन्दकामकाठवं नवे सुदुः परं च। कैवरम्यावविम्माश्वतं सति ते अययव। सुनु: \(\text{अति 199, अहिमिक्} \text{ (Jiv. I. p. 554), यम 33 (Anand. ed.). Some ms. read} \text{रुक्मच फले के से देखे note 202 below.}

\(^{171}\) अययव। बङ्कक अश्वद प्रसिद्ध वैदिकित्वम् अधिकार: \(\text{मागवनधष्टी वै वहितुचाबारम्} \text{मध्यमाधियमस् सं: की स्त्रीतीयो:} \text{सिन्धुव। रावणादिनि धर्मितीतिः राजसचर्मकारान्त्र बुध वैवर्तकेश्वरमित्रादिव:} \text{संस्कारितास प. 74.}
wealth. The Veda-Vyāsa smṛti (I. 12–13) enumerates twelve castes by name as antyajas and adds that all those who eat cow’s flesh are also antyajas.¹⁷³

Antāvasāyin or Ancyāvasāyin. Manu IV. 79 separately mentions ‘antyas’ and ‘antyāvasāyins’ and Manu X. 39 says that the antyāvasāyin is the offspring of a cāndāla male from a nīsāda female, that he is condemned even by all ‘bāhyas’ (untouchables) and stays in a cemetery. Gautama 20. 1 and 23. 32 mentions ‘antyāvasāyin (and -yini). Vas. Dh. S. 18. 3 holds that the antyāvasāyin is the offspring of a śūdra from a vaisya woman. The Bhāradvāja-śrauta sūtra (XI. 22. 12) forbids the study of the Veda in the presence of the antyāvasāyin. The Anuśāsana-parva (22. 23) speaks of Medas, Pulkasas and Antāvasāyins (the printed text is corrupt). Sānti (141. 29–32) gives a graphic description of a hamlet of cāndālas and calls them ‘antyāvasāyas’ (in verse 41). Nārada (nādana 182) says that an antyāvasāyin is not eligible as a witness. Some modern works like the Jātviveka (D. C. Ms. No. 347 of 1887–91) say that Dom in modern times is the antyāvasāyin of the smṛtis.

Abhiṣikta — See under Mūrdhāvasikta.

Ambaṣṭha — (same as Bhrijakaṇṭha).

In Ait. Br. (chap. 39. 7) king Āmbaṣṭha is said to have performed an Āṣvamedha sacrifice. In Pañ. VIII. 3. 97 the word Ambaṣṭha is derived and on Pañ. IV. 1. 170 Āmbaṣṭha (king?) is cited by Pat. as an example derived from Ambaṣṭha (a country). It is a question whether the caste of Ambaṣṭhas derived its name from a country. Karṇaparva (6. 11) mentions a king Ambaśṭha. In Baudh. Dh. S. I. 9. 3, Manu X. 8, Yaj. I. 91, Uṣanas 31, Nārada (striputra s. v. 107) Ambaṣṭha is an anuloma sprung from the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a vaisya woman, while according to Gautama 4. 14 as interpreted by Haradatta he is the offspring of a kṣatriya from a vaisya woman. Manu X. 47 prescribes the profession of medicine for him and Uṣanas ¹⁷⁴ (31–32) says that he may subsist by agriculture or may be a fire-dancer or he may be a herald (? banner proclaimer)

¹⁷³. ज्ञेयावते भोजी मिर्चिले राजा: पुत्रावें ना। बिनार्दी नेपुरवाणाती बुद्धौऽपयम्- नागरधिकाः। पुरुषवाणाशास्वादिवास! ये चालो ज्ञेयावतन्। एवं संगमवाणाशास्वादिबुद्धोऽपयम्। नीरवमुः न वेदान्ताः। इंद्राणीं। I. 12–13. ‘एषोरो रजाकालावासीयानां नात्र’ वैरिकलिब obsolete (अभवरा p. 12).

¹⁷⁴. कुलकालातीती जमिनस्य भूमिक्षणपरष्क:। धर्मविष्कारा पाधि अवसरः शंकर- जितेन्द्र: (संस्कृति? )। एकाणु 31–32.
and live by surgery. Vaik. 10. 12 has almost the same words; the Sahyādri-khaṇḍa (26. 40-41) says the same. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 19. 14 says that amaśṭha and sālyakṛta are synonymous. The Baidyas of Bengal came to be the amaśṭhas of Manu (vide Risley’s ‘People of India’ p. 114).

Āyaskāra (blacksmith). In the Vedic literature we have ayastāpa (heater of ayas, probably any metal). Vide under karakāra and karmāra. Patañjali on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 mentions him as a śūdra along with taksān (Mahābhāṣya, vol. I. p. 475).

Avariṇa. Devaḷa quoted by Aparārka (p. 118 on Yāj. I. 92) says that he is born of the illegitimate connection between a married woman and a male of the same caste and he becomes a śūdra. The Śūdra-kamalākara 175 (p. 247) cites from the Smṛti-kaumudi a verse of the Ādityapurāṇa to the same effect.

Avira. According to the Sūtaśāṅkhī he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaiśya female.

Āpita. According to the Sūtaśāṅkhī he is the offspring of brāhmaṇa from a Dausyaṇḍi.

Ābhīra. According to Manu X. 15 he is the child of the union of a brāhmaṇa with an amaśṭha girl. The Mahābhāṣya (Mausalaparva 7. 46-63 and 8. 16-17) states that the ābhīras were dasyus and mlecchas who attacked Arjuna after the great war in the land of the five rivers and carried away Vṛṣṇi women. The Sabhāparva (51. 12) mentions ābhīras with Pāradi and the Āśvamedhika (29. 15-16) says (just as Manu X. 43-44 do) that the Ābhīras, the Dravidas and others became śūdras by non-contact with brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhāṣya expressly states that the ābhīras are not a sub-caste included under the genus śūdra but that they are a caste distinct from śūdras. 176 The Kāmasūtra (V. 5. 30) names an ābhīra king Kottarāja. Daṇḍin in his Kāvyādāra (I. 36) says that Apabhramśa is the appellation of the speech of ābhīras and the like.

175. ॥ ॥ तत सम्बन्धिता ज्ञानी सजीवत ॥ अस्तित्व अनुसार ॥ तत वक्तव्यायम् ॥

176. ॥ तत सम्बन्धिता ज्ञानी सजीवत ॥ अस्तित्व अनुसार ॥ तत वक्तव्यायम् ॥
in poetry. The Amarakośa says that they are cow-herds and that the ābhira wife of a Mahāśūdra is called Ābhīrī. The Ābhīras became absorbed in Hindu society and we find that an Ābhīra senāpati Rudrabhūti in the year 103 (181-82 A.D.) under king Rudrashīma, son of Rudradāman, built a well (E. I. vol. 16 p. 235) and in the Nasik cave No. 15 there is an inscription of king Īśvarasena, a son of Ābhīra Śivadatta and Mādharī (i.e. the mother was of the Māthara gotra). Vide E. I. vol. 8. p. 88. Ābhīras are called ahirs in modern times. Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 21 pp. 430-433, Enthoven’s ‘Tribes and castes of Bombay’ vol. I. p. 17 ff.

Āyogava. Vide Āyogū above (p. 43) from Vedic literature. According to Gaut. IV. 15, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 4, Manu X. 12, Kauṭ. III. 7, Anuśūsana 48. 13, Yaj. I. 94 this is a pratiloma caste sprung from the union of a śūdra male and a vaiśya female; while Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 7), Uśanas 12, Vaik. X. 14 say that it springs from the union of a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female. Vas. Dh. S. (18. 3) gives antyāvasāyin as the name of the caste sprung from a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and pulkasa as the name of one sprung from a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female. His avocation (Manu X. 48) is to pare wood, while Uśanas (verse 13) says he is a weaver or subsists by making vessels of bronze or by cultivating paddy or by dealing in cloth. According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 8 and Agnipurāṇa (151. 15) he is to make his living by going to the stage. The Sahyādrikiḥpanḍa says (26. 68-69) that he works in stones and bricks, makes pavements and whitewashes walls i.e. he is the modern Pāṭhairvaṭa (in the Deccan).

Āvantya. Same as Bhūrjakaṇṭha (Manu X. 21).

Ātika. According to Vaik. X. 12 he is the child of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaiśya female and deals in horses.

Āhīndika. According to Manu X. 37 he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from a vaidehi female i.e. he is a double pratiloma caste. Kullṭaka says that his avocation according to Uśanas is to prevent strangers from trespassing on places where offenders are kept imprisoned. Manu X. 36 shows that the same caste is called Kārāvāra when it follows the craft of a carmakāra.

Ugra. For Vedic reference see above (p.45). According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 5), Manu X. 9, Kauṭ. III. 7, Yaj. I. 92, Anuśūsana 48. 7 he is an anuloma offspring of a kṣatriya male from a śūdra
woman, while according to Uśanas (verse 41) he is the offspring of the union of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 20) allows a pupil to bring wealth from a śūdra or an ugra when the teacher is in distress or difficulties. Gaut. 4. 14 (as explained by Haradatta) says that ugra is the offspring of a vaisya from a śūdra female. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 6. 18. 1) says that a brāhmaṇa may accept the gift of money, corn like paddy, flesh of deer, house, field, hay for oxen from an ugra. Manu X. 49 says that the ugra should subsist by catching and killing animals that hide in holes, while Uśanas (verse 41) states that he is to be the staff-bearer of the king and to carry out the punishments inflicted on offenders. Vide Vaik. 10. 13. According to the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa and Śūdrakamalākara (p. 255) he is called 'Rajpūta'. In the Jātiviveka (the D. C. collection of 1887-1891 No. 347) he is called Rāvut.

Udbhandhaka. According to Uśanas (verse 15) he is the offspring of the union of a sūnika and a ksatriya woman, subsists by washing clothes and is an untouchable. Vaik. 10. 15 says he is the offspring of a khanaka and a ksatriya woman.

Upakrūṣṭa. According to Āsv. śr. sūtra (II. 1) he does not belong to the dvijātis, but is authorized to perform the vedic rite of agnyādhēya and the commentary explains that he is a vaisya following the profession of a carpenter.

Odra. Vide Manu X. 43-44. Odra is a country corresponding more or less to modern Orissa. Most of the names of people mentioned in Manu X. 44 are derived from countries. Vide note on Khaṣa (p. 79) and see Sahāparva 51. 23.

Kāṭakāra. According to Uśanas (45) and Vaik. 10. 13 he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a vaisya and a śūdra female.

Karana. According to Gaut. (IV. 17 the view of some ācāryas) and Yāj. I. 92, he is the child of the marriage of a vaisya and a śūdra woman (i.e. he is an anuloma). Manu (X. 22) says that a ksatriya who is a vrātya (i.e. for whom no upanayana has been performed) has from a similar woman a child variously called Jhalla, Malla, Niccivi (Lichchivi?), Nāṭa, Karaṇa, Khaṣa, Dravida. Adiparva 115. 43 tells us that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had from a vaisya female a karana son named Yuyutsu. Kṣirasvāmī on Amara says that karana also denotes a group of officers like kāyasthas and adhyakṣas (superintendents). The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 49-51) says he is the same as
cāraṇa or vaṭālīka and his business is to sing the praises of kings and brāhmaṇas and study the science of erotica.

Karmakāra. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51, 14) mentions this caste. It is most probably the same as karmāra. But Śaṅkha (prose) quoted by Aparārka p. 115 separately mentions in the same passage karmakāra and karmāra.

Karmāra. For vedic references vide (p. 43) above. This caste appears in the gana kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3, 118). Manu IV. 215 mentions it. In Bengal the Lohar is a scheduled caste (vide Sch. C. O. 1936).

Kāṃsyakāra. (modern kāṃṣāra in Marathi) Mentioned by Nārada (ṛṇādāna 274) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. X. 4 in connection with the balance ordeal.

Kākaśvaca. Mentioned in Uṣanas (50) as doing the work of bringing grass for horses.

Kāmboja. Vide Manu X. 43-44. The country of Kāmboja was known to Yāska (Nirukta II. 2) and Pāṇiṇi (IV. 1, 175). Udyogaparva 160, 103, Droṇa 121, 13 mention Kāmbojas with Śakas. Vide under Yavana.

Kāyastha. Heated controversies have raged in medieval and modern times about the origin and status of kāyasthas and the bitterness is reflected in the decisions of the Indian courts also. In Bholanath v. Emperor178 the Calcutta High Court held that the kāyasthas of Bengal were śūdras and went so far as to hold that a kāyastha could marry a Dom female. But in Asita Mohan v. Nirode Mohan179 the Privy Council left open the question whether the kāyasthas of Bengal were śūdras. On the other hand in Tulsi Ram v. Bihari Lal180 and in Ishwari Prasad v. Rai Hari Prasad181 the Allahabad and Patna High Courts respectively held that the kāyasthas were dvijas and not śūdras. In Subrao v. Radha 52 Bom. 497 at p. 504-506 this conflict of decisions is referred to.

The word kāyastha does not occur in the ancient dharma-sūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, or Vasistha nor

177 Vide for further details my paper on ‘the Kāyasthas’ in the New Indian Antiquary for 1939 vol. I. pp. 739-743.
178 I. L. R. 51 Cal. 488.
179 L. R. 47 I. A. 140,145.
180 12 All. 328.
181 6 Patna 506.
in the Manusmṛti. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. VII. 3 defines a public
document (rājasākṣika) as one written in the royal court or office
by a kāyastha appointed by the king and attested by the hand
of the superintendent of the office. These words suggest that
the kāyastha was an officer and that there is nothing about a caste
here. Yāj. I. 322 calls upon the king to protect the subjects
from the harassment of cātas (rogues), thieves, bad characters,
desperadoes and the like and particularly of kāyasthas. The
Mit. explains that kāyasthas are accountants and scribes, are
favourites of the king and very cunning. Uśanās 183 (35)
holds the kāyasthas to be a caste and gives an uncomplimen-
tary dērivation of the name by saying that it is compounded of
the first letters of kāka (crow), Yama and sthapati to convey
the three attributes of greed, cruelty and the spoliation (or paring),
characteristic of the three. The Veda–Vyāsa smṛti 184 (I. 10–11)
includes the kāyastha among śūdras along with barbers, potters
and others. Sumantu quoted in the Par. M. II part I p. 383
makes the food of a lekhaka along with that of oilmen and
others unfit for a brāhmaṇa 185. Lekhaka is obviously a caste
here, but whether it is the kāyastha caste is doubtful. Brhas-
pati as quoted in the Śrūtricandrikā (vyavahāra) speaks of the
ganaka and lekhaka as two persons to be associated with a
judge in a court of justice and says they were to be dvajās. Vide
also Aparārka p. 600. Therefore both these were only officers and
not members of a particular caste. In the Mṛochakāṭika (Act IX)
a śresthīn and kāyastha are associated with the judge. So the
kāyastha seems to be the same as the lekhaka of Brhaspati and
as a mere official. In the first centuries of the Christian era the
kāyastha was merely an officer and the word was possibly derived
from or is a Sanskrit approximation of some foreign word for
an officer, though in some parts of the country (as shown by
Uśanās and Veda–Vyāsa) the kāyasthas also had come to form
a caste in medieval times.

182. राजाविकारणे तंत्रिकार्यकलान्त्वम् तदवक्षराकार्योक्ति ततज्ञातिकाम्। निष्णु–
यजुः ्महायत् VII. 3.

183. कायास्त्रेष्य वर्गान्तर वाच्याद्यं त्वयं विकार्यम् कुमानं। आश्वासनं संस्कृतं कायस्य इति
निर्देशस्तु। ऊष्णम् ॥ ३५।

184. यथाविश्वासी नामिता गोप असाम: कुमारस्वरूपम्। विविधं फलादाय कायास्त्रादाय
कुमारविधिः। पृवी जनान्तर सम्भवस्बम्म। सत्रमित्रम: कौशलस्मिन्म। निवद्यन्तु: ॥ यजुः ्महायत् I. 10–11.

185. अभिन्नमा पीठमविन्दूः उपेश्वरूपकार्योन्निपत्तिः चालाकवत्ती इत्यथा लालेनक-
कलासमुपस्तम्यनिर्देशायां। सुमं न प्रशस्त:। महायत् II. 1. p. 383.
Though numerous officers are mentioned in the inscriptions of the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, the kāyastha hardly ever figures among them. One of the earliest inscriptions where the word kāyastha occurs is the Kanaswa Inscription of Śivagana dated in the Mālava era 795 (i.e., 738–39 A.D.). Vide I.A. vol. 19 pp. 56 and 59. See also E. I. vol. X. p. 79 for Kāyastha Kāncana in Balera plates in 994–95 A.D., E. I. vol. XI. p. 149 for Śāsanika kāyastha in Naraspatam plates of 1045–46 A.D., E. I. vol. XI. p. 20, 25 for kāyastha Surāditya who was ‘Sarvasāstravī’ in Govindacandra’s plate dated 1129–30 A.D., E. I. 19 pp. 209, 213 Amodā plate dated 1161 A. D. (for Vāstavya kāyastha), E. I. vol. 19 p. 45 Inscription of Hammira (dated 1288–89 A. D.), E. I. XII. p. 46 (dated 1328–29 A. D. for Māthura kāyastha), E. I. 20 Appendix No. 442 p. 64 (for Gauḍa kāyastha). In the Rājatarāṅgini (VIII. 131) kāyasthas and diviras are mentioned separately and in VIII. 2383 it is stated that the brāhmaṇa Śivaratha, who was a roguish kāyastha, was strangulated in the reign of Jayasimha. So in the 12th century kāyasthas were only officers in Cashmīr and brāhmaṇas held such offices. Vide Rājatarāṅgini V. 180–184 for a bitter diatribe against kāyasthas.

The Śūdrakamalākara (pp. 279–280) speaks of three sub-castes of kāyasthas.

Kārāvara. According to Manu X. 36 he is a doubly mixed caste sprung from the union of a niśāda with a vaidēhi and his craft is that of a carmakāra. According to later digests like the Śūdrakamalākara he is called ‘kahāra’ or ‘bhoi’ and holds torches and carries umbrellas for others.

Kārusa. According to Manu X. 23 this caste springs from the union of a vrātya vaiśya and a similar female. This caste is also called Sudhanvācārya, Vījanman, Maitra and Sātvata (according to Manu).

Kīrāta. Vide above (p. 44) for vedic references. Veda-Vyāsa speaks of him as a subdivision of śūdra (note 184). According to Manu (X. 43–44) he is a ksatriya reduced to the status of a śūdra. Anuśasana (35.17–18) says the same about Mekalas, Dravidas, Lātas, Paundras, Yavanas and others. Karṇaparva 73. 20 speaks of kīrātas as men of fiery valour. Aśvamedhika 73. 25 shows that Arjuna met kīrātas, yavanas and Mlecchas when proceeding to the north with the Aśvamedha horse. The Amarakosā says that kīrāta, śabara and pulinda are subdivisions of Mleccha castes,
Kukkuta. According to Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 8 he is a pratiloma caste, but I. 9. 15 says that he is the child of the union of a südra with a nisāda woman, while I. 8. 12 states that he is the offspring of a vaisya from a nisāda woman. 186 Manu X. 18 agrees with Baud. Dh. I. 9. 15. According to Kauṭ. III. 7 he is the offspring of an ugra male from a nisāda female. According to Adityapurāṇa quoted in the Śūdrakamalākara he manufactures swords and other weapons and engages in cockfights for the king.

Kunḍa. According to Manu III. 174 he is the offspring of a clandestine intercourse between a married brāhmaṇa woman whose husband is living and a brāhmaṇa male.

Kukunda. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a māgadha from a südra female.

Kumbhakāra. This word occurs in the gana kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). Usanas (32-33) says that he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa with a vaisya female. Vaik. (X. 12) agrees with Usanas and adds that the offspring becomes either a kumbhakāra or a barber who shaves parts of the body above the navel. Veda-Vyāsa (I. 10-11) and Devala (quoted in Par. M. II. 1. p. 431 and Gr. R. p. 337) include the potter among südras. 187 In the Central Provinces the Kumbhāra is a scheduled caste.

Kulāla. For Vedic references see above (p. 43). Pāṇ IV. 3. 118 explains the formation of kaulālakam (made by a potter). The Āsv. Gr. IV. 3. 18 says that all earthen vessels (kaulālam) of a deceased agnihotrin should be kept by his son. Why two names arose for the caste of potters it is difficult to explain.

Kulika. This caste is mentioned in Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka p. 1175 (where Aparārka explains it as devalaka).

Kusilava. According to Baudhāyana as quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru he is the offspring of an ambastha from a vaidehaka female. According to Amara he is the same as a cāraṇa (a bard). According to Kauṭ. (III. 7) he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male from an ambastha female (i.e. exactly the reverse of Baudhāyana’s view) and he gives the name vaina to the offspring of an ambastha male from a vaidehaka female.

186. शिबदश्य शून्यास्यपपेतभवाविधैर्मुखकत्वानुभुविकविभेदकान्तां। निवधन्यां 

187. शून्यायो तपस्वी। पौर्णशास्त्रां निवधन्यां। सूर्यदेवाय शरस्वर्वन विनायकं। देवतं देवं। शून्यायो तपस्वी। पौर्णशास्त्रां निवधन्यां। सूर्यदेवाय शरस्वर्वन विनायकं। देवतं देवं।
**Kṛta.** According to Gaut. IV. 15 he is the offspring of a vaisya from a brähmana woman. Yāj. I. 93 and others call this caste vaidehaka.

**Kaivarta.** In the Assam valley kaibartta is a scheduled caste. Vide under antyaja (p. 70) above. Medhātithi on Manu X. 4 says that this is a mixed caste. Manu X. 34 tells us that the inhabitants of Āryāvarta employ the name kaivarta to denote the offspring of a nisāda from an ayogava woman, who is also called mārgava and dāsa (dāsa?) and who subsists by plying boats. Śāṅkara on Vedāntasūtra II. 3. 43 says that dāsa and kaivarta are the same. Fick p. 302 notes that fishermen who work with nets and baskets were called in the Jātakas kevatta.

**Kolika.** Mentioned as one of the antyajas by Veda-Vyāsa. Vide note 173 under antyaja. Koli is a scheduled caste in the Central Provinces and Kol in United Provinces.

**Kṣatr.** For vedic references see above. According to Baud. Dh. S. I. 9, 7, Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 12, 13 and 16, Yāj. I. 94, Nārada (stripuraśa 112), this is a pratiloma caste sprung from a śudra father and ksatriya mother. Manu (X. 49–50) prescribes for him the same avocation as for ugra and pulkasa. Vas. Dh. S. 18. 2 calls him vāina. In the Amarakośa kṣatr is given three meanings, a charioteer, doorkeeper and the caste described above. In Chāndogya Up. IV. 1. 5, 7, 8 the word seems to mean only door-keeper. Pāṇ. notices the word (VI. 4.11). The Sahyadrīkhanda (26. 63–66) says that kṣatr is also called nisāda and that he is an expert in catching deer by means of nets, is a forester and kills wild animals, also rings a bell at night to remind people of the hour.

**Khanaka.** According to Vaik. (X. 15) he is the offspring of an ayogava male and ksatriya female and lives by digging.

**Khaśa or khasa.** According to Manu X. 22 this is another name for karaṇa; while in X. 43–44 he makes the khaśas a ksatriya caste originally but reduced to the status of śudras by the absence of saṃskāras and the absence of contact with brāhmaṇas. Vide Sabhā. 52. 3, Udyoga 160. 103.

**Guhaka.** According to the Sūtasaṃhitā he is the offspring of a śvapaca from a brāhmaṇa female.

**Goja (or Goda).** According to Uṣanas (28–29) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a ksatriya male and female.
Gopa. Vide note 184. He is the modern Gaylī and a śūdra subcaste. Yāj. II. 48 says that debts contracted by gopā wives must be paid by their husbands as the latter's profession and earnings depend upon them. The Kāmasūtra (I. 5. 37) mentions a caste called Gopālaka.

Golaka. He is the offspring of a clandestine intercourse between a brāhmaṇa widow and a brāhmaṇa male. Vide Manu III. 174, Laghu-Sātātapa 105, Sūtasamhitā (Śīva. 12. 12).

Cakrī. According to Uṣanas (22–23) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a śūdra male and a vāsiṣya female and subsists by (selling) oil and oilcakes or salt. He seems to be the same as tailika. Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279) mentions him. According to Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1177 he is one who presses sesame. According to Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a secret love affair between a vāsiṣya male and a brāhmaṇa female and engages in the sale of salt and oil.

Carmakāra. Vide under antyaja (p. 70) above. He is mentioned in many smṛtis like Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51.8), Āpastamba (in verse 9.32), Parāśara (VI. 44). According to Uṣanas (4), he is the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya girl, while verse 21 says that those sprung from a vaidehaka and a brāhmaṇa girl subsist by working on hides. Vaik. (X. 15) agrees with this latter. Manu IV. 218 speaks of him as carmaṇvakin (cutter of hides). According to several smṛtis he is one of the seven antyajas. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of an ayogava from a brāhmaṇa female. This name persists to this day as cāmbbār (in Western India) or cāmār in all other Indian provinces. This caste is often spoken of as Mochi (shoe-maker). Often the mochis are Moslems. This is an untouchable caste and the population of carmakāras in India is very large. In the Bombay Presidency alone they are about two hundred and ninety thousand (in 1931).

Cākrika. According to Amara he is a person who rings a bell. Kṛṣṇaśānti says that he announces the king's arrival by ringing bells and that some regard him as the same as vaitālikā. According to Saṅkhā (prose) and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175–76) cākrika and tailika are separate subcastes. According to Vaik. (X. 14) he is the offspring of a love affair between a śūdra male and a vāsiṣya female and his avocation is the sale of salt, oil and oil cakes.
Cândāla (or cândāla). For Vedic references see above pp. 44-45. Acc. to Gaut. IV. 15-16, Vas. Dh. S. 13.1, Baud. Dh. S. I. 9.7, Manu X. 12, Yāj. I. 93, Anuśāsana 48. 11 he is a pratiloma caste sprung of a śudra from a brāhmaṇa woman. He is the lowest among men (Manu X. 12), beyond the pale of religious observances prescribed for the four varnas (sawadharmā-bahi-śkṛta, as Yāj. I. 93 says) and often spoken of in the same breath with dogs and crows (e. g. Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 5, Gaut. 15. 25, Yāj. I. 103). The word occurs in the kulālādi gana (Pān. IV. 3. 118). Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (I. 9-10) says that there are three kinds of cândālas, viz. the offspring of a śudra from a brāhmaṇa woman, the offspring of an unmarried woman, the offspring of a union with a sagotra girl. Yama quoted in Par. M. vol. II. part 1 p. 306 says that one born of a person who after becoming an ascetic turns back to the householder’s life, one born of a sagotra woman and one who is the offspring of a śudra from a brāhmaṇa woman are all cândālas. Laghu-Satātapa (59) has a similar verse. Manu (X. 51-56) says that cândālas and śvapacās should have their houses outside the village, vessels used by them cannot be used by others (even after putting them in fire), their wealth consists of dogs and asses, their clothes should be the garments on corpses, they should take their food in broken vessels, their ornaments were to be made of iron, they should incessantly roam, they are not to enter towns and villages at night, they have to carry the corpses of persons who have no relatives, they are to be hangmen when the king so orders, they may take the clothes, ornaments and beds of persons that are to be hanged. Uṇāsas (9-10) says that their ornaments are to be of lead or iron, they should have a leather thong round their necks or a cymbal under their armpits, they should remove the dirt of the village in the first part of the day. According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 11 and 14 their avocation is to be hangmen or to kill those offenders who are condemned to death and cândālas have to stay outside the village and to wear the clothes on corpses. Śānti 141. 29-32 gives a graphic description of their hamlet. The classical description of a cândāla hamlet is in the Kādambarī of Bāna. In Anuśasana (29.17) Mataṅga is called a cândāla because he was born of a brāhmaṇa woman from a barber.

Fa Hien (405-411 A. D.) describes how cândālas had to live apart and give notice of their approach when entering a...
town or market place by striking a piece of wood to make themselves known so that a man may avoid them and not come in contact with them (vide 'Record of Buddhist kingdoms' tr. by Legge, p. 43). In modern times cāṇḍālas are returned as a scheduled caste in Madras and Orissa.

*Cina.* According to Manu X. 43-44 the Cinas were a kṣatriya caste reduced to the status of śūdras. They are frequently named in the Mahābhārata e.g. Sabhā 51. 23, Vanaparva 177. 12, Udyoga 19. 15.

*Cuncu.* According to Manu X. 48 the avocation of Meda, Andhra, Cuncu and Madgu is to kill forest (or wild) animals. Kulüka says that he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a vaidehaka woman.

*Cūcuka.* According to Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of the marriage of a vaiśya with a śūdra woman and his avocation is the sale and purchase of betelnut, betelnut leaves and sugar.

*Cailamirnejaka* (or only nirnejaka)—washedman. This occurs in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 15 and Manu IV. 216. It appears that Viṣṇu who separately mentions 'rajaka' (in 51. 13) distinguishes between the two. Hārita (quoted in Aparārka p. 279) also distinguishes between 'rajaka' (one who dyes clothes) from 'nirnejaka' (one who washes clothes). Very often 'rajaka' means only 'a washedman' (as Amara says).

*Jalopajīvin*—(subsisting by catching animals in a net) probably the same as a kaivarta. He is mentioned in Hārita quoted by Aparārka p. 279.

*Jhallā.* Manu X. 22 says that it is another name for Karana and Khasa. In Bengal Jhalo Malo or Malo is returned as a scheduled caste.

*Domba* (or Doma) is the same as śvapaca according to Kṣra-svāmi on Amara. Parāṣara quoted by Aparārka (p. 1197) puts śvapāka, domba and cāṇḍāla on the same level. In the Rājatarāṅgini (V. 354, VI. 182, VI. 192) dombas are spoken of as untouchables on the same level with cāṇḍālas and as following the profession of singers. In Rājatarāṅgini V. 389-394 dombas are spoken of as śvapacas. This caste is returned as a scheduled caste in Madras as Dombo, as Dōm in Bengal, Bihar and U. P.

*Takesān* or *Takesaka* (carpenter). For vedic references see above (p. 43). He is the same as vardhaki quoted above, under kāyastha. He is mentioned by Manu IV. 210, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 8. According to the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. II. 4, 10
the takṣan is a śūdra and on the same level with an ayas-
kāra (ironsmith) and excluded from sacrificial rites. Even
so early as the Śat. Br. the takṣan was an unholy person
(amedhya) and his touch made yajñapātras impure (I. 1. 3. 12).
Uṣanas 43 says that taksaka is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa
female from a sūcaka (i.e. he is a pratiroma). He must be
supposed to be originally different from the rathakāra (vide Tai.
S. quoted above p. 43) who was allowed the vedic rite of ādāna
or probably in the time of the smṛtis the carpenter lost his
former status. According to Vaik. (X. 14) 189 the offspring of a
brāhmaṇa girl from a cūcuka (sūcaka?) is a taksaka who is
untouchable or a goldsmith or blacksmith or worker in
bell-metal. Bṛhaspati names the taksaka as one whose food
a brāhmaṇa could not eat.

Tāntuvāya (a weaver), also called kuvinda. He is men-
tioned in Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 13) and Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka
p. 1175. He is regarded as a śūdra by the Mahābhāṣya on
Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 and as excluded from sacrificial rites.

Tāmbūlika—seems to have been a caste. Vide Kāmasūtra
I. 5. 37. Bāṇa refers to his house as stored with spices and betel.

Tāmropajīvin (coppersmith). According to Uṣanas (14) he is
the offspring of an āyogava from a brāhmaṇa woman. Vaik.
(X. 15) says the same and calls him tāmra. The Jātiviveka
(D. C. No. 347 of 1887-91) gives the name as tāmra-kūttaka.

Tumna va ya (a tailor). He occurs in Manu IV. 214.
According to the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1178 he
is the same as sācī (or saucika).

Tailika (oilman) — occurs in Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 15), Śaṅkha
and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175 and 1176).

Darada. Manu X. 44 names him. Vide note on khasa
above p. 79. Vide Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva 4. 15.

Dāśa (a fisherman). This occurs in an Upaniṣad passage
according to Vedānta-sūtra II. 3. 43. Veda—Vyāsa (I. 12–13)
includes him among antyajas (vide footnote 173). Manu X. 34
says that márgava, dāśa (dāśa?) and kaivarta are the same
and that he subsists by plying boats. Pāṇ. (III. 4. 73) derives the
word. Vide under kaivarta.

Divākīrya—occurs in Mānavagrhyā II. 14. 11. According to Amara both candāla and nāpita are called divākīrya.

Dausmanta. According to Gaut. 4. 14 this is an anuloma caste sprung from the union of a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female. According to the Sūtasamhitā the name is Dausyanta.

Draupiṇḍa. The same as karana, according to Manu X. 22. According to Manu X. 43–44, this is a kṣatriya caste reduced to the status of a śūdra. Vide under khaṣa, and Mahābhārata, Udyoga 160. 103, Drona 93. 43.

Dhigvana. According to Manu X. 15 he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male from an āyogava female and according to Manu X. 49 he subsists by working on (and sale of) hides. Kullūka on Manu X. 49 quotes a text of Uṣanās that Dhigvāna subsists by working on hides and selling them and distinguishes them from kārävaras. This passage is not found in the printed text of Uṣanas. In the Jātiviveka he is styled Mocikāra.

Dhīvara. Same as kaivarta and dāśa. Gaut. (IV. 17) indicates that this is a pratiloma caste sprung from a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female (according to the view of some teachers). In the Tai. Br. III. 4. 12 Dhaivara, Dāśa and Kaivarta are separately mentioned, but how they were distinguished it is difficult to say. All caught fish in different ways. Dhimar is a scheduled caste in the Bhandara District of C. P.

Dhvaji (seller of wines)—mentioned by Sumantu and Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 1176. The Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 1177) says he is the same as saūṇḍika.

Nāta. He is one of the seven antyajas (vide note 170 above). Nāta is a scheduled caste in Bengal, Bihar, U. P. and Punjab. Hārīta quoted by Aparārka (p. 279) distinguishes between nāta and śailūṣa and Aparārka remarks that nāta is a specific caste, while śailūṣa is one who though not a nāta by caste makes a living by going on the stage. Manu X. 22 says that he is the same as karaṇa, khasa (vide note on khasa p. 79). Pāṇini knew of a Nātasūtra composed by Śilālin and another by Kṛśāva (IV. 3. 110 and 111), but whether the nātas he meant were so by caste or whether he meant only actors in general is not clear. Vide under rāngavatārin for a quotation from Maithri Up. Probably this caste is the same as the Kolhāṭis or Bahu-rūps of modern times (in the Deccan) who are dancers, acrobats and jugglers by profession. Fick's work p. 299 speaks
of nāṭakakulas mentioned in Buddhist Jātakas and at p. 294 he shows that in the Suruci Jātaka the nāṭa is described as throwing up a ball of rope and climbing it and performing other tricks of jugglery.

Nartaka. According to Uśanas (19) he is the offspring of a rāñjaka from a vaisya woman and his profession is that of a singer. Brhaspati quoted in Par. M. (II. part I p. 380) separately mentions in the same verse nāṭa and nartaka (both being abhojyānna to a brāhmaṇa). Atri VII. 2 also mentions the two separately. See note 189.

Nāpita (barber). The Śaṅkhāyana gṛhya I. 25 refers to him (in cūḍākarma). Uśanas (33–34) and Vaik. (X. 12) say that he is the offspring of a clandestine affair between a brāhmaṇa male and a vaisya female and Uśanas derives the word by saying that he shaves the body above the navel of a person. Vaik. (X. 15) says that the offspring of an ambastha male from a kṣatriya female is a nāpita, but he shaves the hair on the body below the navel. Parāśara (XI. 21) says that the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra girl is called dāsa if saṁskāras are performed on him, but if they are not performed he becomes a nāpita. Pān. (VI. 2. 62) specially provides for the accentuation of words meaning artisan (śilpin, like nāpita or kulāla) when compounded with the word grāma. The Sūtassamhitā (Siva—chap. XII. 15) says that the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa male and a vaisya female is called kumbhakāra or ārdhva-nāpita, while verse 32 says that the offspring of a kṣatriya female from a niśāda is called ‘adho-nāpita’.

Nicchivi. Manu X. 22 says that this is another name for karaṇa or khaṣa. Probably this is a misreading for Licchavi or Licchivi. Kauṭ. (Arthaśāstra XI. 1) speaks of the oligarchies or corporations of Licchivika, Vṛjika, Mallaka etc. Vaiśāli was the seat of this oligarchy in the 6th century B.C. (Rapson’s ‘Ancient India’ p. 169). Vide Indian Antiquary vol. 32 p. 233 for their Tibetan affinities and I. A. vol. 9 p. 178 and vol. 14 p. 98 for inscriptions of this tribe and ‘Indian Historical

190. नामेकार्येऽुपन तत्स्मापित्वं वेषयेत। वशसाथ 34.
191. अनु करवतीसरयों जान्यागे हू पतात्रा। संपत्रसंक वने बसंतार्य। गनिन ॥ पराशर XI. 21.
192. विधिविद्वा-दृष्टिपिता-समाकाल-समवक्तु-कुदक्क जातिवे साजिश्चैराविः अर्थशास्त्र XI. 1.
Quarterly,' 1933, vol. 18 p. 439 ff. Fa Hien (in 'Records of Buddhist Kingdoms' translated by Legge, 1886, p. 71) says that the Licchavis of Vaiśāli were attached to Buddha and also speaks of Ānanda (pupil of Buddha) and the Licchavis.

Nīṣāda. For vedic references see above (pp. 43 and 46). The Nirukta II. 8 while explaining the words 'pañcajanā mama hotram juśadhvam' in Rg. X. 53. 4 remarks that according to Aupamanyava the 'five people' are the four varnas with nīṣāda as the fifth. This shows that Aupamanyava regarded them as distinct from the four varnas (including the śūdras). The Nirukta further says that according to the Nairuktas the nīṣāda is so called because 'sin (or evil) sits down in him'; from this it follows that in the times of Yāska the nīṣādas had come to be looked down upon with scorn as evil people and were probably some aborigines like the modern Bhils. According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9.3 and II. 2.33), Vas. 18.8, Manu X. 8, Anuśāsana 48.5, Yāj. I. 91 the Nīṣāda is an anuloma caste, offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2.34), Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu (X. 8) and Yāj. (I. 91) say that pāraśava is another name for nīṣāda. Manu (IX. 178) derives pāraśava from the root pāray (to go across) and the word śava (a corpse) meaning 'though living he is like one dead'. In a corrupt passage of Vas. Dh. S. (18. 9-10) the same derivation is accepted. Gaut. (IV. 14) distinguishes between nīṣāda and pāraśava, the former (acc. to the com. Haradatta) being the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a vaiśya woman and the latter being the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male and a śūdra female. According to Nārada (stripūṁsa v. 108) and Anuśāsana 48.12, nīṣāda is the offspring of a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female and he subsists by fishing (according to the latter). Nārada (stripūṁsa 108) says that pāraśava is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male and a śūdra female. Uśanas (35-38) says that the offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman is called pāraśava and gains his livelihood as the worshipper of the goddess Bhadrakāli or by learning Śaiva āgamas or by playing on musical instruments, while nīṣāda is the illegitimate offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman who subsists by killing wild beasts (such as elephants) and by

193. निषादः क्रत्ताइत्येव न भवति निष्ठवामित्वम् पांश्रामितिन्येव जति:। निषादः III.8.
194. चुम्मान (युध्यानम्) पारिः। पारिः नेत्र (पारिः वि) जीवनम् श्रेयो
अवतारिताम्। नात्र 18. 9-10, where जीवनम् is a paraphrase of the rather obscure words पारिः in Manu IX. 178.
selling flesh. The Vaik. (X. 13) has practically the same
remarks to make about pāraśava and nīśāda. Sāntiparva (59,
96–97) speaks of nīśadas as men with reddish eyes and with
black hair. In the Rāmāyaṇa Guha, the king of nīśadas, helps
Rāma to cross the river Ganges (Ayodhya 50. 33). Here he is
spoken of as belonging to the caste of nīśadas (nīśadbajātyaḥ).
We have historical evidence for the name pāraśava in the
Harsacarīta (I, towards end), where Bāna tells us that he
had with him two pāraśava brothers Candrasena and Mātṛṣena in
his travels. In the Tipperah copperplate of a chieftain called
Lokanātha (about 650 A.D.) we are told that the king’s maternal
grandfather Keśava was a pāraśava (vide E. I. vol. 15 at p. 307).
The Mit. on Yāj. I. 91 cautions that this nīśāda (the anuloma
offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman) is different from
another caste called nīśāda, which is a pratiloma one and lives
by catching fish. Medhātithi on Manu X. 8 does the same.
Nīśāda occurs in the gana kulālādi (Pan. IV. 3. 118). The
Vāyupurāṇa (vol. II. chap. 1. 120–121) narrates that the nīśadas,
dark and dwarffish, were produced from the left hand of king
Vena and they dwelt on the Vindhya. In the Bhāgavata-purāṇa
we have the same story (IV. 14. 42 ff.) and we are told that
nīśadas were dark like crows, of short stature, snub-nosed, with red
eyes and hair and that they dwelt in mountains and forests.

Pahlava.—occurs in Manu (X. 43–44) as a kṣatriya caste
reduced to the status of śūdra. Vide note on khaśa. The
Mahābhārata several times mentions the Pahlavas, Pāradas
and other non-Aryan people (vide Sabhā 32. 16–17, Udyoga 4.
15, Bhīṣma 20. 13).

Pāṇḍusopāka. According to Manu X. 37 he is the offspring
of a cāndala male from a vaiḍehaka woman, who maintains him-
self by dealing in bamboos. He is the same as buruḍa.

Pārada. Vide Manu X. 43–44 and note on khaśa above.
Pāradas are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, generally

195. निमंश मधुरोपाय पाषाणां भद्रकारीपूजन.विवक्षकर्तुमिथाय (नां मनसिद्र?)
पुर्णचित्रणवस्त्र (भटों?) तुत्तरपरायणो निवारो व्याकरणिङ्गादिकारसिद्धार्थां। वैहारां
196. अनवभावस भवति समानाः सुधुः सहायाः। तथा च भारती पाषाणीं, चन्द्रमण्डलमहोच्छोभिः।
हर्षवित्ति, उववास I (at end).

197. शाक्तिः पवित्रनासाः। भयमण्डलमहोच्छोभिः। शास्त्रप्रकाशाय धार्मिकाष्टमन्त्रां.
विवेकेन्द्रपुरं सर्वश्रेष्ठहर्षवित्तिः। तत्र वराहस्व शास्त्र गिरिकालकानणं
भोजयं। भागवत. IV. 14. 44–46.
as Mlecchas and non-Aryan tribes (vide Sabha 32, 16, 51, 12, 52, 3; Drona 93, 42 and 121, 13). Vide under Yavana.

Paraśava. Vide nisāda above. In the Adiparva 109, 25 Vidura is called paraśava and he is said (in Adi. 114, 12) to have married the paraśavī daughter of king Devaka. The Sāhyādrikhandā (26, 43) says that he is called sūdra and is superior to a sūdra (in status) and that he was to live by the avocations prescribed for sūdras.

Piṅgala. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from an ayogava female.

Punḍra or Paundraka. Frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata among non-Aryan tribes e.g. Drona 93, 44, Āśvamedhika 29, 15–16. Medhātithi on Manu X. 44 remarks that the Paundrakas are spoken of as kṣatriyas in the Mahābhārata, so a man may be misled into thinking that even in the days of Medhātithi they were still kṣatriyas (but they were not so).

Pulinda. For vedic references see above (p. 47). They were a wild mountain tribe like the Kṛtas or Śabaras. In the Vana-parva 140, 25 Pulindas, Kṛtas and Taṅgas are spoken of as dwelling on the Himālaya. Udyoga 160, 103, Karna 73, 19–20, Anuśāsana 33, 21–22 mention pulindas. Uśanas (16) says that he is the illegitimate offspring of a vaiśya male from a kṣatriya female and he lives by rearing cattle and by killing wild beasts. Vaik. (X. 14) says the same and adds that he subsists on the produce of the forest and by killing wild animals. The Sūtasamhitā is of the same opinion as Vaik.

Pulkasa (or paulkasa). The word is also written as pukkasa. Śāmkarācārya on Brhadāraṇyaka Up. IV. 3. 22 says that pulkasa and paulkasa are the same. According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9, 14) and Manu X. 18 he is the offspring of a nisāda male from a śūdra female. According to Kauṭ. (III. 7) he is the offspring of a nisāda male from an agra female, while Vaik. X. 14, Uśanas (17) and the Sūtasamhitā say that he is the offspring of a śūdra male from a kṣatriya woman and that he makes his livelihood by manufacturing and selling liquor or natural intoxicating sap. The same is the view of some teachers according to Gautama IV. 17. According to Vas. Dh. S. (18, 5) and Viśnu Dh. S. (16, 5) he is the offspring of a vaiśya

198. अनुशासनिधिः कुत्स: कणां काणी वा खरं द्वन्द्व पातनो निकीपिते। 

वैकालेक्षम X. 14.
male from a kṣatriya female and the latter adds that he
subsists by hunting. The Agnipurāṇa (151. 15) says that
pukkasas are hunters. Yama and Harita quoted in the Kṛtya-
kalpataru make him out as the offspring of a śūdra male from
a vaisya female. Manu X. 49 prescribes catching and killing
animals that live in holes as the occupation of kṣatr, ugra and
pukkasa. Kṛtrasvāmi (com. of Amara) says that pukkasa is the
same as mṛtapa (which see below). Ṛp. Dh. S. (II. 1. 2. 6)
says that when a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya is guilty of the
theft of gold, of the murder of a brāhmaṇa, they undergo for
some time in hell torments and then are respectively born as
Cāndāla, Pulkasa or Vaiṇa.

Puṣkara. Mentioned in Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (I. 12) as one
of the antyajas. Vide note 173 above.

Puṣpadha. Manu (X. 21) says that this is another name of
āvantya (p. 73.)

Pauṇḍraka (or Pauṇḍra). Vide Pundra above. Anusāsana
35. 17 and Śānti 65. 13-14 have the form pauṇḍra. Vide Manu
X. 44 for pauṇḍraka and note on khaśa.

Pulkasa. Vide pulkasa above.

Bandin. See under vandin below.

Barbara. Medhātīthi on Manu X. 4 says that the barbaras
are samkīrnayonis. In the Mahābhārata they are frequently
mentioned among non-Aryan tribes along with Śaka, Śabara,
Yavana, Pahlava etc. Vide Sabha, 32. 16-17, 51. 23; Vana 254,
18 (as staying in the west); Drona 121. 13; Anusāsana 35. 17;
Śānti 65. 13.

Bāhya. Vide under antya (p. 70).

Burudā (worker in bamboo). He is one of the seven
antyajas (vide note 170 above). The word is also written as
varudā (vide below). Varuda occurs in the Kulālādīgana
(Pāṇini IV. 3. 118). Buruda is a scheduled caste in Orissa.

Bhāṭa. He is one of the antyajas according to Veda-Vyāsa
(I. 12). Vide note 173 above and on raigāvatārin below.

Bhill. He is one of the antyajas according to Aṅgiras,
Atri 199, Yama 33. Vide note 170 above.

Bhiṣak. According to Uṣanas (26) he is the offspring of a
clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa and a kṣatriya girl

199. वैदिकावमन्य अत्यन्त पुकसो नाम जानें। यम in श्रेष्ठकवमब (ms).
H. D. 12
and he maintains himself by studying the Āyurveda in its eight parts, or astronomy, astrology and mathematics (verse 27). According to Brahmmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1171) he lives by surgery and by attending upon patients.

**Bhūpa.** According to Yama quoted in Kṛtyakalpataru he is the offspring of a vaiśya from a kṣatriya female.

**Bhūrjanātaka.** According to Manu X. 21 he is the offspring of a vrātya brāhmaṇa from a similar woman. In several countries he is called āvantya or vāṭadhāna, puspadha or šaikha.

**Bhrījakanātha** (same as ambastha). According to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17, he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male from a vaiśya female.

**Bhoja.** According to the Śūta-samhitā he is the offspring of a kṣatriya woman and a vaiśya male.

**Madgu.** Mentioned in Manu X. 48 as subsisting by killing wild beasts. Kullūka on that verse explains that according to Baudhāyana he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a bandin female. Vaik. X. 12 says that he is the offspring of the marriage of a kṣatriya male with a vaiśya female and subsists as a merchant (śreṣṭhin) and does not take to the profession of a warrior.

**Manikāra.** According to Uśanas (39-40) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaiśya female and he gains his livelihood by working on beads, by perforating pearls and dealing in coral and conches. According to the Śūtasamhitā he is the clandestine offspring of a vaiśya male from a vaiśya female.

**Matsyabandhaka** (a fisherman). According to Uśanas (44) he is the offspring of a taksaka (carpenter) from a kṣatriya woman.

**Malla.** Vide Manu (X. 22) who says that it is another name of Jhalla etc.

**Māgadhā.** According to Gaut. IV. 15, Anuśāsana 48. 12, Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 11, 17 and Yāj. I. 93 he is a pratiloma caste sprung from the union of a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female; while according to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 16, Uśanas (7) and Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female; but Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 7 says he is the offspring of a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 5 makes him the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya female. Manu (X. 47) prescribes trade by land routes for
Māgadhās; Anuśāsana X. 48 says that they maintain themselves on speech (i.e. by praise) and are also called bandin. Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 60-62) also calls him bandin and says he is slightly superior to śūdra and that he is clever in ornate prose, in six languages, in kalās and he is a devotee of Kālikā. Vaik. (X. 13) states that even śūdras cannot take food cooked by him, that he is an untouchable and maintains himself by praise, by singing or by being a messenger. Uṣānas (7-8) says that he becomes the bandin of brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, he maintains himself by lauding (the deeds of others) or as a messenger or servant of a vāiśya. Pāṇini IV. 1. 70 derives the word Māgadha from the country Magadha, but apparently not in the sense of a caste.

Māṇavika. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a śūdra male and a śūdra female.

Mātaṅga. The same as cándāla. The Kādambarī of Bāna (para 9) and Amara employ them as synonymous. Yama (12) uses the word Mātaṅga where we ordinarily find cándāla in other smṛtis. In the Bombay Presidency there is an untouchable caste called Māṅg which numbers about three hundred thousand. There are Māṅg as a scheduled caste in Orissa.

Mārgava. Same as kaivarta (fisherman). Vide Manu X. 34.


Māhīṣya. According to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17 and Yāj. I. 92 he is an anuloma caste sprung from the marriage of a kṣatriya with a vaiśya woman. According to the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 45-46) he is entitled to upanayana and his avocations are astrology, augury, prognostications due to śvāra. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the same as ambastha.

Mūrdhāvasikta. This is an anuloma caste according to the view of some teachers in Gaut. IV. 17 and Yāj. I. 91 sprung from the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a kṣatriya woman. According to Vaik. (X. 12) the offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a kṣatriya woman is the foremost among anulomas and is called savarṇa, while the offspring of the clandestine union of these two is called abhisikta. If crowned he becomes a king, otherwise he subsists by studying Ayurveda (Medicine) or the science of ghosts or astronomy, astrology and mathematics. In the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (chap. 26. 36-39) more details are added.
Mrapaka. Vide pulkasa above. In the Mahabhasya\(^{200}\) on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 this caste is mentioned as separate from candāla, but both are included by the Mahabhasya under śūdras that are niravasita (i. e. those who are so low in the caste system that if a vessel is used by them for eating their food from it cannot be used by any one of the other castes even after the vessel is purified by fire &c.).

Meda. He is one of the seven antyajas (vide note 170). This is mentioned in Nārada (vākpārusya, verse 11). Anuśāsana 22. 22 speaks of medas, pulkassas and antāvēśāyins, and the com. Nilakantha\(^{201}\) explains that Medas are those who eat the flesh of dead cattle. Manu X. 36 says that he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male and a niśāda woman, that he dwells outside the village and Manu X. 48 says that his business along with that of Andhra, Cuṇcu and Madgu is to kill wild beasts. Vide under Andhra above and see E. I. vol. XX. p. 130 where meda and candāla are named as lowest castes in a grant of Paramardideva in saṁvat 1236. According to Śūdrakamalākara, andhras and medas have to sweep dirty places, doorsteps and privies.

Maitra. Manu X. 23 says he is the same as Kāruṣa.

Maitreyaka. According to Manu X. 23 he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male and ṣyogava female and his means of livelihood are belauding kings and nobles continually and ringing a bell in the early morning. The Jātiviveka says that he is called Dhokanakāra.

Mleccha. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa woman and a vaisya male.

Yavana. According to the view of some mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17 he is a pratiśoma caste sprung from a śūdra male and a ksatriya woman. According to Manu X. 43–44 Yavanas were originally ksatriyas reduced to the status of śūdras (vide under khasa above p. 79). In the Mahābhārata Yavanas are almost

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200. अर्थविनिविषयाश्वकर्तेः क्रोधिताधिविषयानां। अर्थविनिविषयाधिविषयानां।

201. नेत्रपक्षान्तः ज यज्ञोनुसारानविहिताः (० यज्ञोनुसारानविहिताः)। अर्थ-

always associated with Śakas and several other non-Aryan tribes; vide Sabhā, 32. 16-17, Vanaraparva 254. 18 (as inhabiting the west), Udyoga 19. 21, Bhīṣma 20. 13, Drona 93. 42 and 121. 13, Karna 73. 19, Śānti 65. 13. From Strīparva 22. 11 it appears that Jayadratha (king of the countries of Sindhu and Sauvitra) had Kāmboja and Yavana women in his harem. Pāṇini (IV. 1. 59) derives the word Yavanānī from Yavana and a vārtika on that sūtra adds that Yavanānī means the līpi (the written alphabet) of the Yavanas. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya (on Pān. II. 4. 10) indicates that he was prepared to regard Yavanas and Śakas as śūdras but as outside Āryāvarta. Aśoka in Rock Edicts V and XIII refers to the Yonas and Kāmbojas as nations on the borders of his empire. The Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 3. 21 describes that the Yavanas shaved the head and also the beard, the Śakas tonsured their heads only, the Pāradas allowed the hair on the head to grow long and the Pahlavas grew beards and that all became Mlecchas because they gave up their original dharmas and because brāhmaṇas also left them.

Raṅgāvatārīn (or-lāraka). According to Manu IV. 215 he is distinct from the śailīśa and gāyana, Śāṅkha (quoted by Aparārka p. 1175), Śāṅkha (17. 36) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 14 mention him. According to Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1178) he is a nāṭa who goes on the stage for livelihood and who introduces various changes in his appearance and dress. Raṅgāvatārin is mentioned in the Mātrī Up. along with nāṭa and bhaṭa.202

Rajaka (washerman). Dhobi is a scheduled caste in U. P., Bihar and C. P. and in Bengal (called Dhoba). He is one of the antyajas according to several writers (vide note 170 above). According to Vaikh. (X. 15) and the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a pulksa (or vaideha) from a brāhmaṇa woman, while according to Uśanas (18) he is the offspring of a pulksa male from a vaiśya girl. The Mahābhāṣya on Pān. (II. 4. 10) includes him under śūdra. Yāj. II. 48 mentions him as liable to pay his wife’s debts, because his livelihood depends on her. The Śūdrakamalākara mentioned another caste of rajaka (which is the offspring of an ugra male and vaidehaka female).

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202. स व ज व ण ग व न द द ब न ब न ग ज ज व ण ग ध ज ज व ण ग 

Raṇjaka (dyer). Manu IV. 216 mentions him. According to Uśanas (19) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a śūdra male and a ksatriya female.

Rathakāra. Vide above pp. 43, 45 for Vedic references. According to Baud. gr. II. 5. 6 and Bhāradvāja gr. (I) his upanayana was to be performed in the rainy season. It appears he lost his status gradually. In the Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 6) he is the offspring of the marriage of a vaiśya male with a śūdra female. According to Yāj. I. 95 he is an anuloma doubly mixed as he is the offspring of a māhiśya male from a karana female and according to a prose passage of Śaṅkha quoted by the Mit. the rathakāra is entitled to have upanavāna performed, to offer sacrifices and gifts and makes his living by learning the art of taming horses, of making chariots and building houses. According to Uśanas (5–6) and Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a ksatriya male and a brāhmaṇa woman and he is to behave like a śūdra, he is not a twice-born (dvija) and cannot repeat Vedic mantras and makes his living by tending and driving horses and carts.

Rāmaka. According to Vas. Dh. S. 18. 4 he is a pratiloma sprung from the union of a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female. This would be kṛta, according to Gaut. (IV. 15), vaidehaka according to Baudhāyana.

Lubidhaka (hunter of deer)—same as vyādha.

Lekhaka. Mentioned by Sumantu quoted in Par. M. II, part 1 p. 383. He is probably the same as kāyastha, if a caste is meant; vide under kāyastha pp. 75–76.

Lohakāra (ironsmith). Vide p. 75 under karmāra. Nārada (ṛṇādāna 288) recommends utilising the services of an ironsmith who is so by caste in the fire ordeal. He is mentioned by Hārīta (prose) quoted by Aparārka p. 1176. The Kamauli plate of Jayacandra-deva Gāhādavāla was engraved by ‘Lohāra Somoka’ in samvat 1232 (E. I. IV. p. 127).

Vandin (a bard, written as bandin also). According to Hārīta quoted in Kṛtyakulpataaru he is a pratiloma sprung from a vaiśya male and ksatriya female. According to the Brahma-purāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1177 a vandin is one who sings the praises of men.
Varna: varāṭa, varuḍa &c. 95

Varāṭa. Enumerated among the antyajas by Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12-13).


Viṭadhāna. According to Manu X. 21 he is the same as āvantya.

Vijanman. According to Manu X. 23 he is the same as kārusa.

Vēna (or Vaiṇa). According to Manu X. 19 and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 13) he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male from an ambastha female, while Kauṭ. (III. 7) makes the vēna the offspring of an ambastha male from a vaidehaka female; and according to Manu X. 49 he makes his livelihood by beating musical instruments. Kullūka on Manu IV. 215 says that Vēna is one who maintains himself by splitting bamboos and that he is the same as buruḍa according to Viśvarūpa. For Vaiṇa see Ap. Dh. S. quoted under pulkasa (p. 89). Kauṭ. (III. 7) adds that a vānīya follows the same profession as a rathakāra. Śaṅkha (17. 38), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 14, Vāj. III. 207 place the vēna alongside of carmakāra, niṣāda and pulkasa. According to Vas. Dh. S. (18. 2) he is a pratiloma sprung from the union of a śūdra male and a ksatriya female. Vāj. I. 161 has the form vānī which the Mit. explains as meaning one who maintains himself by cutting and splitting bamboos. The Śūdrakamalākara notes that according to Ādipurāṇa vēna is a drum-beater to announce royal orders and edicts.

Venuka. According to Uśanas (4) he is a pratiloma, the offspring of a sūta from a brāhmaṇa woman, while according to Vaik. (X. 15) he is the offspring of a madgu from a brāhmaṇa woman and his avocation is to play on a viṇā and on flutes. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a barber from a brāhmaṇa woman.

Velava. According to the Sūtasamhitā he is the offspring of a śūdra from a ksatriya woman by stealth.

Vaidehaka. According to Baud. Dh. (I. 9. 8), Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 11, 13, 17, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 6, Nārada (stripurāṇa 111), Vāj. I. 93, Anuśāsana 48. 10 he is a pratiloma sprung from a vaiṣāya male and a brāhmaṇa female; while according to Gaut. IV. 15 he is the offspring of a śūdra from a ksatriya woman and according to Vaik. (X. 14), the view of some śākyas
in Gaut. IV. 17 and Usanas (20) he is the offspring of a śūdra male from a vaiśya female. According to Manu X. 47 and Agnipurāṇa (151. 14) his peculiar work is to attend on and guard women (in harems etc), while according to Usanas (20-21) and Vaik. (X. 14) he is to tend goats, cows and buffaloes and to sell milk, curds, butter-milk and ghee. The Sūta-saṁhitā says that vaideha and pulkasa are the same.

Vṛātya. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 1, 1. 22-I. 1. 2. 10, Pār. gr. II. 5 and other sūtra works a vṛātya is one on whom and on whose ancestors the saṁskāra of upanayana has not been performed. But in other works like Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 15), the word vṛātya is applied to all who are born of the mixture of varṇas.

Śaka. Manu (X. 43-44) mentions Śakas along with Yavanaśas and others as originally kṣatriyas reduced to the state of śūdras. Vide note on Yavana (p. 92) above. They are mentioned in the Mahābhārata along with Yavana and other non-Aryan tribes. Vide Sabhā 32. 16-17, 51. 23, Udyoga (4. 15; 19. 21; 160. 103), Bhīṣma (20. 13), Drona (121. 13). Śaka occurs in the kambojādīgana (Pāṇ. IV. 1. 175). Vide note 200.

Śabara. An aboriginal jungle tribe like the Bhilla. In the Mahābhārata the śabarās are frequently mentioned (e. g. Anuśāsana 35. 17, Śānti 65. 13).

Śālikā. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the same as Magadha.

Śālikā. According to Usanas (42) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa and a śūdra female and his avocation is to impale those offenders who are sentenced to be impaled. According to Vaik. (X. 13) and Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female.

Śaikha. According to Manu X. 21 he is the same as ṛvaṇtya.

Śailūsa. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 13, Manu IV. 214, Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 279 distinguish him from raṅgāvatārī and the Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1178) defines him as one who finds out employment for nāṭaś.204 Āpāṣṭambha 9. 32 (verse) speaks of him in the same breath with rajaka and

204. वस्त्र्ये का टाना दु स्त्र त्र सागुपालास्रवणी द्रव्यां भएब्रह्मपुराणो p. 1178.
vyādha. Yāj. II. 48 does the same and the Mit. thereon paraphrases the word by naṭa.

Śauṇḍika (wine-seller). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51, 15, Manu IV. 216, Yāj. II. 48, Śaṅkha (quoted by Aparāka p. 1175) and Brahma purāṇa (quoted by Aparāka p. 1177) mention him.

Śvapaca or Śvapāka. He is one of the antyayās enumerated by Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12-13). Vide note 173 above. He occurs in the gana kulālādi (Pān. IV. 3. 118). According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 12), Kauṭ. (III. 7), he is the offspring of an ugra male from a female of the kṣatrī sub-caste, while according to Manu X. 19 he is the offspring of a kṣatrī male from an ugra female. Vaik. (X. 15) and Sūtasaṃhitā say that he is the offspring of a cāndāla male and a brāhmaṇa female, while Uṣanas (11) holds that he is the offspring of a cāndāla male from a vaisya woman. According to Manu X. 51-56 cāndālas and śvapacas follow the same avocation and are governed by the same rules (vide p. 81 under cāndāla). Uṣanas (12) says that they eat the flesh of dogs and that dogs are their wealth, while Vaik. says that they wear the same marks that cāndālas have to wear (under the king’s order, as Manu says in X. 55), that they remove the filth of towns etc., stay near cemeteries, have to dispose of corpses of men that leave no relatives, have to act as hangmen for offenders sentenced to death and to take their clothes etc., have to take food in broken pots and to eat dogs’ flesh and to deal in hides and armour (or in armour made of hides). The Bhagavadgītā (5. 18) puts him on the same level with dogs. In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (8. 81-83, 86, 96) a cāndāla is called śvapāka (i.e. no distinction is made between the two). In the Jātiviveka he is identified with the Mahar and with the Mang of the Deccan.

Śāvāra. According to Manu X. 23 he is the same as kāruṣa above.

Śudhanvācārya. According to Manu X. 23 he is the same as kāruṣa above.

Suvarṇa. According to Uṣanas (vv. 24-25) he is the offspring of the legal union with Vedic mantras of a brāhmaṇa male and a ksatriya female. It appears likely that the text is corrupt and we should read savarṇa for suvarṇa. He should perform rites prescribed by the Atharvaveda, he should by the king’s order ride a horse, elephant or chariot, may act as the commander of an army or may practise as a physician.
Suvarṇakāra or Sauvarṇika or Hemakāra (goldsmith). A hiranyakāra is mentioned in the Vāj. S. XXX. 17 and in Tai. Br. III. 4. 14. According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. X. 4 and Nārada (ṛṇāṇa 274) a goldsmith or a dealer in bronze or a bania was to examine the balance in the balance ordeal. Manu IV. 215, Vāj. I. 163, Śaṅkha and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175, 1176) treat him on a level with karmakāra (blacksmith) and niśāda. Manu IX. 292 condemns him as the worst of all rogues (sarvakāṇṭakapāpiṣṭha). For the view of Vaik. and Brhaspati vide under tākṣān above (note 189). In the Mahābhārata it is said that after Paraśurāma’s alleged extermination of the kṣatriyas, some of them that escaped resorted to the castes of ironsmiths and goldsmiths.205

Śucaka. According to Uśanas (v. 43) he is an anuloma born of the marriage of a vaiśya male from a sūdra female.

Śucika or saucika or sūci—one who works with a needle, a tailor. According to Vaik. (X. 15) and Uśanas (v. 22) he is a pratiloma, offspring of a vaidehaka from a kṣatriya woman and engages in the work of sewing with a needle. Saucika, according to the lexicon of Amara, is the same as tūnnavāya (for which see above p. 83) and the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 1178) also equates sūci with tūnnavāya.

Śūta. For vedic references see above p. 43. According to Gaut. (IV. 15), Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 9), Vas. (18. 6), Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu (X. 11), Nārada (strīpuṃsa 110), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (16. 6), Vāj. (I. 93) and Sūtasamhitā, he is a pratiloma sprung from a kṣatriya male and a brāhmaṇa woman. Kauṭ. is careful to add that the sūta who figures in the purāṇas as the reciter is quite different from this. A vārtika on Pāṇ. (VI. 3. 70) teaches the formation of words like sūtapatrī.206 According to Manu (X.47) and Viṣṇu the avocation of sūtas is driving a chariot (i. e. breaking and yoking horses). According to Vaik. (X.13) he makes his livelihood by reminding the king of his duties and by cooking food for him. Uśanas (v. 3) also says that his business is to remind (a king) of his duties. According to the Kāṇaparva (32. 48) sūtas

205. शौकादेस्यवादिर्वादिनि नियं सश्रविता:। शालिनिर्व 49. 84. शौकादेस्य is probably for शौकादेस्य (an iron-smith), while another reading is शाकादेस्य (maker of bowstrings) also.

206. The 9th vārtika on Pāṇ. VI. 3. 70 is धनोमङ्गलकोकुलेशिवो दुरिः शून्य:। The examples given by the mahābhāṣyā are अड्डुनी, अड्डुनी, अड्डुनी, अड्डुनी, अड्डुनी.
are the attendants of brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas and the latter need not carry out what the sūta says. According to the Vāyupurāṇa (vol. I. 1. 33–35 and vol. II. 1. 139) the sūta was to preserve the pedigrees of kings and great men and traditions about learning or books, he is not authorised to study the Veda, the middling way of maintenance for him is to depend upon kings and to look after chariots, elephants and horses; an inferior way of maintenance is the practice of medicine. The Vaik. (X. 13) and the Śūta-samhitā expressly say that the difference between the sūta and the rathakāra consists in this that the former is the offspring of a marriage, while the latter is the offspring of a clandestine union of a ksatriya male with a brāhmaṇa woman. The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 53–54) says that he is inferior to ksatriyas, but is entitled to do all the work of a ksatriya and that he also performs the work of a charioteer, of taming elephants and riding horses.

Sūnika or Saunika (a butcher). According to Uśanas (v. 14) he is the offspring of an āyogava from a ksatriya woman. Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279) speaks of him in the same breath with rajaka and carmakāra. The Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1177) says that he is ‘paśumāraka’. Sumantu quoted by Par. M. makes his food unfit for brāhmaṇas. He is the same as ‘khāṭika’ according to the Jāti Viveka.

Saṅindhra. According to Manu X. 32 he is the offspring of a dasya (as defined in Manu X. 45) from an āyogava woman and he makes his living by combing the hair (of men and women), he is not to be treated as a dāsa (i.e. he has not to eat ucchiṣṭa food), but is to perform menial work (such as shampooing the body) or is to subsist by catching deer etc. The word is included in the gana kulāladi (Paṇi. IV. 3. 118). From the Mahābhārata we see what duties Draupadi disguised as saṅindhra had to do for the queen of Virāta (Virāta-parva 9. 18–19), viz. combing and arranging the hair, pounding unguents, making garlands. Similarly Damayanti became a saṅindhra to the mother of the Cedi king (Vanaparva 65. 68–70), but she refused to eat ucchiṣṭa food, would not wash the feet of anybody and would not allow any man to approach her. According to Ādipurāṇa quoted in Śūdrakamalākara he lives by hunting deer and guarding royal harems and women after delivery.

207. सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोला सौनिकोलা
Sopāka. According to Manu (X. 38) he is the offspring of a caṇḍāla male and a pukkasa female, subsists by the profession of being hangman to those whom the king condemns to death.


It will have been noticed that some of the castes mentioned in the smṛtis such as ambāṣṭha, māgadha, malla and vaidehaka are connected with countries (Amba, Magadha, Videha etc.), that some others are based upon race such as Ābhīra, Kirāta and Śaka, Manu (X. 43-45) and the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsanaparva 33. 21-23 and 35. 17-18) were prepared to admit that several foreign races like the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Dravīdas, Daradas, Śabaras, Kirūtas etc. were originally kṣatriyas, but had been reduced to the status of śudras by losing contact with brāhmaṇas or by not liking the idea of being subject to the brahmanical system. The Viśṇupuruṣa (IV. 4. 47-48) says the same. Numerous names of castes arise from the professions they follow, e.g. ayaskāra, kumbhakāra, carmakāra, takṣan, tailika, nata, rathakāra, veṇa etc. Even in ancient times brāhmaṇas followed so many different occupations almost as in modern times that the list of brāhmaṇas who cannot be invited at śrāddhas because they follow occupations other than those prescribed for them is rather very formidable (vide Manu III. 151 ff. and the remarks on pāṅktīpāvana later on).

It appears that comparatively very early many among the brāhmaṇas had given up the occupations peculiar to them and were entitled to be called brāhmaṇas simply because of their birth. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali quotes a verse ‘tapas, vedic study, and birth (from brāhmaṇa parents)—these are the causes why a person is called a brāhmaṇa; he who is devoid of tapas and vedic study is a brāhmaṇa only by birth (and not a real brāhmaṇa)’. Similarly in another place Patañjali quotes a verse ‘know this to be the auspicious sign of the best of brāhmaṇas, viz. whose lore, actions and birth are all three holy’ (vol. II. p. 220 on Pāñ. IV. 1. 44). Though in the Mahābhārata

208. तपः ब्राह्मण वै योगिन समान नागरः जालिक जालिकेः महोध्यम् on pra. II. 2. 6 (vol. I. p. 411 and II. p. 363). In the Anuśāsanaparva 121. 7 we have a similar verse तपः तपो भक्तो अनुसा. भनिन्दैस्य मधिवितरे मधिवितरे किं विषयः। The Mahābhārata has another verse (vol. II. p. 220) वैशाली वस्त्राकरणाः बिधा योगिष्ठ काल जताये। एतत्त्विं निजानित्ति मात्राम् एतत्त्विं निजानित्ति मात्राम्।
it is often said that a brâhmaṇa is so by birth alone and that he deserves respect from all, still we meet several times with passages wherein there is a revolt against the caste system dependent on birth alone and where it is severely condemned and great emphasis is laid on the moral worth of a man. In the Vanaprava (181. 42-43) we are told ‘Truthfulness, restraint, tapas, generosity, non-Injury to sentient beings, constant adherence to dharma—these always lead men to the fruition (of their goal) and not caste nor family’. Udyogaparva (43. 20 ff.) explains at great length what is meant by self-restraint. In the Śāntiparva (189. 4 and 8) ‘Truthfulness, generosity, freedom from hatred and wickedness, humility, kindness, and tapas—he is known as a brâhmaṇa where these are seen. If these signs are seen in a śūdra and they do not exist in a brâhmaṇa, then the śūdra would not be a śūdra and the brâhmaṇa would not be a brâhmaṇa’. In another place we are told ‘there is no difference between the varpas; the whole world is brâhma (the creation of Brahmā), since it was created by Brahmā in former ages and was evolved into varpas by actions (or occupations).’ Udyogaparva (43. 49) remarks ‘Do not regard a person as brâhmaṇa by his talk; he who does not depart from truth is a brâhmaṇa’; Vanaprava (216. 14-15) ‘that śūdra who is always struggling for self-restraint, truthfulness and dharma is a brâhmaṇa in my opinion, for a brâhmaṇa is so by his character.’ Vide Vanaprava (313. 108-111) and Yāj. I. 200 and Vṛddha Gautama p. 632. It has been seen above (p. 6) that Gautama laid the greatest emphasis on the eight qualities of the soul. But

209. जन्ममेव महाभाग् वाह्यमेव नाम जानते। नमस्ते सर्वत्र नानामालिनिः प्रभुमान
210. महाष्ठान्तरं 35. 1 ; vide also 143. 6.
211. सर्वं दुस्ततयो दुस्तमहिसार्थम् धर्मानिष्ठता। साधिकानि समु दुह्सा न ज्ञाति
212. महाष्ठान्तरं 35. 61-63.
213. सर्वं सुस्ततयो दुस्तमहिसार्थम् धर्मानिष्ठता। साधिकानि समु दुह्सा न ज्ञाति
214. महाष्ठान्तरं 35. 11-15; न ज्ञाति। दुस्ततयो दुस्तमहिसार्थम् धर्मानिष्ठता।
215. महाष्ठान्तरं 35. 11-15; न ज्ञाति। दुस्ततयो दुस्तमहिसार्थम् धर्मानिष्ठता।
216. महाष्ठान्तरं 35. 11-15; न ज्ञाति। दुस्ततयो दुस्तमहिसार्थम् धर्मानिष्ठता।
217. महाष्ठान्तरं 35. 11-15; न ज्ञाति। दुस्ततयो दुस्तमहिसार्थम् धर्मानिष्ठता।
218. महाष्ठान्तरं 35. 11-15; न ज्ञाति। दुस्ततयो दुस्तमहिसार्थम् धर्मानिष्ठता।
219. महाष्ठान्तरं 35. 11-15; न ज्ञाति। दुस्ततयो दुस्तमहिसार्थम् धर्मानिष्ठता।
in spite of those sentiments the caste system dependent on birth has continued in all its strength and rigour for ages and writers like the Par. M. II. 1, p. 228 are emphatic in saying that between jāti and character one must look principally to the eminence of the caste.

In certain medieval works called Jātiveka and in other works like the Śūdra-kamalākara (first half of 17th century A. D.) several more castes are mentioned, some of which are set out below.

Āghāsika or Andhasika—from a vaidehika male and a śūdra female; sells cooked food; also called Rāṇḍhavaṇu.

Āvartaka—from a bhrjjakaṇṭha and a brāhmaṇa woman.

Āhītunḍika—from a nisāda and a vaideha female; called Gāruḍī in Marathi.

Aurabhra—called Dhangar in Marathi (tends rams and ewes for their wool).

Kāṭadhūnaka—from āvartaka and a brāhmaṇa woman.

Kuntalaka—the same as nāpita.

Kuruvinda—from a kumbhakāra and a kukkuṭa female. Same as modern Sāḷī, according to Śūdrakamalākara.

Ghclika from a Vyādha male and gāruḍī female. He is called Undiramāru (rat-killer) in the vernacular.

Durbhara—from an āyogava and a dhigvāna woman; called Dohor (or Đhor) in modern times.

Pauṣṭika—from a brāhmaṇa and a nisāda female; called in modern times Kāhāra or Bhoṭ (palaquin-bearer).

Pīvava—from a cāṇḍāla and an andhra woman; called ‘hāḍī’ in modern times.

Bandhula—from maitreya and jāṅghika female; called Jhārekarī now (who takes out gold particles from the dust at the doors of goldsmiths).

Bhāsmāṅkura—from a Śaiva fallen ascetic and a śūdra prostitute; called Gurava by the Jātiveka.

Manyu—from a vaśya and a kṣatriya female; called Tāvaṇḍiu (thief catcher).

Romika—from malla and an āvartaka woman; called Loṇār in modern times (manufacturer of salt).
Śālākya or Śakalya from a mālākāra and kāyastha woman; called Mañiar.

Śuddha-Mārjaka—called Māndali (who gains livelihood by singing and playing on musical instruments).

Sindolaka or spandālika, from a śūdra male and a māgadha female; called Raṅgārī (dyer).

In modern times each of the principal varnas has numerous sub-castes, based upon difference of country, occupation, sect and other causes. For example, brāhmaṇas are first divided into ten classes, five of them being Gauḍas and five Dṛvidas. Among the Dṛvidas brāhmaṇas, the Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇas are again subdivided into numerous sub-castes such as the Cita-pāvana or Koṅkaṇastha, Karhade, Deśastha, Devarukhe etc. It is said that in Gujerat there are 84 subcastes of brāhmaṇas, most of which do not interdine nor intermarry. There is often a further distinction among the members of the same subcaste, viz. those who follow the priestly occupation and those who do not. The spirit of exclusiveness and ideas of superiority that arose in Vedic times gradually led on to further and further divisions and subdivisions of people owing to geographical situation and other causes. It appears that probably even in ancient times the brāhmaṇas of the north looked down upon the brāhmaṇas in eastern countries like Magadha. Vide notes 31-32 above and Fick (pp. 213-214). The Matsyapurāṇa (16.16) says that brāhmaṇas who dwell in Mlecha countries, in Trīṣaṅku, Barbarā, Oḍra (Orissa), Andhra (Telingāna), Takka, Dṛvāda and Koṅkaṇa are not to be invited at śrāddhas.

214. द्विबाधिक नित्यम: कर्मचा मयकुवर्ग:। द्विबाधिक धारी: पत्र कर्मते ॥ सार्वतत्त्वार्थसंस्कृतसः। तत्त्वस कैन्यसाध्य: कैन्यसाध्य: साविक प्रभावतोत्तरं ॥ (section of the Śrāddhas) १७वचार X.2-3 (ed. by Dr. Da Cunha); vide Wilson’s ‘Indian castes’ vol. II. p. 17 where the names slightly differ.

215. Shering, vol. I, p. 99, gives the names of these 84 subcastes and Wilson in ‘Indian castes’ vol. II. pp. 92 ff. adds more bringing the total to 160.

216. Vide Bombay Presidency Gazetteer, vol. 9 p. 18 (for Sāravatas of Panjab having 470 subdivisions). Wilson (‘Indian castes’ vol. II. P. 128) was informed that there were 469 subcastes of Sāravata brāhmaṇas and he enumerates these at pp. 127-133.

217. ज्जासद्विविविकीतकांसलिस्तेकुंद्दङ्कितविविकिः। विस्तुर्भविषयानां पर्यंतहितीयोऽतिनिश्चित वि० सङ्क्रायम १६.१६.
Among kṣatriyas there are several subdivisions, such as those claiming descent from the Sun or the Moon and those that call themselves to be Agnikulas (vide Sherring, vol. I, p. 120 ff. and Tod’s Rajasthan vol. I chapter VII for lists of royal tribes). The Paramāras have 35 branches, Guhilots 24 branches. Chahmanas 26 branches, Solankis 16 branches and so on.

Even among comparatively late works the total number of subcastes enumerated does not go beyond even two hundred. For example, Wilson in ‘Indian castes’ vol. I pp. 65–70 mentions only 134 castes with their Sanskrit and modern Marathi names as gathered from the Jātiviveka, Mādhava-kalpalata, Paraśu-rāma-pratāpa and other works. It is only in the census reports prepared at great expense by the British Government after elaborate efforts and organization that the great complexity of the caste system in modern India is laid bare to the eye. But this work cannot, by reason of its limited scope, go into these varied and complex details of the hundreds of castes that exist in the several provinces of India.
CHAPTER III

THE DUTIES, DISABILITIES AND PRIVILEGES
OF THE VARNAS

The duties and privileges of varnas occupy a very prominent place in all works on Dharmaśāstra. The study (of the Vedas), offering sacrifices and giving gifts are said to be the duties absolutely enjoined on the brāhmaṇa, ksātriya and vaiśya, while each of these three varnas has certain peculiar privileges, which are its principal means of livelihood. Teaching Vedas, officiating at sacrifices and receiving gifts—these are the privileges of brāhmaṇas; the profession of arms and protection of the people are the peculiar privileges of ksātriyas; agriculture, rearing cattle, trade and money-lending are the peculiar privileges of vaiśyas. The first three viz. study, sacrifices and liberality are said to be the dharmas of all dvijas and the other actions such as teaching the Veda are said to be the vr̥tti or jīviṁ (means of livelihood) of the dvijas. The consequence of this bifurcation is that if the first three are not performed or are neglected, the person concerned was deemed to incur sin, while a brāhmaṇa is not bound necessarily to earn his livelihood by all or any one of the three viz. teaching, officiating at a sacrifice or receiving gifts. A few words on each of these duties and privileges must be said at this stage.

Study (of Vedas). It has been already stated (p. 38) that brāhmaṇa and learning had become indissolubly connected even in early Vedic periods. We see in the Śatapatha Br. and in the Upaniṣads that certain kings had attained eminence as philosophers or students of brahma-vidyā and then even learned brāhmaṇas came to them as pupils. For example, Yājñavalkya learnt from Janaka (Śat. Br. XI. 6. 21. 5), Bālaki Gārgya from

218. विज्ञापतिनामवपनमिया द्वारा। भाष्यानुवादिका: सर्वत्राध्याजनमविशिष्टा।

219. पुरुषसंसारप्राप्ति अवधसंसारप्राप्ति। अनवर्तनमवाविता: नवर्तनस्वरूपिनि।
Ajātāśatru, king of Kāśi (Br. Up. II. 1 and Kauṣṭitaki Up. IV.), Śvetaketu Āruneya from Pravāhaṇa. Jaivali (Chān. Up. V. 3), five brāhmaṇas from Aśvapati, king of Kekaya (Chān. V. 11). In Br. Up. (IV. 2. 1) Janaka is described by Yājñavalkya as one who had studied the Vedas and Upaniṣads. From this it may be inferred that some kṣatriyas at least spent a good deal of time in the study of religious and philosophical doctrines. The conclusion that is sometimes

220. अवाष्पत रूपति says in ज्ञातस्य V. 3. 7 that भ्रामिन्यिया was not known to ज्ञातस्य till be imparted it to गौतम ' यथा दृश्य गौतनायार्दभृ नेत्रेपिनी न भाव नाता। पूरा निधो ज्ञातस्यानुवाच तस्मा उपत्तिः लोकम् अनन्ति प्रमाणमस्यसुतिः'। video सूद. उप. VI. 2. 8 where similar words occur about the same निधि।

221. एवेद प्रका अध्य: साध्वितवेच्यु यदास्विनिभाव: इत्य निधुपन्ताना: के गौतम- कालिति नात तदानाचेच्यु गत्वा गौतमवाच्य। सूद. उ. IV. 2. 1.

222. Vide Deussen's 'Das System des Vedānta', 1883, (pp. 18-19) 'the real cherisher of those thoughts was originally the caste of the kṣatriyas, rather than the caste of the priests. Over and over again we come across the situation that the brāhmaṇa asks the kṣatriya for information,' and Deussen refers only to six passages (Br. Up. II. 1, VI. 2, Ch. Up. V. 3 and V. 11 and Kauṣṭitaki Up. I. 1 and IV. 1). Vide also 'Philosophy of the Upaniṣads' (translated by Geden, 1905, pp. 17-19). In the first place these are too few passages out of the vast Upaniṣad literature to found the sweeping generalisation in which the German savant indulges. In the second place in Br. Up. II. 1 and Kauṣṭitaki Up. IV. there is no statement that brahmavidya was known only to kṣatriyas; on the contrary Ajātāśatru expresses surprise that a brāhmaṇa should approach a kṣatriya for the expounding of brahmavidya and says that this is opposed to the natural (or usual) order of affairs. This shows that Ajātāśatru was an exception and that brāhmaṇas usually taught brahmavidya. In Kauṣṭitaki I. 1. and Ch. Up. V. 11 all that is narrated is that Gautama Śvetaketu learnt from Citra Gārgiśaṇi and certain śrutiśras like Aupamanyava learnt Vaiśṇavavidya from Aśvapati Kaikēya. But nothing is said here about brahmavidya being first known to kṣatriyas only. In Br. Up. VI. 2 and Ch. Up. V. 11 it is no doubt stated that 'this Vidya' was not known to any brāhmaṇa till then; but 'this vidya' does not mean the whole of the philosophy of brahma, but only that particular doctrine which bears the name of pāñcagnividya. This vidya no doubt propounds the doctrine of transmission in a figurative and somewhat picturesque way. But that doctrine is elsewhere elaborated by brāhmaṇas like Yājñavalkya to the brāhmaṇas in king Janaka's court and to Janaka himself (vide Br. Up. III. 2. 13 and IV. 4. 3-4). Nor can it be said that the doctrine of transmission was not at all known before the Upaniṣads. The same views are echoed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in 'Verhand-lungen des VII

(Continued on next page)
drawn by certain writers that ksatriyas or kings were the pioneers in brahmavidyā cannot be accepted as correct. The germ of the philosophy of the Upaniṣads are seen in the later hymns of the Rgveda, in the Atharvaveda and in some of the Brāhmaṇa treatises. The Upaniṣads are full of brāhmaṇas who independently propounded various aspects of brahma-vidyā and there is no reason to suppose that the few ksatriyas referred to as masters of the vidyā were the only persons who first attained to that position. There are hardly any ancient passages to show that vaiśyas devoted any portion of their time to veda study. The Kāṭhaka-Samhitā (IX. 16) indicates that all varṇas studied the Veda since it speaks of a person not a brāhmaṇa, having studied (Vedic) lores and yet not shining (by his learning).

As to brāhmaṇas the matter stands thus. The Nirukta (II. 4) contains four verses (which are called Vidyāsukta), the first of which says that vidyā came to the brāhmaṇa and requested him to guard her as his treasure. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali quotes as an āgama (Vedic passage) the words 'a brāhmaṇa should study and understand without any motive (of profit) dharma, the Veda with its six subsidiary lores (viz. phonetics etc.).' Manu IV. 147 says 'a brāhmaṇa should always and assiduously study the Veda alone; that (Veda study) is his highest dharma; everything else is inferior dharma'. Yāj. (I. 198) observes 'the Creator created brāhmaṇas for the preservation of the vedas, for the satisfaction of the

(Cotinhued from last page)

Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses zu Wien (Arische Sec. pp. 108-109) and in 'Vaiśnavism and Śaivism' p. 9 'Kṣatriyas engaged themselves in active speculation on religious matters about the time of the Upaniṣads and are mentioned as the original possessors of the new knowledge,' and the learned Doctor refers only to Ch. Up. V. 3 and V. 11. It may be stated that Hopkins (in 'Ethics of India' 1924 p. 63), Barth (Religions of India p. 65) and Vedic Index (vol. II p. 206) do not subscribe to these views of Deussen and Bhandarkar.

223. चौदनबाह विद्यावृत्त लेख रविनद्र स एताद्वृद्धरूपमान्तम्य परेत वर्सेकस्य- कस्तुष्य नक्क्य मण्डलां दशिनिती निषेधयथाय भाषालौटित। काठकम् IX. 16. 

224. The same four verses occur in Vas. Dh.S.II. 8-11, three of them except 'adhyaśitā ye' in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 29. 9-10 and 30. 47; Manu II. 114-115 expresses the ideas of two out of them, but in different words.

225. वामनस्मिर्दाधिकार यमा षडयो वेदोफ्यो ज्ञाने दति। महामायें (vol. I. p. 15).
gods and píthras, for the safeguarding of dharma.' Atri (25) contains the same idea. Other\textsuperscript{226} sages say that he in whose family Veda (Vedic study) and vedî (consecration of fires for śrauta rites) are given up for three generations becomes a durbrähmana (an unworthy or bad brähmana). The Tai. S. (II. 1. 10. 1) prescribes a rite for a durbrähmana in whose family cessation of drinking soma occurred for generations and who himself desired to drink soma.

Teaching the Veda—It is probable that in very remote times the son was taught the Veda by his father. The story of Śvetaketu Aruṇeya (Chândogya V. 3. 1. and VI. 1. 1-2 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 1) shows that he learnt all the Vedas from his father and the legend in the Br. Up. (V. 2. 1) that the gods, men and asuras learnt from their father Prajāpati points in the same direction.\textsuperscript{227} Rg. VII. 103. 5 shows that instruction was oral and consisted in the pupil repeating the words uttered by the teacher.\textsuperscript{228} Whatever may have been the case in very remote times, from the times of the Brähmana literature and in the times of the dharmasāstras teaching Vedic literature was almost universally in the hands of brähmanas. Some kṣatriya teachers or philosophers are referred to in the Satapatha (VIII. 1. 4. 10 and XI. 6. 2) and elsewhere, but they are generally held in low esteem. The Āp. Dh. S.\textsuperscript{229} (II. 2. 4. 25-28) lays down that the brähmana alone can be the teacher (of a brähmana), but in distress (i.e. in the absence of a brähmana teacher), a brähmana may learn from a kṣatriya or vaisya, but the only service (which as a pupil) he should render to a kṣatriya or vaisya teacher is to go after him (and not shampooing his feet etc.) and after the brähmana finishes his study, the brähmana may go in front.

\textsuperscript{226} अन्वयशुद्धीमित्रा वेदशा वेदी च विचिन्त्यो विुरुम्भ। स वै बुद्धवादो

\textsuperscript{227} भाष: मध्यपाला: मध्यपाली पितारी मध्यप्रदुःधुन्ति मध्यपा: अधार उपिता

\textsuperscript{228} अन्वयशुद्धीमित्रा वेदशा वेदी च विचिन्त्यो विशुम्भा:। भाष: VII. 103. 5

\textsuperscript{229} मध्यम अन्वयशुद्धीमित्रा वेदशा वेदी च विचिन्त्यो विशुम्भाः। अन्वयशुद्धीमित्रा वेदशा वेदी च विचिन्त्यो विशुम्भाः। भाष: II. 2. 4. 25-28.
(of his ksatriya teacher). Gaut. (VII. 1-3) and Manu (X. 1, II. 241) lay down the same rules. Manu (II. 242) adds that a perpetual student (naisthika brahmacari) should not stay as a pupil with a teacher who is not a brahmana and that a brahma may learn even from a sudra a useful or efficacious craft (II. 238). The profession of teaching the Veda could not have brought much money or wealth to brahmans, since very great emphasis was laid, as we shall see later, on teaching without any prior agreement about payment. It was the privilege of a brahmana alone to officiate as a priest. Jaimini says that, as the ksatriya and vaiśya cannot be priests (ṛtviks), the sattra (a sacrifice extending over many days or years) could be performed only by brahmans. The Katyāyanā Śrautasūtra uses a similar argument. When Viśvāmitra agreed to perform a sacrifice for Trisānku who had been cursed to be a candra, the Rāmāyanā says that the gods and sages would not accept the oblations. It is doubtful whether the same rigid rule prevailed in ancient Vedic days. In Rg. X. 98. 7 it is said that Devāpi was the purohita of Śantana and the Nirukta (II. 10) adds that Devāpi and Śantana were brothers and descendants of Kuru. So, according to the Nirukta at least, a ksatriya could be a purohita in Vedic times. It may be admitted that the Rg. itself does not expressly say that they were brothers. In modern times many writers often speak of brahmans as the priestly caste or as priests. But this is not a very accurate statement. All brahmans never were nor are priests; besides even in modern times when caste is so rigid all priests in all temples and shrines are not brahmans. Some brahmans became the family priests (purohitas) of kings, many engaged as ṛtviks at solemn śrauta sacrifices or at domestic rites and ceremonies. Temple priests are comparatively a later institution and they were generally looked down upon in olden times and are regarded as inferior even in modern times. Manu (III. 152) says that a devalaka i.e. a brahmana who took

230. 114.30. II. 6. 18; 14.8. 11. 28.

231. 114.30. II. 6. 18; 114.30. II. 6. 18.

232. 114.30. II. 6. 18; 114.30. II. 6. 18.

233. 114.30. II. 6. 18; 114.30. II. 6. 18.
remuneration to perform service before the image in a temple for three years continuously was unfit to be invited at a śrāddha or to officiate in a sacrifice for gods.

The third means of livelihood permitted to brāhmaṇas was receiving gifts from a worthy or unblemished person. According to Yama quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 179) pratigraha (receiving gifts) from a worthy person of the three higher varṇas is superior to the acquisition of wealth by officiating as a priest or by teaching. But Manu (X. 109-11) says that pratigraha from an unworthy person (or a śūdra) is worse than the act of teaching him or officiating as a priest for him. Very elaborate rules were laid down about gifts i.e., who should receive gifts, from whom gifts may be received and on what occasions and what things were proper subjects of gift. The latter two matters will be discussed in detail later on. Here the rules about the persons to whom gifts should be made and from whom they were to be accepted will be set out. It appears from the Br. Up. (IV. 1.3) that even in those ancient times there were prohibitions against receiving gifts from unworthy persons and officiating as priests for the unworthy. And the Br. Up. (V. 14. 5-6) suggests that it is only the learned who could properly accept large gifts.

In the first place, the ideal set before brāhmaṇas was one of poverty, of plain living and high thinking, of forsaking the active pursuit of riches and cherishing cultural preservation and advancement. Manu lays down the general rule that when not in distress a brāhmaṇa should acquire wealth only just sufficient to maintain himself and his family, and to enable him to perform his religious duties without causing any harm to others or by as little harm to others as possible and without unduly worrying his own body (IV. 2-3) and then Manu (IV. 7-8) says that a brāhmaṇa householder may

233. निष्ठार्यविपन्नवाक्यार्य महिमां भैरवतं पुलिनाः। निष्ठार्यविपन्नवाक्यार्य महिमां भैरवतं पुलिनाः।

234. The words 'kusūla' and 'kumbhī' have been variously explained by the commentators; vide Kullüka on Manu IV. 7. According to Kullüka one who has corn sufficient for three years is called 'kusūladhānya' as suggested by Manu X. 7; while 'kumbhīdhānya' is one who has a store of corn for one year. Medhātithi says that there is no restriction to corn only; one who has wealth either in corn or money to satisfy his needs for three years is 'kusūladhānya'; according to Govindaśāja, 'kusūladhānya' and 'kumbhīdhānya' are respectively those who have corn for 12 and 6 days. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 128 accepts Govindaśāja's explanation.
either accumulate so much grain (but not more) as would fill a kusūla (a granary), or a kumbhi or he may have as much corn as would satisfy all his needs for three days or as much as will suffice for the day that is on and that out of these four each succeeding one was superior to each preceding one i.e. one who had no more accumulation of material goods than for the day itself (and who did not care for the morrow) was the best brāhmaṇa. Yāj. I. 128 speaks of a fifth grade viz. a brāhmaṇa should subsist by collecting the ears of corn that are left in the field after the crops are gathered or the single grains of corn so left and Manu (IX. 112) says that if a brāhmaṇa cannot maintain himself he may prefer to live on the collection of fallen ears of corn or grains rather than receive gifts. This last mode is designated rāta by Manu (IV. 5). Manu (IV, 12, 15, 17) lays down that a brāhmaṇa should cultivate supreme contentment and though desirous of happiness should restrain himself (in the pursuit of wealth), he should not, even when in distress, hanker after the acquisition of wealth by excessive attachment or by doing what is forbidden or by accepting gifts from any person whatever (of blemished character etc.) and he should give up pursuits that are opposed to (cause obstacles in) his devotion to Vedic study. Yāj. (I. 129) says the same thing in more concise language. Vyāsa prescribes that a brāhmaṇa should seek to narrow down his means of livelihood and should not hanker after excess of wealth; if he sets about accumulation of wealth he loses the (glorious) status of brāhmaṇya. The Mahābhārata says that when a brāhmaṇa has more corn than he would require to satisfy his needs for three years, then he should offer a sacrifice with that wealth and he should not go on accumulating wealth in vain and that accumulation of vast wealth is a calamity for a brāhmaṇa.

Gautama (IX. 63), Yāj. (I. 100), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (63, 1), and Laghu-Vyāsa (II. 8) say that a brāhmaṇa should approach a

235. That this ideal of ‘kumbhādhānyya’ is very ancient is shown by the use of the word kumbhādhānya in the Mahābhārata where it is explained as follows (on Pañ. I, 3, 7, vol. I, p. 264)

‘कुम्भाधान्यं अभिधिक उपयोगे। परं कुम्भाधान्यं धर्मं स कुम्भाधायां। तेषु पुनः कुम्भाय়ঃ


237. श्रीविद्यासादन्तमाकृतिकं पराधिष्ठितं हु। पूजनीय विषयेन न हुवा साध-रेषु प्रत्यक्षं। अनुसारण 47, 22; अन्नवान आकृतिस्य यथा निदन्तिष्ठवं महाय। अनुसारण 61, 19.
king (or a rich man) for his yogakṣema (i.e. for his livelihood and support). Manu (IV. 33), Yāj. (I. 130), and Vas. Dh. S. (XII. 2) declare that a brāhmaṇa when oppressed by hunger should seek for help (or money) from a king, from his pupil or from one who is able and willing to offer a sacrifice. But a brāhmaṇa should not receive a gift from an irreligious king or other irreligious donor. This implies that if the brāhmaṇa is not hungry and has sufficient wealth either obtained by inheritance or partition or in any other way he should not go about seeking for wealth and should not receive gifts (Manu IV. 34). If a brāhmaṇa cannot secure gifts from the above three, then he may do so from any other worthy dviṣā. When even that is not possible and the brāhmaṇa is in difficulties he was allowed to take a gift from anybody including a sūdra (Manu X. 102-103, Yāj. III. 41); but a brāhmaṇa should not seek gifts from a sūdra for the performance of a sacrifice or for agnihotra, as thereby he becomes a cāndāla in another birth (Manu XI. 24 and 42, Yāj. I. 127). A brāhmaṇa trying to support his hungry elders (parents etc.), his dependants (wife, servants etc.), and about to worship gods and honour guests may accept a gift from anybody (except a patita), but should not satisfy his own hunger with that wealth (Manu IV. 251, Vas. 14. 13, Višnu Dh. S. 57. 13, Yāj. I. 216). Yāj., however, allowed this even for one’s own livelihood. Gaut. (18. 24-25) allows a brāhmaṇa to receive even from a sūdra as much as would enable him to finish marriage ceremonies on which he has embarked or to get materials for a sacrifice when he has begun it. One may take gifts from a sūdra or ugra for paying a fee to one’s guru at the end of the period of brahmacarya (Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 20-21.). A brāhmaṇa was not to seek gifts from a king who was not of ksatriya lineage nor from butchers, oilmen, keepers of liquor-shops and of brothels nor from courtesans (Manu IV. 84), nor from a king who is avaricious and transgresses the rules of the śāstras (Yāj. I. 140, Manu IV. 87). The Smrtis lay down

238. असतारां स्वतं प्रवर्तकं विद्विजातिनां बालाणीं हृदयति। परं विन्दुप्रकाश | गीतम् 17.1–2.
239. वाराणसी विन्दुसिद्धर्शबोधितं धर्मानलं पारसी | च भुविनां। गीतम् 18. 24.
240. Vide Par. M. I. 1. p. 199 for quotations from Saṃvarta, the Skandapurāṇa, the Viṣṇu-dharmottara condemning the receipt of gifts from irreligious kings. In Anuśāsana 93. 94 the sages say to king Viṣṇukṛṣṇarādhī 'रजनी भविष्यद्वारे कमलावनमानी श्रीमानस्। स्वभवनांनम्रयस्तथेऽश्रवणं हन्ते।' नायक गामन करते अभिज्ञता सीवति रुपम्। तस्मान तथवेठा तामसविरिक्क श्रीवति। महाभारतम् VII. 134.
that it is the duty of the king to support śrotriyas (brāhmaṇas learned in the Veda) and brāhmaṇas who are incapable of struggling for their maintenance (Gaut. X. 9–10, Yāj. III. 44, Atri 24) and that if a śrotiya perishes through hunger in the domains of a king, that country would suffer from famine and disease (Manu VII. 134). Yāj. III. 44 lays down that it is the duty of a king to assign a proper means of livelihood to a brāhmaṇa in distress, having regard to the brāhmaṇa’s conduct, descent, learning, Vedic study, tapas, the members in his family. 241 The ideal set before brāhmaṇas in the matter of pratigraha (receiving gifts) was that he, who though entitled to accept a gift (on account of his Vedic learning and tapas) does not take it, attains to the highest worlds (Yāj. I. 213); and Manu (IV. 186) says that though entitled to accept gifts a brāhmaṇa should not again and again resort to that method, since the spiritual power (due to Vedic study) that he acquires is lost by accepting gifts. Another rule about gifts is laid down in many works as follows. When a donor himself goes to the place of a worthy donee and makes a gift that is the best gift, when a donor calls a donee to his place and makes a gift it is middling and when a donor gives if begged by a donee it is inferior. 242 Manu (IV. 188–191) prescribes that a man, who is not learned, is reduced to ashes like fuel if he accepts a gift of gold, land, horses, cows, food, clothes, sesame and ghee, that a brāhmaṇa who, being devoid of learning and tapas (regulated life), desires to accept gifts sinks (into Hell) as one who sits in a stone boat sinks in water; and that therefore a brāhmaṇa who is not learned should be afraid of receiving gifts.

241. We find that kings followed these directions from very ancient times. In Karle Inscription No. 13 (E. I. vol. VII. p. 57) and Nasik cave Inscription No. 12 (E. I. Vol. VIII p. 78) king Uṣavadāta (Ṛṣabhadatta) proclaims that he gave one lakh of cows and 16 villages to brāhmaṇas at Prabhāśa and got some of them married at his expense and that he also fed every year a lakh of brāhmaṇas. In numerous grants of lands and villages the purpose of the grants is said to be to enable the donees to perform the five Mahāyajñas, Agnihotra, Vaiśvadeva, the offering of bali and caru (vide Sarasvati plate of Buddhāraja in E. I. vol. 6 p. 298 dated in Kaṭacehuri Śaṁvat 361 i. e. 609–10 A. D., Damosdarpur plates in E. I. vol. XV. p. 113 dated 443–44 A. D.).

242. अधिकाराः वृत्तान्त मेधावी द्वैधजन न विचारन न तिथिक- शास्त्र ॥ विपरीत्य १. २९। नाम विद्व्याः दुर्विष विब्वंतपां वृत्तपां श्रुतिः। कस्मविद्वानां द्वारा विपरीत द्वैधज्ञस्तु वृत्तान्तमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति विक्रिय स्वायत्तिकृतमिति

H. D. 15
To the same effect are Yāj. (I. 200-202), Vas. Dh. S. (VI. 32), Auśanasā (Jiv. I. p. 521 which is almost the same as Manu IV. 188). Just as a brāhmaṇa who was not learned was enjoined not to accept a gift, so conversely people were asked to make gifts only to learned and worthy men. Even so early as the Śat. Br. this is emphasized as in IV. 3. 4. 15 (S. B. E., vol. 26 p. 344) "thus those cows of his are given to him who is fit to receive a dākṣiṇā and not to him who is unfit". Vide III. 5. 1. 19 (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 114) also. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 9-10) prescribes 'one should invite for dinner in all religious acts brāhmaṇas who are pure and who have studied the Veda and one should distribute gifts at a proper time and place and on occasions of purificatory rites and when there is a worthy acceptor.'

To the same effect are Vas. Dh. S. III. 8 and VI. 30, Manu (III. 128, 132 and IV. 31), Yāj. (I. 201), Daksā III. 26 and 31. The smṛtis say that gifts given to a brāhmaṇa who has not studied the Veda or who is avaricious and deceitful are fruitless and lead the donor to hell (Manu IV. 192-194, Atri 152, Daksā III. 29). Manu (XI. 1-3) says that nine kinds of snātáka brāhmaṇas who are poor are the primary objects of the gift of food and fees inside the sacrificial altar; while to others food and wealth may be given outside the altar (bahirvedi).

An exception was made in the case of gifts made without request from the donee. What has been offered unasked may be accepted even from one who is guilty of bad actions, except from unchaste women, impotent persons and pātita (outcastes or persons guilty of mahāpātakas)—Yāj. I. 215, Manu IV. 248-49, Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 19. 11-14 (where two verses are quoted from a Purāṇa which are almost the same as Manu IV. 248-249), Viśnū Dh. S. 57. 11. Many persons are mentioned in the smṛtis from whom gifts (particularly of food) were not to be accepted (vide Manu IV. 205-224, Vas. Dh. S. XIV. 2-11).

Another rule about gifts was that a person should prefer a learned brāhmaṇa who is his neighbour for making a gift to one who is not near; if he did not do so, he incurred sin; but there was no blame in passing over an ignorant or foolish

243. ṛṣiṣṇuvarṇadhārā: संस्कृतेश्वरोऽभिन्नत: देश्व: काराम: कृपा: सम्प्रदायितांन्त्येव i इति द्रानानि भैरवनुति. आप. प्र. श्र. II. 6, 15. 9-10.

244. भवदपि द्वीपमये वेच्छं द्वीपितं मयेऽ। तन्नुषुपमस्ते द्वयं तदेव सर्वेऽपि किमित्वा। दुःख III. 31. This is also Samās. 44-45, Adbhuta 59. 7, Karika 35. 52-53, Madhyānta 72. 39.
Proper donees

brāhmaṇa who stays near in favour of a worthy but distant brāhmaṇa.245 Vide Vas. Dh. S. III. 9–10, Manu VIII. 392 (which prescribes a fine of one mūsa for this), Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti IV. 35–38, Bhṛṣpati-smṛti 60 and Laghu-Śatātapa 76–79, Gobhila-smṛti II. 66–69. Devala quoted by Aparārka p. 288 and Par. M. I. part 1 p. 181 say that that brāhmaṇa is a pātra (worthy to receive a gift) who is pure in three respects (viz. as to his parents and his guru), whose means of livelihood are slender, who is tender-hearted and of restrained senses. Vas. Dh. S. VI. 26 and Yāj. I. 200 also define pātra similarly.

It is not to be supposed that the ideal of poverty and non-acceptance of gifts except under compelling circumstances was only an ideal hardly ever acted upon at any time or in any part of the country. Even in the 20th century rural India has villages with a considerable population of brāhmaṇas where many śroṭriyas (learned in the Veda) and pandits (those who study śāstras like grammar, logic, mīmāṃsā) are still found who are content with what little patrimony they have got, who engage in the profession of teaching the Veda and śāstras in accordance with ancient rules and who do not go about seeking gifts nor accept invitations for dinner at śrāddhas. In the Śāntiparva 199 brāhmaṇas are divided into two sorts, viz. those who are pravṛtta (i.e. engage in all sorts of activities for acquiring wealth) and those who are nivṛtta and verse 40 defines these latter as those who do not resort to pratigraha (acceptance of gifts).

Though pratigraha was a special privilege of brāhmaṇas, gifts could be made by anybody to anybody. Yāj. I. 6 says that giving to a worthy person at a proper time is the complete definition of dharma and Viśvarūpa adds that gifts could be made by anybody; but the merit secured by making a gift depended upon the worth and caste of the donee. Gaut. (V. 18),246 Manu VII. 85, Veda-Vyāsa IV. 42, Dakṣa III.

245. māraṇa-vidhikāni mālita vṛtthi maṇiraśiṣṭiḥ. niirttānirbhṛṣpati-sūtrāmitiṇā naḥ saṃsāra

246. māraṇa-vidhikāni mālita vṛtthi maṇiraśiṣṭiḥ. niirttānirbhṛṣpati-sūtrāmitiṇā naḥ saṃsāra.
28 say that a gift given to a brāhmaṇa (who is only so by caste, but is not learned), to a śrotriya (or ācārya) and to one who has completely mastered all the Vedas (with their subsidiary lores) respectively confers merit which is twice, a hundred thousand times or an infinite number of times more than the merit conferred by a gift to a non-brāhmaṇa. Gautama\(^{247}\) (V. 19-20) and Baudhāyana II. 3. 24 further make it obligatory to give outside the sacrificial altar according to one's ability a portion of one's wealth to a brāhmaṇa, śrotriya and vedapāraga when they seek help for giving a dākṣiṇā to their teacher (at the end of the period of studenthood), for their own marriage, for medicine, for their own maintenance (that day), for a sacrifice, for their own study or journey, and when everything has been given in a Viśvajit sacrifice and that one must give cooked food to all others who beg for it (except brāhmaṇa, śrotriya and vedapāraga). Manu (XI. 1-3) gives practically the same rule. In the Vaiśvādeva the householder was enjoined to give food to everyone including even dogs and cāndālas, as we shall see later on (under\(^{248}\) Vaiśvādeva). Medhātithi on Manu IV. 5 says that when a person makes a gift through compassion it is not the dāna and pratigraha spoken of by the śāstra; just as when a man gives instruction as to what is beneficial he does not care to see what the caste of the person to be benefited by the advice is, so a gift made through compassion is made irrespective of caste; and that when non-brāhmaṇa reduced to a helpless condition take what is given by others, it cannot be said that they are assuming to themselves the livelihood by pratigraha which is a peculiar means of livelihood for brāhmaṇas.\(^{249}\)

\(^{247}\) श्रोत्रियां वै हस्तान्तिमाणां द्वितीयं वदः कथायते भावनेन विषाणु वधान्तिमाणां द्वितीयं वदः कथायते। सौरवायुः कदाचार्यां कथायते। नैतिकं V. 19. 20; वि. प. सं. II. 3. 24 reads वृद्धार्थम् हस्तान्तिमाणां कथायते। नैतिकं V. 24। श्रोत्रियां वै हस्तान्तिमाणां द्वितीयं वदः कथायते। सौरवायुः।

\(^{248}\) सर्वांतुन्त्रः माहिना कृतितः श्रवणेऽः। आर. प. सं. II. 4. 9. 5.

\(^{249}\) सन्तु च कथामय द्वासोद्भवेऽः। नति बुदिः। न तत्र द्वासोद्भवे। जीवसो कथायते। सौरवायुः कथायते। नैतिकं। नैतिकं। सन्तु च कथामय द्वासोद्भवेऽः। जीवसो कथायते। सौरवायुः कथायते। नैतिकं। नैतिकं। नैतिकं। नैतिकं।
In spite of the noble ideal set before brāhmaṇas it appears that, owing to the growth of the Brāhmaṇa population and the paucity of gifts and invitations to officiate as priests, the strict rules about dāna and pratigraha had to be relaxed and in course of time it came to be said that a brāhmaṇa, whether learned or ignorant, was to be a donee and may accept gifts without any scruples. The first inroad was made by the rule that in rites meant for gods the character and learning of brāhmaṇas need not be deeply inquired into, but that such enquiry was proper only when they were to be invited for śrāddha and other rites for the dead, the only exceptions being that a brāhmaṇa, who is a thief or is guilty of a mahāpātaka, or is impotent or an atheist was not to be invited even in rites for the gods (vide Manu III. 149–150). Gradually such views as the following came to be recommended. The Skandapurāṇa as quoted by Aparārka (p. 455) makes Śiva say to Pārvati ‘the Vedic revelation is that śrāddha (food) should be given (to a brāhmaṇa) after inquiry (into his learning and character), but straightforward action is better than scrutiny. When one offers śrāddha straightforwardly without scrutiny, his pitrs are satisfied and also gods.’ The Vṛddha-Gautama smṛti (chap. III pp. 512–513 and 518, Jiv.) says ‘Brāhmaṇas, whether well conducted or of bad conduct, whether vulgar or of polished intellect, should not be disrespected like fires covered with ashes. Just as fire in whatever condition it may be, is a great deity, so a brāhmaṇa is a great deity in whatever condition he may be.’

The wise should not despise brāhmaṇas, whether they be squint-eyed, humpbacked, dwarfs, indigent or diseased, since they are

250. नामाणि परिलेख क्षिपो द्वारथातिथिः। दैवे कमणि नित्ये द्वा राजासाहुः। परिलेखव आद्यवसन 90. 2. An instructive parallel may be found in Article XXVI of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church, whereby sacraments administered by a priest who is sinful do not suffer in efficacy.

251. आद्य वरिष्ठ वृत्तत्त्वलीको भौतिक स्थलः। परिलेखा रमोक आज्ञां कथा वरस।। अरविन्द द्रव्यान्ध्राधाम दामोदरान्धिता। तथा दश्यानि सिद्धि वृद्धांच न संस्करत।। quoted by अपरार्क प. 455.

252. हुषूता वा प्रयोग वा माहत्ता वा ह्युस्त्तात्तरां। नामाणि नवनचतुष्या। आद्यवसन । दूधक्षमिः स्वामृत भौमन्त्र नूत्तन।। सामान्यां विशिष्टाः महामन्त्रकः श्रीमति विशिष्टाः। सामान्यां विशिष्टाः महामन्त्रकः श्रीमति विशिष्टाः।। चैत्यं वा चैत्यं वा माहत्ता संहिष्ठिताः।। तथाः।। वर्षस्य वस्त्रं दाता दोषिणा: पावको नैव कुपश्च।। एवम बिषयान्त्वम्। नामाणि देयं भवत्व ||
my forms (i.e. of Kršna). The Anuśasanaparva (152.19)\textsuperscript{252} says ‘a brähmana who is not learned is a god and he is a worthy object for gifts and is a great purifier; a learned brähmana is a greater god (than an unlearned one).’

As already said above teaching could have brought very little wealth. There was no state educational system as in modern times with stability of tenure and graded rates of salary. Nor was there any Copyright Act under which a learned man could make money by writing books for students and the general public. The brähmanas had no organised corporate body like the Anglican Church with its hierarchy of Archbishops, Bishops and other divines, nor was there in ancient India any practice of making wills whereby large estates came to the Church as in England (where statutes of Mortmain had to be passed to prevent enormous estates from going to the Church).\textsuperscript{254} The emoluments of officiating priests and gifts given by charitably disposed persons must have been fitful and offered only a precarious means of livelihood, as they depended upon the volition of others and as the smṛtis recommended that even in śrāddha too many brähmanas should not be invited.\textsuperscript{255} Besides all brähmanas could not have possessed the memory, intelligence and patience required to master the Vedic Literature after intensive study for decades of years. Therefore, there is no wonder that many brähmanas were compelled by the force of circumstances to pursue for their livelihood avocations other than the three prescribed ones. From ancient times this was recognised by the dharmaśāstra works. Gaut. (VII.6 and 7) says that if a brähmana cannot maintain himself by means of the three peculiar modes of livelihood viz. teaching or officiating as a priest for even an unworthy person or by receiving gifts, then he should maintain himself by doing the work peculiar to a kṣatriya (i.e. by fighting and protecting people) and if even that is not possible then by following the avocations of a vaiśya and Gaut. VII. 26 ordains that a kṣatriya may resort to the profession of the vaiśya in similar circumstances. Baudhāyana

\textsuperscript{252} Vide Holdsworth’s History of English Law (4th ed.) vol. III p. 87 for the origin of statutes of Mortmain from 1279 A. D. to 51 and 52 Vic. chap. 42.

\textsuperscript{255} Vide Manu III. 125–126, Gaut. 15. 7–8, YeJ. I. 228.
Dh. S. (II 2. 77) says the same and then it adds (II 2. 78 and 80) that Gautama says that it should not be so as the duties of a kṣatriya would be too terrific for a brāhmaṇa and that he should pursue the avocation of a vāisyā. Baudhāyana (I. 1. 20) notes that the profession of arms was practised by the brāhmaṇas of the north. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 22) lays down that persons (of the three higher varṇas) should, if they cannot maintain themselves by the peculiar avocations of their varṇa, resort to the means of livelihood prescribed for the varṇa which is immediately below their own. Manu X. 81-82, Yāj. III. 35, Nārada (ṛṇādāna 56), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 28, Śaṅkha-Likhita say the same²⁵⁶ thing. It is further laid down by the same works that a person belonging to a lower varṇa should not resort to the modes of livelihood peculiar to a higher varṇa (vide Vas. Dh. S. II. 23, Manu X. 95). The smṛtis further ordain that when the calamity or distress ceases, the person who has taken to the avocations of another varṇa should perform prāyaścitta, should resume his proper avocations and abandon the wealth acquired by him by resorting to improper avocations; vide Manu XI. 192-193; Viṣṇu Dh. S. (54. 27-28), Yāj. III. 35, Nārada (ṛṇādāna 59-60). Manu (X. 96) prescribes that, if a person of a lower varṇa maintains himself through greed by the avocation²⁵⁷ peculiar to a higher varṇa, the king should confiscate the wealth and should at once banish him from the country. A classical example of the keenness with which good kings were expected to prevent persons of lower varṇas doing the actions allowed only to higher varṇas is furnished by the story of Śambūka narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa (VII. 73-76.) The Uttarārāmacarita of Bhavabhūti echoes the same sentiments. A śūdra²⁵⁸ who engaged in japa, homa, tapas or became an ascetic or repeated (Vedic) mantras was to be punished (or killed) by the king and was also guilty of mortal sin. Manu (X. 98) allows a vāisyā, if unable to maintain himself by the pursuits peculiar to his varṇa, to live by means of the

²⁵⁶. अन्यायाभिमानी वर्गविभक्तिका व्रतसाधनी ऎकाद : वधचर्गा योजन मन्त्रात् वर्जितात्।

²⁵⁷. न स वर्गविभक्ति नाशना: कर्म यागयोः। व्रतसाधारणा: योजना नाशनात् चतुर्भुजः।

²⁵⁸. यदि च शूरा: वै जपोऽर्नोऽपिष्कर्ष्येन विध्वंसपावः।

256. आसन्धाय भाविभुतिती बुधार्थाय विवाहयात्रा व्रतसाधनी कुप्स्य: तन्मयानां धाति न स वर्गविभक्तिका

257. न कर्मचन्द्र तृतीय माग्नायः कर्म वार्तणाः। व्रतसाधारणा: योजना नाशनात् चतुर्भुजः।

258. यदि च शूरा: वै जपोऽर्नोऽपिष्कर्ष्येन विध्वंसपावः।

259. अन्यायाभिमानी वर्गविभक्तिका व्रतसाधनी कुप्स्य: तन्मयानां धाति न स वर्गविभक्तिका
actions proper for a śūdra viz. serving members of the twice-born classes. It is also said by Gaut. (VII. 22-24) that a brāhmaṇa may maintain himself in any way if unable to maintain himself (by the three means specially prescribed for him), but he should not resort to the actions peculiar to a śūdra, that according to some ācāryas he may do even those actions when life itself is in danger, but that when he stoops to the actions peculiar to śūdras for maintenance he should not mix himself up with members of that varṇa (by sitting on the same seat with them etc.) or eat articles forbidden to brāhmaṇas (such as leek and garlic) and should not be a mere menial servant. Vide Manu (IV. 4 and 6) and Nārada (ṛṇādāna 57).

According to all ancient authorities the special duty of the śūdra was to render service to the twice-born classes, to obtain his livelihood from them and serving a brāhmaṇa conferred greater happiness or benefit on the śūdra than serving a kṣatriya and serving a kṣatriya conferred greater good than serving a vaiśya. According to Gaut. (X. 60-61), Manu (X. 124-125) and others, the śūdra was to wear the old or cast-off clothes, umbrellas, sandals, mattress etc. of his patron and the leavings of food (ucchiṣṭa) were to be given to him. If he became old and unable to do work while serving anyone of the higher varṇas he was to be fed by him whom he had formerly served (Gaut. X. 63). In course of time the position of the śūdra improved. If a śūdra was unable to maintain himself and his family by serving dūjās, he was allowed to maintain himself by having recourse to crafts like carpentry or drawing or painting pictures etc. Nārada (ṛṇādāna 58) allowed him to perform the work of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas in times of distress. Yāj (I. 120) also says that, if unable to maintain himself by the service of dūjās, the śūdra may carry on the profession of a vaiśya or may take to the various crafts. The Mahābhārata allowed a śūdra who could not maintain

259. युक्ता वृद्धस्वरूपावरणाति यवानाव:। पूर्वस्वरूपार्थ पूर्वस्वरूपाः निशेषाय सूयः। आप. व. I. 1. 1. 7-8; पारिवार्य चौरधरणाः। तेनाय दुरुस्तिमेति। तत्त्वा पूर्वार्थाः। मौलस X. 57-59; माकालिनिष्ठ वर्णानां दुरुस्तिजयानां। गद्धिंशाम 60. 28; vide also Vāts. Dh. S. II. 20, Manu X. 121-123, Yāj. I. 120, वी. व. II. 10. 5, परम 150. 36.

260. विज्ञानरुप वृद्ध के रूपानां धुरुसानां। विधाते प्रभु 8. 171; युक्तप्रज्ञ विधान युज्ज्वल लघुविद्यानां शास्त्राय। अलंकृत त्रि. 5; मनु X. 99-100.

261. विज्ञानरुप वृद्धस्वरूपाका दुरुस्तिमेति। विज्ञानारुप विशेषाय पूता। पूर्वसवरूपार्थ पूर्वस्वरूपार्थ। गद्धिंशाम 295. 4; युक्तप्रज्ञ विधाते परम्परानां। विधान संपादनानां। अलंकृत त्रि. 5; रूपानां, quoted in the शुद्धिर. I. p. 171; vide सम्बन्धाय. वार्ता 22. 5.
himself by the service of higher varṇas to resort to the avocations of a vaiśya, to rearing cattle and to crafts. Others like Laghu-Āśvalāyana (22. 5), Vṛddha-Hārīta (VII. 189, 192) allowed agriculture to the śūdra. The Kālikāpurāṇa quoted in the Gṛ. R. (p. 479) allowed the śūdra to sell all commodities except honey, skins, lākṣa (lac), wines and flesh, while Brhat-Parāśara (p. 101) prohibited the śūdra from selling wine and flesh. Devala quoted in the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 120) prescribes that the śūdra should serve the twice-born and may engage in agriculture, rearing cattle, carrying loads, sale of commodities, drawing and painting, dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments like the flute, lute, drums and tabors. 262 The foregoing will show that the śūdra gradually rose in social status so far as occupation was concerned and could follow all occupations except those specially reserved for the brāhmaṇa, so much so that śūdras became even kings and Manu (IV. 61) had expressly to enjoin upon brāhmaṇas not to dwell in the kingdom of a śūdra. 263 The smṛtis however did not like that wealth should be accumulated in the hands of the śūdra (though they were quite willing that ksatriyas and vaiśyas should command all wealth). Gaut. (X. 64–65) says that the śūdra’s accumulation of wealth should be for the support and benefit of the other varṇas. Manu (X. 129) says that a śūdra, even though able to accumulate wealth, should not do so, as (on account of his pride of wealth and his ignorance) ‘he may cause obstructions and trouble to brāhmaṇas. Śūdras were divided into numerous subcastes. But there were two main divisions. One was anirvāsita śūdras (such as carpenters and blacksmiths) and the other nirvāsita śūdras (like cāndālas); vide note 200 above. Another division of śūdras was into those who were bhojyāṇna (i.e. food prepared by whom could be partaken by brāhmaṇas) and abhojyāṇna. In the first were included one’s

262. शुद्धमं श्रावणिलिङ्गसुया पापवर्जनं कायस्थितो विषयं विचारानुपालनार्थं प्रसंवचन-विचारकं ज्ञान-विद्वान-श्रावण-श्रावण-विणाद्वादुप्रविणादलिः। वे नितो या ई। 120।

263. Compare अथ क्र. दू. I. 11. 32. 18 (सद्यान दुस्मांसनिर्णये देवदृष्टते) with मृ. IV. 61. This dictum of Manu must have been pronounced at a time when śūdra kings were rare; otherwise it would have no meaning and brāhmaṇas would have been compelled to leave India. So it follows that Manu did not hold the view propounded in certain Purāṇas that after the Nandas there would be no ksatriya kings and only śūdras will be kings.

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slave, one’s cowherd, barber, family friend and one who shared with one the crop reared on one’s land (vide Yaj. I. 166). It is worthy of note that even the Mit. adds the potter to the above list. All the other śudras were such that a brāhmaṇa could not take his food. A third and well-known division was into sacchūdra (well-conducted) and asac-chūdra. The former class included those śudras who followed good occupations or trade, served dūjas and had given up meat and drinking or selling liquor. The Śudrakamalākara (p. 60) says that asat-śudras do not incur sin even if they partake of meat and liquor, provided they do not eat forbidden meat and that there is no lapse if one comes in contact with a śudra that drinks liquor.

A few words may now be said about brāhmaṇas being allowed to follow the occupations of ksatriyas and vaśyas. From very ancient times brāhmaṇas appear to have followed the profession of arms. Pān. (V. 2. 71) teaches the formation of the word ‘brāhmaṇaka’ as applied to a country, which means ‘in which Brāhmaṇas follow the profession of arms.’ Kaut. (IX. 2) quotes the view of the acāryas that when there are armies composed of brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas, vaśyas and śudras each preceding one is better for enlistment than each subsequent, but Kaut. himself is against this and adds that the enemy may win over the army of brāhmaṇas by prostration before them. Āpastamba was against the idea of brāhmaṇas following the profession of arms. He says (I. 10. 29. 7) ‘a brāhmaṇa should not catch hold of a weapon even for examining it (much

264. न धृति सन्यासेऽपि अपेक्षो भिन्नौ च। न विकृष्टादति द्रवत रघुस्यां हि स उपयोगे। अस्विनदुर्ग (अध्याय section) chap. 44. 32.

265. Pān. V. 2. 71 is not commented on by Patañjali and the Kāśīkā explains the sūtra as above. But it is clear that Patañjali knew a country called Brāhmaṇaka as elsewhere he says (vol. II, p. 298 on Pān. IV 2. 104, Vārtika 30, ‘वाचकाणि नाम अनन्वितजमात्रायः मानविति। अखादसिद्धिः।’).

266. अन्तर्गतविषेकविश्वसयोगानि तेजाप्रभावातः पूर्वेऽदेव संतानाभिनियमि

267. परिसारविषे नामग्रं अन्तर्गत नावदुर्द्वारसि। अध्य. घ. I, 10. 29. 7; महायज्ञे

268. चार्जुधर्मिः सर्वसदासः श्री VII. 25; अध्य. ध्र. II. 2. 80; अयमः
less for attacking others with it). Gaut. (VII. 6) allowed a brähmana to follow ksatriya’s profession in case of distress (āpad) and adds (in VII. 25) that even a brähmana while still following the peculiar avocation of a brähmana may wield weapons when his life is in danger. The Baudh. Dh. S. (II. 2. 80) quotes a verse ‘for saving cows and brähmanas, for preventing the mixture of varnas, the brähmana and vaiśya may take to arms from their concern for dharma.’ The Vas. Dh. S. (III. 24) allows a brähmana to wield a weapon for protecting himself and for preventing confusion or mingling of varnas. Manu (VIII. 348-349) allows all dvijātis to resort to weapons where the observance of dharma (or of the duties of varnas and āśramas) is obstructed (by violent men), when there is a disturbance (due to invasion etc.) involving the twice-born classes, in evil times for protecting one’s self, when there is an attack for carrying away cows or other wealth (given as fees) and in order to protect women and brähmanas and he incurs no sin if he kills (for these purposes). Among the heroes of the Mahābhārata there are great warriors and commanders like Drona, his son Aśvatthāman, Kṛpa (the maternal uncle of Aśvatthāman) who were brähmanas. The Mahābhārata says that a brähmana should fight at the order of the king. The Śāntiparva (73. 18) calls upon persons of all varnas to wield arms when the rules for holding society together are broken and when dasyus (robbers or low persons) cause confusion. From ancient times we find brähmanas as commanders and founders of royal dynasties. The famous Senāpati Puṣyamitra belonged to the Śuṅga gotra and wrested an empire from the last of the Mauryas about 184 B. C. His line was followed by the Kāṇvāyanas, the founder being minister Vāsudeva, a brähmana, who killed the last Śuṅga about 72 B. C. We learn from the Talagunda pillar inscription of Kakusthavaran (E. I. Vol. VIII. p. 24) that the founder of the Kadambas, Mayūraśarman, was a brähmana. In Maratha history there were the Peshwas and other brähmana warriors and commanders.

Though it is said that a brähmana in distress may follow the occupation of a vaiśya, there were several restrictions imposed upon brähmanas following the occupations of money-lending, agriculture, trade, and the rearing of cattle, which were prescribed as the privileged occupations of vaiśyas.

268. राजा नियमावर योजन्य वाल्लेन विशेषता। वर्तमा सत्तरोवर शौच परिनिवे विभु: । सन्धर्ष 65. 42.
As to money-lending, Gautama\(^{269}\) (X. 5-6) allowed a brāhmaṇa to maintain himself and his family by agriculture, sale of commodities and money-lending only if he did not engage in these personally, but through the agency of others. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 40) enjoins upon brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas not to lend money like usurers and quotes two verses which define usury and say that a user is a greater sinner than even one who is guilty of brāhmaṇa-murder. Manu (X. 117) also forbids usury to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, but allows them to charge a low rate of interest to persons engaged in low actions. Nārada (ṛṇādāna 111) forbids usury to brāhmaṇas even in the direst calamities. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 27. 10) prescribes a praśācitī\(^{270}\) for a brāhmaṇa lending money at usurious rates. Bṛhaspati as quoted\(^{271}\) in the Gr. R. has a rather amusing verse 'sages have enumerated numerous means of livelihood, but out of all of them money-lending is pre-eminent. There is loss in agriculture due to draught, to the fear of the exactions of the king and the ravages of rats and others, but there is no such loss in money-lending.' It appears that this is only a general or satirical statement and does not recommend money-lending to brāhmaṇas.

The obvious reasons and motives underlying these restrictions on brāhmaṇas were to make them live simple lives, to insist on the necessity and high value to themselves and to society of studying, preserving and augmenting the ancient literature and culture, to emphasize the fact that a highly spiritual life should not be given up for a mere secular life, to prevent the coarsening and hardening of the heart and emotions in a relentless and continuous pursuit of wealth or martial glory.

Agriculture—In the dharmaśāstra works there is a great conflict of views about agriculture as an occupation for

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\(^{269}\) विशिष्टानः वास्तविकः। कुशिवः च। गौ। X. 5-6। जात्मानात्तत्वः वारुणी। न दुःखाताः। अधिकादुर्वल्यः। समस्य धातुपयोद्ध पन्नार्थः। स अन्न। स धन्यकय्यः। नाम जात्मानात्तत्वः। जात्मान्यः। न दुःखाताः। न अथायाताः। जात्मानात्तत्वः। जात्मानात्तत्वः। जात्मानात्तत्वः। पालिका II. 40। Vide ची। च। सु। I. 5। 93-94। for these two verses। अद्यतन्त्य विद कादाय कार्यात्वम्। न वारुणिः। नाराय। (तत्त्वज्ञान रा। 111।)

\(^{270}\) अनायां चषयने विशिष्टू वृद्धसिद्धू। कथापै।। अधिकादुर्वल्यः। क्षमानात्तत्वः। चोद्वल्यः। न वारुणिः। नाराय। (तत्त्वज्ञान रा। 9। 27। 10।)

\(^{271}\) वहनो वर्तनपुयः। अनायान।। परिकृतत्वम्।। अन्नमिनन्यः। नायनः। कुशिवः। किम्।। अनायादुर्वल्यः। चोद्वल्यः।। चोद्वल्यः।। अनायान।। अनायान।। कुशिवः। सा।। निमित्ते॥ वारुणिः।। (तत्त्वज्ञान रा। 488
brāhmaṇas. The Vedic Literature does not condemn agriculture in the case of brāhmaṇas. The gambler’s song\(^{273}\) (Rg. X. 34) winds up with the exhortation ‘do not play with dice, do engage in agriculture, thinking highly of my words (or of wealth), do find joy in wealth, in that (in agriculture) there are cows, there is your wife &c.’ There are frequent references in Vedic Literature to fields, ploughshares and tilling the soil (vide Rg. X. 101. 3 =Tai. S. IV. 2. 5. 5, Vāj. S. XII. 67, Rg. I. 110. 5, I. 176. 2, X. 117. 7). Baudhāyana\(^{273}\) says (I. 5. 101) ‘The study of the Veda tends to the destruction of agriculture and (devotion to) agriculture tends to the loss (of the study) of the Veda. One who has the capacity (to look after both) may resort to both, but he who is unable (to look after both) should give up agriculture’. Baudhāyana further says (II. 2. 82–83) ‘a brāhmaṇa should engage in agriculture before his morning meal and he should only coax again and again his oxen whose noses have not been pierced and whose testicles are not removed and without prodding them with a pointed awl’. The Vas. Dh. S. (II. 32–34) has a similar sūtra, adds that in summer he shall water his beasts (in the morning) and quotes Vāj. S. XII. 71. Manu (X. 83–84) says ‘a brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya compelled to follow the avocations of a vaiśya (owing to difficulty of maintenance otherwise) should by all means avoid agriculture which is full of injury to sentient beings and dependent on others (labourers, oxen &c.). Some regard agriculture as a good mode of livelihood but it is condemned by the good, (as) wood having an iron tip (i.e. the plough) strikes the earth and (the insects and germs) imbedded in the earth.’ Manu IV. 5 designated agriculture by the word ‘pramṛta’ (pre-eminent in loss of life). Hārīta quoted\(^ {274}\) in Gṛ. R. p. 429 declares ‘the ploughshare (i.e. agriculture) carries with it destruction of life, therefore it is not for brāhmaṇas; but if he were to follow it (agriculture) in distress he should pursue it only till his object (of tiding over

\(^{272}\) अधिमानि वीषा: कृषिभिध्वजस्व चिरे रसमभु नद्यमानः। तत्र गायं भिगित तत्र जाया तस्मे निधिये सतित्वमिवन्॥ च। X. 31. 13.

\(^{273}\) वेदः कृषिभवनाहाय कृषिवेंद्रविनानिनी। सतित्वमण्यं कुर्यायमकाश्च कृषि रक्षेत। वी. प. च। I. 5. 101; चाँखु पालसारस्वथो स्पेन। अनुपुक्तनिषादाः सप्तमापन्। मानवार्थम्। हुदीरहरसुकुमारपद्मम्। वी. प. च। II. 2. 82–83.

\(^{274}\) अधिमान् लाङ्कं तद्गामो न विद्यते। अपथासर्विकायादि कृषिभार्यस्म। शरीरं नुस्तं। र. p. 429.
distress) is accomplished'. Parāśara\textsuperscript{275} (II. 2-4, 7, 14) allows a brāhmaṇa to engage in agriculture, but lays down certain restrictions. 'The proper number of oxen to be yoked to the plough is eight, six being middling, four are yoked only by the cruel and two by those who sacrifice the lives of their oxen; he should not yoke an ox that is hungry, thirsty or tired, he should make the oxen work only for half the day and then bathe them in water, he should offer the five mahāyajñās and other sacrifices with corn raised by himself engaging in agriculture, the sin of ploughing the earth for a day with an iron-tipped ploughshare is equal to that incurred by a fisherman fishing for a year; he should give \( \frac{1}{4} \) of the corn to the king, offer \( \frac{1}{7} \) to gods and \( \frac{1}{7} \) to brāhmaṇas and then he may not be smeared with sin'. Hārīta quoted by Aparārka (p. 937) has a long prose passage on the treatment to be given to oxen by brāhmaṇas and also Vṛddha-Gautama (Jiv. part 2 p. 571). Vṛddha-Hārīta\textsuperscript{276} (VII. 179 and 182) says that agriculture is common to all varṇas and agriculture, rearing cattle and service are not forbidden to any. The above discussion shows how agriculture was viewed at different times and by different writers from different points of view.

Sale and barter—We have seen above that a brāhmaṇa is allowed to maintain himself by trade in distress or difficulties (āpad). But there were very great restrictions as to what things could be sold by a brāhmaṇa. According to Gaut. (VII. 8-14) a brāhmaṇa should not engage in the sale of fragrant things (like sandal-wood), fluids (like oils, ghee &c.), cooked food, sesame, hemp (and hempen articles like bags), kṣauma (linen), deer-skin, dyed and cleanly washed clothes, milk and its products (like curds &c.), roots, flowers, fruits, herbs (used as drugs), honey, meat, grass, water, deleterious drugs (like opium, poison), animals (for being killed), men (as slaves), barren cows, heifers and cows liable to abortion. He adds (Gautama VII. 15) that according to some a brāhmaṇa could not sell land, rice, yava, goats and sheep, horses, bulls, freshly delivered cows and

\textsuperscript{275} Bhūṣaṇa\textsuperscript{I}nīसती बिंदा बारिका मण्डिका कायदें।।

\textsuperscript{276} गृहीता जययाज्ञां जस्मिन्तो घरं नस्ते।। गृहीत जययाज्ञां सर्वभर्ते जययाज्ञां मिति।।

\textsuperscript{276} गृहीता जययाज्ञां जस्मिन्तो घरं नस्ते।। गृहीत जययाज्ञां सर्वभर्ते जययाज्ञां मिति।।
oxen that are yoked to carts. These restrictions did not apply
to a kṣatriya engaging in trade. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 20. 12–1377 has a
similar list but adds among forbidden articles of sale weapons,
sticky things (śleṣma, like lac), young stalks (tokma), fer-
mented liquids (kīvva), the expectation of merit (suktāsā)
and says that among crops sesame and rice are on no account
to be sold. Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 77–78 condemns the sale of
sesame and rice by saying that he who sells them sells respec-
tively his pītras (dead ancestors) and his prānas. This arose
probably from the close connection of sesame with śrūddha and
tarpana. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 24–29) gives a similar list and adds
a prohibition against the sale of stones, salt, silk, iron, tin,
lead, all wild animals, all tame animals with uncloven hoofs
and those that have a mane, birds and animals having fangs.
It quotes a verse at II. 27 (which is the same as Manu X. 92)
' a brāhmaṇa immediately becomes a sinner by the sale of meat,
lac and salt and he becomes a śūdra by selling milk for three
days'. About sesame, Baud. Dh. S.773 (II. 1. 76), Manu (X.
91) and Vas. Dh. S. (II. 30) present the same verse 'If a man
deals with sesame in any way other than eating them or using
them for bathing (i.e. applying sesamum oil to the body before
a bath) and making a gift of them, becomes a worm and sinks
together with his pītras in the ordure of a dog'. But it appears
that Vasiṣṭha779 (II. 31), Manu (X. 90) allow the sale of sesame
if a man engages in agriculture and himself produces them
(but sale must be only for purposes of religious duties, according
to Manu). Yāj. (III. 39) and Nārada (ṛṇādāna 66) say that
sesame may be bartered for an equal measure of other corn to raise
means for religious purposes (and for medicine also according
to Nārada). Manu (X. 86–89), Yāj. (III. 36–38), Nārada (ṛṇādāna
61–63) give long lists of articles that Brāhmaṇas were forbidden
to sell and that include a few more than those specified above.
For example, Manu forbids the sale of bee's wax, kuśa, indigo,
while Yāj. adds soma, mud, blankets made of goat wool, hair
(of camari deer) and oillcakes (pīṇāka) to things forbidden to

777. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 20. 12–13 has a similar list but adds weapons, sticky things (śleṣma, like lac), young stalks (tokma), fermented liquids (kīvva), the expectation of merit (suktāsā) and says that among crops sesame and rice are on no account to be sold.

778. Manu (X. 91) allows the sale of sesame if a man engages in agriculture and himself produces it, but sale must be only for purposes of religious duties, according to Manu.

779. Vasiṣṭha (II. 31), Manu (X. 90) allow the sale of sesame if a man engages in agriculture and himself produces it.
be sold. Śaṅkha-Likhita,²⁸⁰ Udyoga-parva 38. 5, Śānti-parva 78. 4–6, Hārīta (as quoted by Aparārka p. 1113) contain long lists of things the sale of which was forbidden to brāhmaṇas. Apart from these negative rules, there are some that are positive and prescribe what may be sold. For example, the Baud. Dh. S.²⁸¹ prescribes the sale of grass and wood in their natural state and quotes a verse 'Oh! Brāhmaṇa, these are the articles you may sell, viz., domestic animals that have only one row of teeth, minerals except salt and threads (i. e. cloth) that are not coloured with some dye.' Nārada²⁸² (ṛṇādana 64–65) states 'a brāhmaṇa may sell dried wood and grass, except fragrant articles, erakā (a kind of grass), rattan, cotton, roots, kuśa grass; cereals that get split up of their own accord, badara and inguda among fruits, cords and threads of cotton provided they are not coloured'. Śaṅkha-Likhita also (as quoted by Aparārka p. 933) have the same rules as Nārada and further enjoin upon the brāhmaṇa not to higgle for the price but to have a fixed price.

Yāj. (III. 40) says that the sale of lac, salt and meat lead to a brāhmaṇa's fall (i. e. he loses the right to perform the duties of dvijātī) and the sale of milk, curds and liquor reduces him to the status of a low class (i. e. of a sūdra). Manu (XI. 62), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (37. 14) and Yāj. (III. 234) include the sale of forbidden articles among upapātakas and Yāj. (III. 265) prescribes cāndrayaṇa and other prāyaścittas for it. Hārītā (quoted by Aparārka p. 1113 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 265) prescribes various prāyaścittas for the sale of various forbidden articles. Laghu-Śātātapa prescribes (v. 87) cāndrayaṇa for the sale of honey, meat, wine, soma, lac, salt.²⁸³ Nārada (ṛṇādana 67) calls upon

²⁸⁰. न विकारितवस्तुलिंगकानी | निर्माणमित्रस्यबमाध्यमवासामासंकुलचर्चाः
²⁸¹. यथा | जस्मिन् श्रेष्ठविनियोगार्थान्तरायनां निर्माणात्
²⁸². नारदा (र्णदाण 64–65) | तथा | जस्मिन् तद्वर्तीयानां विनियोगार्थान्तरायनां
²⁸³. नारदा (र्णदाण 67) | तथा | जस्मिन् तद्वर्तीयानां विनियोगार्थान्तरायनां
the king to inflict a heavy fine upon a brähmana who engages in the sale of articles forbidden to be sold and strays from the path (proper for brähmanas) in the absence of distress.

Ap. Dh. S. (I. 7. 20. 14-15)\textsuperscript{284} states the general rule that exchange or barter also of those articles that are forbidden to be sold cannot be resorted to, but adds that barter is allowed of foods with foods, of slaves with slaves, of fragrant things with other fragrant things, of one kind of learning with another. Gaut.\textsuperscript{285} (VII. 16-21) allows the exchange of rasas with rasas, of domestic animals with other domestic animals, of cooked food with an equal measure of uncooked food for immediate use, but forbids the barter of salt, cooked food and sesame with other articles. Manu (X. 94) allows the exchange of one rasa (liquid like molasses) with another (like ghee), of cooked food with uncooked food, of sesame with an equal quantity of other corn, but does not allow the barter of salt for any rasa. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 37-39) has rules similar to Manu and Ap.\textsuperscript{286}

Manu (X. 116)\textsuperscript{287} enumerates ten means of maintaining oneself in āpad (distress) viz. learning, arts and crafts, work for wages, service (i.e. carrying out another's orders), rearing cattle, sale of commodities, agriculture, contentment, alms, money-lending. Out of these some cannot be followed by a brähmana or a kṣatriya when there is no distress (e.g. a brähmana cannot engage in service). Yāj. III. 42 enumerates seven of these and adds ‘cart’ (i.e. driving carts for hire), mountain (subsisting on the price of grass and fuel taken from hills), a country full of water, trees and shrubs, king (i.e. resorting to or begging from a king). Chāgaleya quoted in Gr. R. p. 449\textsuperscript{288}

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\item[284] आनन्दस्याः सिद्ध पायि सिद्धमात्र:। अनेन आपातस मुख्यानां च मनोक्तिः सर्वरूपं च विद्याविद्या च ज्ञानांस्य। आप. घ. सू. I. 7. 20. 14-15.
\item[285] निषिद्धस्त। रसां संस्कृताः। पञ्चां च। न तत्त्वादित्या। विद्याविद्या च। समेत। मेन हु। सापेक्षः संस्कृताः। गोवि। VII. 16-21.
\item[286] ना संस्कृतता हौलिन्यो विभावतो। न भेद १००वर्ण रूपी। निविदं चिन्तकाक्षायं निद्धारणाम्। भियमा चापलकः। निविदा पापस्विताः। वासिस्त्र II. 37-39.
\item[287] निविदा सिद्धा। स्वरूपः सेवा नागद्भवन्ति निषिद्धिः। दुर्बिष्यं क्रिया च दु:। अद्या नवीमं नामं। सत्यम्। सापेक्षः सिद्धिः। निविदं चिन्तकाक्षायं निद्धारणाम्। निविदा पापस्विताः। वासिस्त्र II. 37-39.
\item[288] निविदा सिद्धा। स्वरूपः सेवा नागद्भवन्ति निषिद्धिः। दुर्बिष्यं क्रिया च दु:। अद्या नवीमं नामं। सत्यम्। सापेक्षः सिद्धिः। निविदं चिन्तकाक्षायं निद्धारणाम्। निविदा पापस्विताः। वासिस्त्र II. 37-39.
\end{footnotes}
speaks of nine means of livelihood in a season of drought, viz. cart, plot of vegetables, cows, fishing, asyandana (maintaining oneself, by the slightest effort possible?), forest, a country full of water, trees and shrubs, a mountain, king. Nārada (ṛṇādāna 50-55) says that three modes of acquiring wealth are common to all, viz. inheritance, a gift of friendliness or affection and what comes to a man with a wife (at the time of marriage); that each of the three varṇas has three special modes of acquiring wealth, viz., receiving gifts, fees as priest and fees for teaching in the case of brāhmaṇas; booty in war, taxes and fines in judicial trials in the case of ksatriyas; agriculture, rearing cattle and sale of commodities in the case of vaiśyas. Nārada (ṛṇādāna verses 44-47) divides wealth into śukla (white, pure), śabala (dark-white, mixed) and kṛṣṇa (dark) and each of these into seven varieties. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. chasp. 58 also divides the wealth of householders into these three varieties and says that what is earned by the special modes prescribed for each varṇa, inherited wealth, gifts of affection and what comes with the wife-these are śukla (pure); what is obtained by following the special avocation of the varṇa immediately lower than one's own varṇa and what is acquired by giving bribes or by sale of forbidden articles or from one who is under one's obligations is śabala; what is obtained by following the avocations of a varṇa other than the immediately lower one and what is acquired by gambling, theft, violence or fraud is called kṛṣṇa. Baudh. Dh. S. (III. 1. 5-6) speaks of ten kinds of vṛttis (means of livelihood) and III. 2 explains them at length. Manu (IV. 4-6) speaks of five ways of livelihood viz. ṛtta (i.e. subsisting on grains left in the fields), amṛta (what comes without begging), mṛta (alms obtained by begging), pramṛta (agriculture), satyāṃṛta (sale of commodities) and forbids śvavṛtti (service, lit. living like a dog). Manu (IV. 9) further says that some brāhmaṇas live by six means (i.e. adhyāpana, yājana, pratigraha, agriculture, rearing cattle and trade), some by three (viz. the first three), some by two (yājana and adhyāpana) and others again only by one (adhyāpana).

The avocations practised by brāhmaṇas in the pursuit of wealth were many and varied, so much so that from very ancient times the lists of brāhmaṇas not eligible for invitation at śrāddhas because they followed unworthy callings were very formidable. Atri (Ānan. ed.) verses 373-383 names ten kinds of brāhmaṇas and briefly defines them, viz. deva-brāhmaṇa (who
daily performs bath, śāndhyā, japa, homa, worship of gods and honouring of guests and vaiśravadeva), muni-br. (who is given up to staying in a forest, subsists on roots, fruits and vegetables and performs daily śādāhas), dvija-br. (who studies the Vedānta, gives up all attachments and is engaged in reflecting over Sāṁkhya and Yoga), kśtra-br. (who fights), vaiṣya-br. (who engages in agriculture, rearing cattle and trade), śūdra-br. (who sells lac, salt, dyes like kusumbha, milk, ghee, honey, meat), niṣāda-br. (who is a thief and robber, a backbiter and always fond of fish and meat), paśu-br. (who knows nothing about brahma and is only proud of his wearing the sacred thread), mleccha-br. (who obstructs or destroys wells, tanks, gardens, without any qualm) and caṇḍāla-br. (who is a fool, devoid of prescribed rites, beyond the pale of all dharma and cruel). Atri (384) rather humorously adds "those who are devoid of Vedic lore, study the śāstras (like grammar, logic &c.), those devoid of śastraic lore study purāṇas (and earn money by reciting them), those who are devoid even of purāṇa reading become agriculturists, those who are devoid even of that become bhāgavatas (pose as great devotees of Śiva or Viṣṇu i.e. become what is called in modern Marathi 'buva')." Devala quoted by Aparārka (pp. 284–285) speaks of eight kinds of brāhmaṇas (of whom each succeeding one is superior to each preceding one) viz. mātra (one who is only born in a brāhmaṇa family but has not studied any part of the Veda nor performs the actions appropriate to brāhmaṇas), brāhmaṇa (who has studied a portion of the Veda), śrotiya (who has studied one vedic sākhā with the six aṅgas and performs the six duties of brāhmaṇas), anūcāna (who knows the meaning of the Veda and the vedāṅgas, is of pure heart and has kindled the sacred fires), bhrūṇa (who besides being anūcāna always performs yajñas and eats what is left after performing yajñas), ṛṣikalpa (who has gained all worldly and Vedic knowledge, and has his mind

289. वैद्यविधिवक्ता पद्यिणि सात्त्व शाश्वेन वीरापात्रवत्। वृषहतिना: शाश्विनो वर्गिति भ्राध्वमांजीति संनादिति अति 384।

290. These verses about the eight kinds of brāhmaṇas are quoted in the नातपरार्व also (MS.). The वैद्यविधिवक्ता I. 1 also gives brief definitions of these eight kinds of brāhmaṇa: "संस्कृतां वाक्क्यं नात्वपुराणम्। नात्वपुराणं वाक्क्यं वानरं भ्राध्वमां।।" वैद्यविधिवक्ता / महानामन्यते / वात्स्रवमवववुत्पादितयासारामसिद्धान्तिकयोऽवधियते।
under control), rṣi (one who is calibate, of austere life, of truthful speech and able to curse or favour), muni (to whom a clod of earth and gold are the same, who has ceased from all activity, is devoid of desires and anger &c.). Śaśātapa\(^{291}\) quoted by Aparā̄ka (pp. 236–287) speaks of six classes of persons who, though born brāhmaṇas, are really not brāhmaṇas viz. one who has taken service with a king, one who engages in sale and purchase (of commodities), one who officiates for many yajamāṇas, one who is the officiating priest for the whole village, one who is in the service of a village or town, one who does not perform saṃdhyā adoration in the morning and evening at the proper time. The Anusāsanaparvā (33. 11 ff) shows that some brāhmaṇas were great rogues, others engaged in austerities, some resorted to agriculture and rearing cattle, others subsisted by begging, some were thieves and others were false, some were acrobats and dancers (but it yet recommends that brāhmaṇas must be honoured).

The smṛtis teach that brāhmaṇas doing certain things are to be treated as sūdras. For example, Baud.\(^{298}\) Dh. S. (II. 4. 20) requires a religious king to employ brāhmaṇas who do not perform the morning and evening adoration (saṃdhyā) in doing work appropriate to sūdras. Vas.\(^{293}\) Dh. S. (III. 1–2) says that brāhmaṇas who are not śrotiṣyas (learned in the Veda), who do not teach the veda or who do not kindle the sacred fires become reduced to the status of sūdras and quotes a Māṇava śloka (Manu II. 163) ‘that a brāhmaṇa who without studying the Veda works hard to master something else is quickly reduced while still living to the status of a sūdra together with his family.’ Manu (VIII. 102 = Baud. Dh. S. 1,

291. अशाोतपान्त वह ग्रेषा नाति माता वाचार्ययो वितियाः

292. सार्य गाता स्कूरा देश्या ये विषय नै उपासते। कायम तान धार्मिकी ग्याता। सुद्

293. अक्षरिया अनुसारान्त्व। अनाशरो या श्रद्धा संकायी भवानि। मानव वात अग्रोकल

298. अनासासन अनुपुरे अनाशरो या श्रद्धा संकायी भवानि। मानव वात अग्रोकल

299. अनासासन अनुपुरे अनाशरो या श्रद्धा संकायी भवानि। मानव वात अग्रोकल

300. अनासासन अनुपुरे अनाशरो या श्रद्धा संकायी भवानि। मानव वात अग्रोकल

301. अनासासन अनुपुरे अनाशरो या श्रद्धा संकायी भवानि। मानव वात अग्रोकल

302. अनासासन अनुपुरे अनाशरो या श्रद्धा संकायी भवानि। मानव वात अग्रोकल

303. अनासासन अनुपुरे अनाशरो या श्रद्धा संकायी भवानि। मानव वात अग्रोकल

304. अनासासन अनुपुरे अनाशरो या श्रद्धा संकायी भवानि। मानव वात अग्रोकल

305. अनासासन अनुपुरे अनाशरो या श्रद्धा संकायी भवानि। मानव वात अग्रोकल
5. 95) asks the king to treat as śūdras brāhmaṇas who engage in rearing cattle, in the sale of commodities, who are artisans and actors, who are mere servants and money-lenders. Vide Manu X. 92 quoted above (p. 127). Parāśara (VIII. 24) says 294 that a brāhmaṇa who does not repeat the Gāyatrī mantra is more impure than even a śūdra and that brāhmaṇas who do not offer oblations to sacred fires, who are bereft of saridhyā adoration and who do not study the veda are all śūdras and that therefore one should study at least a portion of the veda if he cannot study the whole. Manu (V. 4) 295 sums up in one place the reasons why brāhmaṇas are seized by Death before the allotted span of human life  on account of not studying the Vedas, on account of giving up the rules of conduct prescribed for them, through idleness and through the faults arising from (partaking forbidden) food, Death desires to kill brāhmaṇas.

A few words must be said about begging. The smṛtis prescribe begging as specially appropriate to brahmacārins (vedic students) and ascetics (yatis), which will be dealt with at length later on. Begging was not allowed to others  except under considerable restrictions. The king of Kekaya 296 is made to boast in the Mahābhārata (Śānti 77. 22) that no one who is not a brahmacārin begs in his kingdom. Gifts of food were to be made daily while performing the five mahāyajñas (this will be treated under vaiśvadeva). Ṛṣa. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 1-4 recognizes that begging can properly be resorted to for the following reasons, viz. for the teacher, for (one's first) marriage, for a sacrifice, in anxiety to support one's parents, for warding off the non-observance of the duties of a worthy person; he enjoins that on these occasions there is a duty to give according to one's ability and according to the worth of the person begging and that if a man begs only for the gratification of his senses (and not for pressing wants) one should pay no heed to such 297

294. अविकार्यार्थिणिः संयोगसनवालिताः। पदूः चांदाध्योपाणाः। सर्वं वै वाचकः। शुभको अवेष्टेन्द्र-पेत्रवेयोः पावः सर्वं वै लक्ष्यः। पराशारसंवादम्। XII. 32-33.
295. अववायसद्य वेगा शरणाचारण च बर्जानां। अत्वप्रवृत्तोस्मात् धुस्तः। विनयविद्धाः। वामनानां| समूहम्। V. 4
296. नाबवाय: विना विना गृहसाधन: विनायकवितस्तः चर्चवान। शास्त्रार्थसंवाद। 77. 22.
297. विनाय निनित्तनाचाराः विनाय वित्तो यथो मृगशीत्य्यजहैर। विनायकविद्धाः। तत्र ज्ञातं संज्ञाय: यथोऽवेकः। अविनयाचार्यार्थाः दु: मृगशीत्य्यन्नाननिन्नता। तत्तमान: ब्रह्मचर्यात। अप: च. II. 5. 10. 1-4; compare Manu IV. 251, XI. 1-2, Yaj. I. 216, Gāut. V. 19-20. सत्तमाना 165. 1-2. are ‘इत्यत्सद्यावप्नमिनाश: सर्वविशेष:।।’ अवश्यंपवेचारविद्धाः स्वाध्यायपर्याप्तम्। च। पैंत वै सावधान:हता। नायमा। अविनयितः। ‘
begging. Vas. Dh. S. XII. 2-3 says that 'a man oppressed by hunger may beg for a little viz. a cultivated or uncultivated plot, a cow, a sheep or ewe, and at last gold, corn or cooked food; but a snātaka should not faint through hunger; this is the instruction'. Vide Manu X. 114 for practically the same words and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 3. 79-80. Baudh Dh. S. II. 1. 64 includes begging by one who has finished his course of studenthood among actions that make a man impure (aśucikara). Manu XI. 16-17 says that when a person has had no food for three days he may take away (by theft even) from one who is lower than himself in class as much corn as will be enough for one day, either from the threshing floor or from the field or from his house or from whatever place he can get it, but he should announce his action when the owner asks. Gaut. (18. 28-30) and Yāj. III. 43 are to the same effect. Āṅgiras ²⁹⁸ quoted in Gr. R. (p. 450) allows begging to the diseased, the indigent, to one who is torn away from his family and who is on a journey. Śaṅkha-Likhita ²⁹⁹ as quoted in Gr.R.(p. 457) say 'when a man begs he should state the purpose (such as marriage, completion of sacrifice) of his begging; he should not beg of a woman or of those who are minors or unable to conduct their affairs, nor when the donor is not in a proper place or at a proper time. He should apply the alms to the purpose for which he begged. He should give that portion of the alms which remains unused to priests or any other excellent person'. Vas. Dh. S. (III. 4) and Parāśara ³⁰⁰ (I. 60) call upon the king to fine that village where persons of the higher classes wander about begging though they are not observers of vows (like brahmacārins) and are not studying the Veda. The foregoing will show that indiscriminate begging was never allowed or encouraged by the smṛtis even for brāhmaṇas, much less for others.

It has been seen above how even during the Vedic period brāhmaṇas had come to be highly eulogised as if they were gods and held superior merely on account of birth.

²⁹⁸. व्याधितः दुर्दशः कुद्यातानवयुतः च। अध्यात्म प्रेमस्वरुप मिश्लाच्यां विधी-भरत। अद्वैतां in युध्य R. p. 450.

²⁹⁹. मिश्लाच्यां वा निमित्तानं वधात। ..... न स श्री नामसंवर्धानः। अध्यात्म-संवर्धान आद्वैतां। अद्वैतानं निमित्तां। वद्यां मिश्लां। नमेच्छर्यं कुद्यात।। वेदां विस्मायि मिश्लां। न प्रकरितम् इतियुध्य R. p. 457.

³⁰⁰. अद्वैत अशुभधान। च नेभं विश्ववेयं। नेभं चुचन्त परिवर्त्तनं। चोद्वजयः न स दश। III. 4 और पद्मां र. 60.
Tai. Br. III. 7. 3 says ‘One should sacrifice in the right hand of a brāhmaṇa; the brāhmaṇa indeed is Agni-vaśvānara’. Vide Śāntiparva 343. 13-14, Manu IV. 117, Likhita 31, Vas. Dh. S. 30. 2-5. The same ideas of the sacredness and the superiority of brāhmaṇas were carried forward and further emphasized by the dharma-śāstra works. Most exaggerated and hyperbolical descriptions of the greatness of brāhmaṇas are sown broadcast over all the smṛtis and the purāṇas. It is not possible to set out even a small fraction of them. But a few passages may usefully be cited here by way of samples. The Viṣṇu Dh. S.201 (19. 20-22) says ‘the gods are invisible deities, but brāhmaṇas are visible deities; the worlds are supported by brāhmaṇas; the gods stay in heaven by the favour of brāhmaṇas; words spoken by brāhmaṇas never come to be untrue’. Manu (I. 100) declares ‘whatever wealth exists on this earth—all that belongs to the brāhmaṇa; the brāhmaṇa deserves everything on account of his superiority due to his descent (from the mouth of the Creator).’ Manu IX. 313-321 contain a hyperbolical eulogy of the power of brāhmaṇas, two of which may be set out ‘who would prosper if he oppresses brāhmaṇas that, when angered, might create other worlds and other guardians of the worlds and that might deprive the deities of their position as deities’ (315); ‘a brāhmaṇa, whether learned or not, is a great deity’ (verse 317). Manu XI. 84 is ‘a brāhmaṇa by the very fact of his birth is an object of honour even to the deities.’ Parāśara (VI. 52-53) holds ‘whatever defects there may be in vrataṣ, in austerities, or in sacrificial rites, they all vanish when brāhmaṇas support them. Whatever words are spoken by brāhmaṇas are spoken by the gods; brāhmaṇas have all the gods in them and therefore their words do not fail.’202 The Mahābhārata indulges in very

301. देवस: परोषेदेव: पर्वतकेता माहानाः। ब्राह्मणीकेता धार्यस्ते। माहानां अति- देव द्विव निधिल देवता:। ब्राह्मणामिदाति वर्तम हिन्दु न सिद्धा जाते कर्तित ॥ विष्णुमंदन 19. 20-22. With the first sūtra note 85 above may be compared.

302. This is a mere arthaśāda. It means ‘it is as if his’, for Manu himself (in VIII. 338) prescribes for brāhmaṇas who knowing everything are guilty of theft 64 or 100 or 128 times as much fine, as a śūdra guilty of the same theft has to pay if he unknowingly commits it, while the latter pays eight times as much if he knowingly commits it.

303. सन्तरितं तपस्विं विद्यते प्रथमपौर:। सर्व सप्ति निधिल ब्राह्मणनिधि- विन्दुः ॥ माहान: यानि भावने मध्ययाति यानि देवता:। सप्तद्वित्त्वा निधा न तद्रचन्दनयः। पराशर्व VI. 52-53. शास्त्रीय (I. 30-31) has the same two verses with slight variations.
frequent eulogies of brâhmaṇas. Ādiparva (28. 3-4) says "a brâhmaṇa, when provoked, becomes fire, the sun, poison, and weapon; a brâhmaṇa is declared to be the guru of all beings." Vanaparva (303. 16) says "a brâhmaṇa is the highest light, he is the highest tapas; the sun shines in heaven on account of the salutations made by the brâhmaṇas." This and similar dicta closely follow what was expressed in the Vedic period long before e.g. 'the sun would not rise if the brâhmaṇa did not make sacrifice' (Satapatha II. 3. 1. 5); the refrain of Rg. II. 15. 2-9 is that Indra performed his great and heroic works under the intoxication of the soma (offered by the priests in sacrifices). Rg. IV. 50. 7-9 say that a king and others for whom the purohita offers prayers win battles, secure booty and help from gods. Anuśāsana-parva (33. 17) says 'they may make a non-deity into a deity and a deity into a non-deity; that man may become a king whom they desire to be so, and he who is not desired by them may be defeated.' Sânti (56. 22) declares 'In this world brâhmaṇa is the highest being'.

It should not be supposed that the brâhmaṇas inserted these eulogies solely for the purpose of increasing their importance and tightening their hold on the other classes. If the other classes had not themselves more or less shared these ideas, no amount of iteration on the part of brâhmaṇas would have given them the influence which they as a matter of fact wielded. Their influence was a growth of centuries and they themselves were as much parts of the huge edifice of the caste system as the other varṇas. Besides the brâhmaṇas had no military force behind them. They could only succeed in influencing the other varṇas by persuasion and their own worth. The brâhmaṇas were the creators and custodians of the vast literature that had grown up, they were the guardians of the culture of ages, they were expected to shoulder the burdens of teaching and preserving the vast literature on such gifts as were voluntarily made. Though many among them did not

304. अदितिकालीनियोऽदिति च देवो विसर्गां स इतिमति। सुधार कर्मपुराणोऽक्षणः पराशरकिरिविनः। अदितिकालीनियोऽदिति च देवो विसर्गां स इतिमति। सुधार कर्मपुराणोऽक्षणः पराशरकिरिविनः।

305. अदितिकालीनियोऽदिति च देवो विसर्गां स इतिमति। सुधार कर्मपुराणोऽक्षणः पराशरकिरिविनः। अदितिकालीनियोऽदिति च देवो विसर्गां स इतिमति। सुधार कर्मपुराणोऽक्षणः पराशरकिरिविनः।

306. अदितिकालीनियोऽदिति च देवो विसर्गां स इतिमति। सुधार कर्मपुराणोऽक्षणः पराशरकिरिविनः। अदितिकालीनियोऽदिति च देवो विसर्गां स इतिमति। सुधार कर्मपुराणोऽक्षणः पराशरकिरिविनः।
live up to the high ideals set up for their order, there must have been not a few who made as near an approach to the fulfilment of the ideal as possible. It was the greatness of these latter that led to the glorification of the whole order to which they belonged. Learning and tapas are more or less elusive and impalpable, while birth from brāhmaṇa parents was quite an apparent and palpable thing. Therefore that was seized upon by some writers as the principal reason for the respect to be given to brāhmaṇas. For centuries human societies have everywhere acquiesced in the government and control exercised by small coteries of the elite, generally the elite of birth, who have guided the destinies of their societies on traditional lines of religious and social order. It must be remembered that the smṛti works also extol the office of the king (which was generally hereditary and is so even now) to the skies. Manu (VII. 4-11) propounds the theory that the king has in him the parts of such gods as Indra and that a king is a great deity in human form. The theory of varṇas as conceived by Manu and other smṛtikāras was based upon the idea of the division of labour, on the idea of balancing the rival claims of various sections of the community; it laid greatest emphasis upon the duties of the varṇas rather than upon their rights and privileges. It raised the brāhmaṇa to the highest pinnacle of reverence, but at the same time it placed before him the ideal of not hankering after temporal power, of leading a life of comparative poverty and of making his knowledge available to the other classes for a scanty and precarious return. It made the military caste feel that they were not all-in-all, but had to look up to some other class as superior to themselves. European writers severely condemn brāhmaṇas for their greed, selfishness and constant praises of gifts to themselves. But they forget to take account of the circumstances under which the brāhmaṇas were forced to sing the praises of gifts to them. The ideal before brāhmaṇas was to lead a life of comparative poverty; they were forbidden to follow many worldly pursuits and depended on the generosity of their patrons. They did not live in monasteries as Buddhist and Christian monks did nor were they entitled to fixed and fat salaries like the bishops in some Christian countries. They had further to bring up their own families and pupils and had themselves also to make gifts to others. In modern capitalist societies those who have brains

307. भारती वृत्तां श्रेष्ठ नस्त्यवेष निडानि | मनु VII. 8.

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and knowledge tend to become financiers and capitalists, all wealth is centred in their hands, they reduce most other men to mere wage-earners who are often hardly better than helots. While finding fault with the brāhmaṇa writers of over two thousand years ago for the eulogies they bestowed upon themselves, one should not forget that even in the 20th century when the pursuit of scientific studies is professed to have reached its zenith, we hear ecstatic and arrogant eulogies of the white man’s burden, of the great and glorious achievements of the Nordic race and the greater and more glorious future it is destined to attain (vide the very first sentence in Spengler’s ‘The Decline of the West’, English translation by C. F. Atkinson). The brāhmaṇas never arrogated to themselves the authority to depose kings and to hand over vast territories for ever to whomsoever they liked, as Pope Alexander VI by his Bull of 1493 made over the New World to Isabella of Castille and Ferdinand of Aragon (vide Dean Inge’s ‘Christian Ethics’ 1930 p. 160 where this astounding Bull is set out).

It has been seen already that brāhmaṇas had the special privileges of teaching, officiating as priests and accepting gifts made as a religious duty. It is desirable that a comprehensive list of all the privileges claimed by brāhmaṇas (though not always conceded as the sequel will show) should be set out once for all.

(1) The brāhmaṇa was to be guru (object of reverence) to all varṇas by the mere fact of birth. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 1. 5) says so. Vas. Dh. S. (IV. 1) says ‘the system of four varṇas is distinguished by its origin and by the special features of the sacraments (each of them undergoes)’ and quotes Rg. X. 90. 12 In support, Manu (I. 31 and 94) says that the Creator produced the four varṇas respectively from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet, that (I. 93) the brāhmaṇa is by right the master of this whole world on account of his birth from the best limb (i.e. the mouth) of the Creator, on account of his priority (in birth to the ksatriya and others) and on account of possessing Vedic lore. Manu (X. 3) uses almost the same words as Vasiṣṭha ‘the brāhmaṇa is the master of the varṇas on account of the peculiar excellence
(of his caste), on account of his superiority of origin (from the mouth of the Creator), on account of his submitting himself to discipline (or holding up Vedic lore) and on account of the eminence of the sacraments (sāṃskāras) in his case'. Bhīṣma-
aparva (121. 35) says that the brāhmaṇa is superior among all castes. This sense of superiority was carried so far that Apa-
stamba (I. 4. 14. 23), Manu (II. 135) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (32. 17) say that a brāhmaṇa only ten years old was to be honoured as a father by a kṣatriya 100 years old.

(2) The brāhmaṇa was to expound the duties of all other classes, to indicate to them proper conduct and their means of livelihood and they were to abide by his directions and the king was to rule in accordance with such directions (Vas. Dh. S. I. 39-41, Manu VII. 37, X. 2). This is supported by the words of the Kāṭhakasamhitā (IX. 16) and the Tai. Br. that the brāhmaṇa is indeed the supervisor over the people. The Ait. Br. (37. 5) declares that where the might of kṣatriyas is under the control (or direction) of brāhmaṇas that kingdom becomes prosperous, that kingdom is full of heroes &c. This idea is somewhat similar to the teaching of Plato who held that philosophers that had undergone a special training were to rule and were to be politicians, that the government of the best (aristocracy) was the ideal system. The problem is how to find out the best. Ancient India solved it by leaving the decision of knotty points to the learned brāhmaṇas and the execution of the decisions arrived at by them to the king and the kṣatriyas.

(3) The king was the ruler of all, except brāhmaṇas'-
Gautama XI. 1. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 4 explains that these words were only laudatory of the greatness of brāhmaṇas and were not to be taken literally and that the king could punish brāhmaṇas in appropriate cases. These words of Gautama are a mere echo of certain passages like those in the Yāj. S. (IX. 40) and the Sat. Br. (V. 4. 2. 3 and IX. 4. 3. 16), where it is said

309. बृहस्पति महाभाष: जलवर्षः क्षतिग्र:। विवाहित: सस्ति यो स्त्री: तथा स्त्री: महाभाष:।

310. महाभाष: समाजाधिप: तस्मात् महाभाष:।

311. तत्क्ष: वै महाभाष: क्षत्रियाद्वितीय: तथादेव उपेक्षादित्वादिन्यायेऽवस्ते।

312. राजा सर्वथेऽऽपि महाभाष:।

313. समयस्मावः महाभाष:।
‘Soma is the king of us brāhmaṇas’. The idea was that brāhmaṇas had to prepare soma and offer it in sacrifices to the gods i.e. they held all wealth for Soma and owed all allegiance to Soma, while other people owed allegiance only to the king. The brāhmaṇas alone were to eat the sacrificial food and drink Soma (and kṣatriyas were to drink only a substitute for Soma). Vide Ait. Br. (chap. 35 khaṇḍa 4). In the Mahābhārata, however, many kings are described as Somapās. So the practice of not allowing the kṣatriyas to drink soma was not universally accepted. Further it was probably not a privilege at all, but only indicates that Soma sacrifices had been mostly neglected by all except brāhmaṇas.

(4) ‘The king should exonerate (the brāhmaṇa) in the six matters, viz. (a brāhmaṇa) should not be beaten (whipped), he should not have fetters put on him, he should not be mulcted in fines of money, he should not be driven out (of the village or country), he should not be censured, he should not be abandoned’—Gaut. VIII.12-13. The Mit. on Yaj. II. 4 explains that these words are not applicable to every brāhmaṇa, but only to deeply learned brāhmaṇas described in the preceding sūtras (Gaut. VIII. 4-11). Haradatta adds that even a learned brāhmaṇa is treated in this way only if he commits an offence without premeditation but only through ignorance or oversight. As to corporal punishment for brāhmaṇa offenders, the matter stands thus. Gaut XII. 43 says that there is no corporal punishment for a brāhmaṇa (even when he being a thief comes to the king confessing his guilt and asking the king to beat him with a heavy club on the head). Vide Manu XI. 99-100 also. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 10. 18-19) first lays down that a brāhmaṇa is to undergo no beating for any offence but allows for a brāhmaṇa guilty of the mortal sins (of brāhmaṇa-murder, incest, drinking liquor, theft of gold) the punishment of branding on the forehead with red-hot iron and banishment from the country. Manu IX. 237 (= Mātysapurāṇa 227. 163-164), Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 4-7 prescribe the

314. चूत धक्किनि परिवारः राजाः परिवारः न वं द्राक्षशास्त्रात्। वर्गोपि न वं तत् शर्मायादि। विनिता इति (सौम्य 8.4-11) मार्गिवद्विदेशस्मिन न ब्राह्मणोन्नतिवर्गः॥ स्मितो या या. II. 41 न जारीदायः ब्राह्मनादः। मौतम 12. 43, अवहथो वै मार्गाः सर्वपरमेश्वरूपः। ब्राह्मणावै नक्षत्रविवर्तिताः। कृṣ्मिचत्रातिभुजश्चत्रययज्ञवाचकास्त्रयेन। तत्त्वदृष्टिविविधः विनितासंविधिनां। बौद्ध य. यी. I. 10. 18-19; the verse in the चुरवधा (IX) ‘अमर्ल वि पलाविं न वं तत् शर्मायादिः। वर्गोपि न्यात्तिनहो विनितायाति। सह॥’ pointedly refers to मौत VIII. 280.
various figures that were to be branded on the forehead of a brāhmaṇa in the case of various offences. Manu (VIII. 379-380) prescribes shaving the head for brāhmaṇa offenders where others would have had to suffer the extreme penalty of death and adds that a brāhmaṇa was not to be sentenced to death whatever offence he might have committed and that he is to be banished from the country taking with him all his possessions. Even on this the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 81) observes that it applies only when it is the brāhmaṇa's first offence (i.e. he may be fined for repeating an offence). Yāj. (II. 270), Nārada (sāhasa, verse 10) and Śaṅkhaḥ prescribe branding and banishment as punishment for brāhmaṇas (particularly in the case of theft). The brāhmaṇa was never above being fined. Manu (VIII. 123) prescribes fine and banishment for a perjured brāhmaṇa witness, while Manu VIII. 378 prescribes heavy fines for a brāhmaṇa guilty of rape or adultery. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 302 quotes a verse of Manu (not found in the extant Manusmṛti) that in the case of the brāhmaṇa corporal punishment takes the form of complete shaving of the head, he is liable to banishment from the town, he may be branded on the forehead and he may be made to ride through the town on the back of an ass (looked upon at all times as the highest form of indignity). Kauṭ. also (IV. 8) forbids corporal punishment for brāhmaṇas in all offences but prescribes branding on the forehead in the same way as Manu (IX. 237) and also banishment and labour on mines. But Kauṭ. makes an exception, viz. he allows a brāhmaṇa to be drowned in water if he is guilty of high treason, or of forcible entry in the king’s harem or of inciting the enemies of the king &c. Kātyāyana (quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. II. 281) prescribes death sentence even for a brāhmaṇa when the latter is guilty of the destruction of a foetus, of theft, of

315. तथा संसारानि पशुपतिस्वपनबिनिर्माणाय निरवर्तितादि बाह्यमानी। इति निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादिः कार्यानी। माहात्म्य वर्गीय माहात्म्यादिपुराणादि निर्माणाति। तदार्थ चामस्थितादि पदार्थां महत्त्वनु इति नान्यकथार्थादि। निकायानि यां II. 302; the latter half is नालद (साहस 10), the first half being निर्माणमाहात्म्यानि पदार्थानां भागान।

316. माहात्म्यम् पुनः ॥ न सर्विते महात्म्यं वृद्धिः ॥ इति निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादिः कार्यानि। निर्माणाति माहात्म्यादिपुराणादि निर्माणाति। तदार्थानि महत्त्वादिपुराणानि। इति नान्यकथार्थादि। निकायानि यां II. 302; the latter half is नालद (साहस 10), the first half being निर्माणमाहात्म्यानि पदार्थानां भागान।

317. निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। तदार्थादि पदार्थानां भागानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतरायनस्य निरवर्तितादि पशुपतिस्वपनानि। यां II. 281; नालदानि निरंतराय
striking a brāhmaṇa woman with a weapon and of killing an innocent woman. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 257 thinks it possible that kings sentenced brāhmaṇas to death in spite of the prohibition of corporal punishment and we have a classical illustration in the death sentence passed on the brāhmaṇa Cārudatta by king Pālaka in the Mrčchhataṭikā (IX). The foregoing discussion shows that the only special privilege claimed for the brāhmaṇa in the law courts of the land was freedom from death sentence or other corporal punishment like whipping, though rarely he was liable to be sentenced to death also. He was subject to the indignities of branding and being paraded on the back of an ass, to fines and banishment. These claims were very moderate as compared with the absurd lengths to which the doctrine of 'benefit of clergy' was carried in England and other western countries. The clergyman in England was not by birth, he had to be ordained. Yet clergymen claimed that an ordained clerk, a monk or nun charged with serious offences called felonies could be tried only by an ecclesiastical court and this was conceded by the ordinary courts; this privilege was gradually extended to persons not ordained viz. to doorkeepers, readers, exorcists (all of whom merely assisted the clergy) and finally to all who could read or pretended to read a few words from the Bible. Holdsworth, Pollock and Maitland admit that the procedure in the ecclesiastical courts was little better than a farce (P and M vol. I. p. 426, Holdsworth vol. III p. 296). The ecclesiastic courts never pronounced a judgment of blood, the bishop only deprived the offending clerk of orders, and relegated him to a monastery, or kept him in prison for life or a shorter period and very rarely whipping and branding were ordered. Even in the first quarter of the 20th century, European British subjects and Europeans and Americans in general could claim in British India some startling privileges when charged with criminal offences which even the brāhmaṇas of over two thousand years ago did not claim. For example, under Sec. 443 of the Criminal Procedure Code of India (as it existed before 1923) they could not be tried by any Indian Magistrate (however senior and experienced) and that in serious cases like murder, even a Sessions Judge who was himself an European British

subject could not sentence an European British subject to more than one year's imprisonment (Section 449). Any European or American could claim to be tried by a mixed jury of which not less than one half had to be Europeans or Americans, while an Indian offender could not claim the privilege in his own country that not less than one half of the jury that tried him must be Indians. In England even now a peer indicted for treason or felony must be tried by his peers and not by the tribunals that try ordinary men (vide Halsbury’s Laws of England, 2nd Ed. vol. 25 p. 46). The brāhmaṇas had to submit to trial in the ordinary courts and the smṛtis do not generally provide for trial of brāhmaṇas in special ecclesiastical courts of their own class. The only approach to this western doctrine of benefit of clergy is to be found in the Āp. Dh. S., 320 where it is said that the teacher and others who have authority over a brāhmaṇa guilty of transgressions should prescribe pṛayaścittas for him: if he does not abide by their orders, he should be taken to the king who should hand him over to his own purohita; the latter was to prescribe pṛayaścittas (penances for atonement) for brāhmaṇa offenders. If the latter did not carry out the penances then he was to break them by disciplines according to their ability except that he (the purohita) was not to prescribe corporal punishment and slavery for brāhmaṇa offenders.

(5) Most smṛtis lay down that a śrotriya (a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda) was to be free from taxes. Certain passages of the Śat. Br. suggest that even in those times brāhmaṇas were not taxed. 321 Āp. Dh. S., 322 II. 10, 26, 10, Vas. Dh. S. 19, 23, Manu VII. 133 say this. Some claimed this exemption for all brāhmaṇas e.g. Vas. Dh. S. (I. 42-43) says “a king ruling over his subjects according to the rules of the śāstra should take the sixth part of all wealth except from brāhmaṇas”; the Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 26 says ‘a king should

320. तत्क आचार्यनिर्विकारः राजां गुरुस्योऽर्थात् राजा पुरोहितिः परम्परिकृतः। स नादान्यासिद्धवादस्य वचनिस्वपनं सिद्धबृहस्पतिस्येकं आप. ध. स. II. 5. 10 14-18.

321. अधिति दुःखनासः। नवं प्रति राजस्य वचन्यासुन्नेश्व मानवः यह विनासः। अधिपथ XIII. 6. 2. 18.

322. अन्यो अनविष्कारः। आप. ध. स. II, 10, 26, 10; राजा हो महानागरस्य कथो धनाधर सर्वे। अथैनं मानवः। नतिस्त I. 42-43; मानवायः कथास्यं न कथास्यं। ते हि राज्ये वर्षस्य, विनासेनसमुद्र III. 25-27.
not recover taxes from brāhmaṇas'. Kauṭ.²²³ (II. 1) requires the king to make gifts of brahmadeya lands to triks (who officiate at solemn sacrifices), teachers, purohitas, śrotiyas, that will yield substantial produce and on which no fines and taxes will be levied. The reason assigned was the belief that the king shared in the religious merit accumulated by the brāhmaṇas. Vas.²²⁴ (I. 44-46) explains '(freedom from taxation is there) because he (the king) secures the sixth part of the īṣṭāpūrta (the merit due to sacrifices and performing charitable works of public utility) and it is declared (in a Brāhmaṇa text) that the brāhmaṇa enriches the Veda, he relieves (others) from calamities and therefore the brāhmaṇa is not a source of subsistence (i.e. should not be taxed by the king) since Soma is his king; and it is further declared that bliss awaits after death (the king who does not tax brāhmaṇas).’ The Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 27 says ‘they render unto him the tax of religious merit’. Manu VII. 136 says ‘by the religious merit which the śrotiya accumulates every day when protected by the king, the king’s life, wealth and kingdom increase.’ Vide Manu 8. 305. This sentiment is expressed even by a great poet like Kālidāsa²²⁵ ‘forest-dwellers give a sixth part of their tapas (merit due to austerities) to the king and that is an inexhaustible treasure’. It is further to be noted that not only śrotiyas, but also many other persons were free from taxation. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 10. 26. 11-17) exempts from taxation all women of the four varṇas, all boys before they show signs of manhood (i.e. before they attain majority), those who stay with their teachers for learning (even though they may be grown up), those engaged in austerities and devoted to right practices, a sūdra who washes the feet (of men of the three higher classes), the blind, the dumb and the diseased, those who are forbidden to possess wealth (i.e. ascetics etc.). The Vas. Dh. S. (19. 23.)²²⁶ exempts from taxation the king’s servants, helpless

²²³. कौस्त. II. 1
²²⁴. वासुदेवः (I. 44-46); compare the passage from the Śatapatha quoted above in note 313.
²²⁵. कालिदास. विसंस्ठ. I. 13
²²⁶. अन्याय. विसंस्ठ. 19. 23
persons, ascetics, minors, senile men (above 70), young men, and women who are recently delivered. Manu VIII. 394 contains a similar provision. Brhat-Parāśara 327 (chap. III, Jiv. part II p. 113) says 'a brāhmaṇa engaged in agriculture had to pay nothing to anybody'. It is extremely doubtful whether in actual practice kings respected all these rules. Note 275 shows that a brāhmaṇa engaging in agriculture had to pay 1/3 of the produce just as others did. An inscription of Vikramādītya V. found near Gadag dated 934 (1012 A.D.) refers to taxes levied even on upanayana, marriages and vedic sacrifices (E. I. vol. XX, pp. 64 and 70). The Śantiparva (76. 2-10) contains an interesting disquisition on the taxation of brāhmaṇas. Those brāhmaṇas who have mastered all the lores and who treat all equally well are called brahmāsama. Those brāhmaṇas who have studied the Rigveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda and who stick to the peculiar duties of their class are styled devasama (verses 2 and 3). A religious king should make those who are not śrotiyas and who do not kindle the sacred fires render taxes and forced labour (verse 5). Then certain brāhmaṇas are described as kṣatrasama and vaiśyasama. A king whose treasury is empty should levy taxes from all brāhmaṇas except those that are described as brahmāsama and devasama. 328 Even if these rules were honoured, the claim was not very excessive. The brāhmaṇas who ministered to the religious wants of the people and who were to conserve the religious literature and spiritual inheritance of the country and to teach without the liberty to make a contract for fees were never entitled to raise taxes from the people for their benefit. According to the practice of the Roman Catholic Church 'the clergy owed no allegiance to the secular power; they were not under the laws of the land, they paid no taxes to the State. All benefices were put under the Holy See and the Roman chancery compiled a tariff of prices for which each might be bought'. It would take too long to

327. ब्राह्मणानुदेख्य तत्त्वाच तात्त्वाचावधिकार धर्माः। न किमित्वत्वाच बिच्छेद्यास सर्वस्य

328. विद्यासाधनां स्वदेशं समस्तिस्म:। एते ब्राह्मणं श्रावन मार्गां दृष्टिर्भायः। अन्याय वस्त्रांसङ्गमं नशीलो वाल्मिकरणियताः। इति वेदसमः …… अन्यायसमां सर्वं एव सब वानाधिताप्रत्। तताय सर्वं भाष्यते रज्ञा वाल्मिकरणि च राष्ट्रेऽपि …… पुनर्भो बलिमादवाधिकारिको भविष्यति। सतः विद्यासाधनः देशसममथ एव च संशोधनं 76. 2-3, 5, 9.

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enumerate the other exactions of the same kind—the Tithes, Annates, Procurations, Subsidies and Dispensations. 330

(6) In the matter of treasure the brāhmaṇa was more favourably treated than members of other classes. If a treasure was found by a learned brāhmaṇa he was entitled to keep the whole of it; in other cases the treasure belonged to the king, except a sixth part which was given to the finder if he honestly informed the king about the finding of the treasure. If a king himself found buried treasure, he was to distribute half of it among brāhmaṇas and was to keep for himself the other half. Vide Gautama (X. 43–45), Vas Dh. S. (III. 13–14), Manu (VIII. 37–38), Yāj. II. 34–35, Viṣṇu Dh. S. (III. 56–64), Nārada (asvāmivikraya verses 7–8).

(7) The general rule about the property of one dying heirless is that it escheats to the king, but there was an exception in the case of an heirless brāhmaṇa. Such property was to be distributed among śrotiyas or brāhmaṇas. Vide Gautama 330 23. 39–40, Vas. Dh. S. 17. 84–87, Baudh. Dh. S. I. 5. 118–122, Manu IX. 188–189, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 17. 13–14, Śaṅkha. 331

(8) The rule of the road was in favour of brāhmaṇas even as against the king. If on a road there was a crowd or obstruction, precedence was to be given to the cartman, to a very old man, to one suffering from a disease, to a woman, to a snātaka, to the king; but a king was to give precedence to a śrotiya—Gaut. VI. 21–22. Āp. adds that one carrying a burden should be given precedence and all who desire their own welfare should


330. तत्र नाम नागराजसमयस्तम्बः मनोभयं राजोत्तमं।

331. पल्लवशास्त्राय वा ब्राह्मणवन्य न राजवाणिः।

332. विद्याश्रीयविज्ञानातिपत्तकराणाय पर्यो तुलनाः।

333. अथ ध. स. II. 5. 11. 5–9; अथ ध. पञ्चमम्

334. विद्याश्रीयविज्ञानातिपत्तकराणाय पर्यो तुलनाः।

335. राजा पञ्चमम् नागराजसमयस्तम्बः सन्योगे नागराजसमयस्तम्बः।

336. विद्याश्रीयविज्ञानातिपत्तकराणाय पर्यो तुलनाः।

337. तत्तामिहतम् नागराजसमयस्तम्बः सन्योगे नागराजसमयस्तम्बः।
give precedence to fools, patita, the intoxicated and lunatics and a person of a lower varṇa should give precedence to one of a higher varṇa. The Mahābhārata (Vana-parva 133.1) adds the blind and the deaf, (Anuśāsana 104. 25-26) cows, a pregnant woman and a weak man. Vas. Dh. S. (13,58-60) enumerates the same persons, but says that the snātaka (one who has just returned from his stay with his guru) has precedence over the king and that the bride has precedence over all when being taken in a procession (to the house of the bridegroom). Manu II. 138-139 has the same list and prefers the snātaka to the king; Yāj. I. 117 has the same rules. Śaṅkha (quoted in the Mit. on Yāj I. 117) mentions the view of some that the king has precedence over the brāhmaṇa, but disapproves of it. Vide Brahmapurāṇa 113. 39 for a list. The Mārkandeyapurāṇa (34, 39-41) has a long list which includes a prostitute and one who is an enemy. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (V. 91) prescribes a fine of 25 kārsapana for him who does not give precedence on the road to one who deserves it. It will be conceded by every one that the above rules (except the one about the precedence of brāhmaṇas over even the king) are quite reasonable and are informed by a spirit of humanity and chivalry. The rule about learned brāhmaṇas probably owes its origin to the emphasis laid on the importance of the diffusion of learning (which was not the direct concern of the state in those days, but of the brāhmaṇas) and the superiority of knowledge over mere brute force or military achievements.

(9) The person of the brāhmaṇa was regarded as very sacred from ancient times and so brāhmaṇaśīta (killing a brāhmaṇa) was looked upon as the greatest sin. The Tai. S. (V. 3. 12. 1-2) says that he who performs the horse-sacrifice goes beyond (i.e. gets rid of) all sins, even the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder. The Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 1 narrates how Indra incurred the sin of brāhmaṇaśīta by killing Viśvarūpa and how all beings ran him down as 'brāhmaṇa'. In the Śat. Br. XIII 3. 1. 1 we read (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 328) 'thereby the gods redeem all sin, yea, even the slaying of a brāhmaṇa they thereby redeem' and 'whosoever kills a human brāhmaṇa here he forsooth is deemed guilty, how much more so who strikes him (Soma), for Soma is god' (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 243). The Chāndogya Up. V. 10. 9 quotes

333. अदि वै तैन अग्निपालसन्तर्गते सर्व वानानां तत्त्वं न तत्त्वं अग्निपालसन्तर्गते । इति सूत्रां । "The words sarve ... चतुर्विनं मृत्युं ऋषिदेवोऽन्नते ॥ सूत्रः ॥ V. 3. 12. 1-2. The words sarve ...... चतुर्विनं मृत्युं ऋषिदेवोऽन्नते ॥ are quoted by Gaut. 19. 2. and Vas. 22. 6.
a verse declaring brāhmaṇa murder as one of the five mortal sins (mahāpātakas). Gaut. (21. 1) places the murderer of a brāhmaṇa at the head of his list of patitas (persons guilty of mortal sins). Vas. Dh. S. (I. 20) uses the word bhrūṇaḥatyā. Manu XI. 54, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 35, 1, Yāj. III. 227 enumerate five mahāpātakas of which brāhmaṇa-murder is one. Manu VIII. 381 declares that there is no worse sin in the world than brāhmaṇa-murder.

A question that very much exercised the minds of all smṛtikāras and writers of digests was whether a brāhmaṇa who was himself guilty of violence or serious offences could be killed in self-defence by one attacked. The dicta of the smṛtis are somewhat conflicting. Manu IV. 162 lays down a general rule prohibiting hīnṣā (death or injury) of one’s teacher (of Veda), expounder (of the meaning of the Veda), one’s parents, one’s other teachers (or elders), brāhmaṇas, cows and all persons engaged in austerities. Manu XI. 89 lays down that there is no expiation (prāyaścitta) that will wipe off the sin of intentionally killing a brāhmaṇa. But Manu himself (VIII. 350–351 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 189–190 = Mātsyapurāṇa 227. 115–117 = Vṛddha-Harita IX. 349–350) says ‘one may surely kill without hesitation a man who comes down upon one as an ātātyin (a desperate character or violent man), whether he be a teacher, a child or an old man or a learned brāhmaṇa. In killing an ātātyin, the killer incurs no sin (or fault), whether he kills him in the presence of people or alone; (in such a case) wrath meets wrath’. Vas. Dh. S. (III. 15–18) expressly says ‘by killing an ātātyin they say the killer incurs no sin whatever’ and quotes three verses ‘an incendiary, a poisoner, one armed with a weapon, a robber, one who wrests a field or carries away one’s wife—these six are called ātātyin. When

334. The word ‘bhrūṇa’ has several meanings. Baud. Gr. (I. 4. 8) says that bhrūṇa is one who knows the whole Vedic lore of his śākha up to sūtra and pravacana (bhūṣya ?); Vaik. (I. 1) says that bhrūṇa is a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda who has performed soma sacrifices. Vide note 290 above. Gaut. 21. 9 uses the word in the sense of ‘garbha (foetus),’ while in Gaut. 17. 9 ‘bhrūṇahā’ is equal to ‘brahmahā’. Both Baud Dh. S. I. 5. 94 and Vas. Dh. S. II. 42 quote a verse where bhrūṇahā means brahmahā, while Vas. Dh. S. 20. 25 gives two meanings to it.


336. ‘Ātātyin’ literally means ‘one who goes with his bow strung (i.e. ready to kill or fight). Śiva is called ātātyin in Yāj. S. 16. 18 and Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā 17. 12.
an ātātyin comes (to attack) with the desire to kill (or harm), one may kill him even though he be a complete master of Vedānta; by so doing one does not become a brähmana-murderer. If a person kills one who has studied the Veda and who is born of a good family, because the latter is an ātātyin, he does not thereby become a brähmana-murderer as in that case fury meets fury. 337 In the Śāntiparva (34. 17 and 19) 338 we have similar verses ‘If a brähmana approaches wielding a weapon in a battle and desirous of killing a person, the latter may kill him even if the former be a complete master of the Veda. If a person kills a brähmana ātātyin who has swerved from right conduct, he does not thereby........fury’. Udyogaparva (178. 51-52) says that, if a man kills in a battle a brähmana who fights like a kṣatriya, it is a settled rule that he does not incur the sin of brähmana-murder. Śānti (22. 5-6) is to the same effect. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (V. 191-192) speaks of seven persons as ātātyin viz. ‘one who has a weapon ready to strike, one who is about to set fire or administer poison, one who has raised his hand to give a curse, who sets about to kill by the magic rites mentioned in the Atharvaveda (e.g. such sūktas as I. 19, II. 19, III. 1-2, VII. 108), one who is a backbiter and informs the king, one who violates or assaults another’s wife.’ The Matsyaapurāṇa (227. 117-119) is practically to the same effect. Sumantu as quoted by the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 21) and by Aparārka (p. 1043) ‘says there is no sin in killing an ātātyin except a cow or a brähmana’. 339 This implies that a brähmana even if an ātātyin should not be killed, but if he be killed sin is incurred. Katāyana 340 (quoted in the Sm. C. and other digests) declares that one should not kill a brähmana who is eminent by reason of his tapas, Vedic study and birth, even though he be an ātātyin; Bhṛgu allows killing when the offender is of a lower caste than that of brähmana’. Bṛhaspati 341 also says that he who would not kill a brähmana ātātyin

337. This last verse is also quoted in Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 14 and the latter half of it is the same as Śāntiparva 15. 55.
338. अन्यवर्ग ज्ञ्यानयानसभी वेश्यत्सथा रेणे। विन्यांसन्त विन्यांसीयां तेन नमस्तः अनेष्टः। वर्णः 34. 17.
339. नातायिनेव दूषितस्य जीवाद्यानुभते। अनुभं, विन्यासस्मिता, या, विन्यास। विन्यास तृतीया स्वयंपद्ये होने यथों पुष्पः काययायते। नरेण्यायते (विन्यास 14, 315)
340. आदिनांविन्यायस्वयंपद्वमेव तयस्यामस्यास्मात्। कर्मसंसमायान्तायश्च। विन्यास तत् नैव स्वयंपद्ये हीने। यथो ब्रहमः काययायते। (विन्यास p. 315)
341. आदिनांविन्यायस्वयंपद्वमेव तयस्यामस्यास्मात्। कर्मसंसमायान्तायश्च। विन्यास तत् नैव स्वयंपद्ये हीने। यथो ब्रहमः काययायते। (विन्यास p. 315)
deserving to be killed for his violence would obtain the merit of an Ásvamedha sacrifice.

Commentators and writers of digests differ in their interpretations. Viśvarūpa 342 (on Yāj. III. 222) remarks that he is guilty of brāhmaṇa-murder who kills a brāhmaṇa except in battle or except when the latter is an ātātāyin, or who kills a brāhmaṇa (not an ātātāyin nor fighting) on his own account without being employed by another or who brings about the death of such a brāhmaṇa by hiring another to perpetrate the murder for money. He further adds that the man who kills a brāhmaṇa at the instigation of another for money is not guilty of the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder, but it is the instigator who is so guilty on the analogy of the rule that the merit or fruit of a sacrifice belongs to him on whose behalf the ṛtviks perform it. The Mit. 343 on Yāj. (II. 21) says that the real purport of Manu VIII. 350–351 is not to ordain that a brāhmaṇa must be killed if he is an ātātāyin, but those two verses are only an arthavāda (laudatory or recommendatory dicta), the real meaning being that even a guru and a brāhmaṇa who are most highly honoured and who are not fit to be killed at all, may have to be killed if ātātāyins (then what of others?). The final conclusion of the Mit. is that if a brāhmaṇa who is an ātātāyin is being opposed in self-defence without any desire to kill him and if he dies through mistake or inattention, then the killer incurs no punishment at the hand of the king and has to undergo a slight prāyaścitta i.e. there is really a prohibition to kill an ātātāyin brāhmaṇa and verses like Manu VIII. 351 refer to an ātātāyin who is not a brāhmaṇa. Medhātithi appears to have held the same view (on Manu VIII. 350–351). Kullūka explains Manu VIII. 350 as meaning that ‘a guru or a brāhmaṇa or others coming as ātātāyins may be killed when it is impossible to save oneself even by fleeing from them’. Aparārka is of opinion 344

342. अत्तताविद्यापावित्तिकः सो नाग्नागपावतामधुः स्वामिप्रेय हस्यांस्वामिप्रेय स्वामिप्रेय स्वामिप्रेय स्वामिप्रेय स्वामिप्रेय स्वामिप्रेय स्वामिप्रेय
343. नात्ताविद्यावृत्ति सूक्ष्मचूर्तिः नाग्नागपावित्तिकः नाग्नागपावित्तिकः नाग्नागपावित्तिकः नाग्नागपावित्तिकः नाग्नागपावित्तिकः नाग्नागपावित्तिकः नाग्नागपावित्तिकः नाग्नागपावित्तिकः
344. तद्वा पावित्तिकः संभाग्नावेन न संभाग्नावेन न संभाग्नावेन न संभाग्नावेन न संभाग्नावेन न संभाग्नावेन न संभाग्नावेन न संभाग्नावेन
that where an ātātāyin brāhmaṇa cannot be prevented from his wicked intent except by killing him, there only the śāstras allow the killing of a brāhmaṇa but where it is possible to ward him off by a mere blow (i.e., without actually killing him) there would be the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder if he were actually killed. The Sm.C. in a long note appears to hold that an ātātāyin brāhmaṇa rushing upon a man to kill him may be killed by the person attacked (there is no sin and no punishment nor penance for it), that a brāhmaṇa ātātāyin (who does not come to kill but) who only siezes one's fields or wife should not be killed (but lesser harm may be done to him with impunity) and that kṣatriyas and others if ātātāyin may be killed outright. The Vyavahāra-Mayūkha\textsuperscript{345} adds a rider that, on account of the prescription contained in the section on kalivarja (actions forbidden in the Kali age) viz., 'the killing in a properly conducted fight of brāhmaṇas that are ātātāyin' (is forbidden in Kali), an ātātāyin brāhmaṇa even when about to kill a person should not be killed by that person in the Kali age, that such a brāhmaṇa was allowed to be killed in former ages, that an ātātāyin brāhmaṇa other than one bent upon killing another was not be killed in all ages. The Viṣṇutrodaya (pp. 19–27) has a long disquisition on this subject but space forbids us from giving even a brief summary of it. It will have been noticed how the sacredness of the brāhmaṇa's person went on increasing in later ages.

(10) Even threatening a brāhmaṇa with assault, or striking him or drawing blood from his body drew the severest condemnation from very ancient times. The Tai,\textsuperscript{346} S. (II. 6. 10. 1–2) contains these words 'He who threatens a brāhmaṇa should be fined a hundred, he who strikes a brāhmaṇa should be fined a thousand, he who draws blood would not reach (or find) the abode of pitrs for as many years as the dust particles that may be made into a paste by the quantity of blood drawn. Therefore one should not threaten a brāhmaṇa with assault, nor strike him nor draw his blood'. Gaut. (22. 20–22) has a

\textsuperscript{345} शिं च 'अतातायिनः व्रताणि धर्मौयेन हिसनं' हनि कत्यावधोत्तात्तशाश्वीनुविस्म। श्वासरमप्रृष्ट् प. 242; for काविक भाषा cf. Appendix.

\textsuperscript{346} योव्वशयति वज्रेण वातावरो विद्वन्तन् सन्त्रेपो वातावरो शोषितं कर्मचायतः संस्कृतं संपुर्णं तत्रतं संस्कारं पूर्तितोऽऽ न च मन्दाविनि। तदार्ज्ज नाद्भवाय नाप्रेक्ष न निद्रव्यानु शोषितं जर्जरं। ह्यं सं. II. 6. 10. 1–2.
similar\textsuperscript{347} dictum, viz. that threatening a brāhmaṇa with assault in wrath prevents entry into heaven for a hundred years (or leads to hell for a hundred years) &c. Jaimini III. 4. 17 considers the question whether the passage in the Tai. S. is kvatvartha or purusārtha.

(11) For certain offences a brāhmaṇa received lesser punishment than members of other classes. For example, Gaut. says\textsuperscript{348} 'if a ksatriya reviled a brāhmaṇa the fine was one hundred (kārśāpanaś), if a vaiśya did so it was 150; but if a brāhmaṇa reviled a ksatriya the fine was 50; if he reviled a vaiśya it was only 25, and if a brāhmaṇa reviled a śūdra he was not to be fined.' Vide Manu VIII. 267-268 (but Manu prescribes a fine of twelve for a brāhmaṇa reviling a śūdra) which are the same as Nārada (vākparusya verses 15-16), Yāj. II. 206-207. But in the case of certain crimes the brāhmaṇa was to receive heavier punishment. For example, in the case of theft, if a śūdra thief was fined\textsuperscript{349} eight, a vaiśya 16 and a ksatriya 32, a brāhmaṇa was fined 64, 100 or 128. Vide Gaut. 21. 12-14 and Manu VIII. 337-338.

(12) According to Gaut.,\textsuperscript{350} (XIII. 4) a brāhmaṇa could not be cited as a witness by a litigant who was not a brāhmaṇa and the king would not summon him, provided he (the brāhmaṇa) was not an attesting witness on a document. Nārada (ṛṇādana verse 158) lays down that\textsuperscript{351} 'śrotriyas, those engaged in austerities, old men, those who have become ascetics, are not to be witnesses because the authoritative texts so prescribe but there is no cause assigned for this rule.' So Nārada's view was that a śrotriya could never be cited as a witness by any litigant (even by a brāhmaṇa litigant). Gaut. impliedly shows that even a śrotriya could be cited as a witness by a brāhmaṇa. Manu VIII. 65, Visṣu Dh. S. VIII. 2 also forbid citing a śrotriya as a witness.

\textsuperscript{347} अभिकृष्णाकारणं माहकस्त्र वर्णसक्तस्वर्गमयं। निमाते सदास्य। विहितवर्णे पानस्कृतत्सक्ति पञ्चुस तिष्ठितम्। गीतम् 22. 20-22.

\textsuperscript{348} इति श्रीमतो माहकस्त्रोऽकारणं परस्परविपरिवारः। गीतम् 21. 6-10.

\textsuperscript{349} अद्वैतायं सर्वत्रक्षतिच्यं सुदृढः। विकृष्णाकारं विभववर्गमयं। विनुष्ठोऽविकृष्णेऽविनुष्ठोऽद्वैतायं। गीतम् 21. 12-14.

\textsuperscript{350} माहकस्त्रोऽकारणं भवति ते स मवर्तिते नरशं। असाधितं वचनं इत्युत्तरे। नारायण 158.

\textsuperscript{351} अभिकृष्णाकारणं माहकस्त्रं वर्णसक्तस्वर्गमयं। निमाते सदास्य। विहितवर्णे पानस्कृतत्सक्ति पञ्चुस तिष्ठितम्। गीतम् 22. 20-22.
(13) Only certain brāhmaṇas were to be invited for dinner in śrāddhas and in rites for gods. Vide Gaut. 15. 5 and 9, Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 4, Manu III. 124 and 128, Yāj. I. 217, 219, 221.

(14) Certain sacrifices could be performed only by brāhmaṇas. For example, the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice and the sacrifices called sattras could be performed only by brāhmaṇas. But it has to be noted that the Rājasūya sacrifice could performed only by ksatriyas and that according to Jainini VI. 6. 24-26 even brāhmaṇas of Bhṛgu, Śunaka and Vasiṣṭha gotras could not perform a sattra.

(15) The periods of mourning were less in the case of brāhmaṇas. Gaut. 14. 1-4 prescribes ten days of mourning for brāhmaṇas, eleven for ksatriyas, twelve for vaiśyas and a month for śūdras. Vas. Dh. S. IV. 27-30, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 1-4, Manu V. 83, Yāj. III. 22 contain similar provisions. Later on ten days’ mourning came to be prescribed for all castes.

Several other lesser privileges are enumerated by Nārada (prākrtaṇaka, verses 35-39) ‘The king shall show his face in the morning before brāhmaṇas first of all and shall salute them all. When nine or seven persons (of different rank) meet, they shall first make room for the brāhmaṇa to pass by. Further privileges assigned to brāhmaṇas are: free access to the houses of other people for the purpose of begging alms; the right to collect fuel, flowers, water and the like without its being regarded as a theft and to converse with other men’s wives without being restrained (in such conversation) by others; and the right to cross rivers without paying any fare for the ferry-boat and to be conveyed (to the other bank) before other people. When engaged in trading and using a ferry boat, they shall have to pay no toll. A brāhmaṇa who is engaged in travelling, who is tired and has

352. सत्रामणि आदि ब्राह्मणानांप्रथितविकालसमयं। कार्यम्। यथा ये । 6. 13; so also Jainini VI. 6. 16-23 for सत्र and VI. 6. 24-26 for the proposition that आदि ब्राह्मणाः of शृङ्ग, अन्नक and वसिष्ठ गोत्रस् were not entitled to perform सत्रस्.

353. सर्वेष्णेन वसिष्ठाः कृतं धुष्टकं तथा। द्वाराकान्तिविद्विविधस्मिः सत्रा तथा-नाविद्य कार्याः। ईश्वरि मनुष्याः। यथा III. 22.

354. Vide privilege No. 8 (rule about making way) above. Gautama (VI. 21-22 quoted above p. 146) names seven persons, while Vasiṣṭha (13. 58-60) mentions nine persons about this rule. Nārada has probably these two sutra works in view here.

nothing to eat, commits no wrong by taking two canes of sugar or two esculent roots.

There were some disabilities also in the case of brāhmaṇas which have been indicated in the above discussion (viz. as to avocations, selling articles &c.).

It may be convenient to bring together the disabilities of the sūdra:

(1) He was not allowed to study the Veda. Many of the smṛtikāras and writers of digests\textsuperscript{355} quote several Vedic passages on this point. A śruti text reads 'The Creator created the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī (metre), the rājanya with Trīṣṭubh, the vaiśya with Jagati, but he did not create the sūdra with any metre; therefore the sūdra is known to be unfit for the saṁskāra (of upanayana)'. The study of the Veda follows after Upanayana and the Veda speaks of the Upanayana of only three classes\textsuperscript{357} 'one should perform upanayana for a brāhmaṇa in spring, for a rājanya in summer and in śarad (autumn) for a vaiśya.' Not only was the sūdra not to study the Veda, but Veda study was not to be carried on in his presence (vide note 75 above).\textsuperscript{358} This attitude need not cause wonder. The sacred Vedic literature was largely created and preserved entirely by the brāhmaṇas (the kṣatriyas contributing if at all a very small share in that task). If the brāhmaṇas desired to keep their sacred treasure for the twice-born classes in these circumstances, it is understandable and for those ages even excusable. In the 20th century there are vast majorities who are not allowed by small minorities of imperialistic and capitalistic tendencies to control the just and equitable distribution of the material goods produced mostly by the labour and co-operation of those majorities and doctrines are being openly professed that certain races alone should be imparted higher and scientific knowledge while other so-called inferior races should be only hewers of wood and drawers of water.

\textsuperscript{355} Jaimini Sāstra, p. 23; quoted by Apāraśī. \textsuperscript{356} Jaimini Sāstra, p. 23; quoted by Apāraśī. \textsuperscript{357} This is the basis of Jaimini VI, 1. 33 and is relied on by Sabara. Vide Ap. Dh. S. I. 1.1.6.\textsuperscript{358} Jaimini Sāstra, p. 18. 13. Vide Sūtra, 16, 18-19, 18. 3, 9, 9 (Nāradaṇapārapāramitī)
There are however faint traces that in ancient times this prohibition of Veda study was not so absolute and universal as the smṛtis make it. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad IV. 1–2, we have the story of Jānaśruti Paurāṇya and Raikva where the latter addresses Jānaśruti as śūdra and imparts to him the Samvarga (absorption) vidyā. It appears that Jānaśruti was a śūdra to whom the vidyā embodied in the Chāndogya (which is also Veda) was imparted. It is no doubt true that in the Vedāntaśūtra (I. 3. 34) the word śūdra is explained not as referring to the class, but as meaning that sorrow (suc) arose in Jānaśruti on hearing the contemptuous talk of the flamingoes about himself and he was overcome (from dru) by that (i.e. śūdra is derived from suc and dru). But this far-fetched explanation had to be given because of the practice current in the times of the Vedāntaśūtras that the śūdra is not entitled to study the Veda. Gaut. XII. 4 went so far as to prescribe if the śūdra intentionally listens for committing to memory the Veda, then his ears should be filled with (molten) lead and lac; if he utters the Veda, then his tongue may be cut off; if he has mastered the Veda his body should be hacked.

Though the śūdra could not study the Veda, he was not debarred from hearing the itihāsas (like the Mahābhārata) and the Purāṇas. The Mahābhārata (Śānti 328. 49) expressly says that the four varṇas should hear the Mahābhārata through a brāhmaṇa as reader. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa says that as the three Vedas cannot be learnt by women, śūtras and brāhmaṇas (who are so only by birth), the sage (Vyāsa) composed the story of the Bhārata out of compassion for them. The Śūdrakamalākara (pp. 13–14) cites several passages from the purāṇas.
to the effect that the śūdra could not study the smṛtis and purāṇas by himself. Even Manu II. 16 seems to suggest that only the dvijātis had the privilege to listen to the Manusmrī (and not śūdras). The only privilege conceded by the Śūdrakamalākara to the śūdra is that he can acquire knowledge by listening to the purāṇas read by a brāhmaṇa (p. 17); the Kalpataru and other works allowed the śūdra to read and repeat Purāṇa mantras. Śaṅkarācārya on Vedāntasūtra (I. 3. 38) quotes Śānti 328. 49 and says that the śūdra has no adhikāra (eligibility) for brāhmaṇavidyā based upon a study of the Veda, but that a śūdra can attain spiritual development (just as Vidura and Dharmavyādha mentioned in the Mahābhārata did) and that he may attain to mokṣa, the fruit of correct knowledge. In certain digests we find a smṛti quotation to the effect that śūdras are Vājasaneyins. This is explained as meaning that the śūdra should follow the procedure prescribed in the grhyasūtra of the Vājasaneyā Śākha and a brāhmaṇa should repeat the mantra for him. This is probably based on the Harivamśa (Bhāvisyat-parva, chap. III. 13) "all will expound brahma; all will be Vājasaneyins; when the yuga comes to a close śūdras will make use of the word ‘bhoṣ’ in address” (sarve brahma vādisyanti sarve Vājasaneyinah).

(2) The śūdras were not to consecrate sacred fires and to perform the solemn Vedic sacrifices. Vide note 73 above. Jaimini (I. 3. 25–38) elaborately discusses this question and arrives at the conclusion that the śūdra cannot consecrate the three sacred fires and so cannot perform Vedic rites. Among the reasons given are that in several Vedic passages only the three higher classes are referred to in the case of the consecration of fires, about the sūmans to be sung, about the food to be taken when observing vrata. It is however interesting to note that at least one ancient teacher (Bādari) was found who advocated that

365. तद्धात्र यथा परन्तप इति तत्त्वपि । तत्र पूर्वांशिको भवनित: । तव शूद्विद्वांशिको भवनित: । आर्यकृत्वं सर्वं शूद्राः वाजसेनिप्रियाः । असाधुः स्वयं कस्य कस्य प्रकाशः कार्यषदः ॥

366. वस्त्रे महायोगीप्रथित श्रीमें राजाध्वार स्त्रियां वीरः । यथे प्रार्थ यथा यथा व्याप्तपरावर्तमाञ्चल आभासिकं सदार्थवत् । तथे यथा यथा तथा यथा यथा तथा यथा तथा यथा

367. निमित्तस्य माहिरस्मात्राविनिर्देशार्थ ह्यं । ते I. 3. 27.
even śūdras could perform Vedic sacrifices. The Bhāradvāja Śrauta sūtra \(^{368}\) (V. 2.8) states the opinion of some that the śūdra can consecrate the three sacred Vedic fires. The Kātyāyana-śrautasūtra \(^{369}\) (I. 4.5) prescribes that all can perform Vedic rites except those who are deficient in a limb, who are not learned in the\(^{369}\) Veda, who are impotent and śūdras; but the commentary thereon states by way of pūrvapakṣa that there are certain Vedic texts which lead to the inference that the Śūdra had the adhikāra for Vedic rites e.g. in Śat. Br. I. 1. 4. 12 (S. B. E. vol. XII. p. 28) it is said with reference to the Havīśkrta call “Now there are four different forms of this call, viz. ‘Come hither’ (ehi) in the case of a brāhmaṇa; ‘approach’ (āgahī) and ‘hasten hither’ (ādrava) in the case of a vaishya and a member of the military caste and ‘run hither’ (ādāvā) in that of a śūdra.” Similarly in the Somayāga in place of the payovrata (vow to drink milk only) māṣit (whey) is prescribed for śūdra (indicating thereby that the śūdra could perform Somayāga) and in Śat. Br. (XIII 8. 3. 11, S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 435) with reference to sepulchral mounds it is said ‘for the kṣatriya he may make 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 vaishya up to the thighs, for a śūdra up to the knee’. The commentary on the Kātyāyana Śrauta I. 1. 6 says that the word śūdra here stands for rathakāra because (acc. to Yāj, I. 91) his mother’s mother is a śūdra woman.

Though the śūdra was not authorized to perform Vedic rites, he was entitled to perform what is called pūrta-dharma\(^{370}\) i.e. the building of wells, tanks, temples, parks and distribution of food as works of charity and gifts on such occasions as eclipses and the Sun’s passage from one zodiacal sign into another and on the 12th and other tithis. He was allowed to perform the five daily sacrifices called Mahāyajñas

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\(^{368}\) विनायते नरवृक्षः वर्षावाद्वानविविलेको न विचल दृष्टपत्रः। माधवचन्द्र ज्ञात ज्ञात V. 2. 8. (Journal of Vedic studies, Lahore, vol I for Sep. 1934).

\(^{369}\) अवदायलोकणप्रपालूपनां कथे। श्रीं सु. I. 4. 5; com. अधववेंति तृतीय मदुष्ण्येदिसम यमडन्तस्यमेव। आद्रववृहिन्तायं नृत्तवेण्विविलेके ।। The first is 5लमय 1. 4. 12 and the last is तञ्च तम् XIII. 8. 3. 11.

\(^{370}\) विनायकान्तः विरहजिनौः सामाजी घर्म्मस्योः अर्भिकारी अवद्वारः पूर्वामचन्द्र ने वैदिकः ॥ अव वर्ष 46; तद्वतान्त ॥ अय्यर् प. 24 'विनायकान्तमहाराजूलिं दुन्ना' पत्रलाभवांमात्रम् पुरातनविविद्यायेऽ यङ्गहर्षाय पद्मनं पुरवक्ष्यादेवृच ॥। दुन्नाराजसम् न विद्यां पुरातनविविद्यायेऽऽ॥। The first verse is quoted from the वासुदेवत and the second from जानकियुष्य.
in the ordinary fire, he could perform śrāddha, he was to think of the devatās and utter loudly the word ‘namah’ which was to be the only mantra in his case (i.e., he was not to say ‘Agniye svāhā’ but to think of Agni and say⁹⁷¹ ‘namah’). Manu X. 127 prescribes that all religious rites for the śūdra are without (Vedic) mantras. According to some the śūdras could also have what is called Vaiśāhika fire (i.e., fire kindled at the time of marriage) in Manu III 67 and Yāj. I. 97, but Māṇḍārakaḥ (on the same verse), the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 121), the Madanapārīṣṭā (p. 231) and other works say that he should offer oblations in the ordinary fire and that there is no Vaiśāhika fire for the śūdra. All persons including the śūdras and even cāṇḍālas were authorized to repeat the Rāmamantra of 13 letters (Śri Rāma jaya Rāma jaya jaya Rāma) and the Śiva mantra of five letters (namah Śivāya), while dvijātis could repeat the Śiva mantra of six letters (Om namah Śivāya). Vide Śūdra-kamalākara pp. 30-31, where passages of Varāha, Vāmana and Bhaviṣya Purāṇas are cited to show that śūdras are entitled to learn and repeat mantras of Viṣṇu from the Pāṇcarātra texts and of Śiva, the Sun, Śakti and Viṇāyaka. The Varāhapurāṇa (128.22-31) describes the initiation (dīkṣā) of a śūdra as a devotee of Viṣṇu (as a bhāgavata).

(3) As to Saṁskāras, there is some apparent conflict among the authorities. Manu X. 126 says ‘The śūdra incurs no sin (by eating forbidden articles like onions and garlic), he is not fit for saṁskāras, he has no adhikāra for (authority to perform) dharma nor is he forbidden from performing dharma’ and in IV. 80 (which is the same as Vas. Dh. S. 18, 14 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 48-52) we see ‘one should not give advice to a śūdra, nor give him leavings of food nor of sacrificial oblations, one

⁹⁷¹: Adhikāra in this sense is not found elsewhere. A more frequent term is dharma, which is used in a similar sense in Man. X. 127 and Yaj. I. 97. [Other authorities agree, e.g., the Māṇḍārakaḥ (p. 231) and Madanapārīṣṭā (p. 231).]
should not impart religious instruction to him nor ask him to perform vratas*. Laghuvisṇu* 372 (I. 15) contains the dictum that the sūdra is devoid of any sāṃskāra. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 explains the words of Manu IV. 80 about vratas in the case of sūdras as applicable only to those sūdras who are not in attendance upon members of the three higher castes and establishes that sūdras can perform vratas (but without homa and muttering of mantras). Aparārka on the same verse (Manu IV. 80) explains that the sūdra cannot perform vratas in person, but only through the medium of a brāhmaṇa. The Śudrakamalākara (p. 38) holds that sūdras are entitled to perform vratas, fasts, mahādānas and prāyaścittas, but without homa and japa. Manu X. 127 allows religious sūdras to perform all religious acts which dvijātis perform, provided they do not use Vedic mantras. On the other hand Śaṅkha (as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 13) opines that sāṃskāras may be performed for sūdras but without Vedic mantras. Yama quoted in Sm. C. (I. p. 14) says the same. Veda-Vyāsa (I. 17) prescribes that ten sāṃskāras (viz. garbhādhana, pūrṇasavaṇa, śimantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakarana, nīskramana, annaprāśana, cauła, karnavedha and vivāha) can be performed in the case of sūdras, but without Vedic mantras. Haradatta (on Gautama X. 51) quotes a gṛhyakāra to the effect that even in the case of the sūdra the rites of nīseka, pūrṇasavaṇa, śimantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakarana, annaprāśana and cauла are allowed but without Vedic mantras. When Manu prescribes (II. 32) that the sūdra should be given a name connected with service, he indicates that the sūdra could perform the ceremony of nāmakarana. So when Manu (IV. 80) states that he deserves no sāṃskāra, what he means is that no sāṃskāra with Vedic mantras was to be performed in his case. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 80 says that the prohibition to give advice and impart instruction in dharma applies only when these are done for making one’s livelihood, but if a sūdra is a friend of the family of a brāhmaṇa friendly advice or instruction can be given. Vide Śudrakamalākara p. 47 for several views about the sāṃskāras allowed to sūdras.

(4) Liability to higher punishment for certain offences. If a sūdra committed adultery with a woman of the three

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372. सुरभिविष्णु सर्वसंसारस्यां निर्माताम्। वज्रागस्य दुःक्षराः विजेत्वानमेकश्चन्द्रम्।
I. 15.
higher castes, Gaut. (XII. 1-2) prescribed the cutting off of his penis and forfeiture of all his property and if he was guilty of this offence when entrusted with the duty of protecting her, he was to suffer death in addition. Vas. Dh. S. 21.1. Manu VIII. 366 prescribe death in the case of a sūdra having intercourse with a brāhmaṇa woman whether she was willing or unwilling. On the other hand, if a brāhmaṇa committed adultery on a brāhmaṇa woman he was fined a thousand and five hundred if he was guilty of adultery with her (Manu VIII. 378) and if a brāhmaṇa had intercourse with a kṣatriya, vaiśya or sūdra woman, who was not guarded, he was fined five hundred (Manu VIII. 385). Similarly in the case of Vākārūṣya (slander and libel) if a sūdra reviled a brāhmaṇa he received corporal punishment or his tongue was cut off (Manu VIII. 270), but if a kṣatriya or vaiśya did so they were respectively fined 100 or 150 (Manu VIII. 267) and if a brāhmaṇa reviled a sūdra, the brāhmaṇa was fined only 12 (Manu VIII. 268) or nothing (acc. to Gaut. XII. 10). In the case of theft, however, the sūdra was fined much less. Vide above p. 152 (No. 11 among the privileges of brāhmaṇas).

(5) In the matter of the period for impurity on death or birth the sūdra was held to be impure for a month, while a brāhmaṇa had to observe ten days’ period only. Vide above p. 153 (No. 15 among the privileges of brāhmaṇas).

(6) A sūdra could not be a judge or propound what dharma was. Manu (VIII. 9) and Yāj. I.3 lay down that when the king does not himself look into the litigation of people owing to pressure of other business, he should appoint a learned brāhmaṇa as a judge. Manu (VIII. 20) further says that a king may appoint as his judge even a brāhmaṇa who is so by birth only (i.e., who does not perform the peculiar duties of brāhmaṇas), but never a sūdra. Kātyāyana (as quoted

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373. अर्थालोचनाने किस्मोडः सदर्पण च। गोष्ठ चैतम्यायिकः। महाभ. 12. 1-2. In parts of America the penalty for an attempt to commit a rape on a white woman is burning alive, but only if the offender has a black skin. As to Rome vide Westermarck’s ‘The Origin and Development of moral Ideas’ (1912) vol. I. p. 433 “from the beginning of Empire the citizens were divided into privileged classes and commonalty—utergue ordo and plebs—and whilst a commoner who was guilty of murder was punished with death, a murderer belonging to the privileged classes was generally punished with deportation only.”
in 374 the Mit. on Yāj. I. 3) says that when a brāhmaṇa is not available (as a judge) the king may appoint as judge a kṣatriya or a vaiśya who is proficient in dharmaśāstra, but he should carefully avoid appointing a śudra as judge.

(7) A brāhmaṇa was not allowed to receive gifts from a śudra except under great restrictions. Vide above note 239.

(8) A brāhmaṇa could take 375 food at the houses of members of the three classes who performed the duties prescribed for them by the śāstras (according to Gaut.), but he could not take food from a śudra except when the śudra was his own cowherd, or tilled his field or was a hereditary friend of the family, or his own barber or his dāsa. Vide Gaut. XVII. 6 and Manu IV. 253 ( = Viśnu Dh. S. 57. 16), Yāj. I. 166, Parāśara IX. 19. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 16. 22 says 376 "that food which is brought by an impure śudra should not be eaten by a brāhmaṇa," but Āpastamba allows śudras to be cooks in brāhmaṇa households provided they were supervised by a member of the three higher classes and observed certain hygienic rules about paring nails, the cutting of hair. Manu IV. 211 forbade in general the food of a śudra to a brāhmaṇa and by IV. 223 he laid down that a learned brāhmaṇa should not take cooked food from a śudra who did not perform śrāddha and other daily rites (mahāyajñas) but that he may take from such a śudra uncooked grain for one night, if he cannot get food from anywhere else. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 1) requires a brāhmaṇa to avoid the food of vṛśalas (śudras). Gradually rules about taking food from śudras became stricter. The Saṅkhāramṛti (13. 4) remarks that brāhmaṇas fattened on the food given by śudras are Paṅktidūṣaka. Parāśara 377 XI. 13 ordains that a brāhmaṇa may take from a śudra ghee, oil, milk, molasses and food fried in oil or ghee, but should eat it on a river bank and not in the śudra's house and the Par. M. adds

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374. भवयो यज्ञ न द्वायथु द्रविषयं तत्वं वेद्येत्। वेद्यं वा धर्माशार्क मुखं च चरणं

375. महर्षिगीतिः ब्रह्मणीगीतिः साधुपालैं।...प्रायोपदेशवेदनात्स्ततं

376. अननतं तु ब्रह्मादिपितवार्तमयं। आप. प. छ. I. 5. 16. 23, आप. मित्रतात्

377. वृषभदेव तत्र क्षणे वृषभदेव पारितम्। वस्त्र नृद्वं वा निमो सृजस्राध्यादि

H. D. 21
(II. 1. pp. 411-12) that this permission is meant to apply only when the brāhmaṇa is tired by travelling and no food from a member of another class is available. Haradatta on Gaut. XVII. 6 remarks that a brāhmaṇa could take food from a śūdra who was a cowherd &c. only in the case of very extreme calamities. Aparārka also (p. 244 on Yāj. I. 168) says the same. In the kalivarjya (actions forbidden in the kali age) the old practice of eating the food of cowherds, barber &c. was forbidden. 378

(9) The śūdra gradually came to be so much looked down upon that he could not touch a brāhmaṇa, though at one time he could be a cook in a brāhmaṇa household and a brāhmaṇa could eat food from his house. In the Anuśāsanaparvya (59.33) it is said 379 ‘a brāhmaṇa should be served by a śūdra from a distance like blazing fire; while he may be waited upon by a kṣatriya or vaiśya after touching him.’ Aparārka (p. 1196) quotes two śruti texts ‘a brāhmaṇa on touching a śūdra or nisāda becomes pure by ācamana (ceremonial sipping of water); on touching persons lower than these, he becomes pure by bathing, prāṇāyāma and the strength of tapas; on seeing a ram, a cock, a crow, a dog, a śūdra and an antyāvasāyin (an antyaja), one should stop the rite that is being performed and on touching them one should take a bath’. On this Aparārka explains that if a man who touched a śūdra cannot bathe then he may resort to sipping water, but if able he must take a bath or that on touching a sat-śūdra one may have recourse to ācamana and on touching an asat-śūdra one must take a bath. We find from the Grhyasūtras 380 that in Madhuparka offered to a snātaka the feet of the guest (even if he was a brāhmaṇa) were washed by a śūdra male or female. So there could have been no ban against a śūdra touching a brāhmaṇa then. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 3. 6. 9-10) says that two śūdras should wash the feet of a guest, according to some teachers (in the case of a householder who has several dāsas), while Āpastamba

378. ‘स्वेतव दासागमधात्राय विधायथाधितीयाः। वेदांकां धर्मस्य वृद्धा’ quoted in शतपथब्राहmana (I. p. 12), para. ma. I. part 1 pp. 134-137 and the अवयवसूधा of अवयवसूधा.

379. दासागमधात्राय विधायथाधितीयाः। वेदांकां धर्मस्य वृद्धा’ संस्कृत परिवर्तन वैदेशिक कालिका वाः। संस्कृतम् 59. 33.

380. ज्ञेयमानेभिः शुद्धाः प्रपन्नाः स्वपन्नाः। अवयवसमीयमा वेदांकां धर्मम्। अवयवसोधां वृद्धां दासागामधात्राय विधायथाधितीयाः।
himself says that one śūdra should wash the guest’s feet and another should sprinkle him with water.\textsuperscript{381}

(10) As the śūdra could not be initiated into Vedic study, the only āśrama out of the four that he was entitled to was that of the householder. In the Anuśāsanaparva (165. 10) we read\textsuperscript{382} ‘I am a śūdra and so I have no right to resort to the four āśramas’. In the Śāntiparva\textsuperscript{383} (63. 12–14) it is said, ‘in the case of a śūdra who performs service (of the higher classes), who has done his duty, who has raised offspring, who has only a short span of life left or is reduced to the 10th stage (i.e. is above 90 years of age), the fruits of all āśramas are laid down (as obtained by him) except of the fourth.’ Medhatithi on Manu VI. 97 explains these words as meaning that the śūdra by serving brāhmaṇas and procreating offspring as a house-holder acquires the merit of all āśramas except mokṣa which is the reward of the proper observance of the duties of the fourth āśrama.

(11) The life of a śūdra was esteemed rather low. Yaj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 65 include the killing of a woman, a śūdra, a vaisya, and a kṣatriya among upapātakas; but the prāyāscittas and gifts prescribed for killing these show that the life of the śūdra was not worth much. On killing a kṣatriya, the prāyāscitta prescribed was brahmaçarya for six years, gift of 1000 cows and a bull; for killing a vaisya, brahmaçarya for three years and gift of 100 cows and a bull; for killing a śūdra brahmaçarya for one year, gift of 10 cows and a bull. Gaut. XXII. 14–16, Manu XI. 136–130, Yaj III. 266–267 say practically the same thing. Ṛp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 25. 14–I. 9. 26. 1) says that on killing a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a cakrāvāka, flamingo, bhāsa, a frog, ichneumon, musk-rat, a dog, a cow and draught ox the prāyāscitta is the same as that for killing a śūdra. Manu (XI. 131) says ‘on killing a cat, an ichneumon,

\textsuperscript{381} तथा भांज पृथक् प्रकारे शुद्धमिथ्यान्वित्ये। अन्तर्देवशिष्ये ने श्राव। आप. वृ. \textsuperscript{\textcopyright} II. 3. 6. 9–10.

\textsuperscript{382} शुद्धानो नायिकाम् से याच्यायामेवेष्वरे। अन्तर्देवशिष्ये 165. 10.

\textsuperscript{383} अन्यायम् कार्यार्थं कार्यं नामयं जागीर्व। अन्यायार्थशालय अन्यायं जागीर्व।
cūsa, a frog, a dog, iguana, owl and crow, the prāyaścitta is the same as that for killing a śūdra.384

If the śūdra laboured under certain grave disabilities, he had certain compensating advantages. He could follow almost any profession except the few specially reserved for brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas. Even as to the latter many śūdras became kings and Kauṭ, in his Arthaśāstra (IX. 2) speaks of armies of śūdras (vide note 266 above). The śūdra was free from the round of countless daily rites. He was compelled to undergo no saṃskāra (except marriage), he could indulge in any kind of food and drink wine, he had to undergo no penances for lapses from the rules of the śāstras, he had to observe no restrictions of gotra and pravara in marriage. Those western writers who turn up their nose at the position of the śūdras in ancient and medieval India conveniently forget what atrocious crimes were perpetrated by their people in the institution of slavery and in their dealings with the Red Indians and other backward coloured races; how nations of Europe out of false pride of race have passed in the 20th century laws prohibiting marriages between the so-called Aryans and non-Aryans and preventing the latter from holding state offices and carrying on several occupations and how discrimination is made against coloured men on railways, in hotels and other places of public resort and how even in India separate third class compartments were reserved on railways for Europeans, for entering which Indians were prosecuted and sentenced in their own country. Vide Emperor vs Narayan 25 Bom. L. R. 26 for such a case.

384. Those who are familiar with the cases decided in India in which Indian servants or coolies were kicked by European employers and died as a result and in which the offenders were either acquitted or let off on a small fine (on the ground that the deceased had an enlarged spleen) need not feel surprised at the above statement of affairs in India over two thousand years ago.
CHAPTER IV

UNTUCHABILITY

Those who have written on the Indian caste system have always been struck by the fact of the existence of certain castes that are treated as untouchables. But it should not be supposed that this is something confined only to India. Even nations that have no caste system at all have often carried out complete segregation of certain people dwelling in their midst, which in essentials is the same as the system of untouchability in India. The Encyclopaedia of social sciences vol. XI. p. 339 says that in the southern States of U. S. A. discrimination against Negroes took the form of 'residential segregation, separation of the races in public conveyances and places of amusement, exclusion of Negroes from public institutions and educational discrimination. Disenfranchisement and social discrimination had their economic counterpart in all branches of industry except agriculture and domestic and personal service, occupations to which Negroes had been habituated under the slave regime.' It is also within living memory that Mahatma Gandhi had to lead a movement of *satyagraha* in South Africa against the discriminating treatment of Indians and even now in Natal and other parts of British Africa there is legislation restricting Indians in the matter of residence and purchases of land.

In the early Vedic literature several of the names of castes that are spoken of in the smṛtis as antyajas occur. We have *cārmamna* (a tanner of hides?) in the Rgveda (VIII. 5. 38), the Cāndāla and Paulkasa occur in the Vāj. S., the Vapa or Vaptā (barber) even in the Rg., the Vidalakāra or Bidalakāra (corresponding to the buruđa of the smṛtis) occurs in the Vāj. S. and the Tai. Br., Vāṣaḥpalpūlī (washerwoman) corresponding to the Rajaka of the smṛtis in the Vāj. S. But there is no

indication in these passages whether these, even if they formed castes, were at all untouchables. The utmost that can be said is that as the Paulkasa is assigned to bibhata (in Vaj. S. 30. 17) and Candra to Vayu (in the Purusamedha), the Paulkasa lived in such a way as to cause disgust and the Candra lived in the wind (i.e. probably in the open or in a cemetery). The only passage of Vedic literature on which reliance can be placed for some definite statement about candalas is in the Chandogya Up. V. 10. 7, where while describing the fate of those souls that went to the world of the moon for enjoying the rewards of some of their actions it is stated 'those who did praiseworthy actions here, quickly acquire birth in a good condition, viz. in the condition of a brahma, a kshatriya or vaishya, while those whose actions were low (reprehensible) quickly acquire birth in a lower condition i.e. as a dog, or a boar or a candala.' This occurs in Pañcagnividya, the purpose of which is to teach vaivagya and disgust with the transmigratory world. This passage does not enjoin anything, it is a bare statement by way of explanation or elucidation. All that can be legitimately inferred from this is that the first three varnas were commended and that candalas were looked upon as the lowest in the social scale. It is to be noticed that the sudra varna does not occur in this passage at all. So probably even in the times of the Chandogya the candala was looked upon as a sudra, though lowest among the several sudra subcastes. The candala is equated with the dog and the boar in this passage, but this leads hardly anywhere. It is no doubt stated in the Sat. Br. XII. 4. 1. 4 that 'three beasts are unclean in relation to a sacrifice viz. the vicious (filthy) boar, the ram and the dog.' Here it is clear that every boar is not unclean, but probably only that variety that subsists on the village offal. On the other hand the flesh of boars was said to cause great delight to the Pitra when offered in sradha (vide Manu III. 270 and Yaj. I. 259). Therefore this Upanishad passage does not say anything on the point whether the Candala was in its day untouchable. This passage may be compared with another in which the sudra is said to be a walking

386. तद्र इस सहीमित्वरक्षणः अभ्यासोऽह । जसे संस्कृतां येत्तिभाष्येक्षः नागाध्येयं वै नागाध्येयं वा बृहत्यां वा बृहत्यां अह इस काण्डस्वरक्षणमाभ्यासोऽह । जसे कस्यां यैत्तिभाष्येक्षः शिक्षाः वा कुछे स्वप्न वा स्रष्टवां वा प्रकर्षणं वा चाण्डोणः वा। चाण्डोणः V. 10. 7. The Vedanta sutra III. 1. 8-11 deals with this passage.

387. अन्यो ह इस पर्याप्तोऽह । दुरुप्त यथा था। तेन संस्कृतिः संस्कृतिः संस्कृतिः संस्कृतिः नागाध्येयं प्रकर्षणं अर्थात् तत्र कलम का तत्र अस्मितिः संस्कृति। तत्साध्व। XII. 4. 1. 4.
cemetery. If the śudra was not untouchable in the Vedic literature, and if he was allowed to be a cook for brāhmaṇas and to wash the feet of brāhmaṇa guests in spite of that passage (as stated in the Dharmasūtras quoted above pp. 161-162), there is no reason to suppose that the Chāndogya passage indicates that the cāndāla was untouchable in the remote ages. Another passage is relied upon by orthodox writers to support the theory that untouchability of cāndālas is declared in Vedic writings. In the Br. Up. I. 3 the story is narrated that gods and asuras had a strife and the gods thought that they might rise superior to the asuras by the Udgītha. In this vidyā occurs the passage 388 'this devatā (Prāṇa) throwing aside the sin that was death to these devatās (vāk etc.) sent it to the ends of these quarters and he put down the sin of these devatās there; therefore one should not go to people (outside the Āryan pale) nor to the ends (of the quarters) thinking 'otherwise I may fall in with pāpman i. e. death'. In the first place there are no peoples expressly named here. Saṁkara explains that by 'end of the quarters' are meant regions where people opposed to Vedic culture dwell. This description can only apply to people like the mlechas and not to cāndālas who are not opposed to Vedic knowledge (but who have no adhikāra to learn it). Besides cāndālas might stay outside the village, but they do not stay at the end of the quarters 389 (or at the end of the ārya territory). Hence this passage does not help in establishing the theory of untouchability for Vedic times.

Next comes the consideration of the evidence derived from the sūtras and smṛtis. But certain preliminary observations must be made to clarify the position. The theory of the early smṛtis was that there were only four varṇas and there was no fifth varṇa. Vide Manu X. 4 and Anuśāsanaparva 47.18. 390 When in modern times the so-called untouchables are referred

388. सा वा प्रत्ये: हृदितात्मा हृदिताय पानानं सुहृत्तंहर्षं 'पांसां विसृष्टात्तत्ततुम् वांकारं। सदासं पानानं विबद्धुत्वांसत्तावाज अनन्तसांतसमिति पानानं सुहृत्तंंवर्गुप्तिमि। ब्रह्म. Br. I. 3. 10.

389. The Mlechas were known to the Sat. Br. (III. 2. 1. 24 'tasmai na brāhmaṇo mlecheta). Vide Ait. Br. 33. 6 'सदासं पानानं विबद्धुत्वांसत्तावाज अनन्तसांतसमिति पानानं सुहृत्तंंवर्गुप्तिमि। ब्रह्म. Br. I. 3. 10.

390. अस्वर्ग एकादशसिद्ध मुति पावित्र दु पावन। महा 10, 4; स्मृतां वधव्यवध अप्नो ग्यात्मानसै। अनुसारां 47. 18.
to as the pañcamaś, that is something against the smṛti tradition. Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 and Patañjali say that a Samāhāra-dvandva compound can be formed from several subdivisions of śudras that are not niravasīta e.g. we can have the compound ‘takṣāyaskāram’ meaning carpenters and blacksmiths, but not ‘candala-mrтapam’, because candālas and mṛtapas are niravasīta śudras (and so the compound will be ‘candālamrтapam’). Therefore it follows that Pāṇ. and Patañjali included candālas and mṛtapas among śudras. When Āṅgiras (note 171 above) includes कृत्रत, सूत, वादेहिक, मागधा and योगवा (that are pratīloma castes) among antyāvasāyins along with candāla and śvapaca, he makes it clear that he regarded candālas as included among śudras, for Manu X. 41 declares that all pratīloma castes are similar to śudras in their dharma and because the Śantiparva 297.28 expressly says that the vaidehika is called śūdra by learned dvījas. Gradually however, a distinction was made between śudras and castes like candālas. Fresh castes were then added to the list of untouchables by custom and usage and the spirit of exclusiveness, though there is no warrant of the śāstras for such a procedure.

Untouchability did not and does not arise by birth alone. It arises in various ways. In the first place, persons become outcasted and untouchable by being guilty of certain acts that amount to grave sins. For example, Manu IX. 235–239 prescribes that those who are guilty of brahmāṇa-murder, theft of brahmāṇa’s gold or drinkers of spirituous liquors should be excommunicated, no one should dine with them or teach them, or officiate as priests for them, nor should marriage relationship be entered into with them and they should wander over the world excluded from all Vedic dharmas. But if they perform the proper prāyaścitta they are restored to caste and become touchable. Secondly, persons were treated as untouchables simply through religious hatred and abhorrence because they belonged to a different sect or religion. For example, Aparārka


392. Vide note 200 above for the quotation from the Mahābhārata.

393 सूताः पुरुषाणां सर्ववर्गसमस्याः पुनः || मनु X. 41; वैदिकवां अनुसरणे
नैस्कित विषय निरस्तर ज्ञेयस्यम् || मधुवर्ण 297. 28.
(p. 923) and Sm. C. 394 (I. p. 118) quote verses from the Sat-trimśan-mata and Brahmapurāṇa that 'on touching Baudhās, Pāṇḍavas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, Kāpilas (Śāṅkhya) and brāhmaṇas guilty of doing actions inconsistent with their caste one should enter water with the clothes on and also on touching Śaivas and atheists.' It is worthy of note that Aparākṣa 395 p. 923 quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya that on touching cāndālas, pukkassas, mlecchas, Bhillas and Pārasikas and persons guilty of mahāpātakas one should bathe with the clothes on. Thirdly, certain persons, though not untouchable ordinarily, became so, if they followed certain occupations, e.g. if a person touches a brāhmaṇa who is devalaka (i.e. has been doing worship to an image for money for three years) or who is a priest for the whole village, or a person who sells a soma plant, then he has to bathe with his clothes on. 396 Fourthly, persons become untouchable when in certain conditions e.g. a person if he touches even his wife in her monthly period or during the first ten days after delivery or if he touches a person during the period of mourning on the death of some relative or a person who has carried a corpse to the cemetery and has not yet bathed, he then has to take a bath with his clothes on (vide Manu V. 85). Fifthly, certain races such as mlecchas and persons from certain countries and the countries themselves were regarded as impure (vide notes 40, 42, 49). Further the smṛtis say that persons following certain filthy, low and dis-approved avocations were untouchable e.g. Saṁvarta 397 quoted.

394. 394. चतुर्विंशतिमात्राम्। वैद्य पाण्डवं तथा सोमक्ष्मिनिकालिनिकालिनिकालि। विकाराधानाः। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। विवाहाधान। वि...
by Aparārka p. 1196 says 'on touching a fisherman, a deer-hunter, a hunter, a butcher, a bird-catcher, and a washerman one must first bathe and then take one's meal'. It is to be remarked that such texts do not expressly make a man of those castes untouchable even if he does not pursue the occupation stated, but they have rather the occupation in view. Such occupations were thought impure, as it was believed that if one was to secure the final goal of liberation, one must cultivate purity of mind as well as body, and as great importance came to be attached to cleanliness and the ceremonial purity of the body for spiritual purposes; and emphasis was laid upon not coming in contact with persons carrying on filthy or impure pursuits, but also with animals and even inanimate objects. These restrictions were not inspired by any hardness of heart or any racial or caste pride as is often said, but they were due to psychological or religious views and the requirements of hygiene. Ṛṣī Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 16 says 'a person touched by a dog should take a bath with his clothes on'. Vide also Vas. Dh. S. 23. 33, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 69. Vṛddha-Hārīta (chap. 11. 99-102) enumerates certain vegetables and herbs (such as leek) and other articles on touching which one was to bathe. Ṛṣī Dh. S. (II. 4. 9. 5) requires every house-holder to give food after Vaiṣṇavida to all including cāndālas, dogs and crows. And this practice is followed even now by those who perform Vaiṣṇavida. The ancient Hindus had a horror of uncleanness and they desired to segregate those who followed unclean professions like those of sweepers, workers in hide, tanners, guardians of cemeteries &c. This segregation cannot be said to have been quite unjustifiable. Besides those who are not familiar with ancient or even modern Hindu notions must be warned against being carried away by the horror naturally felt at first sight when certain classes are treated as untouchable. The underlying notions of untouchability are religious and ceremonial purity and impurity. A man's nearest and dearest women relatives such as his own mother and wife or daughter are untouchable to him during their monthly periods. To him the most affectionate friend is untouchable for several days when the latter is in mourning due to death in the latter's family. A person cannot touch his own son (whose thread ceremony has been performed) at the time of taking meals. In this latter case there is no idea of impurity and in most of these cases there is no idea of superiority or inferiority. As many professions and crafts were in ancient times hereditary, gradually the idea arose
that a man who belonged to a caste pursuing certain filthy or abhorred vocations or crafts was by birth untouchable. Medieval and modern usage had no doubt reached the stage that if a man belonged by birth to a caste deemed by custom to be untouchable he remained an untouchable whatever profession or craft he may pursue or even if he pursued no profession. But ancient and medieval writers thought otherwise and there was also great divergence of view as to who were untouchables and to what extent. The only caste that is said by the most ancient Dharmasūtras to be untouchable by birth is that of cāṇḍālas and the word cāṇḍāla has a technical meaning in these works as stated above (p. 81) under cāṇḍāla. Gaut. (IV. 15 and 23) says that the cāṇḍāla is the offspring of a śūdrā from a brāhmaṇa woman and that he is the most reprehensible among the pratiśāmas. Āp. Dh. S. II, 1. 2. 8-9 398 states that on touching a cāṇḍāla one should plunge into water, on talking to him one should converse with a brāhmaṇa (for purification), on seeing him one should look at the luminaries (either the Sun or moon or stars). We have seen above that there were three kinds of cāṇḍālas and they were all so by virtue of the circumstances of their birth. Manu (X. 36, 51) makes only the andhra, meda, cāṇḍāla and śvapaca stay outside the village and makes the antyāvasāyin (X. 39) stay in a cemetery. That leads to the inference that other men even of the lowest castes could stay in the village itself. Hārīta quoted by Aparārka (p. 279) states 'if a dvijāti’s limb other than the head is touched by a dyer, a shoemaker, a hunter, a fisherman, a washerman, a butcher, a dancer (nāta), a man of actor caste, oilman, vintner, hangman, village cock or dog, he becomes pure by washing that particular limb and by sipping water (i.e. he need not bathe)’. Here most of the seven antyajjas are included and it is expressly said that their touch is not so impure as to require a bath. Āṅgirās (verse 17) states that a dvija when he comes in contact with a washerman, a shoemaker, a dancer (nāta), a fisherman or a worker in bamboo becomes pure by merely uṣamana (by

398. 348. यदि धार्मिकायोपवर्तिः सेभाष्यति कुस्वते च द्विष्पति मायाधित्वम्। अपाहीनस्मि
पाण्डुत्सपति सेभाष्यति मायाधित्वम् कुस्वते ज्योतिः कुर्वन्न।ाप. घ. स. द्विष्पति । 1. 2. 8-9.

399. हरिताः । । द्विधार्मिकायोपवर्तिः स्वाधिकायोपवर्तिः। निम्मिकाः सौतिकाः
साधा शान्तवकाशयमिः च चं च चं च चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं
एविद्धेः सूर्य स्वर्य स्वर्यमिरीिर्तिः। तदेव च चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं चं
अपाहीनाः प. 279 ; the same verses are quoted as उत्तरतपति by सूतिकाः प. 119.
sipping water). The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 130) quotes a verse to the effect that even on coming in contact with cāndālas and pukkasas one need not bathe, if the latter stand near a temple of Viṣṇu and have come for the worship of Viṣṇu. Alberuni in his work on India (tr. by Sachau vol. I. chap. IX) refers to two classes of antyajas, the first of which had eight guilds (seven of which were practically the same as the seven in note 170 above, the eighth being the weaver) and a second group of four viz. Hadi, Doma, Chandala and Bhadatru. As to the first group he says that they intermarried except the fuller, shoemaker and weaver. Alberuni seems to have been misinformed as to this and what caste he means by Bhadatru is not clear. Medhātithi in his commentary on Manu X. 13 is positive that the only pratiloma who is untouchable is the cāndāla and no bath is necessary on coming in contact with the other pratilomas (viz. sūta, māgadha, āyogava, vaidehika and kṣatṛ). Kullūka also says the same. Therefore it follows that in spite of the smṛti texts (notes 170, 171, 173) including the pratilomas among antyajas along with the cāndālas, such authoritative and comparatively early commentators as Medhātithi (about 900 A.D.) were firmly of opinion that they were not untouchable. Manu V. 85 and Āṅgiras 152 prescribe a bath for coming in bodily contact with a divākirti (a cāndāla), udakyā (a woman in her monthly period), patita (one outcasted for sin &c.), sūtikā (a woman after delivery), a corpse, one who has touched a corpse. It follows therefore that the only antyaja who was asprṣya according to Manu was the cāndāla. But gradually the spirit of exclusiveness and ideas of ritual purity were carried to extremes and more and more castes became untouchable. Some very orthodox writers of smṛtis went so far as to hold that on touching even a śūdra a dvijātī had to bathe. Among the

400. बवज्वालासम्मास्त्रप्रदेश बविस्तरसम्मानावतार। चापहालकाज्ञानतत्त्विक ख्रिम्न । न आनाधिक्रेसि न प्रकाशिता। ग्रंथाय प. 130.

401. चापहाल एव। पतितेऽपिक हृत्व । निग्रान्त मनु X. 13।; अस्त्राधिक्रेसि एव।। पन्थितत। स्पर्शवृद्धी निराकर्षित। अशुधि।

402. बविस्तारसन्नवेत्तुं व पतितं अविवक्तं । अविस्तारवृहत्तुं च । चापहाल। चापहाल। चापहाल। मनु V. 85 on which मेघार says बविस्तारसन्नवेत्तुं अस्त्राधिक्रेसि। न मनुपुस्कल चापहाल विभवङ्गात्मक।

403. अद्वितीयः फाक्कं असवहालयसाध्विनि। ग्रंथाय प. 1196.
earliest occurrences of the word *asprśya* (as meaning untouchables in general) is that in *Visṇu Dh.* S. V. 104; *Kātyāyana* also uses the word in that sense⁴⁰⁴. It will have been seen from the quotations above that cāndālas, mlecchas and Pārasīkas are placed on the same level as regards being *asprśya*. *Atri*⁴⁰⁵ (267-269) says 'if a dvija comes in contact with a cāndāla, paṭita, mleccha, a vessel containing intoxicating drink, a woman in her monthly course, he should not take his meals (without first bathing) and if he comes in contact with these while taking his meal, he should stop, throw away the food and bathe'. Vide *Visṇu Dh.* S. 22. 76 about talking with mlechhas and cāndālas. But so far as mlechhas are concerned these restrictions of untouchability have been given up long ago at least in public. Similarly the washerman, the worker in bamboo, the fisherman, the nata, among the seven well-known *antyajās*, are no longer untouchable in several provinces (though not in all) and were not so even in the times of Medhātithi and Kullūka.

Once the spirit of exclusiveness and exaggerated notions of ceremonial purity got the upper hand they were carried to extremes. It does not appear from the ancient *smṛtis* that the shadow of even the cāndāla was deemed to be polluting. *Manu* V. 133 (which is nearly the same as *Visṇu Dh.* S. 23. 52) declares 'flies, spray from a reservoir, the shadow (of a man), the cow, the horse, the sun’s rays, dust, the earth, the wind and fire should be regarded as pure.' *Yāj.* I. 193 is a similar verse (Mārk. *Purāṇa* 35. 21 is almost the same). *Manu* IV. 130 prescribes that one should not knowingly cross the shadow of the image of a deity, of one’s *guru*, of the king, of a *śnātaka*, of one’s teacher, of a brown cow or of a man who has been initiated for a Vedic sacrifice. Here no reference is made to the shadow of a cāndāla. Medhātithi on *Manu* V. 133 expressly says that ‘shadow’ means ‘shadow of a cāndāla and the like’. Kullūka, however, adds on *Manu* IV. 130 that on account of the word ‘ca’ in that verse the shadow of cāndālas was included in the injunction of that verse. Therefore it is legitimate to infer that *Manu* and *Yāj.* did not prescribe that even the shadow of

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⁴⁰⁴. Vide *Āṣṭāṅgasūryabhedam* (ed. by me) verses 433, 783 that are quoted by the *Hitavān* on *ya.* II. 29 and by *Aṣṭāṅga* p. 813.

a cāndāla was impure and caused pollution. Not only so, Aparārka \(^{406}\) quotes a verse ‘the shadow of a cāndāla or patita, if it falls on a man, is not impure’. But Aparārka himself \(^{407}\) adds on this verse the comment that this favourable rule about the shadow of a cāndāla or patita is applicable only if he is at a greater distance from a man than the length of a cow’s tail. Bāna in his Kādambari (para 8) describes how the cāndāla girl entered the royal assembly-hall though she was untouchable and stood at some distance from the king. It appears that there was no difficulty about her entering the hall of audience or polluting the assembly by her shadow. Gradually some smṛtis prescribed a bath for a brāhmaṇa coming under the shadow of a cāndāla. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 30 quotes a verse of Vyāghrapāda that if a cāndāla or patita comes nearer to a person than the length of a cow’s tail, then the latter must take a bath and another verse of Brhaspati to the effect ‘a patita, a woman in her monthly period, a woman freshly delivered and a cāndāla should be kept respectively at a distance of one yuga, two, three and four’. As yuga is four cubits, this means that a cāndāla cannot approach within 16 cubits of a caste Hindu. \(^{408}\)

As regards public roads Yāj. I. 194 says that they become pure by the rays of the sun and the moon and by the wind even when they are trodden by cāndālas. In Yāj. I. 197 it is stated that the mud and water on public roads and on houses built of baked bricks, though touched by cāndālas, dogs and crows, are rendered pure by the mere blowing of the wind over them. \(^{409}\)

\(^{406}\) वाक्यन्यासस्मां संपुरुषकाः सम्बन्धिनां जयांकृतां च संबन्धिनां व्याग्रवपादः मोक्षेषु विपरीतं विलेख्यात।

\(^{407}\) पालितशास्त्रायोगाकारसिद्धांताभिषेककोषः सत्यसिद्धांतप्रदेयः।

\(^{408}\) यथस द्रव्यं अन्तर्गतं यान्त्र इतिस्वरूपं। तत् अन्तः संकुलत: पूर्वं विसृज्यं विशुद्धं।

\(^{409}\) धर्मरास्त्रायोगाकारसिद्धांतप्रदेयः। सुपरि कृताः पराकारासिद्धांतप्रदेयः।
These rules show that the smṛtis followed a reasonable rule about the public roads and do not countenance the restrictions maintained in some parts of South India, particularly in Malabar, about the use of public roads by the untouchables viz. that an untouchable must not approach within a certain distance of a high caste Hindu, must leave the road to allow him passage or must shout to give warning of his presence in order to avoid pollution to the caste Hindu. Vide Wilson’s ‘Indian Castes’ vol. II p.74 (footnote) for details of the distance. In South India also there are various grades of distances within which members of the several lowest castes cannot approach high caste Hindus.

Certain provisions were made in the smṛtis by way of exceptions to the general rules about the untouchability of certain castes. Atri (verse 249) says ‘there is no taint of untouchability when a person is touched by an untouchable in a temple, religious processions and marriages, in sacrifices, and in all festivals’. Sātātapa quoted in the Sm. C. declares that there is no doṣa (lapse) in touching (untouchables) in a village (i.e. on the public road), or in a religious procession or in an affray and the like, and also when the whole village is involved in a calamity. Bṛhaspati also remarks that there is no fault (and so no prāyaścitra) if one comes in contact (with untouchables) at a sacred place, in marriage processions and religious processions, in battle, when the country is invaded, or when the town or village is on fire. The Sm. C. adds that these verses were variously interpreted; some saying that they apply only where one does not know that the man who has touched him is an untouchable, while others hold that they apply to the touch of impure persons who are not ucchitā (i.e. risen from meals without washing their hands &c.). The Smṛtyarthasāra

410. दुःखानविवाहितु वृत्ताकारेण च। उल्लेख कालप्रेक्ष्य पुस्ताकारित्व विचारे ॥
अर्थ 249. In the Smṛtyarthasāra I, pp. 121-122 this is quoted as from तर्कतिथिमात्र (v. l. विवाहितु वृत्ताकारेण च and शृङ्गार सूत्रितं). The first word must be taken to be formed of three separate members as the quotation from the Smṛtyarthasāra will show.

411. भागेश्वर ग्रन्थ संस्कृतिपरियादि साहित्यिक । मानन्दशुगे कौशल्य चवितैदिषो । न बिनले । साहित्य ग्राह्य वृत्ताकारित्व यथाज्ञ विशिष्टादि ज्ञातात् ॥
412. सप्तवर्गीय विनाशक वाचायत्वादिक । उल्लेखान्वितो निष्क्रियनाथी निधिः ।
अमरसन्दर्भानुसार वृत्ताकारित्वमूलक ।
साहित्यिकप्रेक्ष्य महाजन इति विशेष ॥
काव्य-विशेष निष्क्रियाविशेष । तथायथ विबंधवेद्या ।
गुरुभद्र विवेंद्र विषयिन्यात् ॥
काव्य-विशेष निष्क्रियाविशेष ।
(p. 79) summarises the places where no blame in incurred on the ground of mixing with untouchables viz. in battle, on public roads leading to a market, in religious processions, in temples, in festivals, in sacrifices, at sacred places, in calamities or invasions of the country or village, on the banks of large sheets of water, in the presence of great persons, when there is a sudden fire or other great calamity. It is somewhat remarkable that the Śrīyaṁarthasāra speaks of untouchables entering temples. The Par. M. (vol. II part I p. 115) says that there is no dosa when cāndālas take water from a large tank (used by higher castes), but as regards small reservoirs the same rules apply to them that apply to the purification of wells touched by untouchables. \footnote{Vide Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 405-406 for the purification of a well.}

The Viśṇu Dh. S. (V. 104) \footnote{prescribed that if an untouchable deliberately touched a man of the three higher castes he should be punished with beating, while Yāj. II. 234 prescribes that if a cāndāla (deliberately) touches any one of the higher castes the cāndāla should be fined one hundred pānas.} prescribed that if an untouchable deliberately touched a man of the three higher castes he should be punished with beating, while Yāj. II. 234 prescribes that if a cāndāla (deliberately) touches any one of the higher castes the cāndāla should be fined one hundred pānas.

Elaborate rules are laid down about the penance for drinking from the wells or vessels of untouchables, for partaking of their food (either cooked or uncooked), for staying with them and for having sexual intercourse with untouchable women. These matters will be briefly dealt with under pūrvaśītta.

The so-called untouchables were not entirely excluded from worship. When it is said (as in Yāj. I. 93 or Gaut. IV. 20) \footnote{that the cāndāla is outside all dharma, the meaning is that he is outside such Vedic rites as upanayana, not that he cannot worship the Hindu deities nor that he is not bound by the moral code. He could worship images of the avatāras of Viṣṇu (vide note 364 above). The Nirṇayasindhu quotes a passage of the Devipurāṇa that expressly authorizes anyaṣjas to establish a temple of Bhaṭravā. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa X. 70. 43 says that even the} that the cāndāla is outside all dharma, the meaning is that he is outside such Vedic rites as upanayana, not that he cannot worship the Hindu deities nor that he is not bound by the moral code. He could worship images of the avatāras of Viṣṇu (vide note 364 above). The Nirṇayasindhu quotes a passage of the Devipurāṇa that expressly authorizes anyaṣjas to establish a temple of Bhaṭravā. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa X. 70. 43 says that even the
antyāvasyīns are purified by listening to the praises or names of Hari, by repeating the names of Hari and by contemplation on Him, much more therefore will those (be purified) who can see or touch your images'. This however shows that to the author of the Bhāgavata it never occurred that an untouchable could see or touch the image of Viṣṇu enshrined in a temple of caste Hindus. In south India among the famous Vaiṣṇava saints called Āḻvārs, Tiruppāṇa Āḻvār was a member of the depressed classes and Nammāḻvār was a Vellāla. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 remarks that the pratiśoma castes (which include cāndāla) have the right to perform vratas.⁴¹⁷

In modern times the eradication of the system of untouchability is engaging the minds of great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi whose fast for 21 days for effecting a change of heart among caste Hindus is famous throughout the world. The principal matters of concern to the so-called untouchables or depressed classes are facility for education in schools, removal of restrictions about places of public resort such as public wells, roads, restaurants and eating houses and entry in public temples. A good deal has been done by a few zealous workers from among the higher castes in these respects. The Christian missionaries have been doing good work among the untouchables, but their efforts are mainly devoted to direct or indirect proselytization. The conscience of the educated among the higher castes has been roused. But the total removal of untouchability is yet a matter of the distant future. The greatest drawback is illiteracy among the masses of India. Hardly twelve per cent of the population are literate. The diffusion of literacy and the spread of the idea of the equality of all men before the law and in public are the only sure solvents of the evils associated with untouchability which have existed for ages. Popular Governments in the provinces are doing what they with their limited resources can do to ameliorate the condition of the untouchables. The Government of India Act (of 1935) has given special representation to the Scheduled Castes (the name given to the depressed classes or untouchables) in the Provincial and Federal Legislatures of India. The Government of India Scheduled Castes Order of 1936

⁴¹⁷ तत: जीविन्ये: सितिलोक्यानां च वैवर्षिकार्य व्याविधिका एति विशेषः। चलु भृत्तमर्यादा। वातिलोचना। दृष्टि नुवपत्नाणि। विविधविविधयोगसंबिनायत।। लिखाये। उम. III. 262.
sets out the names of the numerous scheduled castes in the several provinces of British India. The Provincial Governments have issued circulars to enforce the rule that no discrimination be made against the scheduled castes in places of public resort and have tackled to some extent the question of the entry of untouchables in temples by passing such acts as the Bombay Act XI of 1938 viz. Bombay Harijan Temple Worship (Removal of disabilities Act) and the Madras Temple Entry Authorisation and Indemnity Act of 1939. Much will depend upon the untouchables themselves. Among the caste Hindus, the untouchables also have inter se numerous divisions and subdivisions each of which regards itself as superior to several others of them and will not condescend to mix with them in the public or dine with them. They must also throw up from among themselves selfless and capable leaders. This is a vast problem and the appalling evils which have been growing for ages cannot be wholly removed in a day. The leaders of the so-called untouchables also should not make exaggerated claims. For the present they should rest content with equality in public places, public services and before the law and at the most entry into public temples. But if they indulge in the tall talk of destroying the caste system at one stroke and requiring that all caste Hindus should dine with them and inter-marry with them, they may find that at least two hundred millions of caste Hindus will be dead opposed to them, and the cause of the removal of the evils of untouchability is bound to suffer a set-back. Besides it should not be forgotten that the amelioration of the condition of untouchables is bound up with the problem of the poverty of the entire rural population of India. It should not be supposed that all the untouchables are the poorest of the poor. I know from personal knowledge that many among certain classes of untouchables like the Mahars and Chambhars of the Deccan are economically better off than the ordinary cultivators in many villages. The mahars are hereditary village servants in the Deccan and they recover from every householder bread every day as part of their remuneration or a certain measure of corn from the threshing floor. Vide Grant Duff’s ‘History of the Marathas’ (ed. of 1863 vol. I p. 23) for the balutedars (village servants) among whom the mahar occupies an important place and Hereditary Offices Act (Bombay Act III of 1874, section 18) for Legislative recognition of their ancient rights. The population of untouchables in India has been estimated at various figures from three
crores to six crores. The Simon Commission Report (1930) vol. I, p. 40 estimated that there were about 43 millions of untouchables in the whole of India, the criterion adopted being whether pollution by touch or approach within a certain distance is caused. The ratio of untouchables to the total population of India or to the Hindu population varies greatly in different parts of India. The total Harijan (the name given to untouchables by Mahatma Gandhi) population is 14 per cent of the whole population of India. In the Bombay Presidency the ratio of Harijans to Hindus is only about eleven per cent being the lowest of all provinces and States in India, while in Bengal the ratio is about 32 per cent which is the highest in India except in Assam. 418 The High Courts in India have held that the untouchables are included among śūdras for purposes of marriage. Vide Sohan Singh vs. Kabla Singh 10 Lahore 372, Muthusami vs. Masilamani 33 Mad. 342. 419


419. Several books and papers have been recently published on the question of untouchables in India. Vide "The Psychology of a suppressed people" (1937) by Rev. J. C. Heinrich; 'Untouchable Classes of Maharashtra' by M. G. Bhagat.
CHAPTER V

SLAVERY

Slavery has existed as a constant element in the social and economical life of all nations of antiquity such as Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome and also of many nations of Europe. It was however left to such Christian nations of the West as England and the United States of America to carry on the institution of slavery in the most horrible manner possible never dreamt of by any nation of antiquity, viz. by sending out kidnapping expeditions to Africa to collect slaves, to huddle them in ships in such unspeakably filthy conditions that half of them died on the voyage, to sell them to plantation owners and others like chattel. Westermarck in his 'Origin and Development of the moral ideas' vol. I (1912) p. 711 was constrained to observe 'This system of slavery, which at least in the British colonies and slave states surpassed in cruelty the slavery of any pagan country ancient and modern, was not only recognised by Christian Governments but was supported by the large bulk of the clergy, Catholic and Protestant alike.' Slavery was abolished in the British Dominions only in 1833 and in British India by Act V of 1843.

It has been seen above (pp. 26–27) that the word 'dāsa' in the Rg. generally stands for the opponents of the āryas. It is possible that when the dāsas were vanquished in battle and taken prisoners they were treated as slaves. In the Rgveda, however, there are not many passages where the word 'dāsa' can be said to have been used in the sense of slave. In Rg VIII. 56. 3 we

420. Vide Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, vol. XIV, p. 74 'To the ancient mind slavery was a fixed and accepted element of life and no moral problem was involved. That slavery already was established as a recognized institution in the Sumerian culture of the Babylonian area in the 4th millenium B.C. may be confidently assumed from the fragments of Sumerian legislation upon slaves which date from the first half of the 3rd millenium'.

421. जान से महुर्भान्त शतनुष्ठावतिनाधि। जात सुतां अयु नान। जान। VIII. 56. 3; यो मे सिंधुपुर्वो वर राजो अमृतस्र । अवधिगीर यौजास्य द्विपरम्परा अभिषेकी भान। VIII. 5. 38; अवधिगीर चैत्यरास्य भवासंन्तर वस्तुसूचिनाथ। VIII. 19. 36.
read 'thou madest a gift to me of one hundred donkeys, of one hundred fleece-bearing ewes and one hundred dāsas'. It appears that here dāsa means slaves or serfs. In Rg VIII. 5, 33 the sage praises his patron Caidya Kaśu 'the common people sit down at the feet of Caidya Kaśu like men crowding round tanners of hides, (Caidya) who honoured me by giving me ten noblemen that were like gold in appearance'. Here probably there is an allusion to the gift of ten captured nobles made to the sage by Caidya Kaśu, the victor. A sage declares in Rg. VIII. 19. 36 'Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, gave me fifty young women'. This probably refers to the gift of female slaves (dāsīs). The Tai. S. VII. 5, 10. 1 says 'dāsīs (girl slaves) place on their heads jars full of water and singing this madhu and beating their feet against the ground dance round the mārjāliya' &c.\footnote{422} The Tai. S. II. 2, 6, 3. refers to the gift of a horse or a male (slave). 'He obtains a portion of himself who accepts (in gift) a being with two rows of teeth, (such as) a horse or a human male; on accepting an animal with two rows of teeth one should offer to Vaiśvānara a mess cooked on twelve potsherds'.\footnote{423} The Ait. Br. 39. 8 mentions large gifts such as 10,000 girls (dāsi) and 10,000 elephants made by a king to his purohitī performing coronation. When the angel of Death tries to dissuade Nāciketaṇa from his curiosity to know the destiny of a person after death, he tempts the inquirer (Kaṭha Up. I. 1. 25) 'Here are such handsome women with chariots and musical instruments as cannot be secured (ordinarily) by men; make them, when gifted by me, serve you; do not ask me what happens after death'. The women referred to were probably meant to be serving (or slave) girls who attended on a man as maids and who could dance and sing. In the Br. Up. IV. 4. 23 Janaka after receiving instruction in Brahmavidiya from Yājñāvalkya exclaims 'I make a gift to your honour of the Videhas together with myself for being your slave'. We read in the Chāṇ. Up. 'In this world they speak of cows and horses, elephants and gold, wives and slaves, fields and houses as maṇīmū (greatness).'

\footnote{422} बुद्धकुमारविनियोजन वृषभे वारवीरणोर्जितस्वति पदरित विविभेषा नहु गायनवसस्य वै दैव सत्ता परस्मावदाध्य। ते. सं. VII. 5, 10, 1.

\footnote{423} अन्यत्रो वा एष वारवीरणोर्जितो यो उमयाविनिभूतकालयो वा कुशलो वा बैरवारं द्वादशस्त्रां विनेकुडुम्बावतृत्विषय। ते. सं. II. 2, 6, 3; सोध भावाने विविभेषा, वृषभाय यो चानि सह वृषभाय। सुह. त. IV. 4, 23; यो अकालस्माविनिभूतकालयो वर्त्तित्वजन्य वारवीरणोर्जितानागति। तप. त. VII. 24, 2.
Vide also Chān. Up. V. 13. 2 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 7 for references to dāsas. These passages show that in the Vedic period men and women had become the subjects of gifts and so were in the condition of slaves.

Though Manu ordained (I. 91, VIII. 413, 414) that the principal duty of the śūdra was to wait upon the three higher castes or that the śūdra was created by the Creator for the service of brāhmaṇas, the śūdra who thus served a dvijātī as a duty was not his slave. Jaimini (VI. 7. 6) makes this perfectly clear by saying that when a man makes a gift in the Viśvajit sacrifice of everything belonging to himself he cannot make a gift of the śūdra who waits upon him as his duty. Śabara in his bhāṣya adds 'the śūdra may not desire to serve the man to whom the sacrificer gives his all and the latter has no power over him if he is unwilling.'

We have seen how the Grhyā Sūtras speak of dāsas being employed to wash the feet of honoured guests. It appears that the ideal placed before the masters was to treat the slave humanely. Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 11 says that one may indeed stint oneself, one's wife or son (as to food) if guests come, but never a dāsa who does one's menial work (or a dāsa and hired servants). In the Anuśāsana-parva it is stated 'one should not sell a human being who is a stranger; how much more one's own children.' In the Mahābhārata gifts of dāsas and dāsas are very frequently mentioned. In Sāhāparva 52. 45, Vanaprastha 233. 43 and Vīrāṭa 18. 21 gifts of 30 dāsas to each of 88000 snātaka brāhmaṇas are spoken of. In Vanaprastha 185. 34 Vainya is said to have given a thousand handsome dāsas with ornaments on to Atri. Vide Dronaprastha 57. 5-9. Manu (VIII. 299-300) places a slave on the same level as one's son in the matter of corporal punishment 'the wife, the son, the slave, a menial servant, one's full brother these when guilty of wrong may be beaten with a rope

424. 425. 426.
or a thin piece of split bamboo, but only on the back and never on the head and if a person beat them otherwise he would be punished as a thief.'

Slavery was probably not much\(^{427}\) in evidence in India in the 4th century B.C. or the treatment of slaves in India was so good that a foreign observer like Megasthenes accustomed to the treatment of slaves in Greece thought that there was no slavery. Megasthenes (MacCrindle, p. 71) states that none of the Indians employs slaves (vide Strabo XV. 1. 54). That slavery existed then admits of no doubt. The Emperor Asoka when proclaiming his Law of Piety enjoins in his 9th Rock Edict that the Law of Piety consists (among other things) in the kind (or proper) treatment of slaves (dāsas) and hired servants. In the Arthaśāstra (III. 13) Kauṭilya\(^{488}\) gives very important provisions about slaves. He says that the mlecchas are not punishable if they sell or pledge their children, but an ārya cannot be reduced to slavery. He then prescribes that if a relative sells or pledges a sūdra (who is not born as a slave) or a vaiśya or kṣatriya or a brāhmaṇa (all being minors), he should be respectively fined 12, 24, 36 and 48 paṇas and that if a stranger sells or pledges the above then the vendor, the vendees and the abettors will be liable to the first, middle and highest ammercements and whipping respectively (i.e. first ammernent for sale of a sūdra by a stranger and whipping for the sale of a brāhmaṇa). But he allows the pledge of even an ārya in family distress. He refers to several kinds of slaves viz. dhvajāhita (captured in battle), ātmavikrājya (who sells himself), udarādāsa (or garbhādāsa, one who is born to a dāś from a slave) or those so made for a debt (āhitika), or for a fine or court's decree (danda-praṇīta). He then prescribes how they are set free from slavery. One who sells himself or is pledged or is born a slave becomes a free man by paying off respectively the amount for which he was purchased or pledged or what would be a proper price. One who is made a slave for a fine may pay off the fine by doing work. One captured in war may become free by paying according to the time he has been in bondage and the work he did or by paying half of it. The child of one who sells himself

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427. Vide Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (1903) p. 263.
428. क्षेत्राला अधिक सानि विशेषतनाथां या । नरेश्वरस्य का साप्त । कौतिल्य
   III. 18.
remains an ārya (free man). He prescribes that if a master makes a pledged slave carry a corpse or sweep ordure, urine or leavings of food, or keeps him naked, beats him or abuses him or violates the chastity of a female slave, he forfeits the price paid by him. He prescribes the first amercement for a master having intercourse with a pledged slave girl against her will and middle amercement for a stranger doing so.

Manu (VIII, 415) speaks of seven kinds of dāsas, viz. one captured in battle, one who becomes so for food (i.e., in scarcity or in a famine), one born in the house (i.e., of a female slave), one bought, one given (by his parents or relatives), one inherited (as part of the patrimony), one who becomes so for paying off a fine or judicial decree. He states the general rule that the wife, the son and the slave have no wealth and whatever they earn belongs to him whose wife, son or slave they are. Manu prescribes a fine of 600 paṇas for a brāhmaṇa making a member of the dvijāti castes after his upanayana a slave against his will.

Nārada (abhayupetyāśūrūṣa) and Kātyāyana among the smṛtikāras contain the most elaborate treatment on slavery. Nārada first says that a śūrūṣaka (one who serves another) is of five kinds viz. a Vedic student, an antevāsin (an apprentice who is learning a craft), adhikarmakṛt (a supervisor over workmen), bhrātaka (hired servant) and dāsa. The first four are called karmakara. They can be called upon to do only work that is pure, while a dāsa may have to do impure work such as cleaning the entrances to the house, filthy pits (for leavings of food), the road, dunghill heaps, touching (or scratching) private parts, taking up and throwing away ordure and urine (verses 6–7), doing bodily service to the master if he so desires. Nārada mentions 15 kinds of slaves viz. one born in the house, one bought, one acquired (by gift or other means),

429. नारद हृदयीपि मायेण जग एवानां समावेषत । वर्णेन सहायिन्यां धार्मिको वर्गं द्वैयानभिः।
416. This is the same as उदिनिपि 33, 64 where the first half is जग एवानां राजा वर्णं धार्मिको सुवर्णं; compare नाराय (अन्वयाधिकारी) verse 41.

430. शुद्धासुरं निङ्गं राजस्वप्यात्मकायात्मकायात्मकः। अन्वयाधिकारीं अनस्ते । शुद्धासुरं निङ्गं राजस्वप्यात्मकः। अन्वयाधिकारीं अनस्ते (अन्वय 6–7).
one inherited, one saved in a time of famine, one pledged by the master, one discharged from a large debt, one captured in a battle, one vanquished in a bet, one who accepts slavery by saying ‘I am yours’, an apostate from the order of asceticism, one who stipulates to be a slave (for a certain time), one who is a slave for food (as long as food is given to him), one who is tempted to become a slave out of love for a female slave, and one who sells himself. Nārada says that the first four of these are not freed from slavery except by the favour of the master (v. 29), while one who sells himself is the worst kind of slave and he also does not become free from slavery (v. 37). Nārada (v. 30) and Yāj. (II. 182) state a rule applicable to all slaves, viz. that when a slave saves a master from imminent danger to the latter’s life the slave becomes a free man and (Nārada adds) that he gets a share in the inheritance as a son. One who is an apostate from the order of ascetics is a slave of the king till the former’s death (Yāj. II. 183). One saved in a famine becomes free by giving a pair of cows, one pledged if the master who pledged him repays the debt, the slave in lieu of discharge of debt by paying off the debt with interest, one who accepted slavery or who was captured in battle or became so under a bet is freed by giving a substitute who is equal to him in work, one for a stipulated period by the lapse of the period, one who is a bhakta-dāsa becomes free by the master ceasing to give food, one who is ‘vādavāḥṛta’ (tempted by a female slave) by abandoning his intercourse with her (Nārada vv. 31-34, 36). Yāj. (II. 182) and Nārada (v. 38) say that one who was made a slave by force or was carried away by raiders and sold should be set free by the king. Yāj. (II. 183) and Nārada (v. 39) prescribe that a man can be a slave to a master only in the proper order of varnas i.e., the three varṇas next to a brahmaṇa may be slaves to a brahmaṇa, a vaiśya or a śūdra may be a slave to a kṣatriya, but a kṣatriya cannot be the slave of a vaiśya or a śūdra, nor a vaiśya of a śūdra. There is one exception viz., an apostate from asceticism may be the slave of a vaiśya or a śūdra

431. A slave who is pledged becomes the slave of two till the pledge is redeemed.

432. सत्वेनस्यागि दुरअसु वर्जस्ते व्याससिद्धाम्। निष्ठू नवेन श्रिष्ठे दायवन निर्मितस्मि।। वर्षाण कोटमनस्त्रोपेत् दुरअसु न महिमोऽम्।। कार्याणम् उक्तियते। अवणां पृ 788; समूर्ज नागरि (अन्गु. 39)।

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king. Kātyāyana emphasizes that a brāhmaṇa cannot be made a slave even to a brāhmaṇa, but if he himself chooses, he may do pure work for a brāhmaṇa endowed with character and Vedic learning, but no impure work. Kātyāyana (v. 721) says that when a brāhmaṇa becomes an apostate from the order of asceticism he should be banished from the kingdom, and the ksatriya or vaisyā apostate may become a slave to the king. Dakṣa (VII. 33) quoted by Aparārka (p. 787) adds that the apostate’s head should be branded with the mark of dog’s foot.

Kauṭilya and Kātyāyana (v. 723) both declare that if a master has sexual intercourse with a female slave and she is delivered of a child, both the slave and the child should be given freedom by the master.

Kauṭilya declared that the heirs to the wealth of a slave are his relatives and if none of them exist then the master, while Kātyāyana says that the only wealth that the slave can call his own is the price he received for selling himself or whatever the master gave as a gift through favour.

Nārada (vv. 42-43) describes the ceremony of the manumission of a slave “when a master being pleased with a slave desires to make him a free man, he should take, from the slave’s shoulder, a jar full of water and break it, he should sprinkle water mixed with whole grains of rice and flowers on the slave’s head and thrice uttering the words ‘you are no longer a slave’ he should dismiss him with the (slave’s) face to the east.”

The Vyavahāramayūkha quotes a verse from the Kālikāpurāṇa about an adopted son, which is very interesting ‘persons adopted and the like on whom the samskāras of cūḍā (tonsure) and Upanayana are performed by the gotra of the adopter, become sons of (the adopter), otherwise the person (on whom such ceremonies are not performed) is held to be a slave.

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433. समवण्णिक विवेच तु दुस्मति नेव कार्यति। वाक्ष्यायिण इति दुस्मतिकाव्यदेवो निर्द्वाचवाच किस्म संकामित। तयारित तापतृमः किंतु विभगुतप्रक्तिः हिंदोत्तमः। कार्यते (vv. 717 and 719) quoted by अववार्ति p. 789 and स्वरूपिनि.

434. सक्षमद्विय दुसर्यो जातं सामाजकमद्विय विवाहं। मैतित्व III. 13.

435. दुस्मतिः ह वर्ण चतुर्भुगी तर्प गुहा स्वतः। मोहलोकवाचुरु न स्वाभी धनराजितः। कार्यत् 724 (quoted by विज. र. p. 150 and विज. विन. p. 46).

436. वसु कालिकापुराणे अहोपनसंस्कारिणी निजनिर्णयेण वै घुलते। वैद्यवास्तवं ते शुक्रवास्या दुस्मतिकार्यं निष्काशं प्रत्येकं स्वसाधनम् p. 114 (of my edition). This verse occurs in the वृत्तकमीति also where the reading is झुकाया धर्म संस्कारं.
(of the adopter).’ The Vyavahāramayūkha remarks that this passage is not reliable as it is not found in several mss. of the Kālikāpurāṇa. Nārada mentions 15 kinds of slaves, but this is not one of them. All that the Kālikāpurāṇa probably means is that when a boy is adopted into another family after his cūḍā and upanayana are performed in the family of birth, he is not fully affiliated in the family of adoption, he does not become a son and so does not take the inheritance but is only entitled to maintenance in the family of adoption, just as a slave is to be fed. No digests have recognised such a person as a slave proper.

Nārada ३७ (रूढान १२) and Kātyāyana declare that a debt contracted by a Vedic pupil, an apprentice, a slave, the wife, a menial servant and a workman for the benefit of the family even though it was incurred in his absence, was binding on the owner of the house. Ordinarily a slave was not a competent witness, but Manu VIII. 70 and Uśanas (quoted in Vyavahāramayūkha p. 37) say that when no other witness is available, a minor, an old man, a woman, a pupil, a relative, a slave or a hired servant may be a witness.

There are numerous works dealing with slavery in its various aspects. The latest book on the subject is ‘Slavery through the ages’ by Sir George Mac Munn (1938). Mr. D. R. Banaji has published a very painstaking and interesting study on ‘Slavery in British India’ from 1772 to 1843 (2nd ed. 1937) The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published studies on several aspects such as ‘Judicial Cases’ (by Mrs. Catterall in 1926) and ‘Documents of the history of the Slave Trade to America, 1930’ by Prof. Elizabeth Donnan. Dr. H. J. Nieboer’s ‘Slavery as an Industrial System’ (1910) is a well-documented study of slavery in various countries and at various times.

437. लिखितानि विसम्बरोपेतस्मात्तत्त्वमधुराया यदृ।  ज्ञानेऽक्षेत्रस्वस्तुरायां वृत्तधर्म नदानुपस्तेष्वरविना। छात्र (रूढान १२); शीतितसमस्तीर्थमुहुर्तमायां अभयं ज्ञातमाया। गृहस्थमायेनिन्यो दशायों लूपण वा मुखायों। गृहक्षमायान् quoted by अभायसां प. ६४८, चिस. प. ५६।
CHAPTER VI

SAṂSKĀRAS

Gautama (II. 1) says that before upanayana, a boy may act, speak and eat as and what he likes (i.e. may follow his inclinations). Haradatta explains that this does not mean that he can kill a brāhmaṇa or drink liquor, but that there is no restriction, although he be a brāhmaṇa's son, to his selling what is forbidden to a brāhmaṇa to sell, or he may eat onions and garlic or stale food or may eat four or five times a day. Āp. Dh. S. 428 (II. 1. 6. 15. 17-20) states several views on this point. 'Up to the time when they begin to take cooked food infants do not become impure (by the touch of a rajasaṭā &c.); according to some (teachers) up till they are one year old; or till they are not able to distinguish the cardinal points; another view is that till upanayana (they do not become impure'). Aparārka (p. 28) also explains that a boy may (before upanayana) eat the leavings of the food of his parents, but he cannot eat or drink what would cause loss of caste as in that case he may become unfit to have the saṃskāra of upanayana performed on him. The Sāmītyarthasāra gives the view of some that in case an infant touches a cāndalā before it reaches the age of taking cooked food, only water need be sprinkled on it, before caula ācāmana need be done by it and after caula (and before upanayana) a bath would be necessary. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 6) quotes a verse of Harita to the effect 'up till investiture with the girdle of muṇja grass (i.e. till upanayana) there is no action that is obligatory on him, as long as he is not born again for Vedic study he may be in his conduct like a śūdra'. This verse occurs also in Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 6 and Manu II. 171 and 172. Dakṣa I. 3-4 says 'Till a boy is eight years old he is like one newly born and only indicates the caste in which he is born. As long as his upanayana is not performed the

438. आप्सरकाराणां नामयता भवानि। आप्सरसमर्शसुशास्त्रेः। भवति या न विर्धं मन्यताः। ऋषिभनवनिर्विवर्तयति। आप. ध. स. II. 6. 15. 17-20.

439. धर्मविवेकासारसिद्धि न्यूनतमं विचित्रं कस्म किंचित्रमहाभिषेकवाद। सर्वगृहस्वागतं। ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणवादं न जाविते। वार्ता। ब्राह्मण II. 6; चौस्य. ध. स. रासायनिक कस्म किंचित्तमालिकं। विरतस्यमुद्धम्। 40 ऋषिदोषं निपठानेष्ठि। आप्सरकारसिद्धिः।
boy incurs no blame as to what is allowed or forbidden to be eaten, as to what should (or should not) be drunk, as to what he should or should not speak, as to telling a falsehood". 440. But this does not hold good as to mahāpātakas. As to priyaścitta when a child is guilty of the commission of a mahāpātaka, see under priyaścitta later on and the Mit. on Yāj. III. 253. The smritis look upon upanayana as the second birth of a boy (the first being his physical birth) 441. Gaut. (X. 1 and 51) says that the three higher classes are called dvijās (having two births), while the śūdra is only ekajāti. 442. Āp. Dh. S. says (I. 1. 16-18), 'the teacher causes him (the boy who is initiated into Vedic study) to be born from vidyā (i.e. by imparting Vedic knowledge), that birth is superior, the parents produce only the body' 443. Upanayana is like Baptism and St. John (3. 3) also says 'except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.' Manu II. 147-148 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 45-46) convey the same idea. Manu (II. 169) speaks of three births in the case of a man, first birth from his mother, the second when the girdle is tied (i.e. on upanayana) and the third when he is initiated for a Vedic sacrifice. Upanayana is the foremost of the samskāras. Atri (141-142) says 'a person is known as a brāhmaṇa by birth, he is said to be a dvija (twice-born) on account of samskāras, he reaches the position of a vipra by learning (study of the Veda); he is called śrotriya on account of all these three'. 444. Parāśara (VIII. 19) contains a fine image to illustrate this 'just as a work of painting gradually unfolds itself on account of the several colours (with which it is drawn), so brāhmaṇya (the status of a brāhmaṇa) is similarly

440. जाननामः सिद्धिवस्वाभावविशी समा वचः स हि गर्भसनी स्यो जातिमानसयुक्तः।

441. तद्व्र प्रकृतिः जन्मः तद्वचनसत्योऽर्जुः: वेदसात्मनावः:।

442. विज्ञानात्मनसस्यसिद्धिविवृत्तिः। सुदेश्वरयोः वर्णः प्रकुल्लति:।

443. स हि विद्यायां जन्तुभावः। वस्त्रेण जन्मः। शरीरस्वतः मातातिष्ठतः:।

444. जाननामः मानानी हारूणेऽस्यसात: विशुद्धिं जन्तुर्वतः। विद्या भावति विनिः श्रीमान्यमित्वं भव॥ अवृत्त 141-142।

445. Upanayana quoted in S. M. p. 404. नामवान् विवृत्तिः। ग्र्मान्याः स षट्ष्रृंशमस्य:।

brought out by samśkāras performed according to prescribed rites.'

Therefore it is now time to speak of samśkāras.

The word samśkāra hardly ever occurs in the ancient Vedic literature, but the root 'kr' with 'sam' and the past passive participle 'samśkṛta' occur often enough. In Rg. V. 76. 2 the word samśkṛta is applied to 'gharma' (vessel) 'the two Aśvins do not harm the gharma that has been purified.' In Rg. VI. 28. 4 we have the word samśkṛtatra' and Rg. VII. 33. 9 has 'raṇāya samśkṛtaḥ'. Śat.445 Br. I. 1. 4. 10 speaks of preparing (or purifying) offering (havis) for the gods. So in Śat. Br. III. 2. 1. 22 "therefore a woman approaches a man who stands in a well-trimmed (samśkṛta) house."

Vide Vāj. S. IV. 34 for a similar use of samśkṛta. In Chān. Up. IV. 16. 2, we446 read "of that sacrifice there are two ways, by mind, by speech; the Brahmā (priest) prepares (or polishes) one of them by his mind." The word samśkāra is used several times in the sūtras of Jaimini (as in III. 1. 3, III. 2. 15 and 17, III. 8. 3, IX. 2. 9, 42, 44, IX. 3. 25, IX. 4. 33, 1X. 4. 50 and 54, X. 1. 2 and 11 &c.). It generally means some purificatory act in a sacrifice e.g. in Jaimini III. 8. 3 the word is applied to the actions of shaving the head, washing the teeth and paring the nails on the part of the sacrificer in Jyoṭiṣṭoma; in IX. 3. 25 the word samśkāra is applied to prokṣaṇa (sprinkling with water), in X. 2. 49 it is applied to the shaving of the head and face. In Jaimini447 VI. 1. 35 the word samśkāra stands for upanayana. Śabara explains448 samśkāra as that which being effected makes a certain thing or person fit for a certain purpose and the Tantra-vārtika says that samśkāras are those actions and rites that

445. स हूढ़े दृष्टिते । संख्या सात छठते संख्या त्रयीकर्षेविचलताः । सत्यम् I. 1. 4. 10; तत्त्वमु श्री एवं संख्ये संख्ये नित्यं समपिते । सत्यम् III. 2. 1. 22.

446. तत्त्वसमूह एव गहनाल्प सत्यम् विद्व तथा वर्णी । सत्यसंकेतसंख्या एवं संख्या संख्यीय संभवम् संख्या वाच्य होता । जान्द्राशय IV. 16. 1-2. The Brahmā priest remains silent and watches the whole sacrifice to see if there be any mistake, which he corrects by prāyaścittta.

447. संकेतार्थ सत्यसंकेतार्थ संतेष्याय वृद्धे श्रवणः । सत्यम् VI. 1. 35.

448. संकेतार्थ सत्यसंकेतार्थ संतेष्याय वृद्धे श्रवणः कार्यचिदायते । शास्त्र on श्री II. 3. 3 (p. 660); शौचालनादयसु क्रिया संस्कारः कृतसृष्टिर्यात् । उपन्यास विलम्ब प. 1078; संकेतार्थसत्य सत्य सर्वाधिकार वेदायातन व च । शास्त्र on बृहस्पति-ह्रेष्ठ I. 1. 4.
impart fitness and it further says 449 'fitness is of two kinds; it arises by the removal of taints (sins) or by the generation of fresh qualities. Sāṁskāras generate fresh qualities, while tapas brings about the removal of taints. He who performs such sacrifices as Jyotistoma and others has certain blemishes in him due to not doing in this life or a previous life duties laid down for him or doing what is forbidden. If they (blemishes) are not removed they obstruct the (acquisition of the) reward of the sacrifice even if it be entirely free from any defects whatever, as they (blemishes) produce (for the sacrificer) the experience of their own fruits that are opposed to the (fruit of the) sacrifice.' The Viramitrodāya 450 (on sāṁskāra) defines 'sāṁskāra' as 'a peculiar excellence due to the performance of rites ordained (by the śāstra) which resides either in the soul or the body' and says that it is of two kinds, one kind making a person eligible for performing other actions (e.g. upanayana renders a person eligible for Vedic study), while another kind removes the evil taint that may have been generated (e.g. Jātakarma removes the taint due to seed and uterus).

The word saṁskāra does not occur in most of the grhyasūtras (it occurs in Vaik.), but it occurs in the Dharmasūtras (vide Gaut. VIII. 8, Āp. Dh. I. 1. 1. 9, Vas. IV. 1).

The principal matters that fall to be discussed under sāṁskāras are: the purpose of sāṁskāras, the classification of sāṁskāras, the number of sāṁskāras, the procedure of each of the sāṁskāras and the persons authorized to perform them and the persons for whom they are to be performed.

First as to the purpose of sāṁskāras. Manu (II. 27–28) says 'In the case of dvijātis, the taints (or sins) due to seed and the uterus (i.e. derived from parents) are wiped off by the homas (burnt oblations) performed during pregnancy and by jātakarma (ceremonies on birth), caula (tonsure) and the tying of the girdle of muṇja grass. This (human) body is rendered fit for the attainment of brahma by the study of the Vedas, by (observance of) vrata, homas (oblations in fire), by the vrata called traśvidya, by worship (of gods, sages and manes), by generation of sons, by the performance of the five daily

449. वेदांताः स वर्तन्ति विभिन्नता विधायिकाम व्यवास्य यो भविष्यति । तत्त्वज्ञानिः p. 1115 on श्रे. III. 8. 9.

450. वज्रकुपं उपासिताः शृंगाकुमारः सयाष्ट्रयो शृंगारं नास्थितं नामाहिष्ठं जिव्वत्वास्विकीर्णं अभिषिष्टं । तत्त्वगुणिशयं वेदाविवाहे ब्रह्म।
sacrifices and by (solemn Vedic) sacrifices.' The view of Yāj. (I.13) is that 'thus (i.e. by the performance of saṁskāras) the taint arising from the seed and uterus (i.e. from the physical defects of parents) is removed.' These words of Manu and Yāj. are variously interpreted by the commentators. Medhatithi says 'seed and uterus are not the causes of sin and therefore all that is meant by enas (in Manu II. 27) is impurity.' Kullūka explains that blemishes of seed are those arising from intercourse in a prohibited manner and the 'gārbhika' blemish is what arises from having to stay in the womb of an impure mother. The Mit.\textsuperscript{451} on Yāj. I. 13 makes it clear that saṁskāras are deemed to remove bodily defects transmitted from parents (such as defective limbs, diseases &c.) and are not intended to remove the taint of being born of sinful parents. Manu II. 66 also states that all the saṁskāras are performed on a woman also for the purification of the body. Harita\textsuperscript{452} as quoted in the Saṁskāratattva says 'when a person has intercourse according to the procedure of gṛbhaṁdhana he establishes in the wife a foetus that becomes fit for the reception of the Veda, by the rite of puṁsavana he makes the garbha become a male, by the ceremony of Simantonnayana he removes from the foetus the taint derived from the parents and the accumulated taints (which are five) due to seed, blood and womb are removed by jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍākaraṇa and samāvartana. By these eight saṁskāras (from gṛbhaṁdhana) purity arises.' The exact significance of saṁskāras in the development of higher human personality was left rather vague in our authorities and their treatment of the purpose of saṁskāras is not very elaborate or exhaustive. The saṁskāras had been treated from very ancient times as necessary for unfolding the latent capacities of man for development and as being the outward symbols or signs of the inner change which would fit human beings for corporate life and they also tended to confer a certain status on those who underwent them. If we look at the list of saṁskāras we shall find that the purposes

\textsuperscript{451} नीतिनिर्देशकम्। तत्रस्तति। ग्रहणार्काबालिहारिः नित्यानामसंसारलिपि।

\textsuperscript{452} सत्य हरिचारणम। मार्गिधानवर्गवियोगस्तोत्रम्। नित्यानामसंसारलिपि।
of saṃskāras were manifold. Some like Upanayana served spiritual and cultural purposes, they brought the unredeemed person into the company of the elect, they opened the door to Vedic study and thus conferred special privileges and exacted duties. They have also psychological values impressing on the mind of the person that he has assumed a new role and must strive to observe its rules. Other saṃskāras like nāmakaraṇa, annaprabhāsana, and niṣkramana were more or less of a popular nature. They afforded opportunities for the expression of love and affection and for festivities. Other saṃskāras like garbhādhāna, puṃsavana, smantonnayana had also mystical and symbolic elements. Vivāha (marriage) was a sacrament which brought about a union of two personalitieś into one for the purpose of the continuance of society and for the uplift of the two by self-restraint, by self-sacrifice and mutual co-operation.

The saṃskāras were divided by Hārīta into two kinds, brāhma and daiva.\textsuperscript{453} The saṃskāras of garbhādhāna and others which are described only in the smṛtis are called brāhma and the man who is purified by performing them attains equality with sages, stays in the same world with them and is joined with them; pākayajñās (offerings of cooked food), yajās with burnt offerings and sacrifices in which soma is offered are called daiva (saṃskāras). The last two varieties, viz. those in which there is burnt offering and those in which soma is offered, are dealt with in the Śrauta sūtras, which have been left outside the purview of this work (except in the note at the end of this volume).

There is a great divergence of views among the writers on smṛtis as to the number of saṃskāras. Gaut. (VIII. 14–24) speaks of forty saṃskāras and eight virtues of the soul. The forty saṃskāras are: garbhādhāna, puṃsavana, smantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annaprabhāsana, caula, upanayana (8 in all), the four vratas of the Veda, snāna (or samāvartana), vivāha, five daily mahāyajñās (for deva, pitṛ, manuṣya,

\textsuperscript{453} तथा न हरित। किंतु: संस्कारे मनोति मात्रे दैवस्य। नर्त्तानाविद्वानां नाश। पादि। संस्कारसंस्कारं सर्विः सम्मानं सत्तेतें। साधुं ग्रहति। यैं वैद्येन्तीसहाये संस्कारे सम्मानं सत्तेतें। साधुं ग्रहति। यद्यपि। स्पृहित। I. p. 13, परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 18, संस्कारप्रकार p. 135. The editor of the parā. मा. says it is वार्तालोकम् XI. 1–5 (from the MS he had discovered).

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bhūta and brahma); seven pākayajñas (viz. aṣṭaka, pārvanāsthālpaka, śrāddha, śrāvaṇa, āgrahāyaṇi, caitrī, āsvavyujī); seven haviryajñas (in which there is burnt offering but no soma) viz. Agnyādheya, Agnihotra, Darṣapūraṇamāsā, Āgrayaṇa, Cāturmāṣyas, Nirūḍhaṇaśubandha and Sautrāmaṇi); seven soma sacrifices (Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Śodasī, Vajapeya, 'Atrītra, Āptoryāma). Gautama uses the word saṁskāra in the most extended sense. Saṅkha as quoted by the Sm. C. (I. p. 13) and the Subodhini on Mit. II. 4 follow Gautama. Vaik, speaks of eighteen sārīra saṁskāras (in which he includes uṭṭhāna, pravāsāgamāna, pīṇḍavardhana, which are seen nowhere else as saṁskāras) and twenty-two yajñas (i.e. five daily yajñas as one and seven pākayajñas, seven havir-yajñas, and seven soma yajñas). Most gṛhyaśūtras, dharmasūtras and smṛtis do not enumerate so many. Āṅgiras (quoted in the Saṁskāra-mayūkha, Saṁskāra-prakāśa p. 135 and other digests) mentions twenty-five saṁskāras. They include all saṁskāras of Gautama from garbhadhāna to the five daily yajñas (which latter are reckoned as one saṁskāra by Āṅgiras) and after nāmakarana niṣkramana is added. Besides, Viśṇubali, Āgrayaṇa, Aṣṭaka, Śrāvaṇa, Āsvaṇjī, Mārgaśīrṣa (same as Āgrahāyaṇi), Pārvana, Utsarga and Upākarma are enumerated as the remaining saṁskāras by Āṅgiras. Veda-Vyāsa I. 14-15 enumerates sixteen saṁskāras. Manu, Yāj., Viṣṇu Dh. S. do not give the number of saṁskāras but simply say that they are those from niṣeka (garbhadhāna) to smaśāna (i.e. antyeṣti). This last one is not treated of in Gautama and several gṛhyaśūtras. In most of the digests the principal saṁskāras are said to be sixteen; but there is some difference of opinion even as to these sixteen. For example, Jātukarnya as quoted in Saim. Pr. (p. 135) enumerates the 16 as garbhadhāna, puruṣavana, śūranta, jātakarman, nāmakarana, annarśaṇa, caula, maunji

454. According to some the seven pākayajñas are: aupāsanahoma, vaidvadeva, pārvaya (sthālpaka), aṣṭaka, śrāddha (monthly), sarpabali and śānakali. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 13. The Baud. gr. I. 1. gives the seven pākayajñas as huta, prahuta, ahuta, sūlagava, balihaṇa, pratyavarohaṇa and aṣṭaka homa. Vide S. B. E. Vol. 30 p. 358 for several differing enumerations of pākayajñas.

455. तस संस्कारस । सामर्थयमण्डलस । विवाहस्वयंपारस्वकालस । बोधक भावनास संस्काराः । 
स्मृतविवाहकालः प. 3. The 16 usually enumerated in the digests are: sanmāṇya, ānukramaṇa, śūnṣakaraṇa, śūnṣa, sāṣṭhiārthika, ājānīka, nāmakaraṇa, śānāsana, caula, samāśana, saṁskāra, vihāra.
(upanayana), vratas (four), godāna, samāvartana, vivāha and antyeṣṭi. These slightly differ from the sixteen of Veda-Vyāsa.

The grhyasūtras deal with sāṁskāras in two different sequences. Many of them begin with vivāha (marriage) and then proceed up to samāvartana. Some like the Hiranya-keśigrhya, Bhāradvājagrhya and Mānavagrhya begin with upanayana. Some sāṁskāras like Karnavedha and Vidyārambha are conspicuous by their absence in the grhyasūtras, but are added by later smṛtis and purāṇas. The following is the list of all the sāṁskāras usually so called in most of the smṛti works together with a few remarks against each as to the work or works in which each is mentioned or described. The sāṁskāras are arranged in the sequence of the times at which in a man’s life they are performed beginning from garbhādhāna:

Ritu-saṅgamana—mentioned in Vaiśākha I. 1 as distinct from garbhādhāna; it calls it niṣeka also (VI. 2) and describes it in III. 9 and garbhādhāna in III. 10. The Vaiśākha commences the sāṁskāras with niṣeka.

Garbhādhāna: Niṣeka: Caturthikarma or-homa:—Manu (II. 16 and 26), Vaiśākha I. 10–11, Viṣṇu Dh. S. (2. 3 and 27. 1) employ the word niṣeka as equivalent to garbhādhāna. In the Śaṅkhāyana grhya (I. 18–19), Pāṇ. gr. I. 11, and Āp. gr. (8. 10–11) the rite called caturthikarma or caturthihoma takes the place of the rite called garbhādhāna elsewhere and there is no separate description of garbhādhāna in these and some similar

456. For detailed treatment of some of the sāṁskāras, vide Dr. (Mrs.) Kamalabai Deshpande’s work ‘the Child in ancient India’ (with copious references to the grhya sūtras); Mrs. Stevenson’s ‘the Rites of the twice-born’ (1920), which exhaustively reviews in the minutest details the rites of brāhmaṇas (particularly in Kathiawar and Gujarāt) as observed at present. This work however gives hardly any references to original Sanskrit authorities, is permeated by the spirit of a Christian missionary and commits the mistake, usual with most Western writers, of comparing hoary Indian customs, usages and the position of women with those of the West only in the latter half of the 19th century, altogether ignoring what existed in Europe over a few hundred years ago, though it is generally written with sympathy and understanding. Colebrooke’s Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I. pp. 125–226 (London, 1837), Monier Williams’ ‘Religious thought and life in India’ part I (1883), Vidyārāṇya’s ‘on daily practices’ in the 20th volume of ‘the Sacred Books of the Hindus’ may also be consulted.

457. अन्य संस्कारानि निःसंस्कारात् | वैसालसू व १ | भक्तिसिद्धान्तम् । वैसालसू I. 1.
grhyasūtras. The Baud. gr. (IV. 6. 1), the Kāṭhakagrhyya (30. 8), Gaut. (VIII. 14), Yāj. I. 11 employ the word garbhādhāna. According to Vaik. (III. 10) the garbhādhāna rite follows nīṣeka or ṛtu-saṅgamana (union of married pair after menstruation) and consists in ensuring conception.

Punśavana:—occurs in almost all the grhyasūtras, in Gaut., in Yāj. (I. 11).

Garbharakṣana:—mentioned in the Śāṅkhāyana gr. (I. 21). It seems to be the same as the Anavalobhana which according to the Āśvalāyana gr. (I. 13. 1) occurs in the Upaniṣad and which is described in Āśv. gr. (I. 13. 5-7).

Simantonnayana:—This occurs almost everywhere. Yāj. I. 11 uses the word ālmanta.

Vīṣṇubali:—mentioned in Baud. gr. (I. 10. 13-17 and I. 11. 2), Vaik. (III. 13), Āṅgiras. It is not mentioned by Gautama and several other ancient sūtrakāras.


Jātakarma:—This is described in all sūtras and smṛtis.

Uṭṭhāna:—mentioned only in the Vaik. (III. 18) and in Śāṅ. gr. I. 25 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 51-52).

Namakarana:—mentioned in all smṛtis.

Nīṣkramana or Upaniṣkramana or Adityadarśana or Nirnayana:—Yāj. I. 11 speaks of it as Nīṣkramana, Pār. gr. (I. 17) as Nīṣkramanikā, Manu II. 34 speaks of it as Nīṣkramana. The Kauśikasūtra 58. 18 calls it Nirnayana; while Baud. gr. (II. 2) employs the word upaniṣkramana; Manava gr. (I. 19. 1), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (27. 10), Śaṅkha (in verse, II. 5) employ appropriately the name Adityadarśana. Gaut., Āp. gr. and several other sūtras omit it.

Karnavedha: omitted in almost all ancient smṛtis; mentioned in Veda-Vyāsa smṛti (I. 19), Baud. gr. śeṣa-sūtra (I. 12. 1), Kāṭyāyana-sūtra (a supplement to Pār. gr.)

Annaprāśana:—mentioned by almost every smṛti.

Varsavardhana or Abdapūrti:—mentioned in Gobhila, Śāṅ. Pār., Baud.
Cauna or Cūḍākarma or Cūḍākaraṇa:—mentioned by all smṛtis.

Vidyārambhā:—not mentioned in any smṛti but only in Mārkaṇḍeyapuruṣa quoted by Aparārka (p. 30) and Sm. C. (I. p. 26).

Upanayana:—mentioned by all. It is called vṛataḍesa in Veda-Vyāṣa I. 14.

Vṛatās (four):—mentioned by most of the grhyasūtras.

Keśaṇa or Godāṇa:— Mentioned by almost all.

Samāvartana or Snāna: there is great divergence about these two. Manu (III. 4) seems to keep snāna (ceremonial bath after the period of studentship is over) as distinct from samāvartana. Gaut., Āp. gr. V. 12–13, Hir. gr. I. 9.1, Yāj. I. 51, Pār. gr. (II. 6–7) employ the word snāna for both the ceremonial bath and the rites of return from the teacher's house on finishing one's studies, while Āśv. gr. (III. 8. 1), Baud. gr. (II. 6. 1), Sān, gr. III. 1, Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 15 and 31) employ the word Samāvartana.

Vivāha:—Mentioned by all as a samāskāra.

Mahāyajñās:—five daily yajñās; mentioned by Gaut., Āṅgiras and others.

Utsarga: (seasonal giving up of Veda studies) is mentioned as a samāskāra in Vaik (I. 1) and by Āṅgiras.

Upākarma: (yearly commencement of Veda study) mentioned as a samāskāra by Vaik. (I. 1) and by Āṅgiras.

Antyeṣṭi:—mentioned by Manu II. 16 and Yāj I. 10.

It is laid down that the samāskāras from jātakarma to cūḍākarma were to be performed in the case of the twice-born classes with Vedic mantras when the child was a male and that in the case of girls the ceremonies were to be performed but without Vedic mantras; vide Āśv. gr. (I. 15. 12, I. 16. 6, I. 17. 18), Manu II. 66, Yāj I. 13. But marriage in the case of the girls of the three higher classes was to be performed with Vedic mantras (Manu II. 67, Yāj. I. 13).

The samāskāras* from garbhādhāna to upanayana alone were absolutely necessary in the case of all twice-born persons;

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458. अनि समास्कारानिधिर्सम्बन्धता एव संस्कारानिधिर्सम्बन्धताः। समास्कारस्य न वसुः समास्कारः।

नकान्तेन विद्वतयां तत्तवसैष्ठः वेत्तत्वा नक्षत्रविदिः मर्यादानिश्च निरेक्षः सूचय; युक्तिः

I. pp. 13–14; सूचिकु। (सर्वप्रथमसन्धि p. 73). The words 'विद्वत्वतः' न... अन्तः' अनाधिकृतपथिः।
the saṁskāras of snāna and vivāha were not obligatory, as a man was allowed to become a saṁnyāsin (ascetic) immediately after finishing the period of studenthood (according to the Jābālopaniṣad). The Saṁskāra-prakāśa enters upon an elaborate discussion as to whether jātakarma could be performed for a child that is neither a male nor a female (pp. 195-197) and arrives at the conclusion that jātakarma and other saṁskāras cannot be performed for a kība (impotent) child.

Another question was as to what saṁskāras could be performed for the śūdra. The view of Vedavyāsa that he could have ten saṁskāras performed (but without Vedic mantras) has been stated above (p. 159). The Bājajavāpa grhyāṣays that seven saṁskāras are allowed to the śūdra viz. from garbhādhāna (or niśeka) to caula. The view of Aparārka 460 appears to be that the eight saṁskāras from garbhādhāna to caula (in Yāj. I,11-12) were meant for all varṇas (including the śūdra). According to the Madanaratna, Rūpanārāyaṇa and the bhaṣya of Harīhara as quoted in the Nīrṇayasindhu, the śūdras were entitled to perform six saṁskāras viz. jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, niskramaṇa, annaprāśana, cūda and vivāha and the five daily mahāyajñas. The Śudrakṛtya-tattva of Raghunandana (p. 634) quotes a verse from the Varāhapurāṇa 461 'this very procedure (about śrāddha) has been declared in the case of śūdras but without mantras; for the śūdra who is not entitled to repeat a mantra, a brāhmaṇa repeats the mantra' and then remarks that for a śūdra a mantra from the purāṇas is to be repeated by the brāhmaṇa priest employed, that the śūdra is not to repeat even the purāṇa mantras but has only to say 'namāh'. The Nīrṇayasindhu 462 mentions with approval the same view of Śūlapāṇi that in all religious ceremonies for śūdras the mantras are to be taken from the purāṇas and that they are to be repeated by the brāhmaṇa priest. The Brahma-purāṇa 463 quoted

459. वैययपुरूष श्रव्यस्ताः। सूर्यपदिः। निर्वक्रुङ्गरुपेन सीमायोजनानांतकरलोकस्याः। चारणोंपदेतोपान्तकार्यपदिः। नीलानमोक्ष संवत्वपदिः। वीरमिवेद्य (सं. प.) p. 133.

460. चूरा क्षत्रियवर्णायपि ये विशालमन्त्राश्रयः। तथा श्रव्यस्ताः। निर्विशालोपान्तकार्यपदिः। अपरारः। प. 25.

461. तत् सूर्यकृत्याः। पांडः पांडः। 'अयं वियापिलोि; अन्तः भवन्ति। अभिन्नः सूर्यीय। भवति नामार्च्छति।' भवति नामार्च्छति। सूर्यसूर्यसंवत्व p. 634.

462. अभिन्नः सूर्यसूर्याः। निर्मिती भवते ् रत्ने कर्तारेः। इर्वलाभायसुरसवन्देवन्सुरपार्थस्वविवेचनमन्नः। रथी पौराणिकाः। तत् पौराणिकाः। नीर्मितिः। नीर्मितिः। III. पूर्वांगिः।

463. यद्यद्यो त हि 'सिद्धार्थायनार्थं सुदीर्घे दत्तवर्गो तदन'। सूर्यसूर्यः। अयं सूर्यसूर्य। निर्मितिः। नीर्मितिः। III. पूर्वांगिः.
in the Sm. C. (I. p. 24) and other digests states that no other sanskāra than vivāha is allowed to the śūdra. On this the Nirñayasindhu remarks that these conflicting views are to be reconciled by holding that the liberal ones apply to good (sat) śūdras and the stricter ones to low (asat) śūdras or that the rules are different in different countries.

It is to be noted that in modern times most of the sanskāras (except garbhādhāna, upanayana and vivāha) have fallen into oblivion and are hardly ever performed even by brāhmaṇas in the manner and at the times prescribed by the smṛtis. Owing to the rapid rise in the marriageable age of brāhmaṇa girls, even the sanskāra of garbhādhāna is falling into abeyance. Nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana are performed in a popular way but without Vedic mantras or without calling a priest to officiate. In most cases caula is performed on the day of the upanayana and samāvartana is also performed a few days after upanayana. Jātakarma and annaprāśana are performed on the same day in some parts (e.g. in Bengal). It appears that this state of things has continued for centuries. The Śmrtyarthaśāstra (p. 3) says 'if the sanskāras (except upanayana) are not performed at the prescribed times, the Vyāhṛtihoma should be offered and then the sanskāras should be performed (though late). For each sanskāra that is not performed the penance called pādakṛchra should be performed (if the non-performance is due to some difficulty or distress), and for non-performance of caula the penance is ardha-krčra. If the sanskāras were knowingly omitted or if there was no distress then the penance is double of this.' The Nirñayasindhu quotes verses of Śaunaka to this effect and then remarks that there was a conflict of views, some holding that after the penance the sanskāras passed over should be performed all at one time,

464. The Vyāhṛtiḥoma consists in offering clarified butter with the mystic syllables, bhūḥ, bhuvah, svāḥ (or suvah) uttered separately and then together. Vide Hir. gr. I. 3. 4 (S. B. E. Vol. 30 p. 144).

465. पुत्रे वासशिक्षिते वस्त्रविस्फोटनं कृत्तव तः:। पुत्रोपशुकुले पावणकुः काशीः। चरुस्वरणः। स्वर्णिनुपविच च हिंदुः। समुच्चयस्माः। पुरूषाले विद्वानपूर्वः।

466. अन्वं संस्कारार्थयो श्रीनाथ। आर्याधिपत्यार्थतत्तात्त्वत्तिः। कर्मम्मत्स्यैः। व्याह्री-स्वाधिः। तु संस्करणं हुस्त्स: कर्म नक्षत्रमम्। पुरुषोपकृतार्थम्। तु पावणकुः सचारणम्। चुरार्थं

रासुपत्रोतिमुर्त्तीम्। अन्तःस्य तु सर्वं हिंदुः हिंदुः चत्रेयम्। द्रतिः। निम्नमण्डलम्। तीमुर्त्तीम्। अत्रिस्वाधिः। (पुरूषवस्माः। 99) उक्तेः। सामान्यः। पुरुषाले विद्वानपूर्वः। अन्तःस्य पावणकुः सचारणम्मा

while others held that they should not be performed at all after undergoing penance and a third view was that if caula was left unperformed it may be performed on the same day as upanayana. The Dharmasindhu (3rd paricheda, purvārdaḥ) states various substitutes (which are comparatively easy) for these penances. For example, one prājāpatya penance is equal to three Pādakrechras. In place of prājāpatya the person guilty of the lape may make the gift of a cow or (in the absence of a cow) may give one niśka (320 guṇājas) of gold or one half or one-fourth of it; one who is very poor may give one-eighth of a silver niśka or corn of that value. There being these easy substitutes (pratyāmnāya as they were called) people gradually left off performing the several saṁskāras and concentrated themselves only on upanayana and vivāha. The whole life of a person was so very minutely worked out and overlaid with so much ritual in the gṛhyasūtras and smṛtis that the tendency to neglect and change became consistent and inevitable. This tendency was helped by the accommodating spirit of the brāhmaṇa authors of later smṛtis and digests that were ready to prescribe easier and easier substitutes for non-observance of the elaborate sacraments, pre-natal and post-natal. Haradatta in commenting on Gaut. I. 6 (upanayanaṃ brāhmaṇasya aṣṭame) remarks ‘the teacher (Gautama) expounding upanayana first and passing over the saṁskāras like garbhādāhana that precede upanayana in time conveys that upanayana is the principal saṁskāra. Therefore even if the saṁskāras like garbhādāhana did not take place owing to adverseness of fate, upanayana can be performed, but it follows that if upanayana be not performed there is no adhikāra (eligibility) for marriage which follows only after upanayana.’

In modern times in undergoing prāyaścitta for non-performance of the saṁskāras up to caula rupees two have to be paid to the priest (annas four for each of the saṁskāras not performed up to caula and annas eight for caula).

467. 468. 468. 468. 468.
The saṁskāras will now be described in detail. The material contained in the sūtras, smṛtis and nibandhas is so vast that only very concise statements can be made here. The method followed will be as follows. Each saṁskāra will be described from a few representative grhṣya and dharma sūtras such as the Āṣv. gr., Āp. gr., and references will be given to other important works. Only important parts of procedure can be noted, minute divergences among the several works being passed over. Greater details will be given in the case of the two chief saṁskāras viz. upanayana and marriage which are in vogue even now. 469

Garbhādhāna:—The beginnings of this ceremony are found very early. Atharvaveda V. 25 appears to be a hymn intended for the garbhādhāna rite. Atharva V. 25. 3 and 5 are verses which occur in the Br. Up. VI. 4. 21; the passage of the Br. Up. VI. 4. 13, 19-22 may be rendered thus: ‘At the end of three days (after menstruation first appears) when she (wife) has bathed, the husband should make her pound rice (which is then boiled and eaten with various other things according as he desires a fair, brown or dark son or a learned son or a learned daughter) ... and then towards morning, after having according to the rule of the Sthālpāka performed the preparation of the clarified butter, he sacrifices from the Sthālpāka little by little, 469.

Besides the grhṣya sūtras, the dharma sūtras, Manu, Yājñavalkya and other smṛtis, the principal digests on saṁskāra relied upon here are the Saṁskāra-tattva of Raghunandana, the Saṁskāramayūkha of Nila-kaṇṭha, the Saṁskāra-prakṣaṇa of Mitramiśra, the Saṁskāra-vanastubha of Anantadeva and the Saṁskāra-ratnamālā of Gopīnātha. Further, one should never lose sight of the fact that in a vast continent like India the various items in daily rites and ceremonies have always varied from age to age, from province to province and from caste to caste. Innumerable modifications were introduced and usages cropped up among the people, particularly owing to the influence of women, of which smṛtis and digests take no notice. This was the state of things even several centuries before Christ. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 11. 29. 15) closes with the aphorism ‘some teachers hold that the rest of the dharmas (not described here) may be understood from the usages of women and of all varga’s’. The Āṣv. gr. (I. 7. 1) states ‘various indeed are the usages of the different countries and of the different villages; one should observe them in marriage ceremonies.’ This work does not profess to give the bewildering differences of the several sākha’s and the several provinces of Modern India, but will restrict itself principally to Western India and the Āṣv. sūtra, though important variations have been pointed out in many places.

H. D. 26
saying 'This is for Agni, svāhā; this is for Anumati, svāhā; this is for divine Savitṛ, the true creator, svāhā! Having sacrificed he takes out the rest of the slice, eats it and after having eaten he gives some of it to his wife. Then he washes his hands, fills a water jar and sprinkles her thrice with water saying 'Rise, oh Viṣvāvasu, seek another blooming girl, a wife with her husband.' Then he embraces her and says 'I am Ama, thou art Śa. Thou art Śa, I am Ama. I am the Śāman, thou art the Rk. I am the sky, thou art the earth. Come, let us strive together that a male child may be begotten' (VI. 4. 21-22 cannot be literally translated for reasons of decency). Briefly the husband has intercourse with her and repeats certain mantras 'may Viṣṇu make ready your private parts, may Tvaṣṭa frame your beauty, may Prājāpati sprinkle and may Dhatā implant an embryo into you; Oh Sinīvāli! Oh Prthuṣṭukā! implant embryo ( in her), may the two Āśvins who wear a garland of lotuses plant in thee an embryo........ As the earth has fire inside it, as heaven has Indra inside it, as the wind is inside ( as the embryo of ) the quarters, so I plant a garbha in thee, oh, so and so ( the name of the woman being taken )'.

In the Āśv. gr. (I. 13.1) it is expressly stated that in the Upaniṣad the ceremonies of Garbhālambhana ( conceiving a child), Pūmsavāna ( securing a male child) and Anavalobhana ( guarding against dangers to the embryo) are mentioned. Evidently this is a reference to the Br. Up. quoted above (where four mantras used in the garbhadhāna samaskāra by Hir. and other grihya sūtras occur).

The rite called caturthikarma is described in the Śāṅkhāyaṇa gr. (I. 18-19, S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 44-46) as follows "Three

470. Vide Appendix for text and S. B. E. vol 15, pp. 220-221 for the translation of the passage. Max Muller notes that the passage 'amoḥasmi' occurs in the Atharvaśīra XIV. 71, that a similar passage (where instead of 'sa tvam' there is 'sa tvam') occurs in Ait. Br. VIII. 27 and that in the Chāndogya Up. I. 6. 1 sa is explained as earth and 'ama' as fire. The mantra 'may Viṣṇu...embryo into you' is Rg. X. 184. 1 = Atharvaśīra V. 25. 5, and the mantra 'oh Sinīvāli...an embryo,' is Rg. X. 184. 2 = Atharva V. 25. 3 (where 'Sarvasvati' is read for 'prthuṣṭuka'. The Nirukta (XI. 32. on Rg. II. 32. 6 where we have an invocation to Sinīvāli in the words 'give us progeny', माति सुविचारिति मः explains 'prthuṣṭuka' as 'prthuṣṭhaghane' (having large buttocks or large mass of hair). The words 'garbham dadhātu' probably suggested the name 'garbhadhāna given to this rite. The Hir. gr. I. 7. 25. 1. has the above two mantras and also the mantra 'as the earth &c' (and another mantra also) which four occur in Br. Up. VI. 4. 21-22; vide S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 199.
nights after marriage having elapsed, on the fourth the husband makes into fire eight offerings of cooked food to Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya (the mantra being the same for all three except the name of the deity), Aryaman, Varuṇa, Pūṣan (mantras being the same for these three), Prajāpati (the mantra is Rg. X. 121. 10), to (Agni) Svīṣṭakṛt. Then he pounds the root of Adhyānta plant and sprinkles it into the wife's nostril with two verses (Rg. X. 85. 21-22) with svāhā at the end of each. He should then touch her, when about to cohabit, with the words 'the mouth of the Gandharva Viśvāvasu art thou'. Then he should murmur 'into the breath I put the sperm, Oh! so and so (the name of the wife) or he repeats the verse 'as the earth has fire inside &c. (quoted above from Br. Up. VI. 4. 22) or several other verses in this strain 'may a male embryo enter thy womb as an arrow into the quiver; may a man be born here, a son, after ten months'.

The Par. gr. (I. 11, S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 288-290) also has a similar procedure. Āp. gr. (8. 10-11, S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 267-268), Gobhiya II. 5 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 51-52) give briefly a similar procedure, but refer to mantras given in the Mantrapātha (e.g. Āp. M. P. I. 10. 1 to I. 11. 11). To modern minds it appears strange that intercourse should have been surrounded by so much of mysticism and religion in the ancient sūtras. But in ancient times every act was sought to be invested with a religious halo; so much so that according to Hir. gr. I. 7. 25.3. (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 200) Ātreya held that mantras were to be repeated at each cohabitation throughout life, while Bādarayana prescribed that this was necessary only at the first cohabitation and after each monthly course.

The Hir. gr. (I. 7, 23. 11 to 7, 25, S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 197-200) gives a very elaborate rite, but on the same lines as the above grhyasūtras. One of the mantras is interesting on account of its reference to the cakrāvāka birds (I. 7. 24. 6), 'The concord that belongs to the cakrāvāka birds, that is brought out of the rivers of which the divine Gandharva is possessed, thereby we are concordant' (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 198). The Vaik. (III. 9) calls this ceremony rūtasamgaman and is similar to Āp. gr. and Hir. gr. It will be seen that the

471. The mantra 'आ हे चोलि गर्भच्छु नाम नवमुनिः। आ विश्वमत्र नाभायं युथले रूपसंगमः' is aṣṭavāku III. 23. 2. This occurs also in Ṛgveda-kṛtā́dhyaya I. 7. 25. 1.

472. Sāmaveda-kṛtā́dhyaya I. 20 ascribes these views respectively to Aṣmarāthya and Ālekhana 'सर्वरूपसंगमानि सर्वज्ञिति मन्त्ररीतियांशमाणे सबौसै धातविनं- तीनां'.
caturthikarma is treated by the grhya writers as part of the marriage rites and the rite was performed irrespective of the question whether it was the first appearance of menses or whether the wife had just before the marriage come out of her monthly illness. This indicates that it was taken for granted that the wife had generally attained the age of puberty at the time of marriage. As the marriageable age of girls came down it appears that the rite of caturthikarma was discontinued and the rite was performed long after the ritual of marriage and appropriately named garbhādhana.

The smṛtis and nibandhas add many details some of which will have to be noticed. Manu (III. 46) and Yāj. I. 79 say that the natural period (for conception) is sixteen nights from the appearance of menses. Āp. gr. 9. 1 says\(^{473}\) that each of the even nights from the 4th to 16th (after the beginning of the monthly illness) are more and more suited for excellence of (male) offspring. Hārīta also says the same. These two appear to allow garbhādhana on the fourth night, but Manu (III. 47), Yāj. (I. 79) lay down that the first four nights must be omitted. Kātyāyana, Parāśara (VII. 17) and others say that a woman in her menses is purified by bathing on the 4th day. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (III. 1) says that the garbhādhana ceremony should be performed on the first appearance of menses after the 4th day has elapsed. The Sm. C. suggests that the 4th may be allowed if there is entire cessation of the flow.\(^{474}\) Manu (IV. 128) and Yāj. I. 79 added further restrictions viz. that new moon and full moon days and the 8th and 14th tithis of the month were also to be omitted. Astrological details were added by Yāj. I. 80 (that the Mūla and Maghā constellations must be avoided and the moon must be auspiciously placed) and other later smṛtis, which it is unnecessary to dwell upon. In the later smṛtis like Laghu-Āśvalāyana III. 14–19 and in nibandhas like the Nirpayasindhu and Dharmasindhu elaborate discussions are held about the months, tithis, week-

\(^{473}\) जयक्षिप्रश्यस्यकालिनमितिशंकरस्तु ! अन्या अवधानिकेतसाश्वद्यमन्तत्त्वसिद्धासिद्धिः।
अप्पु. रू. 9. 1, स. ब. ए. वोल 30 प. 268.

\(^{474}\) यद्य परमात्मासिद्धार्थ दर्शितेनाव ज्ञातेइति रसातापं अन्वयाच चित्ति नार्यविद्वानि रज्जुदिविशेषि नवजात वसुक्तस्तृतम्।
पृष्ठितं इ. प. 15; सन्तुविषयिनिरीक्षणं च। ज्ञातो ज्ञातेइति रसातापं अन्वयाच वसुक्तस्तृतम्।
हृदि, विभागिते वेदां च। ज्ञातेइति नार्यविद्वानि रज्जुविद्वानिरीक्षणं च।
days, nakṣatras, colour of clothes, that were deemed to be inauspicious for the first appearance of menses and about the śūnīs (propitiatory rites) for averting their evil effects. Āp. gr., Manu (III. 48), Yāj. (I. 79), Vaik. III. 9 hold that a man desirous of male issue should cohabit on the even days from the 4th day after the appearance of menses and if he cohabits on uneven days a female child is born. Hir. gr. 475 I. 7. 24. 8 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 199) and Bhāradvāja gr. (I. 20) prescribe that a woman in her menses who takes a bath on the 4th day should attire herself in white (or pure) clothes, should ornament herself and talk with (worthy) brāhmaṇas (only). The Vaik. (III. 9) further adds that she should anoint herself with unguents, should not converse with a woman, or a śūdra, should see no one else except her husband, since the child born becomes like the male whom a woman taking a bath after the period looks at. Śāṅkha-Likhita convey a similar eugenic suggestion, 476 viz. ‘Women give birth to a child similar in qualities to him on whomsoever their heart is set in their periods.’

A debatable question is whether garbhādhāna is a saṃskāra of the garbha (the child in the womb) or of the woman. Gaut. VIII. 24, Manu. I. 16, and Yāj. I. 10 indicate that it is a saṃskāra of the garbha and not of the woman. Viśvarūpa 477 on Yāj. I. 11 expressly asserts that all saṃskāras except Simantonnayana have to be performed again and again (as they are the saṃskāras of the garbha), while Simantonnayana being a saṃskāra of the woman has to be performed only once and this opinion was in consonance with the usage in his days. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (IV. 17) also holds the same view. Medhātithi 478 on Manu II. 16 says that the garbhādhāna rite with mantras was performed after marriage only once at the time of the first cohabitation according to some, while according to

475. चातुर्थी स्नाता प्रयत्नवा बालकानुष्ठानं अङ्कतः आचार्यसारस्वामि । दशसतम् १ २० द्वितीयो श्री वाक्योपदेशम् श्री उपाध्यायोऽप्रदेशमेतेऽति । शास्त्रसारस्वामि रामानुज इति।

476. पवित्र भोजनोपदेशम् भृगुमलोकी नापपयति च गंगादेवी श्रीमतश्रीमाचार्यी । अभिज्ञात न भव जानते । राजपूतिविनिष्ठो उपदेशमिद्यापित्तिका मद्याकर्षणां सुनितम्।

477. श्रीमती आचार्यसारस्वामि व्याज्ञानान्तरं अवलोकनं तदृश्च श्रीमतकृपारं प्रमुखो विषयविषयोक्ताय विशेषेन व विशेष विशेषाय विशेषाय। विशेषाय व विशेषाय।

478. श्रीमतिः आचार्यसारस्वामि व्याज्ञानान्तरं अवलोकनं तदृश्च श्रीमतकृपारं प्रमुखो विषयविषयोक्ताय विशेषेन व विशेष विशेषाय विशेषाय। विशेषाय व विशेषाय।
others it was to be performed after every menstruation till conception. Later works like the Mit. (on Yaj. I.11), the Sm. C., the Sāṃskāratattva (p. 909) hold that garbhādhāna, punsavana and simantonnayana are sāṃskāras of the woman and are to be performed only once and quote Hārīta in support. Aparārka holds that simantonnayana is performed only once at the first conception, while punsavana is repeated at each conception. He relies on Pār. gr. I.15; and the Sāṃskāra-mayūkha and the Sāṃskāraprakāśa (pp. 170-171) hold the same opinion. Sm. C. (I. p. 17) quotes a verse of Viṣṇu that according to some even simantonnayana is repeated at each conception. About the rules for women who are rajascaṭā (in their monthly course) vide later on.

According to Kullūka (on Manu II.27), the Sm. C. (I. p.14) and other works garbhādhāna is not of the nature of homa. The Dharmasindhu says that when garbhādhāna takes place on the first appearance of menses, homa for garbhādhāna is to be performed in the grhyā fire, but there is no homa when the cohabitation takes place on the second or later appearance of menses; those in whose sūtra no homa is prescribed should perform the garbhādhāna rite on the proper day after the first appearance of menses by reciting the mantras but without homa. The Sāṃskārakaustubha (p. 59) relying on Grhyaparsisṭa prescribes homa in which cooked food is to be offered to Prajāpati and seven offerings of āhya are to be offered in fire, three with the verses 'Viṣṇur-yonim' (Rg. X. 184.1-3), three with 'nejamesa' (Ap. M. P. I.12.7-9) and one with Rg. X. 121.10 (prajāpate na).

All sāṃskāras other than garbhādhāna can be performed by any agnate in the absence of the husband (vide Sāṃskāraprakāśa 480 p. 165).

479. वैरण: सम्य संस्कार्यः नारी सर्वनषेन संस्कारः। तत्र सभ्यासंवाहसंबिनितो-जपानि सभ्यसंवाह कर्मानि। संस्काराद्वैर द्वादशुः (p. 909); हरीतं। सम्यसंस्काराद्वैर संस्कारसंवाहविहयि:। यथा ज्ञानेयस्य स कर्म: सम्यसंस्कारं ग्रहणं। अपि धर्मसिद्धा p. 25 

480. वैरण: सम्य संस्कार्यः नारी सर्वनषेन संस्कारः। तत्र सभ्यासंवाहसंबिनितो-जपानि सभ्यसंवाह कर्मानि। संस्काराद्वैर द्वादशुः (p. 909); वैरण:। सम्यसंस्काराद्वैर संस्कारसंवाहविहयि:। यथा ज्ञानेयस्य स कर्मः। सम्यसंस्कारं ग्रहणं। अपि धर्मसिद्धा p. 25 

In the nīpānītī (III.8) the verse मित्र विद्यमा is ascribed to वैरण.
As homa is necessary in numerous ceremonies and rites, the gṛhyaśūtras give a description of a model homa. Therefore here also it would be well to set out the description from the Āṣvalāyana 481 Gṛhyaśūtra (I. 3, S. B. E. vol 29 pp. 162–163), a few important points of difference being added from other gṛhyaśūtras and other works.

“Now wherever (a person) intends 482 to offer a sacrifice he should besmear (with cowdung) a sthāndila (a slightly raised square surface of sand or loose earth) of the dimension at least of an arrow on all (four) sides; let him then draw six lines (in all) on it, one to the west (of that part of the sthāndila on which the fire is to be placed) but turned northwards, two lines turned towards the east but separately at the two ends (of the line first drawn); (then he should draw) three lines in the middle (of the two); let him then sprinkle (the sacred sthāndila) with water, establish the (sacred) fire (on the sthāndila), put (two or three samidhas) on the fire; then he should perform parisamāhāna (i.e. wiping or sweeping the ground round the fire), then paristaraṇa (i.e. strewing darbha grass round) to the east, to the south, to the west, to the north (in order); in this way (all acts like parisamāhāna, paristaraṇa &c.) should end in the north. Then silently he should sprinkle (water) round (the fire). (2) With two (kuśa blades used as) strainers (pavitra) the purifying of the ājya is done. (3) Having 483 taken two kuśa blades with unbroken ends, which do not bear a young shoot in them, of the measure of a span, at their ends with his thumb and fourth finger, with hands turned the inside being upwards, he purifies the ājya (from the west) towards the east with (the words) ‘by the urging of Savitṛ I purify thee with this uninjured pavitra, with the rays of the Vasu (i.e. rich or good) sun’, once with this mantra, twice silently. (4) The strewing of kuśa grass (paristaraṇa) round the fire may or may not be done in the ājya homas (i.e. sacrifices in which clarified butter alone is to be offered into the fire). (5) So also the two ājya portions (may optionally be offered) in the Pākayājñas. (6) And (the

481. Vide Appendix for the text of Āṣ. Ṛ. I. 3.
482. यथा कः कञ्चनविश्रावसायनस्तवः तथा भार्तरस्माचरीचन्द्रि नमस्त्यर्ग रेषा
निस्तिलो अनुपस्मर्यायनस्तवः I आप. छ. II. 1. 1. 13.
483. ब्रह्ममयायाणासावमानी जुज्जावनस्य स्वायत्त साहेति। उसस्त्रेयं वृक्षं सङ्कृयं वध्या। स्वायते च चुमुक्ति क वहे भाष्य वध्याननानां। आप. छ. I. 10. 13–15.
The ājya to Agni is offered to the north of the fire and that to Soma to the south of it.
employment in all Pākayajīnas) of the brahma priest is optional except in the Dhanvantari sacrifice and Śūlagava sacrifice. (7) He should offer the sacrifice with the words ‘to such and such a deity, svāhā’. (8) If there is no specific direction (as to the deities to whom the offerings are to be made), the deities are Agni, Indra, Prajāpati, Viśve Devas (all gods), Brahmā.484 At the end there is an offering to Agni Śviṣṭakrt (vide Appendix under note 481 for the mantra).

In the Śāṅkhāyana gr. I. 7 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp. 22-31) the procedure described is more elaborate and contains some important differences. The performer (I. 7. 6-7) draws one line in the middle of the sacrificial surface from south to north and from this line only three lines are drawn upwards, one to the south of it, one in the middle, and one to the north (i.e. there are only four lines and not six as in Āsvalāyana). Further it (I. 8. 6-7) says that the seat of the brahma priest is to the south of the sthanḍila and he is honoured with flowers. Śāṅkhāyana adds (I. 8. 8) the detail that the praṇīta waters are carried forward on the north side and (I. 8. 9-11) that paristarana follows after the carrying forward of the praṇīta waters. It also adds (I. 8. 24-25) that waters in the sruva spoon are purified just as ājya is purified and then a portion of the water in the sruva is poured on to the praṇīta water and the rest of the water in the sruva is called the proksant water with which the havis, the idhma (fuel) and barhis (kuśas) are sprinkled. Śāṅkhāyana I. 9. 1 lays down that sruva spoon is the vessel in all grhya rites (and not juhū as in śrauta rites) except where a special rule to the contrary is stated. The Pār. gr. I. 1 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 269-270) and the Khādira gr. I. 2 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 376-378) describe the model homa in a very concise manner. The Gobhila gr. (I. 1. 9-11, and I. 5. 13-20, I. 7. 9, I. 8. 21), Hir. gr. (I. 1. 9-I. 3. 7 S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 138-145) describe it at great length. The sthanḍila should be prepared on a level spot or on a spot that slopes towards the east or north or north-east (vide Hir. gr. I. 1. 9, S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 133). The sthanḍila should be raised to the height

484. In the grhya rites ordinarily no brahmā priest is present, but he is represented by a bundle of kuśa grass (50 blades). For धन्वनतियज्ञ and अपर्याय vide respectively अवध. ग्र. I. 12. 7 and IV. 9. The deities when none are specified or indicated are different according to other sūtras e.g. परमेश्वर states them to be अन्तिम सौम, भजनकर, विष्णु देव: and बाहुलिक (I. 4.)
of two or four finger breadths or as much as the sand or loose earth that one has brought will allow; and the sthandila is to be a square, each side of which is given variously as being an arrow (18 aṅgulas) in length, or 32 finger breadths (according to Vaik.), or one aratni (=21 aṅgulas according to Baud. gr. paribhāṣā I. 5. 3).

The Ṛg. gr. describes at length the procedure common to all homas.

The following figures would illustrate the position of the sthandila, the lines drawn thereon, the position of the sacrificer and of the various articles required at the time of homa &c.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>A</th>
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<tr>
<td>barhis idhma</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6 5 4 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>āṣṭāṅga śrīyapātra</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sruva prokṣaṇapātra</td>
<td></td>
<td>West ○</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sacrificer facing the east.

ARCD is the sthandila of sand or loose earth; 1–6 are the lines drawn with a samidha on which the fire is to be placed. The above figure represents the position of all materials in an āṣṭāṅga homa (i.e. offering of clarified butter) only; but when there is darvi homa (offering of boiled food in a darvi or ladle) the materials on the north side are caruṣṭhali and prokṣaṇapātra, darvi and sruva, camasa and āṣṭāṅga, idhma and barhis.

485. न शैवीनकयनु द्वितीयविनकयनु नामद्विवनयस सन्म वा दत्तस उद्विभवलय: ।

ḥ. I. 1. 9. अपितकं quotes (p. 905) a smṛti that a vitasti is equal to 12 aṅgulas and aratni is equal to two vitastis, while ज्ञान (पाल्ल. part 1 p. 51) quotes from the Adityapūrtṣa a passage where an aratni is said to be equal to 21 aṅgulas. In धृतपायली 16. 8. 21 the height of a man is given as five aratnis.

H. D. 37
The above is the figure of the sthāndila and the lines thereon in all grhya rites according to Baudhāyana-grhya-saṁgraha-pariśiṣṭa (Z. D. M. G. vol. 35 p. 540) I. 52–58. The distance between the lines running towards the east is six āṅgulas and it will be noted that all the lines are only five (and not six).

The brahmā is the only priest (out of the four principal ṛtvikṣa) in sacrifices that are offered in one fire (i.e. in the grhya fire) and are called pākayajñas and the yajamāna (sacrificer) is himself the hotṛ priest. The order of the several parts in the homa is as follows: upalepana (smearing with cowdung), arranging of sthāndila with sand or earth; drawing lines on the sthāndila with a samidh (fuel stick), keeping the samidh on the lines with its end towards the east, sprinkling sthāndila with water on its north or east, keeping the samidh (with which lines were drawn) outside the sthāndila towards the north-east, then ācamana (by the sacrificer), then placing fire (either produced by attrition or brought from the house of a śrotiriya or the ordinary one) on the sthāndila facing the performer, placing two or three samiddhas on the fire, keeping ready of idha (15 samidhs) and a bunch of darbha grass. Then parisamāthana (wiping the ground round the fire from north-east with the hand that has water in it), then paristaraṇa (strewing darbha grass round the altar first to the east, then to the south, then to the west and lastly to the north), then silent paryukṣaṇa (sprinkling of water thrice round the fire, each

486. अतः तद्विषकं पुराणेऽद्य वस्त्र एवतः सत्यति। योगितिङ्गाय इ. १. ८० । 

487. This is based on Nārāyaṇa's comm. on Āśv. gr. I. 3. 1-3.
time taking water in the hand separately), then āpaḥ-praṇa-yana (carrying forward the water to the north of the fire) in a vessel of bell-metal or earthenware, then ājyotpavana (purification of the clarified butter with two kuśa blades as strainers thrice, once with mantra and twice silently), the two āghāras and the two oblations of ājya. Then the principal oblations as directed in the various sūtras, then finally an oblation to Agni Śviṣṭuṃkṛt. The method of offering an oblation is to repeat the mantra preceded by om and to add svāhā at the end, to put the āhuti (oblation) on fire and to say 'this is for such and such a god and not mine'.

The Āśv. grhya-sūtra (I. 4) further adds that in caula, upanayana, godāna and marriage there are (as part of these ceremonies) first four oblations of clarified butter to be made with the three mantras (Rg. IX. 66. 10-12) 'Oh Angi, thou purifier of life &c' and with the one verse 'Prajāpati! no other than thou &c' (Rg. X. 121. 10) or with the vyāhṛtis, or

488. In some works pātrāśādana is taught after paristaraṇa and paryuṣkaṇa (vide Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gr. I. 3. 3.). It consists in placing the several vessels to the north of the fire on darbha grass in pairs with both hands, the faces of the vessels being turned down. Then he takes two blades (as described in Āśv. gr. I. 3. 4) as pavitraṇa and places them in the prokṣaṇa-pātra the face of which is turned up and pours water in the prokṣaṇa-pātra and thrice purifies the water with them, then the other vessels are turned upwards, the bundle of idha is loosened and all vessels are sprinkled with water, then the praṇāma-pātra is placed to the west of the fire, the two pavitraṇa (kuśa blades used as strainers) are placed inside it and water is poured into the praṇāma-pātra and sandalwood paste is mixed with it, the vessel is raised level with one's nose and placed to the north of the fire on darbhas, and covered with darbhas. This is pātrāśādana. Nārāyaṇa mentions also other acts not specified by Ādvalāyana which may be done even by a person following that śutra viz. carrying a firebrand (burning blade of darbha) round the clarified butter and cleansing of sruč and sruva, and throwing of the rope that tied together idha into the fire at the end of the oblation to Śviṣṭuṃkṛt.

489. In offering an oblation to Dhātri one would say 'ōḥ āham bhuṣya mohiṣīśvaro brao bhaviṣhitaḥ sā tāḥ tāḥ sūryo varoṃ nāḥ śāstaḥ pārāḥ hruḥ naṃ'. The four oblations with the vyāhṛtis would be sūy 124, śuṣya 34a, śuṣya 34b, hruḥ 34c. Āghāra consists in pouring in a continuous stream clarified butter for Prajāpati on the fire from the north-west to the south-east once and then from the south-west to the north-east for Indra. Vide Āp. śr. sūtra II. 12. 7 and II. 14. 1 and Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gr. I. 10. 13. For Śriyabhūga see note 483.
according to some teachers with a combination (of the īk verses and vyāhṛtis), while according to others there are no such special oblations.

In modern times, after the sthandila is sprinkled with water, fire is established on it under various names depending on the rite to be performed e.g. in upanayana and marriage respectively the fire is called 'Samudbhava' and 'Yojaka'. Then fuel sticks already sprinkled with holy water are placed on the fire and it is fanned into a flame and prayer is offered to it in the words 'agne Vaiśvānara Śaṇḍilya meṣadhvaja mama sammukho varado bhava'. Then follow parisamāhana and other acts stated above.

Just as homa is required in most grhya rites there are certain matters common to almost all rites. One is that in all saṁskāras one has to feed brähmanas learned in the Vedas. All rites begin with ācamana by the performer, prāṇayāma by him, reference to the deśa (place) and kāla (time) and a saṁkalpa (a declaration of what rite he is performing and for what purpose). After these, according to medieval works, follow in all auspicious rites the worship of Ganaḥpati, punyāhavācana, the worship of Mātrē (mother goddessess) and Nāndiśrāddha. According to some there is only one saṁkalpa for all these; according to others there is a separate saṁkalpa for each of punyāhavācana, mātrkāpujana and Nāndiśrāddha. In all auspicious rites the performer takes a bath first, ties his topknot, has a piece of ground cowdunged and lines with coloured materials are drawn on a portion of the ground, two auspicious kalaśas (jars) filled with water are placed on such ornamented ground with their mouths covered with a pot, all articles necessary for worship are placed to the north of the spot, two

490. i.e. there will be eight oblations (4 with īks and 4 with vyāhṛtis).
491. i.e. there are no oblations with the 4 verses nor with the four vyāhṛtis, but oblations will have to be offered to those deities that are prescribed as the deities where no special rule exists (vide Āṣv. gr. 1. 3. 8 set out above at p. 208).
492. Vide से. र. म. pp. 58-59 where these names of the fires in the several saṁskāras and rites are set out. The Dānākriyākaumudī (pp. 205-206) quotes from Kapila Pañcarātra over 30 names of the fires kindled in the several rites and ceremonies.
493. अयोध्यापानित्वाते सर्वकथा विवेकेषु सौन्दर्यः। अय. द. ॥ ६. १५. ९। वराह अधिनिर्देशः। सर्ववित्तिकाष्ठैः मधुराभ्यं नैवेद्यः। अवधः ॥ ४२।
wooden low stools or planks are arranged to the west of the spot so decorated, the performer sits on one plank facing the east, his wife sits to his right and if the ceremony is meant for his son, the latter sits to the right of the wife; the brāhmaṇas are seated a little away to the right of the wife, facing the north and the performer sips water (takes ācamana). Except where a religious rite is to be performed on a fixed day (e.g., anniversary śrāddha &c.) all saṁskāras and other auspicious rites are to be performed at certain auspicious times only.

Ganapatipūjana:—This consists in inviting the presence of the elephant-faced god Gaṇeṣa on a betelnut placed in a handful of husked rice. The word Gaṇapati is used in the Rgveda as an attribute of Brahmaṇaspati (the lord of prayer or holy lore). The well-known mantra (‘gaṇānāṁ tvā gaṇapatim havāmahe’ Rg. II. 23. 1) which is used to invoke Gaṇeṣa is addressed to Brahmaṇaspati. Indra is addressed as Gaṇapati in Rg. X. 112. 9. In the Tai, S. IV. 1. 2. 2 and Vāj. S. paśus (and the horse specially) are said to be the Gaṇapatya of Rudra. The Ait. Br. IV. 4 expressly says that the mantra ‘gaṇānāṁ tvā’ is addressed to Brahmaṇaspati. In the Vāj. S. 16. 25 we have the plural (Gaṇapatibhyaśca vo namo’) and in 22. 30 we have the singular ‘Gaṇapataye svāhā’. The peculiar features of Gaṇeṣa as described in the medieval works, viz. the head of an elephant, pot belly, mouse as vāhana (conveyance) are entirely wanting in the Vedic literature. In Vāj. S. III. 57 the mouse is said to be the paśu (animal to be offered to) of Rudra. In the Tai. Ār. (X. 15) there is a verse ‘We contemplate Vakratunda, therefore may the tusked (god) impel us’. In the Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras there is no reference to the worship of Gaṇeṣa at the beginning of all auspicious rites. That is comparatively a later cult. In the Baud. Dh. S. (II. 5. 83–90, S. B. E. vol. 14. p. 254) the Devatapana includes the propitiation of Vighna, Vināyaka, Vīra, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha,

494. वद्वन्तरं आद्वन्तस्य वर्गकाले नकरे ने त्रिभुधवन्तविशिष्येनान्तीविधाय। आ. स. स. I. 4. 1; भाग. I. 1. ‘आद्वन्तस्य लुढ़े नकरे ने त्रिभुधवन्तविशिष्येन तुमारे।’

495. गणानां त्वा गणपतिः दत्तात्र्ये व्यति वाम्मात्जयं नि: हि तु मनायतिन्द्रगौरीन्द्र तदद् जन्ताध्यक्तिः। अ. अ. IV. 4.

496. एव्ये ते वद्वन्त आः सदो रविश्रव्यववत्तं वीरस्वयं वद्वन्त ने वद्वन्त आः आद्वन्तस्य वद्वन्ताः। वाग. स. III. 57; vide also से से I. 8. 6. 1.

497. तदाद्वन्त निध्रस्ते तदाद्वन्त वद्वन्ताः। तोऽवद्वन्ताः (द्वृत्ति) आद्वन्तस्य वद्वन्ताः। अ. X. 1.
Vakratunda, Ekadanta and Lambodara. But this part of the Baud. Dh. S. is of doubtful authenticity. All the above are the appellations of Vinayaka (vide Baud. grhya-segasutra III. 10. 6). In the Manava grhya II. 14 it is said that the Vinayakas are four viz. Salakaṭaṇkaṭa, Kūsmāṇdarājaputra, Usmita and Devayajana. They are evil spirits and people when seized by them have bad dreams and see in them inauspicious sights such as shaved persons, persons with matted hair or wearing yellowish garments, camels, hogs, asses, cāndālas. When seized by them, princes, though capable, do not get their kingdoms; maidens, though endowed with all accomplishments, cannot secure husbands; married women have no children or even virtuous wives lose their children in infancy; husbandmen lose their crops &c. The Manavagṛhya then prescribes propitiatory rites to remove the effects of Vinayaka seizure. The Baijāvapagrhya (quoted by Aparaṇka p. 563 on Yaj. I. 275) says that there are four Vinayakas, Mita, Sammita, Śalakaṭaṇkaṭa and Kūsmāṇdarājaputra and describes seizure by them and its effects in the same way as the Manavagṛhya. These two show the first stage in the development of the cult of Vinayaka. Vinayakas are at this stage malevolent spirits who cause dangers and obstacles of various kinds. In this cult various elements from the terrific aspects of Rudra were probably first drawn upon and amalgamated with other elements drawn from aboriginal cults. The next stage is indicated by the Yaj. smṛti (I. 271–294). Here Vinayaka (I. 271) is said to be one appointed by Brahmā and Rudra to the over-lordship of the Gaṇas, he is represented not only as causing obstacles, but also as bringing success in the actions and rites undertaken by men. Yaj enumerates the results of the seizure by Vinayaka in the same way as the Manavagṛhya. Yaj. I. 285 says that Mita, Sammita, Śalakaṭaṇkaṭa and Kūsmāṇdarājaputra are the four names of the one Vinayaka and that Ambika is the mother of Vinayaka. It is noteworthy that Yaj. does not

498. नम्म अनु सन विनायका भगवान्। समित्व संविदाय सातस्यकुलदेश सुविषय राजस्तवंति। मैत्रयाकुष्ठ र. in ओस्यार्थः p. 563.

499. Though Viśvarūpa and Aparaṇka take these to be four, it is curious that the Mit. makes them to be six (viz. Śūla and Kāṭaṇkaṭa as distinct and so also Kūsmāṇḍa and Rājaputra ). It is remarkable that Keśa on Amarakośa expressly says that Heramba is a Dēśya word. This adds some weight to the theory that Gapeśa was taken over into the Vedic pantheon from some exotic tribe and affiliated to Rudra (Śiva).
employ any one of the well-known epithets of Vināyaka, viz. Ekadanta, Heramba, Gajānana, Lambodara &c. The Baud. gr. śesasāstra III. 10 prescribes a somewhat different procedure for propitiating Vināyaka and styles him 'the lord of bhūtas', and also 'hastimukha' and 'vighneśvara' and prescribes the offerings of apūpa and modaka to him. Thus Baudhāyana is nearer to the medieval conception of Ganeśa than even Vājañavalya. The Ādiparva makes Ganeśa write the Mahābhārata to the dictation of Vyāsa; but this part is apocryphal as many ms. altogether omit this episode (vide J. R. A. S. for 1898 pp. 380-384, Winternitz). The other references in Vanaprastha 65. 23 and Anusāsana 150. 25 bear affinity to the description of Vināyaka in the Manavagṛhīya. 500

The Gobhilasmṛti (in verse) I. 13 prescribes that at the beginning of all rites, the Mātrās together with Gaṇādhipa (the lord of Gāpas) should be worshipped. The well-known characteristics of Ganeśa and his worship had become fixed before the 5th or 6th century of the Christian era. Kālidāsa does not refer to Ganeśa. The Gāthāsaptasāti has references to Ganeśa. In that work (IV. 72) an image of Ganeśa is referred to as made use of as a pillow and the tip of his trunk is mentioned in V. 3. In Codrington’s ‘Ancient India’ plate XXXIX there is an image of Ganeśa referable to about 500 A. D. Vide Dr. Bhandarkar in ‘Vaiṣṇavism and Saivism’ p. 147. Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita (IV Uchāvasa verse 2) speaks of the large tusk of Gaṇādhipa and in describing Bhairavācārya (Harṣacarita III) associates Vināyaka with obstacles and learning and also indicates that he had the head of an elephant. In the Vāmanapurāṇa (chap. 54) there is a fantastic legend about the birth of Vināyaka.

The Mahāvītracarita (II. 38) speaks of the tusk of Heramba. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 260, 52-55) describes how the images of Vināyaka are to be made. Aparārka (p. 343) quotes a passage from the Matsyapurāṇa (289.7) on the mahādāna called Mahābhūttaghaṭa, in which it is said that Vināyaka should be shown as riding a mouse. The Krītyaratnakara p. 271 quotes a passage from the Bhavisyapurāṇa for the worship of Ganeśa on the 4th day of Bhādrapada. Vide Agnipurāṇa chap. 71 and 313.

500. न पुजा विना कर्त्यनाहामया स्मयम् जगा। सन्धि 65. 23; एववहे सर्वोदयाकाना नोनेयविनायकां। अनुसारां 150. 25.
In modern times a verse\(^{501}\) is repeated in which the shrines of the eight Vināyakas in the Deccan are enumerated.

Among the earliest epigraphic references to Ganapatī is the one in the Nīdanpur plate of Bhāskarvarma (middle of 7th century). Vide E. I. Vol. XII. p. 73.\(^{502}\)

The Gaṇapatīpūjāna consists in the performer repeating the mantra Rg. II. 23. 1 (‘gaṇānām tvā Gaṇapatim’) as a prayer and then bowing to Gaṇesa with the words ‘Om Mahā-gaṇapataye namo namah nirvighnam kuru’ (salutations to the great Gaṇapatī, make (this rite) free from obstacles’.

_Punyāhavācana:_—Although many elaborate descriptions of this are given in later digests like the Samākāraratnamāla, this was originally in ancient times a very simple and brief rite. The Ṛp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 13. 8) says that in ordinary life in all auspicious rites (such as marriage) all sentences begin with ‘Om’ as in saying ‘punyābam’, ‘svasti’, and ‘ṛddhim’. The performer of a religious rite honours the assembled brāhmaṇas with _gandha_ (sandalwood paste), flowers and tāmbūla (betel leaves) and requests with folded hands ‘may you declare the day to be auspicious for such and such a ceremony which I, by name so and so, am\(^{503}\) about to perform ’ and then the brāhmaṇa

\(^{501}\) शिलेश श्रीमलाहरूचको गदायलो मान्द्र्यस्तिसिद्धि विलायति सिद्धगदा ब्युष्टि विनायकधरि कपाले में होते \\ निर्मलेण अनुमोद्भिदलिङ्गकाणामत् भविष्यति ते निर्मलाम निर्मललम ते श्रीमलाहरू।

\(^{502}\) The eight places are indicated by thick type.

\(^{503}\) दोल्ल समा समाजारां जीवनमिश्रिता। जीवनसाधनानि भीति पर्यायं। तस्मां दोल्ल समा समाजारां जीवनमिश्रिता। जीवनसाधनानि भीति पर्यायं। तस्मां दोल्ल समा समाजारां जीवनमिश्रिता। जीवनसाधनानि भीति पर्यायं।
respond by saying 'Om, may it be auspicious'. Each of these three sentences (with svasti, punyāham and ṛddhim) is to be repeated thrice according to Baud. gr. śesa-sūtra I. 10. A verse of Yama says that the brāhmaṇas should respond without the syllable 'om' when the performer of the rite is a kṣatriya or a vaiśya.

Mātrakūpūrana:—The Mātra (the Mother Goddesses) do not figure in the sūtras. But that their worship was prevalent certainly in the first centuries of the Christian era throughout India can be proved from several sources. In the drama Mrchakatikā (I) Čārudatta asks his friend Maitreya to offer bali to the Mātras. The Góbhila-smṛti⁵⁰⁴ (in verse I. 11–12) names 14 mātras viz. Gaurī, Padmā, Śacī, Medhā, Śāvitrī, Vijayā, Jayā, Devasenā, Svadha, Śvāhā, Dhṛti, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi and one's own deity (abhīṣṭa-devatā). In the Mārkandeya (chap. 88. 11–20 and 33) seven mātras have been named as Mātrgana. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 179. 9–32) names over a hundred mother goddesses (like Māheśvari, Brāhmaṇī, Kaumārī, Cāmunḍā), while in chap. 261 (24–36), there is a description of the images of some of the mātras like Brahmāṇī &c. The Brhat-Samhitā of Varāhamihira (chap. 58. 56) refers to the images of the mother goddesses. Bāna in his Kādambarī frequently refers to the mātra, to their worship and to dilapidated temples of these goddesses.⁵⁰⁵ The Kṛtyaratnakara quotes a passage from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa at p. 261 about the images of the seven mātras and pp. 305 and 307 quote the Devipurāṇa about the worship of mātras and the flowers dear to them. The worship of mātras is mentioned in the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions pp. 47, 49). The Cālukyas are often described as 'cherished by the seven mātras' (I. A. vol. VI. p. 73 in 535 śaka and E. I. vol. IX. p. 100 in 660 A. D.). The Kadambas are described as meditating on Kārtikeya-śvāmi and on the group of mātras (I. A. vol. VI. p. 25)⁵⁰⁶. Similarly a

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504. These verses are quoted in the Śrīlinchā (Aṣṭā p. 503) and Ārṣa p. 517. The seven in the śarīteaḥ are Kārṣṇī, Kārtikeya, Kāṃṭha, Pārāśā, Nāgarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vaiśā.  

505. 'अमेलिनलितानमातुष्काः पाषांचे श्रवणं' (Aṣṭā p. 64, पुरोगात्रां कालभ्रें, 'असर्पवीता स फैलासर्व श्रवणार्तमानमयमा न्यथा दृष्टिस्थिति तत्र' para 130 कालवासी (पुरोगात्रां), 'असुकुशालस्यामान्याभासाश्च संविधिताय निपक्षिताः' (कालवासी निपक्षिताय) para 216 कालवासी (पुरोगात्रां).  

506. 'स्त्रियांनिमितानांमातुष्काः पाषांचे श्रवणं' I. A. vol. VI. p. 25. Fleet's translation 'who meditate on the assemblage of the mothers of Śrīlinchā Kārtikeya' is not accurate.
temple to the Mātras is said to have been erected by Mayūrākṣa, the minister of Viśvarman in 480 of the Mālava Era i.e. 423-24 A.D. (Gupta Inscriptions p. 74).

Whence the cult of mātras, which was not described in the Gṛhyasūtras, was derived it is difficult to say. Sir John Marshall in his famous work on Mohenjo-Daro (vol. I. p. VII and pp. 49-52 and plates XII, XCVII and XCVIII) shows how figurines of mother goddesses are common at Mohenjo-Daro. That shows that the cult prevailed in the remotest antiquity and was probably taken up by the followers of the Vedic religion and affiliated to the worship of Durgā, the spouse of Śiva. In Rg. IX. 102. 4 the seven mothers are said to regulate soma when it is being prepared (the seven mothers are probably the seven mātras or the seven rivers).

Nāndīśrāddha:—This will be dealt with under śrāddhas later on.

Puṁsavana:—This rite is so called because in virtue of it a male is born. The word 'puṁsvana' occurs in the Atharva-veda VI. 11. 1 where it appears to be used literally (in the sense of ‘giving birth to a male child’). The Āsvatthā tree is on top of the Śamī tree, there the birth of a male has been effected. The Āśv. gr. I. 13. 2-7 describes the rite as follows: 'he should in the third month of pregnancy, under the constellation Tisya (i.e. Pusya) give (thrice) to eat to the wife, after she has fasted, (on the preceding Punarvasu constellation) in the curds of a cow which has a calf of the same colour (with the cow) two beans and one grain of barley for each handful of curds. On his asking (the woman) 'what dost thou drink? what dost thou drink?' she should thrice reply 'puṁsavana,' (generation of a male), 'puṁsavana'. In this way (he) should make her take three handfuls (of curds with two beans and barley).'

There is some difference of view as to details. The Āp. gr., Hir. gr. and Bhāradvāja gr. place puṁsavana after simantov-
nayana and Ap. says it may be performed when pregnancy becomes apparent. Instead of two beans and a barley511 grain in curds, he requires the bringing of a shoot of the branch of a nyagrodha tree which (tree) points eastward or northward and which has two (fruits that look like) testicles and the pounding of the shoot and fruits by a girl who has not attained puberty between two upper stones of (two mills) with water. He then prescribes that the wife should lie down on her back to the west of the fire herself facing the east and that the husband should insert in her right nostril the pounded substance with his thumb with the formula (puṇśavānam-asī) found in Āp. M. P. (II. 11.14). Sān. gr. (I. 20, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 46) says that the rite may be performed on Tiṣya or Śrāvāṇa, while the Bhāradvāja gr. (I. 22) says that it may be performed on Tiṣya or Hastā or Anurādhā or Uttārā or Prasthapaḍā; Pāraskara and Bājāvāpa say it should be performed when the moon is in conjunction with a male nakṣatra.512 Pār. gr. I. 14 and Jātukarṇya (Saṅ. Pr. p. 167) and Bājāvāpa (ibid.) say that the rite should be performed in the 2nd or 3rd month of pregnancy, Āśv., Hir., Sān., Gobhila, Khādira prescribe the third month. Yaṅ. I. 11, Pār. gr. (I. 14), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 27. 2 and Bṛhaspati (quoted in the Saṅ. C.) say that puṇśavāna should be performed before the foetus begins to move or throb in the womb. In the Kāṭhaka gr. 32. 2 the proper time is said to be when the greater number of months of pregnancy are past (i.e. after the 5th) and the Māṇava gr. says that it should be performed in the 8th month of pregnancy. Devapāla (com. of Kāṭhaka gr.) says the usage

511. Nārāyana says that in this rite one has to perform at first the sthālipāka intended for Prājapati up to the offering of the two Āṣya-bhāgas and then one should perform what is specially prescribed here. He further notes that the curds may be of a cow the calf of which is of a different colour, if one of the same colour could not be had. The curds are to be poured from the vessel of curds on to the woman’s hand thrice, she is to lick the curds every time with two beans and a grain of barley; the beans and barley grain are suggestive. This is made clear by Āp. gr. 14. 10 नारायणव यां महुदूर्धीतिव या शास्त्रतः सत्यपद्ध भूषपातुः। सैणकम् III. 11 also has ‘अनुत्तेजस्य भृशीर्ष्णीका पद्धश्चापिष्ट्य नारायणव नामविवेदित्वाहेत्।’

512. According to a verse quoted in Sm.C. the male nakṣatras are Hastā, Mula, Śrāvāṇa, Pūrṇavasu, Mrgasīra and Pusya; the Saṅskāra-mayukha adds that the Nārādiya mentions Rohiṇī, Pūrṇabhadrapāḍā and Uttārā-bhadrapāḍā also as male nakṣatras and that Vasiṣṭha regards Śvāti, Anurādhā and Āśvini also as male nakṣatras. Maṁsuraṇa on दिव्यप. Sm. I. 1. 5 says ‘नारायणव नामविवेदित्वादि सत्यपद्ध भूषपातुः। नारायणव नामविवेदित्वादि सत्यपद्ध भूषपातुः।’
of šīṣṭas is to perform it in the 8th month and Brahmabala (another com.) says that the usage is to perform it in the 7th or 8th month of pregnancy. Most of the grhyasūtras refer to the pounding of the shoot313 of the Nyagrodha tree (or some other plant) and inserting the pounded substance in the wife’s right nostril. The mantras repeated when inserting the substance in her nostril are different according to most sūtras. Sāṅkhāyana (S.B.E. vol. 29, p. 46) prescribes the four verses Rg. I. 1. 3, III. 4. 9, V. 37. 2 and IX. 3. 9 with svāhā at the end of each verse. Pāraskara (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 292) prescribes Vāj. S. XIII. 4 (Rg. X. 121. 1) and XXXI. 17; Khādira gr. (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 394) mentions Mantra-Brāhmaṇa I. 4. 8, the Kāṭhaka gr. quotes Kāṭhaka Sarhītā. The several sūtras of the Black Yajurveda show the greatest divergence among themselves.

It would be clear that the pūṁsavana rite has several elements, religious (homa and son’s importance from ancient times), symbolical or suggestive (the drinking of curds with beans and grain of barley) and medical (inserting some substance in the woman’s nostrils). For what purpose the placing of the bila of a tortoise on the woman’s lap was prescribed by Pāraskara alone (I. 14) it is difficult to say.

Later works like the Saṁskāraraṇātmanāla prescribe a homa for pūṁsavana also and remark that when in the absence of the husband, the husband’s brother or other relative performs the rite, it should be performed in ordinary kitchen fire (p. 815). This latter rule applies to Simantonnayana also.

Anavalobhana or Garbhakarāṣṭrā:—This rite was apparently part of Pūṁsavana. Āsv. gr., as already said, separately mentions pūṁsavana and anavalobhana as referred to in the Upaniṣad. The Bājavāpa gr. (quoted in the Saṁskārapraśkaṇa p.171) says ‘He performs the pūṁsavana and anavalobhana in the fortnight of the waxing moon on an auspicious day when the moon is in conjunction with a nakṣatra (deemed to be) a male’. This shows that both were performed on the same day. Another sūtra of Bājavāpa quoted in the Saṁskāramayūkha316 says that the two are to be performed in the 2nd or 3rd month.

513. According to the Kāṭhaka gr. the pounding is to be done by a virgin or a brahmacarīn or by a chaste brahman woman.

514. जनराणुपशुः। अथ ईंखानावलोकिते गरोति भाषि हिरीवे या कुरौरि या। हरूव स ईंखानावलिन् एव स्मृतां वाच्यत। ... द्वारलोप मवावलकवियो विभाषयिण्यो वर्षक्षया गामिनिया वा दक्षक्षेत्र वाच्य तथावच्य भवते। नावित्र्यायस्यः। सांस्कारक्षेत्रः।
of pregnancy. This rite is so called because by virtue of its performance the foetus does not fall out or is not destroyed (i.e. it is really anavalopana from the root lup with ava). Āśv. gr. (I. 13. 5-7) describes it as follows: He then inserts in her right nostril in the shade of a round apartment the (sap) of an herb which is not faded; 515 according to some (teachers), with the Prajāvat and Jivaputra mantras. Having offered a sacrifice of cooked food to Prajāpati he should touch the region of her heart with the verse ‘Oh thou whose hair is well parted, what is hidden in thy heart, in Prajāpati, that I understand, (mayst thou understand) me who know that; may not injury to the son be my lot’.

It will be seen that the inserting of dūrvārasa in the woman’s nostril, touching her heart and prayers to the gods for the safety of the foetus are the principal features of this rite in Āśv.

According to Śaunaka-kārikā (Ms. in Bombay University Library, folio 13a) that rite is called anavalobhana whereby the foetus remains undisturbed or does not fall out. 516 According to the Śṛṣṭyarthasāra it is to be performed in the fourth month. According to Laghu-Āśvalāyana IV. 1-2 anavalobhana and śrīmantonnayana were to be performed in the 4th, 6th or 8th month of pregnancy and verses 6-7 give the same details as in Āśv. gr.

The Śān. gr. (I. 21. 1-3, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 47) speaks of a ceremony called Garbharaḵšana (protection of the foetus): “In the fourth month the garbharaḵšana; offering six oblations into fire from a mess of cooked food with the six verses of the hymn ‘brahmanāgnih’ 517 (Rg. X. 162) with svāhā uttered at the end of each verse, with the verses ‘from thy eyes, thy nose’ (Rg. X. 163. 1-6), besmearing her limbs with clarified butter at each verse.”

515. Nārāyaṇa explains that the herb is dūrvā according to usage. The sap is put in the nostril silently or to the accompaniment of two mantras, which are respectively of the sage Prajāvat and Jivaputra.

They are: आ ते गायं प्रविन्द्रु मुन्य साय इदेनुभिषिः "आ वशे जाभया हुस्ते कज्ञ-भावं॥ अभियुत वधौधी देववर्ग गतेरे भवं सदां वष्णुवचनाम । दत्तं राजा नात्ताकायकानां क्रेयं भूतं प्रगावं " इति. The first is practically the same as अववेश 8 भ. 3. 2; the 2nd is आपि, ह. पाट. I. 4. 7.

516. न कुपरेष्य स्वरेण न तत्कालोहितमस्तु | आदिककारिका.

517. The Anukramaṇī says that the hymn Rg. X. 162 is to be repeated when there is abortion and on X. 163 that it is meant for removal of disease (वस्तशामन).
This seems to be another version of anavalobhana.

According to Āśv. gr. kārikās of Kumārila (I. 6. 5) this rite is to be repeated on every conception. Most other writers would hold that like puṁsavana it is to be performed only once.


This word literally means 'parting of the hair (of a woman) upwards.' Yāj. (I. 11.), Veda-Vyāsa (I. 18) call this samākāra simply 'simanta', while Gobhila (II. 7. 1), Mānava gr. (I. 12. 2), Kāthaka gr. (31. 1) call it simantakarana. Āp. gr. and Bhāradvāja gr. (I. 21) describe it before puṁsavana. The Āśv. gr. (I. 14. 1-9) describes it as follows: "In the fourth month of pregnancy the Simantonnayana (should be performed). In the fortnight of the waxing moon, when the moon may be in conjunction with a nakṣatra that is (regarded as) male (or the name of which is of the masculine gender, according to Nārāyaṇa); then he establishes fire (i.e. performs the details of homa up to offering of ājyabhāgas) and having spread to the west of the fire a bull's hide with its neck to the east and the hair outside, he makes eight oblations (of ājya, clarified butter), while his wife sits on it (hide) and takes hold (of his hand), with the two (verses) 'may Dhātra give to his worshipper' (Atharvaveda VII. 17. 2-3), with the two verses, 'I invoke Bāka' (Rg. II. 32. 4-5), with the three (verses) called 'nejamesa' (a khilasūkta after Rg. X. 184 and Āp. M. P. I. 12. 7-9) and with the verse 'Oh Prajāpati, no one other than you' (Rg. X. 121. 10). He then three times parts her hair upwards (beginning from the front and proceeding backwards) with a bunch of an even number of unripe fruits with a porcupine quill that has three white spots (or rings) and with three bunches of kuśa grass, with the words 'bhūr, bhuvah, svar, om' or he does so four times. He gives orders to two lute players 'sing (praise of) king soma.' (They sing this gāthā) 'may soma, our king, bless the human race.

518. The porcupine quill with three white spots is mentioned even in the Tai. Br. as an auspicious thing. 'He should shave his head with a porcupine quill with three white spots since in the case of the gods three are auspicious things, viz. the three metres, the three savanas, these three worlds (I. 5. 6.) ' देवा सत्तया निविदे। नीचि है त्रिभुच- नम्बरानि नीचि चतुर्भक्षिक नीचि सप्तमानि त्रय इमे दोकप।' Vide Appendix for the text of Āśv. gr. I. 14. 1-9.
Fixed is the wheel (dominion) of this (river); (here they take the name in the vocative) of the river near which they dwell. And let them do whatever aged brāhmaṇa women whose husbands and children are alive direct. A bull is the fee (for the sacrifice)”. In the Āp. mantrapātha thirteen verses are devoted to this saṁskāra in all, some of which occur in the Rg., the Atharvaveda and Tai, S.

We have here first the religious part of homa and oblations with mantras. But this rite is mainly of a social and festival nature intended to keep the pregnant woman in good cheer. The Saṁskāraprakāśa (pp. 172-173) quotes some verses from an Āśvalāyana stating that this rite serves the purpose of driving certain female goblins that thirst for the destruction of the foetus; the parting of the hair by the husband with the quill, bunch of unripe fruits and darbhās and tying a garland round her neck, giving her boiled rice mixed with mūḍga and ghee and asking lute players to sing indicate its festive character. There is a great divergence among the grhīya sūtras about the several details of this saṁskāra and the order in which they take place. The Sm. C. after pointing out a few divergences remarks that one should follow the rules of one’s own grhīya sūtra. A few important divergences are pointed out below. This saṁskāra was to be performed in the 3rd month according to Kāthaka gr., in 3rd, 6th or 8th according to the Mānava; in the 4th month according to Āśv., Āp., Hir. (II. 1), in 4th or 6th according to Gobhila (II. 7. 2) and in the 4th, 6th or 8th according to Khaḍira, in 6th or 8th according to Pāraskara, Yāj. (I. 11), Viśṇu Dh. S. (27. 3), Śaṅkha; in the 7th according to Śaṅ. gr. (I. 22. 1), in the 8th according to Vaik. and Veda-Vyāsa (I. 18). Śaṅkha as quoted in the Smṛticandrika (I. p. 17) says that it should be performed on the foetus beginning to move and up to the time of delivery. Āśv., Śaṅ. and Hir. require that the moon must be in conjunction with a male naksatra. Hir. gr. alone prescribes that the saṁskāra should take place in a round apartment. It is remarkable that Āśv. alone requires that the woman should be seated on a bull’s hide, which shows that till his day such a hide was not treated (as is done in modern times) as a very unholy thing. Pāraskara makes her sit on a soft chair or seat, while Gobhila prescribes a seat of northward pointed darbhās. There is great divergence as to the number of oblations and the verses to be repeated even in sūtras of the same Veda, e. g. Āśvalāyana prescribes eight oblations and eight mantras, but
Śāṅkhāyana prescribes only six (by omitting the verses Rg. II. 32. 4-5). Gobhila, Khādīra, Bhāradvāja, Pāraskara and Śāṅkhāyana prescribe the preparation of boiled rice with ghee thereon or sesame and the first three of these say that the woman should be asked to look at the ghee on the mass of rice and be questioned 'what do you see' and she should be made to reply 'I see progeny' (Bhāradvāja has the reply 'sons and cattle'). Almost all grhya sūtras agree that in parting the hair the husband is to use a bunch of unripe fruit (Gobhila, Pār. and Śāṅ, specifying that it was to be Udumbara fruit), a porcupine quill with three white spots and three bunches of kuśa grass. Pāraskara and Gobhila add the use of a Viratāra stick and a full spindle. Some like Āśv. prescribe that the parting must be done thrice, Gobhila seems to prescribe it six times, while Khādīra (II. 2. 25) expressly says that it is to be done only once. Śāṅ, says that the unripe fruits are to be tied to a string of three twisted threads and the string is to be suspended from her neck as a garland. Par. also seems to suggest the same. Āp. also says that the husband should (by way of ornament) tie a string of barley grains with young shoots on the woman's head (14. 7) and Vaikānasā says that the woman is to wear a garland and have fragrant unguents applied to her body. Many of the grhya sūtras direct that lute players should sing a verse or verses. Gobhila, Khādīra, Vaik. are silent on this point, but Gobhila prescribes that brāhmaṇa women should address auspicious words to her 'Be you the mother of a valiant son.' There is divergence as to whose praise is to be sung. Śāṅ and Pār. say that the ballad sung must be in praise of the (ruling) king or any one else who is very valiant. Āśv., Hir., Baud., Bhāradvāja and Pār. prescribe a gāthā in honour of king Soma (the plant). Āpastamba refers to two verses, one of which praises king Yaugandhari and the other king Soma and prescribes that the first is to be sung for all varnas residing in the Śālva countries, while the second is to be recited by brāhmaṇas. Some of the sūtras like Āśv., Pār., Bhāradvāja allow that in the ballad to be sung by the lute players the river on which the woman and her husband dwell is to be invoked.519

519. भाष्यादित्येऽपि द्विप्रथमोऽपि संकल्पे: उपर्योऽवर्षयेऽथ: सर्वधारानां भाष्यादित्येऽपि।
आप. ए. ए. 14. 4-5; the verses from the शास्त्रपि (II. 11. 12-13) are शास्त्र-
प्रथितानि नौ भाष्यादित्येऽपि। द्विप्रथानि आप. ए. ए. 11. 12-13। द्विप्रथानि इसके लिए भाष्यादित्येऽपि।
मतानि। द्विप्रथानि आप. ए. ए. 11. 12। भाष्यादित्येऽपि।

(Continued on next page)
Aśv. and Sān. expressly state that a bull is the fee in this sariksārā for the officiating priest. Āp., Pār. and Bhāradvāja say that brāhmaṇas are to be fed in this rite. Sān. says that the woman is to sing merrily and wear gold ornaments if she likes. The Āp. and Bhāradvāja gr. say that the husband is to observe silence that day till the stars begin to appear and then after going out from the house from the east or north, he should first touch a calf and then mutter the vyāhrtis (bhūḥ, bhuvah, svah) and give up his silence. 580

The Mānavagrhyā (I. 12. 2) speaks of parting of hair in the marriage rite also. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (IV. verses 8–16) gives a faithful summary of the Āśv. gr.

(Continued from last page)

only the 2nd verse but reads the last pāda as स्तितियोऽवस्थाने तवम । while Hir. reads स्तितियोऽवस्थाने तवम । in the verse as read by Bhāradvāja. Pār. reads ‘सतं एव
नो राजेन्द्र मातृत्वं भवति। अविनाशक अस्तित्वतः स्वप्नः सतित्वम्।’ Here अविनाशक अस्तित्वतः qualifies सीरे (loc.) or it may be the vocative addressed to the river whose name is taken. It may be inferred with some force that Āp. mantrapātha and Hir. gr. were composed in the Sālva country on the banks of the Jumna and the Bhāradvāja gr. on the Ganges. Haradatta explaining Āp. gr. says that the country of Sālva is on the Jumna and that Vaiśyas are in abundance there. The country of Sālva was included in the Kacchādigaṇa (Pañini V. 2. 133, and Mahābhāṣya, vol. II. p. 300). Pañini mentions Sālva in IV. 1. 173, IV. 2. 135 and teaches the formation of Yaugandhara in IV. 2. 130 and of Yaugandhari in IV. 1. 173. In the Vana-parva 14. 1–5 it is said that the king of Sālva whose capital was at Saubha attacked Dvārakā. Salyaparva (20. 1) calls the Sālva king lord of mleccha tribes and speaks of him as fighting for Duryodhana and as killed by Śryyaki. A Kāraṇa quoted by the Kāśika makes Yaugandhara a division of Sālva ‘तुषुप्ततिरित्यथा सयान्तरेण च। चित्सिन्द्र सरस्वते सल्लभपानि।’

580. The words of the Āśv. Sūtra 7–8 are नाना विकालानाष्णिग्नि भवति यथा वर्णः देवानांपैदेवानां प्राणोक्तिप्राप्तिः। विस्मयाणु मतेतु वप्पोपवलिस्य विनिविवर्तिताः परस्य विनिविवर्तिताः। The S. B. S. E. vol. XXX p. 280 translates ‘he ties barley grains with young shoots to the head of the wife; then she keeps silence until the stars appear’. But this is wrong. Throughout this section the performer (kaṭā) is the husband; even in the 7th Sūtra grammar requires that if the kaṭā of tying the garland (‘bhaihya’) is the husband then the kaṭā of ‘visjēt’ also must be the husband. Sudarsana notes (in his com.) that some read the Sūtras as ‘वति वर्णतः आरागमः विनिविवर्तिताः’ (in the dual); then both husband and wife have to observe silence. He also notes that according to some the actions from tying the yava onwards spoken of by Āp. are done by the wife herself and not by the husband.

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Āpastamba, Baud., Bhāradvāja and Pār. expressly say that this saṁskāra is to be performed only once at the first conception. For the difference of view among nibandhakāras vide above (pp. 205–206) on garbhdhāna.

Viṣṇu was of opinion that simantonnayana is a saṁskāra of the woman, but that according to some it is a saṁskāra of the foetus and so was to be repeated at each conception. On account of the great divergence of details one may conjecture that this saṁskāra was not very ancient in the times of the Gṛhyasūtras.

It appears however that gradually this picturesque rite receded in the background, so much so that Manu does not even mention it by name, though Yāj. names it. In modern times in Western India some people perform a rite in the 8th month of pregnancy (called in Marathi Āthaṅgulei) which retains some vestiges of the ancient rite (such as the garland of udumbarā fruit).

Viṣṇubali:—According to Vasiṣṭha quoted in the Saṁskāra-prakāśa (p. 178) this ceremony was to be performed in the 8th month of pregnancy, on the 2nd, 7th or 12th titih of the bright fortnight and when the moon was in the Śrāvaṇa, Rohini or Puṣya constellation. The same work quotes verses of Āśvalāyana describing the ceremony and stating its purpose vis. to remove harm to the foetus and for easy delivery of the woman and that it was to be performed during every conception. On the preceding day Nāndiśrāddha was to be performed and then home to fire was to be performed up to the offering of ājyabhāgas. To the south of the fire another sthāṇḍila of the shape of a lotus or svastika was to be drawn on which 64 oblations of boiled rice with ghee thereon were to be offered to Viṣṇu (some offer them on the fire itself) with the verses of Rg. I. 22. 16–21, Rg. I. 154. 1–6, Rg. VI. 69. 1–8, Rg. VII. 104. 11, Rg. X. 90. 1–16, Rg. X. 184. 1–3. Then to the north-east of the fire, a square plot should be smeared with cowdung and be divided into 64 squares with white dust and 64 offerings of boiled rice should be offered with the same mantras and in their midst one ball of rice should be offered to Viṣṇu with the mantra loudly uttered ‘namo

521. तथा च निविष्य: । सीतानीवादयो यम मन्थल श्रीवंस्तकार द्वे सत् । केशभक्तस्य श्रीकुलस्य गण्ये गर्भे प्रयुजे । स्वतिरि: (I. p. 17). This verse is read by एकत्रिकाय (Anan. ed. I. 10) as सति: । गंगेश्वरे गुहे संस्कारो & गण्ये गर्भे प्रयुजे ।
Nārāyanāya and the husband and wife should partake separately of two balls of the same rice. Then the offering to Agni Śvā-śṭakṛt should be made, daksinā should be distributed and brāhmaṇa should be fed. The Vaik. (III. 13) describes Viṣṇubali differently. The gods with Agni as the first are invoked unto the northern prapidhi vessel and then at the end Puruṣa is invoked four times with ‘om bhūḥ’, ‘om bhuvah’, ‘om suvah’, ‘om bhūr-bhuvah-suvah’, then to the east of the fire he invokes Viṣṇu on seats of darbha grass with the names, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Madhava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmanā, Śrīdharma, Hṛṣikeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara; then he bathes Viṣṇu, with mantras ‘Āpah’ (Tai. S. IV. 1.5.11 = Rg. X. 9. 1–3), ‘Hiranyavarṇaḥ’ (Tai. S. V. 6.1) and the chapter beginning ‘pavamānaḥ’ (Tai. Br. I. 4. 8); he does worship (with sandal paste, flowers &c.) by each of Viṣṇu’s twelve names, then he offers 12 oblations of clarified butter with the mantras ‘ato devā’ (Rg. I. 22. 16–21), ‘Viṣṇor-nu kam’ (Rg. I. 154.1–7 = Tai. S. I. 2. 13), ‘tad-asya priyam’ (Tai. Br. II. 4. 6 = Rg. I 154. 5), ‘pratadiṣṇuḥ’ (Tai. Br. II. 4. 3 = Rg. I. 154. 2), ‘paro mātrayā’ (Tai. Br. II. 8. 3), ‘vīcakrame trir-devaḥ’ (Tai. Br. II. 8. 3). Then he announces as offering a mess of rice cooked in milk on which ājya has been poured to the god and sacrifices it to him with the twelve names repeating the twelve mantras (Rg. I. 22. 16–21, and Rg. I. 154. 1–6). Having praised the god with mantras from the four Vedas he should prostrate himself before the god after taking twelve names with the word ‘namah’ at the end of each (i.e. by saying ‘Keśavāya namah’ &c.). What remains of the rice cooked in milk is eaten by the wife.

Sasyantikarma:—Vide Āp. gr. 14. 13–15; Hir. gr. II. 2. 8–II.3.1, Bhāradvāja gr. I. 22, Gobhila gr. II. 7. 13–14, Khādīra gr. II. 2. 29–30, Pār. gr. I. 16, Kāṭhaka gr. 33. 1–3. This seems to be a very ancient rite. It means ‘a rite for a woman who is about to be delivered of a child’. Rg. V. 78. 7–9 give the earliest indications of this rite. ‘Just as the wind moves a lake on all sides, so may the foetus move and come out, being (now) in the tenth month. Just as the wind, the forest and the sea are in movement, so mayst thou (foetus) that art (now) in the tenth month, come out together with the after-birth, may the male child having been sleeping ten months inside his mother, come out a living being, unharmed, from his mother, herself being alive.’ Br. Up. VI. 4. 23 also refers to this rite ‘He sprinkles with water the woman who is about to be delivered (with the mantras) ‘just as the wind .... ... may it come out with the
after-birth’ (same as Rg. V. 78. 7 except the last pāda). This is a pen 522 of Indra with a bolt and with a chamber for rest: oh Indra, leave it and come out with the foetus and after-birth.” 

Āp. gr. describes the ceremony as follows: ‘Now is described the rite to secure a rapid delivery. With a cup that has not been dipped in water before he draws water in the direction of the current (of a river or spring); he places Tūryantī plant at his wife’s feet; he should then touch on the head (with both hands) the woman who is in child-birth with the verse (Āp. mantra-pāṭha II. 11. 15), 523 should sprinkle her with the waters (brought as above) with the next three verses (Āp. mantra-pāṭha II. 11. 16-18). If the after-birth does not come out, he should sprinkle her with the water (brought) as directed above with the next two verses’ (i.e. Āp. mantra-pāṭha II. 11. 19-20). 524 Hir. is very brief and is similar to Āp., but omits all verses except one (which is part of Āp. M. P. II. 11. 16). Bhrādarvāja is similar to Āp., but gives verses that are slightly different from those of the Āp. M. P. Gobhila and Khādira are very brief and say that a homa with two oblations of clarified butter is to be performed with the verses of the Mantra-brāhmaṇa I 5. 6-7. Pāraskara also speaks of the sprinkling of the woman with two verses of Vāj. S. VIII. 28-29 (the first being almost like Rg. V. 78. 7) and prescribes the recital of Atharvaveda I. 11. 4 for the falling of the after-birth. Ādityadārṣaṇa on Kāthaka gr. (33. 1) remarks that this rite is not really a saṁskāra and Devapāla says that this is a rite which has a seen result (while saṁskāras are deemed to have an unseen result).

Jāta karma:—This appears to have been a rite of hoary antiquity. In the Tai. S. 525 II. 2. 5. 3-4 we read ‘one should offer a cake cooked on twelve potsherds to Vaiśvānara, when a

522. This refers to the womb of the woman.
523. This is अनिष्वा वर्णितिप्रमुखगांगि वस्मास्पत्र रवै | आप. म. प. पा. II. 11. 15.
524. Āp. M. P. II. 11. 20 is the same as Atharva. I. 11. 4.
son is born (to a man) .... That son, for whom when born they perform this 'iṣṭi', does become pure, glorious, substantial in (abundant) food, full of vigour and possessed of cattle'. This shows that Vaisvānareśti was performed on the birth of a son. Jaimini (IV. 3. 38) holds a discussion on this passage and establishes the conclusion that this iṣṭi is for the benefit of the son and not of the father and the bhaṣya of Śabara gives the further propositions that this iṣṭi is to be performed after the jātakarma rites are finished (and not immediately at birth) and that it is to be performed on a full moon day or a new moon day following ten days after birth. The Sat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 129) prescribes a certain rite before the navel string is cut "regarding a new born son let him say to five brāhmaṇas before the navel string has been cut 'breath over him in this way.' But if he should be unable to obtain them, he may even himself breathe over him while walking round him". The Br. Up. I. 5. 2 contains the following interesting passage 526 "when a boy is born they first make him lick clarified butter, and they make him take the breast (of the mother) after that." At the end of the Br. Up. (VI. 4. 24-28) there is an elaborate description of the jātakarma. "When (a son) is born, having kindled the fire, having placed the son on one's lap, having poured curds mixed with ghee in a bell-metal vessel he offers oblations of the curds mixed with ghee with the mantras 'may I maintain a thousand, prospering in my house; may there be no break with regard to progeny and cattle; svāhā! I offer to these in my mind my prāṇas, svāhā! Whatever I have done in excess in my work or whatever I may have left deficient in this (rite), may the wise (Agni) (called) Śvistakṛt make that well sacrificed and well offered for us, svāhā!'. Then after bringing down his mouth up to the right ear of the son he should recite thrice the word 'speech' 527, then having poured together curds, honey and clarified butter, he makes the (son) eat it by means of (a spoon of) gold not covered with anything else with the mantras 'I place in thee bhūḥ, I place in thee bhuvah, I place in thee svah, I place in

526. तस्मात्कुशाय जाते पूर्वैः पार्श्वेषव शतानं वा अनुवादानविनि | इत्युतः उ. प. I. 5. 2.

527. The idea of muttering 'वः' thrice is that the father wishes that speech as manifested in the three Vedas may come to the boy in due course. Bhūḥ, bhuvah and svah represent the three Vedas or earth, air and heaven.
thee bhūr-bhuvaḥ svah, I place in thee all’. Then he gives him (the boy that is born) a name with the words ‘thou art the Veda’. That becomes his secret name. Then he hands the boy over to his mother and gives him the breast of the mother with the mantra (Ṛg. I. 164. 49) ‘Oh, Sarasvati! make that breast ready for being sucked, which lies on thy body, which engenders happiness, by which thou nourishest all blessings, which bestows gems, that wins wealth and is a generous donor’. Then he solemnly addresses the mother of the child with the following mantras ‘Oh maitrāvaruṇī! Oh strong one! thou art Īśā, she (the mother) has given birth to a valiant (boy); mayst thou be endowed with valiant sons, since thou hast made us possessed of a valiant son. They say to him (the newly born son)’ thou indeed excellest thy father, excellest thy grandfather; he may attain the highest station by his prosperity, glory and spiritual eminence, who is born as a son of such a brāhmaṇa that knows this”.

It will be clear from the above passages of the Br. Up. that the jātakarma rite contained the following parts: (1) homa of curds with ghṛta to the accompaniment of mantras; (2) repeating in the child’s right ear the word ‘speech’ thrice; (3) making the child lick curds, honey and ghṛta by means of a golden ladle (or ring); (4) addressing the child with a name which was to be his secret name (nāmakarana); (5) putting the child to the breast; (6) addressing the mother with mantras. The Satapatha adds another detail viz. asking five brāhmaṇas if available to breathe on the child (from four quarters, east, south, west, north and one immediately above him) or the father himself may do so.

There is great divergence in the gṛhyaśūtras on the different details that go to make up the jātakarma. Some give almost all the above seven details, while others omit some of them. The order of these components differs in the gṛhyaśūtras and according to the Veda to which each sūtra is attached the mantras differ. It would be impossible to give in a brief compass the details from all gṛhyaśūtras. Some description, however, of the details from important gṛhyaśūtras is given below:

528. Maitrāvaruṇa is Vasistha and so Maitrāvaruṇī may be Arundhati. Īśā means ‘earth’ or ‘food’. One rather expects अरुणदेवः: for अरुणदेव. 
The ceremony has to be performed by the very necessities of the case immediately after birth. But different sūtras express it in different ways, e.g. Āsv. I. 15. 2 says the rite should be done before any other person (than the mother and nurse) touches the child. Pār. gr. (I. 16) says it is performed before the navel string is cut off. Gobhila (II. 7. 17) and Khādīra II. 2. 32 say that it is to be performed before the navel string is cut off and the breast is given to the child.

In the Āsv. gr. (I. 15. 1–4) the ceremony is described as follows: “When a son has been born, he (the father) should before others persons touch him, give to the child to eat honey and clarified butter in which gold has been rubbed by means of a golden (spoon) with the verse ‘I give unto thee the Veda (wisdom or knowledge) of honey and ghrta, (Veda) which is produced by the god Savitr (who urges on) the bountiful; may you have long life and may you live in this world for a hundred autumns being protected by the gods’. Bringing near the child’s two ears (his mouth) the father mutters medhājanana may god Savitr bestow on thee intelligence; may the goddess Sarasvatī bestow on thee intelligence and may the two gods Āśvins wearing wreaths of intelligence give to thee intelligence’. He touches the (son’s) two shoulders (with the mantra) ‘be a stone, be an axe, be indestructible gold; thou art indeed Veda, called son; so live a hundred autumns’ and (with the mantra) ‘Oh Indra, bestow the best wealth’ (Ṛg. II. 21. 6) and ‘Oh Maghavan (bountiful Indra)! Oh (Indra) partaker of riṣa! bestow on us’ (Ṛg. III. 36. 10). And let them give him a name”. The following sūtras (I. 15. 5–10) lay down rules about the name, which will be considered under Nāmakarana.

529. The verse is so called because it was deemed to produce intelligence.

530. Nārāyaṇa (on Āsv. gr. I. 15. 2) notes that some say that the mantra is muttered only once, when the mouth is brought near each ear after another, others say that the mantra is recited twice.

531. अग्रि is Soma from which the essence is taken away (i.e., dregs of Soma). The com. Nārāyaṇa says that as to these mantras (1) some hold that the three mantras should be repeated continuously, while the shoulders are touched one after the other; (2) others hold that the mantra अग्रि अव should be uttered when touching the right shoulder, while the two ‘हुर्द्र भेदाणि’ and ‘असि बणिण’ should be uttered while touching the left; (3) the three mantras should be repeated together and the shoulders touched simultaneously. Nārāyaṇa prefers this last because the bhāṣyakāra who went before did so.
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It will be noticed that out of the several components of the rite described in the Br. Up. and the Śat. Br., Āṣv. omits express mention of homa, of putting the child to the breast (stāṇāḍāna), the address to the mother (mātrabhīmantraṇa), and the breathing over the child by five brāhmaṇas or the father. The Śāṅ. gr. (I. 24, 1-12) also omits homa, the stāṇāḍāna and mātrabhīmantraṇa, but refers to the father breathing over the new born child thrice. Instead of ghṛta and honey served with a golden spoon, Śāṅ. prescribes mixing of curds, honey, ghṛta and water or grinding together of rice and barley. It adds the tying of gold to a hempen string and fixing it on the right hand of the child till the mother gets up from child-bed.

It will have been noticed that Āṣv. and Śāṅ. both prescribe giving a secret name to the child on the day of birth and do not prescribe a separate Nāmakaraṇa ceremony. Śāṅ. gr. (I. 24, 6) adds that a vyāvahārika name may be given on the 10th day from birth. The Gobhila gr. (II. 7, 13-15) and Khādira gr. II. 28-31 say that a secret name for the child that is to be born is to be uttered in the Sōṣyanti-karma. So Āṣv. probably carries on that tradition.

We shall now take the several components of the rite and show how they are dealt with by the several grhyasūtras.

Homa:—This is prescribed by the Br. Up., the Māṇava, the Kāṭhaka gr. at the time of birth. The Āṣv. gr. pariśīṭa (I. 26) says that homa should be performed to Agni and other gods as stated above; then the child should be made to eat honey and ghṛta and then the offering be made to Agni. It is prescribed before birth (in the Sōṣyantikarma) by Gobhila and Khādira. It is prescribed after the whole rite by Baud. gr. II. 1. 13. It is omitted by Āṣv. and Śāṅ. The Pār. gr. (I. 16), Hir. gr., Bhāradvāja gr. (I. 26) say that the Aupāsana (i. e. grhya) fire is taken away and a sūṭikāgni set up (which is also called Uttapaniya) near the door of the lying-in chamber. The Vaik. (III. 15) calls it jāṭakāgni (and also Uttapaniya). These say that in this fire white mustard seed with small grains of rice are offered at the time of birth and at the morning and evening twilight for ten days after birth with certain mantras. Āp. prescribes that

532. The Sūṭikāgni is prepared by placing the broken piece of a jar on the kitchen fireplace and heating it with the dried dung of a bull.

'पुष्पहृदेय उपस्मासिक तुषारकृतिविशिष्टताकारिणी सापनेत्यांतुपातप्रथमविशिष्टगिर्ती ' वस्मानि III. 15.
mustard seeds and rice chaff are to be offered in the fire whenever any body enters the lying-in chamber for ten days.

(2) Medhājanana:—Two meanings are given to this. This word does not occur in the Br. Up. But it speaks of muttering in the right ear of the boy the word ‘vāk’ thrice and making the boy lick from a golden spoon or ring curds, honey and ghṛta. The first of these viz. muttering in the right ear of the boy some words or a mantra is called medhājanana in Āsv. and Śāṅ. (I. 24. 9 which prescribes ‘vāk’); while most of the other sūtras viz. Vālk., Hir., Gobhila say that medhājanana is the action of making the child eat honey, ghee, curds or pounded barley and rice, to the accompaniment of mantras (like ‘bhūstvayi dadhāmi’ in Pār. or ‘Bhūr ṛcāḥ’ as in Vaikhānas, or ‘medhāṃ te devaḥ’ as in Āp.). The Baud. gr. (II. 1. 7) prescribes the giving of curds, honey and ghṛta ten times with each of the ten mantras (Tai. Br. II. 5. 1) of the anuvāka beginning with ‘praṇo raksati viśvam-еjat.’ The Vālk. expressly says that the Vacā plant, Pathyā plant, gold, honey and clarified butter become medhājanana. Manu II. 29 seizes upon the making the child eat gold (dust), honey and clarified butter to the accompaniment of mantras as the central part of the rite. Later works like the Sāṃskāramayūkha regard this eating of honey and ghṛta as the principal part of jātakarma.

(3) Āyusya:—Some of the sūtras speak of a rite called āyusya in the jātakarma. This consists in muttering over the navel (as in Pār.) or in the right ear of the boy some mantra or mantras invoking the bestowal of long life on the boy. Āsv. (vide p. 231) has such an invocation in conjunction with the eating of honey and ghṛta. Bhāradvāja also does the same. Mānava gr. prescribes the anuvāka ‘Agne āyur-asi’ (Kāṭhaka Sam. XI. 7) for 21 oblations (this anuvāka is full of the word ‘āyuṣmat’).

(4) Aṁsābhimarśana (touching the child on the shoulder or shoulders). Vide Āsv. above. Āp. begins his treatment with the direction that the father touches the boy with the Vātsapra anuvāka. Pār., Bhāradvāja speak of touching the boy twice, once with Vātsapra anuvāka (Vāj. S. XII. 18-29 or Tai. S. IV.

533. वषा पता हिंदू मयु मलिति नक्षत्रानाशाति मन्त्रि देशानाममिव III. 15. Amara gives अमरा and हसतिकी as synonyms of वषा and पता respectively.

534. वाकर्मणि प्रकोपगहनवणजाति । कु मारे आंत मुद्दज्ञक्षरमापिदसुधिनी हिंदूपिलितति हिंदूसार्नामरिती सत्तामार्ग । सत्तामार्ग गुरु।

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2.2), and again with 'be a stone, be an axe' (in Pār. and with the mantra 'may he grow' in Bhāṛ.). Some sūtras like Śān. omit this.

(5) Mātrabhimantrana:—(addressing the mother). The mother is addressed by the father with the verse 'Thou art Iḷā &c.' (vide Br. Up. above), which occurs in Pār. Many sūtras omit this. Hir. has a different verse.

(6) Paṇca-brāhmaṇasthāpana:—We saw above that the Śatapatha prescribes the breathing over the child by five brāhmaṇas or the father himself. Pār. prescribes the same and gives an option (the five brāhmaṇas are to repeat in order from the east prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, udāna and samāna). Śān. asks the father himself to breathe thrice over the boy with a verse referring to the three Vedas. Several sūtras omit this.

(7) Staṇapaṇi or stana-pratidhāna:—making the child take the breast. The Br. Up. and many of the sūtras prescribe this, together with the recitation of a mantra or mantras e.g. Pār. prescribes Vāj. S. 17. 37 and 38. 5 for the two breasts, Āp. and Bhāṛ. prescribe Āp. mantrapātha II. 13. 2 only for the right breast; Hir. and Vaik. prescribe the same verse for both.

(8) Deśābhimantrana535 (or-mārṣana):—touching the ground where the son is born and addressing the earth (with one or two mantras). Pār., Bhāṛ., Āp., Hir. do this.

(9) Nāmakaraṇa:—(giving a name to the child). The Br. Up., Āśv., Śān., Gobhila, Khāḍira and several others speak of giving a name to the boy on the day of birth. Āśv. (I. 15. 4 and 10) prescribes the giving of two names on that date, one for common use (for which he gives elaborate rules) and the other a secret one which his parents only know till the boy's upanayana. Śān. reverses this and says the name for which similar elaborate rules are laid down by him is the secret name and a name for common use is to be given on the 10th day. Āp. gr. (15. 2–3 and 8) says on the day of birth a name derived from the nakṣatra (lunar mansion) on which the boy is born is given, which is the secret name and then on the 10th another name is to be given. According to Gobhila and Khāḍira a name is to be given in the Sisyanti-karma which is to be kept secret.

535. मार्वते (! II. 25) हस्य श्रव्येऽव तद्विविवशाः। ब्रजते विनमश्च धीविष्ठ वविवशाः। विनंत्वितं संखर्मम् नामो विनावण्यं कुमाराः॥ विवस्तरः। पाण्डरः क्रमश्च भविष्यते जयो नामि तद्विविवशाः। ब्रजते। श्रव्यस्यात् तद्विविवशाः।
(10) **Keeping off evil spirits**—Though Āv. and Śāṅ. are entirely silent on this point several sūtras devote large space to this topic and are full of mantras which are more are less magic. Āp. prescribes the offering of mustard seed and rice chaff in fire three times with each of eight mantras (Āp. mantra-pātha II. 13. 7–14). Bhār. gr. (I. 23) also prescribes similar offerings with several verses. Hir. gr. requires the throwing of mustard seeds eleven times in the sūtkāgni with eleven mantras some of which are almost the same as in Bhāradvāja. Pār. gr. recites two of such mantras.\(^{536}\)

It would not be out of place to mention a few other subsidiary matters. Baud., Āp., Hir. and Vaik. expressly say that the boy is to have a bath. The Hir. and Vaik.\(^{537}\) say that the axe is to be placed on a stone and gold is to be placed on the axe, then these are to be turned upside down (so that gold lies at the bottom and the stone is on top) and then the boy is to be held head eastwards above the stone by a female in her two hands, while the father repeats the two mantras ‘be a stone &c.’ and the mantra ‘thou art produced from (my) limb by limb &c.’ This shows how what was once only symbolical (viz. uttering the mantras ‘be a stone’ &c. indicating the desire that the boy should be strong, sharp and worthy like a stone, axe and gold) became transformed into a rite requiring physical presence of these things. Pār.. Āp., Hir., Bhār. and Vaik. prescribe that a pot full of water should be placed towards the head (of the woman and her child) with a mantra ‘Oh waters!

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536. खस्तुसृजस्य खस्तुसृजितस्य खस्तुसृजितिः खस्तुसृजितांगिः खस्तुसृजितांगिः खस्तुसृजितांगिः

537. खस्तुसृजितांगिः खस्तुसृजितांगिः खस्तुसृजितांगिः खस्तुसृजितांगिः खस्तुसृजितांगिः
watch while (people are asleep)." None of the sūtras (except Vaikhānasa) refers to any astrological details. Vaik. (III. 14) says that when the child's nose appears, the position of the planets should be observed and his future welfare or otherwise should be examined, since the boy is to be so brought up as to enhance his good qualities. Both Āp. and Baud. say that the remnants of honey, curds and gṛhṭa should be mixed with water and poured out in a cowstall (and not thrown about in an impure place). This ceremony is comparatively brief in Āp., Śaṅk. and a few others, but in Hir., Pār. and Bhāradvāja it is most elaborate and would require an unduly long time considering the state of the newly born child and the woman in child-bed. There is no wonder, therefore, that this ceremony gradually went out of vogue. In modern times a few well-to-do families in Western India sometimes perform what is called 'putrāvana' (in Marathi) and make the boy lick honey and gṛhṭa by means of a golden piece or ring. The dangers to the child of an elaborate ritual must have been apparent to all people even in ancient times.\\n\\n538. The author knows of an instance where an old man jubilant over the birth of a son from his third wife entered upon the performance of the jātakarma according to his gṛhyaśūtra and by the time the ceremony was over, the helpless child that had already little vitality was dead owing to exposure and cold.

539. श्रवण्योत्तरः, 'माहुलविवेकादि संस्कृत वायुविश्वायि गीताधधीपास्य ॥

...... श्रवण्योत्तरः, 'माहुलविवेकानि वायुविश्वायि गीताधधीपास्य न दुयानि वृहस्पतिविदविदविभूषये निः ॥' स्वविवेच्यायां च, pp. 19 and 20.
Medieval writers of digests give extensive descriptions of śānti rites performed to counteract the inauspicious effects of birth on the 14th tīthi of the dark half of a month or on the amāvāsyā or on Mūla, Āśleṣā and Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatras and certain astrological conjunctions like Vyātīpāta, Vaidhrītī, Saṁrāntī (sun’s passage from one sign of the zodiac into another). These matters are passed over here for want of space, as of little importance in modern times and as new departures introduced in the ancient sūtra rites by later works. A few general remarks will be made on these matters in the section on Śānti and Muhūrta.

In modern times on the 5th and 6th days after birth certain ceremonies are performed for which there is no warrant in the sūtras. These probably arose in the times of the Purāṇas, since the only verses quoted on this point in the Nirñayasindhu, the Saṁskāramayūkha and other works are the Märkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Vyāsa and Nārada. On these days the father or other male relative bates in the first part of the night, then invokes Gaṇeṣa, and certain minor deities called Janaḍā on handfuls of rice and also Śaṇṭhīdevi and Bhagavati (i.e. Durgā) and worships them with sixteen upacāras. Then tāmbūla and daksinā are offered to one or more brāhmaṇas and the members of the family keep awake that night with songs (in order to ward off evil spirits). One text from the Märkaṇḍeyapurāṇa says ‘men fully armed should keep watch the whole night’. It must be noted here that fear springing from astrological considerations got better of even natural love and affection to such an extent that some writers advised that the child when born on certain inauspicious conjunctions should be abandoned and its face should not be seen till at least its eighth year. Vide Nityācārapaddhati pp. 244–255.

Uṭṭhāna: (getting up from child-bed). According to Vaik. III. 18 on the 10th or 12th day after birth, the father shaves, bathes, purifies the house, performs in the jātakāgni (or in the ordinary fire, according to some) a sacrifice to the earth through some person belonging to another gātra. Then he brings back the aupāṇa (grhyya fire), offers oblations to Dāṭṛ and others (as in I. 16), five oblations to Varuṇa (I. 17), the mūlohaṁ (I. 18) and feeds the brāhmaṇas. Śāṅ. gr. (I. 25) is more elaborate. It prescribes that a mess of cooked food is prepared in the sūtikāgni

540 Vide संस्कृतग्रंथादिप्रमाणात pp 846–47, संस्कृतग्रंथादिप्रमाणात pp. 201–203. ‘पवेशन संस्कृतग्रंथादिप्रमाणात परिशिष्टाणि विचाराणि जातायतुर्वपि वाचायतुर्वपि संस्कृतम् ॥३ ॥ अन्ये तु हृदयुपजितम् तद्भवित्रा हुमने प्रसादः’ सन्ताणकारप्रमाणात।
and oblations are made to the *āśīti* of the child’s birth, and to three nakṣatras and to their presiding deities, two to Agni and then one (i.e. 10th) to Soma with Rg. I. 91. 7. Hir. gr. II. 4. 6–9 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 214) and Bhāradvāja (I. 26) also refer to *ultāṇa*. Both say that the sūtikāgni is taken away and the Aupāsana fire is brought in and oblations of ghṛta (12 or 8) are offered in that fire with the *mantras* beginning with ‘dhātā dadātu no rayim’.


There is great divergence of view as to the time when the child was named. Several times are suggested in the ancient literature and in the sūtras and śāstras.

(a) We have already seen (p. 232) that a child was addressed by a name, according to Gobhila and Khādīra, even in the Sōsyantikārma.

(b) According to the Br. Up., Āśv. and Śān., Kāthaka gr. (34.1) a name was given to the child on the day of birth. This practice is supported by a passage of the Ṣat. Br.⁵⁴ⁱa ‘therefore when a son is born (the father) should bestow on him a name; thereby he drives away the evil that might attach to the boy; (the father gives him) even a second, even a third (name)’. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali appears to refer to this view. “In the world the parents give a name to the son when born in a closed space (or room) such as Devadatta, Yajñadatta; from their employment (of that name for the boy) others also come to know ‘this is his appellation’”.

⁴⁴¹ For a comprehensive treatment of the way in which names were given from Vedic times onwards, my paper ‘Naming a child or a person’ in the ‘Indian Historical Quarterly’ for 1938, vol. 14, pp. 24 & 44 may be consulted. A summary of the points made in that paper is given below together with some fresh matter.

⁵⁴¹a यः पुरुषस्य जन्मं नामं कुर्वयात्त्वभायामभायं तदवस्तवस्य स्र्वाकावयास्य तद्भवः। भाष्य VI. 1. 3. 9.

⁵⁴² तत्परं नामपरानिदित्तवं कुन्यं जन्मं संवेद्यवकायं नामं कुस्ते देवेयथेऽप्राप्तं श्रव्यम। तपोवपत्रायनिदित्तवं च जानं जीवनस्य संस्कृतं। साहित्यम् वोल I. p. 38.
(c) Āpa., Baud., Bhār., and Pār. prescribe the 10th day after birth for nāmakarana. The Mahābhāṣya quotes a passage from the Yājñikas that a name was given on a day after the tenth from birth.

(d) Yāj. I. 12 prescribes it on the 11th day after birth.

(e) Baud. gr. (II. 1. 23) says that Nāmakarana may be performed on the 10th or 12th, while Hir. gr. says that it should be on the 12th. As Vaik. prescribes that the mother should get up from child-bed on the 10th or 12th and then speaks of nāmakarana, it follows that the ceremony was performed according to it on the 10th or 12th. Manu II. 30 says it may be performed on the 10th or 12th day after birth or on an auspicious tithi, muhūrta and nakṣatra thereafter.

(f) Gobhila (II. 8. 8, S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 57) and Khādīra say that it should be on any day after ten nights, one hundred nights or a year from birth. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (VI. 1) allows it on 11th, 12th or 16th day. Aparārka (p. 26) quotes gṛhyapariśīta to the effect that it may be performed after the 10th night is passed or after 100 nights or a year and the Bhavisyat-purāṇa to the effect that it may be performed after 10 or 12 nights or on the 18th day or after a month. It is worthy of note that Bāna in his Kādambari (pūrvabhāga para 68) says that Tārāpīḍa named his son Candrāpīḍa when the tenth day after birth fell on an auspicious muhūrta and that the minister Śukanāsa named his son Vaiśampāyana next day.

The commentators were bewildered by these differences. Viśvarūpa explains Manu II. 30 as ‘when the 10th night is past’ and Kullūka does the same (i.e., according to him it is performed on the eleventh day). Madhātithi does not like the addition of ‘past’ (attiyām) after ‘daśamīyām’ in Manu II. 30 and says just as jāatakaraṇa can be performed even when there is impurity due to birth, so nāmakarana may be performed on the 10th and that the only essential thing is that it is not to
be performed before the 10th or 12th. Aparaeka says that there is an option and one may follow one's own grhyasutra. It appears that the namakarana^ of Hariiscandra, son of Jayatcandra, king of Kanoj, took place three weeks after jatakarma (on 31. 8. 1175 A. D.). In modern times namakarana generally takes place on the 12th day after birth and no Vedic ceremony as prescribed in the sutras is gone through, but women assemble and after consulting the male members of the family beforehand announce the name and place the child in the cradle.

In Rg. VIII. 80. 9 we read 'when you give us a fourth name connected with (the performance of) a sacrifice, we long for it; immediately afterwards, you, our master, take us' (forward to glory). This shows that a man could have a fourth name even in the times of Rg. and the fourth was a name due to the performance of a yajña. Sāyana explains that the four names are: nakṣatramā (derived from the nakṣatra on which a person was born), a secret name, a publicly known name and a fourth name like Somayājī (due to having performed a Somayāga). In Rg. X. 54. 4 there appears to be a reference to four names (though Sāyana takes nāma here to mean the body or deed). In Rg. IX. 75. 2 there is reference to a third name 'the son has a third name unknown to the parents and which is in the bright part of heaven'. The two names are the nakṣatra name and the ordinary name, while the third would be the name due to the performance of a sacrifice (which the parents could not foresee at his birth). In the Rg. frequent reference is made to the secret name of a person. Vide Rg. IX 87. 3, X. 55. 1-2. We saw above (note 541a) that the Sat. Br. speaks of a second or even a third name for a person given to him by his parents. The same Brāhmaṇa^ recommends 'Therefore a brāhmaṇa

547. Vide I. A. vol. 18 p. 129, read with E. I. vol. IV. p. 120 and E. I. vol. X. p. 95.

548. दूरीं नाम चित्रं नचर्चा कार्यदृष्ट्य आन्विकातिङ्ग आहेचे। क्र. VIII. 80.9; ज्ञाति ते अभ्यासिणः नामगृहार्थानि महत्वषय सम्बन्धित। क्र. X. 54. 4; यथाश दुःख विगंगितर्व नाम शैवात्मकाः शोचमेव विवर्णः। क्र. IX. 75. 2. The śiRVaṇeśvarupal speaks of three names नामकरणम्, ध्यायात्मकान् and a third one like सीतापरायणम्. The Mahābhāṣya also says that a man bears the name आर्यान्तराणाय when he performs आयात्मक 'अभ्यासिनःकार्याविसर्जित्वानि भविता। कार्यान्तराणाय तुंगोऽविवर्णकार्यानि वर्णमिर्तिर्मेवते भविति। महाभाष्यम् vol. II. p. 168 on पा. III. 4. 1.

549. वास्तव नामकरणार्याभिषेके विविधम् नाम कार्यदृष्ट्य शहन्ति तथा यथा नाम नाम शहन्ते। सत्यम् III. 6. 24. Vide द्विविधार्याभिषेक। I. 3. 9 for the recital of the three names of a sacrificer (ध्यायात्मक says they were अभ्यासिनानि, द्विविधारितं and नामकरणम्).
when he does not prosper should give himself a second name'. But how these names were formed is not stated anywhere in the Vedic literature. In the Tai. S. VI. 3. 1. 3 it is said 'therefore a brahmaṇa who has two names prospers'. The Śat. Br. (II. 1. 2. 11) says 'Arjuna is the secret name of Indra and the constellation of Phālghuṇis being presided over by Indra they are really Arjunaḥ, but are called Phālghunyaḥ in an indirect way'. We saw above (p. 230) that the Br. Up. speaks of a secret name given by the father on the day of birth. Hardly any secret names are expressly mentioned in the Vedic literature except the name of Arjuna given to Indra (and being secret they cannot be expected to be mentioned). How the secret name was given is not clear from the Vedic literature. In Vāj. S. 17. 39 there is a reference to the secret name of ghṛṭa. The Tai. S. gives expression to the request that the (āhavaniya); fire should bear the name of one who keeps sacred fires, while the person praying was away on a journey.

A few examples of the three names of a person from the Vedic literature may be given here. These are generally the ordinary name, a name derived from his father and a third from his gotra (or from the name of some remote ancestor). In Rg. V. 33. 8 we find Trasadasyu (his own name), Paurukutsya (son of Purukutsa), Gaṅkṣita (descendant of Gaṅkṣita). In the Ait. Br. (33. 5) Śunahṣepe is spoken of as Ajīgarta (son of Ajīgarti) and also as Aṅgirasa (a gotra name), while King Harīsandra is mentioned (Ait. Br. 33. 1) as Vaidhasa (son of Vedhas) and Aṅkṣvāka (descendant of Iksvāku). In the Śat. Br. (XIII. 5. 4. 1) Indrota Daivāpa (son of Devāpi) Śaunaka (a gotra name) is said to have been the priest of Janamejaya. In the Chān. Up. (V. 3. 1 and 7) Śvetaketu Ārṇeyya (son of Ārṇi) is styled Gautama (a gotra name). In the Kathopanisad

550. तस्माद द्विनाम नामयोजितः। ते सं. VI. 3. 1. 3. This is quoted in Hir. gr., Bhār. gr. I. 26 and other gṛhya sūtras.

551. अजुनो इ वै नामयोजित पदवेश मायम्। नामयोजिता एवत्पराश्रयवै वायव्यत्व दृष्टि। सार्पन II. 1. 2. 11.

552. द्विनाम नामयोजित जिद्वा द्विनामपदस्तव नामिः। वा. सं. 17. 89.

553. नम नाम ग्रहण जातवेद: पिता भता च दुधस्तेदवेदः। तत्व विमुखिदूष्मा भवेत्। तत्वादिष्ट द्विनाम स्वातित्वम्। ये सं. I. 5. 10. 1. This is differently read in other sāstras e.g. Ka० S. VII. 3 reads 'द्विनामश्च'। तत्वादिष्ट द्विनामक्षय नाम। This verse is quoted in nāmakaṇaṇa by several sūtras, e.g. Bhār. I. 26.

H. D. 31
(I. 1. 1 and 11) Naciketas is the son of Vajśravasa and is addressed as Gautama (a gotra name).

Usually however a person is referred to in the Vedic literature by two names. In some cases it is his own name and a gotra name e.g. Medhyātithi Kāṇva (Rg. VIII. 2. 40), Hiranyastūpa Āṅgirasa (Rg. X. 149. 5), Vatsaprī Bhālandana (Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 6), Bālāki Gārgya (Br. Up. II. 1. 1), Cyavana Bhārgava (Alt. Br. 39. 7). In other cases a man is referred to by his own name and another name derived from a country or locality e.g. Kaśu Caidya (Rg. VIII. 5. 37), Bhima Vaidarbha (Alt. Br. 35. 8), Durmukha Pāṇcāla (Alt. Br. 39. 23), Janaka Vaidheha (Br. Up. III. 1. 1), Ajātaśatru Kāśya (Br. Up. II. 1. 1).

In some cases a matronymic is added to a person's name e.g. Dirghatamā Māmateya (Rg. I. 158. 6), Kutsa Ārjuneya (son of Arjuni, Rg. IV. 26. 1, VII. 19. 2, VIII. 1. 11), Kakśvat Auśija (son of a woman called Usik, Rg. I. 18. 1, Vāj. S. III. 28), Prahāda Kāyādhava (son of Kayadhū, Tai. Br. I. 5. 10), Mahidāsa Aitareya (son of Itarā, Chān. Up. III. 16. 7). In the vāṃśa added at the end of the Br. Up. there are about forty sages with matronymic names. The practice of mentioning a man by reference to his mother's name or to his mother's father's gotra was continued till later times, as will be shown later on. The most usual method, however, of referring to a person in the Rg. and also in other Vedic works was to state his name along with another derived from his father's name. For example, Ambarisa, Rijrāya, Sahadeva and Surādhas are all called Vārṣāgira (son of Viśāgir, Rg. I. 100. 17); king Sudās is called Pājivana (son of Pijavana, Rg. VII. 18. 22), Devāpi is Ārṣīṣena (son of Rṣīṣena, Rg. X. 98. 5-6), Śāmyu Bāhraspatya (Tai. S. II. 6. 10), Bhṛgu Vāruni (Alt. Br. 13. 10 and Tai. Up. III. 1), Bharata Daussanti (Śatapatha XIII. 5. 4. 11, Alt. Br. 39. 9), Nabhānedīṣṭha Mānava (Alt. Br. 22. 9).

The principal rules about names may now be set out from the grhyasūtras. Āsv. (I. 15. 4-10, S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 182-183) says 'Let (them) give the boy a name beginning with a sonant, having a semivowel in it, with a visarga at the end, consisting of two syllables or of four syllables, of two syllables if (the father) is desirous of firm (worldly) position (for his son), of four syllables if he is desirous of spiritual eminence (for his son);

554. भाविक 7 on पनिनी VI. 1. 37 explains the words कपितवयं च अर्धवया (प्र. I. 18. 1). Vide नवतिरं vol III. p. 33.
but (in all cases) with an even number of syllables in the case of males and with an uneven number of syllables in the case of women. And let him find out (for the boy) a name to be employed at respectful salutations (at Upanayana &c.); that name (the boy’s) mother and father alone should know till his upanayana. The Śān. gr. (S. B. E, vol. 29, p. 50) omits the rule about the name ending in a visarga and allows an option of six syllables and adds that the name should be formed by a kṛt affix (from a root) and not by a taddhita; that this name should be known only to his parents and that on the tenth day after birth the father should give the child a name for ordinary use which should be pleasing to brāhmaṇas. It should be noticed that Āsv. and Śān. differ on one very important point. According to Āsv. the name for which elaborate rules are laid down is to be the ordinary name and he lays down no rule about the formation of the secret name; while Śān. lays down for the secret name the same rules as Āsv. does for the public one and Śān. says about the public name that it should be pleasing.

Instead of quoting gṛhya sūtras at length the principal rules about names deductible from them may be stated in the form of propositions with a few illustrations for each.

(1) The first rule in almost all sūtras is that the name for males should contain two or four syllables or an even number. This rule is deduced from Vedic literature where most of the names contain either two syllables (e.g. Baka, Trīta, Kutsa, Bhṛgu) or four syllables (Trasasasyu, Purukutsa, Medhāyāthī, Brahmadatta &c.), though names of three syllables (like Kavaśa, Cyavana, Bharata) and of five syllables

555. नाम चालसी वृष्णुः पोषवद्यदर्वनातपत्रसामिनिदिरानां द्विभाष्यं ऐवाशर | द्वारा ये विद्वानसाधुदतां शब्दवर्णवस्त्रां | हृदाभोज ष्ठितर्मकोः अृढावर्णिणां अथ बृहस्पताः | अभिनवादयायं च समक्षित तत्साहायिताः | विद्वानाविपन्नाः | आया. कु. I. 15.4–10. The गोविकाः are the last three letters of the five गोविकाः (काणपूरीं), रूपूर्विकाः and हृदाभोज. Separate the 5th sūtra in the Gṛhya Sūtras Anantararāṣṭrāh (अन्तराणाराष्ट्राः: वर्णवस्त्राः: वर्णां); अभिनिदिरानां means अभिनिदिराणां; अन्तराणाः अभिनिदिराणां means विद्वानां; पाणिनिः VIII. 3. 86 derives that word. That such rules are very ancient follows from a quotation in the Sāmhitās ‘पाँचमी यथा: पाँचमी। द्वारसहस्ताः द्वार्याः नाम विद्वानसाधुः पोषवद्यदर्वनातपत्रसामिनिदिरानां तद्विद्वानाविपन्नां तद्विद्वानाविपन्नां तद्विद्वानाविपन्नां तद्विद्वानाविपन्नां तद्विद्वानाविपन्नां। नामवस्त्राः vol. I. p. 4. नियुक्तवर्गसंस्कार: that would follow the name of (one of) the three ancestors of the boy’s father. अन्तराणां means ‘descent or family.’ अृढावर्णिणां means that the first syllable is not आः ये or ओऽ (vide पाणिनि I. 1. 73) and अवर्तितम means ‘not borne by his foe.’
(like Nabhānediṣṭha, Hiranyastūpa) are not wanting. Baija-vāpa\textsuperscript{556} grhyya allowed the name to be of one, two, three, four or any number of syllables. Śaṅ, allowed a name even of six syllables and Baud, gr. (II. 1. 25) of six or even eight. Examples of names with two syllables and four syllables are given below.

(2) Almost all grhyya sūtras contain the rule that the name should begin with a sonant and contain in the middle a semi-vowel. This is stated also in the ancient quotation from Yājñikas in the Mahābhāṣya.

(3) Some sūtras prescribe that the name should end in a visarga preceded \textsuperscript{557} by a long vowel (e.g. Āp., Bhār., Hir., Pār.). Āsv. only mentions that it should end in a visarga, while Vaik. and Gobhila say that it may end in a long vowel or in a visarga. These rules were probably based on such Vedic names as Sudās, Dīrghatamas, Prthuśravas (that occur in the Rgveda) and such names as Vatsapri (Tāl. S. V. 2. 1. 6).

(4) Āp. prescribes that the name should have two parts, the first being a noun and the second a verbal formation (generally a past passive participle). This rule is probably based on such ancient names as Brahmadatta (which occurs in Br. Up. I. 3. 24 and figures very much in Pali works), Devadatta, Yājñadatta &c.

(5) Many grhyya sūtras (like Pār., Gobhila, Śaṅ, Baijavyāpa, Vārāha) say that the name should be formed from a root by a kṛt affix and should not be a taddhita (i.e. formed from a noun by an affix).

(6) Āp. and Hir. say that the name should have the upasarga 'su' in it as a Brāhmaṇa passage says that such a name has stability in it. Examples are Sujāta, Sudarśana, Suкеṣas (Prāśna Up. I. 1).

\textsuperscript{556} वैज्ञानिकः पिता नाम करोति पुकारं द्विधरं अर्थाः चतुर्दशस्वरूपिणिः का कुरे कुर्वन्द वाविभाजित। अपराज. प. 27. अद्व. अद्व. द्विः पार्शवः (पार्श वुद्धतः द्विः). सूक्ष्मः (निर्देश वुद्धतः) are examples of names of two syllables and द्वेशुतः, विश्वासितः, विशृश्च, अविश्वयो, नामवंशः, द्वेशुतः, सत्त्विद्वन्द्विः of those of four syllables. In the Mahābhāṣya द्वेशुतः and विशृश्च are the most frequent stock names whenever it predicates something about a person in general and it also says that such names are shortened as e.g. 'द्वेशुतो वुद्धतः, सत्त्विद्वन्द्विः अभावः' महाभाष्य व. 1. p. 111 अपाराज. प. 1. 45.

\textsuperscript{557} वैज्ञानिकः पिता नाम करोति धवला धवला वा द्विधरं अर्थाः चतुर्दशस्वरूपिणिः का कुरे कुर्वन्द वाविभाजित। अप. प. 15. 8-9.
(7) Baud. gr. prescribes that the name may be derived from a sage or a deity or an ancestor. The Māṇava grhya, however, forbids the giving of a name of a deity itself, but allows the giving of a name derived from the name of a deity or a naksatra. Examples of names derived from sages would be Vāśiṣṭha, Nārada &c. and of names taken from deities would be Viṣṇu, Śiva &c. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 12 quotes a passage of Śaṅkha that the name should be connected with one’s family deity. It should be noticed that in modern times most names in many parts of India are the names of deities or of heroes supposed to be avatāras of deities. In Vedic literature hardly any human being bears the name of any of the Vedic gods (Indra, Mitra, Pūṣan &c.). There are only a few exceptions such as that of Bṛṛgu (in Tait. Up. III. 1) who is said to have learnt from his father called Varuṇa and in the Praśna Up. (I. 1) there is Sauryāyaṇi Gārgya whose name is derived from Sūrya. But in the Vedic Literature persons have names derived from the names of gods, such as Indrota (Indra + ūta, protected), Indradyumna. The names that occur in the Mahābhāṣya such as Devadatta, Yajñadatta, Vāyudatta (vol. II. p. 296), Viṣṇumitra (vol. I. pp. 41 and 359), Brhaspatidattaka (or Brhaspatika), Prajapati- dattaka (or-patika), Bhrāudattaka (or Bhānuka) and others set out in the Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 425) exemplify the rule of the Māṇavagṛhya. It is difficult to say when the very names of deities began generally to be borne by human beings. Probably the practice began in the first centuries of the Christian era. From the fifth century onwards we have historic examples of such names, e.g. in the Eran stone inscriptions of Budhagupta dated in the Gupta saṃvat 165 i.e. 484-5 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions No. 19) there is a brāhmaṇa Indra-Viṣṇu, son of Varuṇa-Viṣṇu, son of Hari-Viṣṇu.

(8) Baud, Pär., Gobhila (and the Yajñikas quoted by the Mahābhāṣya) prescribe that the name of the boy may be the same as that of any of the ancestors of the father. The Māṇava gr. (I. 18) expressly says that the father’s own name should not be given. This practice was observed in ancient times and continues even today, when the child is often given his grandfather’s name. Vide I. A. vol. VI. p. 73 where we see that Pulakesi II was grandson of Pulakesi I.

558. अधिकृत वृन्दापुरुष वा। यमीकविवृत्तके संस्कारानि साधारण। ब्र. यु. स. II.1.28-29; यथापरं नामस्य वृन्दापुरुष नस्तं सत्त्वामस्य वृन्दापुरुष प्रयत्नं प्रतिविधिः । नामश्रुतः स. II.1.18.

559. In the E. L. vol. 14 p. 342 (of saka 1470) strangely enough the engraver’s name is the same as his father’s.
(9) The grhyasūtras (except Par. and Mānava) are agreed that a secret name is to be given to the boy by the parents, in the Sōvantikarma according to Gobhila and Khādira, at birth according to some (like Āśv. and Kāṭhaka) and according to others (like Āp., Baud., Bhār.) at the time of Nāmakaraṇa on 10th or 12th day. We saw above that Saṅ. and Kāṭhaka give elaborate rules about the secret name, which rules are those of the Vyāvahārika name according to Āśv. and many other sūtrakāras. Gobhila and Khādira give no rules about the secret name. Āp., Hir. and Vaik only say that the secret name should be derived from the naksatra of birth, but give no further rules. Bhāradvāja speaks of the giving of two names in Nāmakaraṇa, one being derived by applying the intricate rules described above and the other being a naksatra name; but it is not quite clear which was to be the secret name; it is probable, however, that the naksatra name was to be the secret one. According to Āśvalāya the secret name was called Abhivādaniya (which was to be known to the parents only till the boy's upanayana and which was to be used by the boy for announcing himself in respectful salutations); but he does not say how it was to be derived. Gobhila, Khādira, Vārāha (5) and Mānava speak of an abhivādaniya name. Gobhila prescribes that this name was to be given to the boy at the time of upanayana by the ācārya and was to be derived from the naksatra of birth or from the presiding deity of that naksatra. Gobhila further adds that according to some teachers the abhivādaniya name was derived from

560. According to the Kāṭhaka grhya (34. 1–3 and 36) only one is given (on the day of birth) and the same is used in Nāmakaraṇa (36. 3), but it mentions that it was the view of some that another name was to be given in Nāmakaraṇa.

561. नःतःनाम द्वितियें स्थाद-पत्रिकाम् स्याद-पत्रिप्रेषीणामानन्यिनेऽभ्रेवः। भारद्वेषः
I. 26.

562. शोभित and वाडिर appear to suggest three names, one that was secret given in सोप्या-तितकः (गौडिम II. 7. 15–16), the 2nd in nāmakaraṇa (गौडिम II. 8. 8 and 14–16 derived by means of the intricate rules specified above) and a 3rd in Upanayana called अभिवादनीय (गौडिम II. 10. 21–25). According to them a name like सोभावी would be the fourth name. In वैशालिक 1. 7 it is said that in the उपनामाणि the following names of the yajaman should be taken one after another viz. नामनाम, सामनाम, बिलुनाम, भूसूनाम, बुनुवेनाम and सनाम (ending in सनाम if he is a नामान). को नामानीति नामयें शुच्येनि तत्स्याथैः। अभिवादनीयं नाम काल्पितं दुयुक्तं नामयें भक्तिमयेः। गौडिम इत्यः।
गौडिम II. 10. 22–25; को नामातितीयवर दुयुक्तमयें नामयें भक्तिमयें नामयें। सामायिक III. 4. 12.
the gotra of the boy (as e.g. Gārgya, Śāndilya, Gautama &c.). This practice is based on the usage we find in the Upaniṣads, where Satyakāma when about to go to a teacher for Vedic study asks his mother what his gotra was (Chān. Up. IV. 4. 1) and where the teacher also asks him what his gotra was. In the Kāṭhopaniṣad Nāciketas is styled Gautama and in Chān. V. 3. 7 Śvetaketu is addressed as Gautama by Pravāhana Jaivali when the latter expounded Sanvarga-vidyā to the former. But if the abhivādaniya was a gotra name there could have been no secrecy. From Gobhila it appears that the ācārya told the boy his abhivādaniya name, but the Khādira suggests that the boy already knew it (from his father or mother) and informed the teacher. The nakṣatranāma was of importance in the performance of Vedic sacrifices. The Vedaṅgajyotiṣa 563 (of the Rg.) in verses 25–28 enumerates 28 nakṣatras (adding Abhijit after Uttarāsādha and before Śravane) and their presiding deities and adds that in sacrifices the sacrificer is to bear a name derived from the name of the presiding deity of his nakṣatra. The object of keeping the nakṣatra name secret seems to have been to prevent rites of abhicāra (magical practices) against a

563. नक्षत्रवर्णनां कथा एवंयिष्ययः कालिणि युधिष्ठिरस्वप्नाम् कालिणि नक्षत्रस्य रूपस्तवः ॥ वेदाक्रामोदित (कृ. ) वर्ण म ॥

In the Vedic Literature and in the Vedaṅgajyotiṣa the nakṣatras are enumerated from Kṛttikā to Āpabharani and not from Aśvini to Revaṭī as in medieval and modern times. For the position of Abhijit, vide Tai, Br. I. 5. 2. The nakṣatras and their presiding deities may profitably be specified here. Some of the names differ from the modern ones. The oldest lists are in the Atharvaveda (19, 7, 2–5) and Tai, S. IV. 4. 10. 1–3, Tai, Br. I. 5. 1 and III. 1. 1. कृत्तिका-अण्ड, रेवाणी—अण्ड, सुहाती— अण्ड, महादा—महादा in ते. सं. महादा in ते. सं. चतुर्वेद, अण्ड—अण्ड, तिर्यं (पूर्व in अवर्गे)—पूर्वसूचिः, आवेदा (आवेदा in अवर्गे)—

मवाल, मवाल-पिण्ड, नवाणी (पूर्व)—वाणी, नवाणी (पूर्व)—मवाल, वाणी-पिण्ड, चिन्ता (सं) निर्वाण (स्वर्तित in अवर्गे)—वाणी, वाणी-पिण्ड, आत्माप्राय (एवं अत्माप्राय)—

िवाण, चचित्र (तीनिमित in ते. सं.)—छत्र, मूल (विचित्र in ते. सं.)—विपल (विनिर्वाण in महादा and महादा-पद्मादी and महादापद्मादी, acc. to others), चचित्र (पूर्व)—चचित्र, चचित्र (तीनिमित)—कविकराः, अवेदा (अवेदा in अवर्गे)—पिण्ड, आवेदा (एवं अवर्गे)—

वचन, सति-वचन (called तीनिमित in ते. सं.), सति-वचन (तीनिमित)—अवर्गे, तीनिमित—अवर्गे, रेवाणी—पूर्व, अवर्गे (अवर्गे)—अवर्गे, अवर्गे-पिण्ड (पूर्व in अवर्गे)—मयं.

The deity of अवर्गे is चचित्र. These are given also in महादा-पद्मादी I. 20, चचित्रमादी 78. 16–17, वेदान्तसारां (III. 20). Some give चचित्र as the deity of चचित्र. In the चचित्रमादी (अवर्गे), चचित्रमादी 78. 16–17, वेदान्तसारां (III. 20).
person, for the effective employment of which it was necessary to know a person's name. 564

Hundreds of names occur in the Vedic Literature, but there are hardly any names directly derived from a nakṣatra. In the Śatapatha (VI. 2. 1. 37) there is an Āṣāḍhi Sausūromatya (son of Asāḍha and Suṣūromatā). Here Asāḍha is probably connected with the nakṣatra Āṣāḍhā. It appears therefore that in the times of the brāhmaṇas nakṣatra names were secret and so are not met with. Gradually however nakṣatra names ceased to be secret and became common. For several centuries before the Christian era nakṣatra names were very common. PĀṇini (who cannot be placed later than 300 B.C. and may have flourished some centuries earlier still) *gives several rules (IV. 3. 34–37 and VII. 3. 18) for deriving names of males and females from nakṣatras.* In IV. 3. 34 he says that names are derived from Śravisṭhā, Phālguna, Anurādhā, Śvāti, Tiṣya, Punarvasu, Hastā, Asāḍhā and Bahulā (Krṣṭikā) without adding any termination signifying 'born on' (e.g. we have the names Śravisṭhah, Phālgunah &c.). In VII. 3. 18 he derives the name Proṣṭhapadah from Proṣṭhapadā. In the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (150 A.D.) the brother-in-law of Candragupta Maurya is said to have been a vaiśya named Puṣyagupta (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 43). This shows that in the 4th century B.C. a name was derived from the nakṣatra Puṣya (so the name was nakṣatrāśraya). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 231) speaks of boys named Tiṣya and Punarvasu and cites Citrā, Revattī, Robhī as names of women born on these nakṣatras (vol. II. p. 307) and of Cāitra as a male (vol. II. p. 123). The Mahābhāṣya speaks of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty (vol. I. p. 177, vol. II. pp. 34 and 123). Buddhists also had nakṣatra names e.g. Moggaliputta Tissa (where a gotra name and a nakṣatra name from Tiṣya are combined), a pariṇājaka Poṭṭhapāda in Dīgha I. p. 187 and III. p. 1 (from the nakṣatra Proṣṭhapādā), Asāda, Phaguna, Svātīguta, Pusarasahita and in the Sāṃśi inscriptions of 3rd century B.C. (E. I. (vol. II. p. 95). The giving of nakṣatra names continued for centuries after the Christian era. For example, in the Pulitana plate of Dhruvasena I dated Valabhi samvat 210 (about 529 A.D.) there is a brāhmaṇa named Viśākha. We have

564. The com. of Śāṅkara says (II. 2. 32) 'वैद्विकमार्थेष्ट नामाधरिजनेन एवद्विकसर्वसंज्ञाऽधिक्षुः '780' and देवपति on काव्यकथा 36. 4 says 'प्रज्ञानवर्तकमं वर्षस्मिवरी शिष्यादेवसंज्ञाभूतः'.


names like Puṣyasvāṁ, Rohiṇīsvāṁ (in the plates of Śivarāja dated 602-3 A.D., in E.I. vol. IX. p. 288). Another way of deriving names from naksātras was to form them from the presiding deity of the naksatra on which a person was born. A man was called Aṅgneya, if he was born on Kṛttikā (Agni being its devatā), Maitra (from being born on Anurādhā). In modern times this round-about way is given up and persons are named directly from the names of gods and avatāras (like Rāma).

There is another way of deriving names from naksātras set forth in medieval works on Dharmāstra and Jyotiṣa. Each of the 27 naksātras is divided into four pādās and to each pāda a specific letter is assigned (e.g., cū, ce, co and lā for the pādās of Aśvinī) from which names are derived for persons born in those pādās (e.g. Cūḍāmāni, Cediśa, Coleśa and Lakṣmāna for the four pādās of Aśvinī). These names are secret and are even now muttered into the ear of the brahmacārī in Upanayana and are known as the name in the dālī samādhyā prayer.

Modern works like the Śaṁskāraprakāśa (p. 237) say that four kinds of names may be given viz. devatānāma, māsanāma, naksatranāma and vyāvahārīkanāma. The first shows that the bearer is the devotee of that devatā. The Nirṛtyasindhu quotes a verse about twelve names derived from the month in which a man was born and adds that the Madanaratna laid down that the names specified in the verse were to be given to the months from Mārgaśīrṣa or Caitra. Such names (of Viṣṇu) are being given now, particularly in Western India, but without regard to the month of birth. So early as in the Brāhmaṇaḥ of

565. Vide ज्योतिषानां पृ. 859 and संस्कृतमल्प पृ. 239-240 where all the letters for the 27 nakṣatra are set out from a work called वाक्योत्तर and on pp. 860-861 of the former the 112 names (for the 4 pādās of 28 nakṣatra) are exemplified. Even so late a work as the अभिलक्ष (composed in 1790 A.D.) disapproves of these names as not based on any Vedic authorities. 'कन्या हृद दीपममायीकरत्रिवर्गपरम्परायेयायखर्द्धकर्मान्विवृक्षेऽवशेषायूषया वर्गम् ज्योतिषायुष्मादियाय कालानां स्वाभिमित्त सत्यविद्याय तत्सः' ज्योतिषं III परिशेष III शृद्धार्थी।

566. सुतिष्णुः प्रसन्नोत्तत्त्वकृताणि वैष्णवं जनानिनः। वैष्णवं युथपशो पाष्यवेदवर्गयां धारेः। वैष्णवं हृदेष्ठलं नासन्नमवधवपञ्चमवादाय। अति नासन्नसिद्धिधातिसारिसिद्धिः कन्या हृद सत्यविद्याय तत्सः' ज्योतिषं III परिशेष III शृद्धार्थी। The verse quoted occurs in the Saunaka Kārikā (Ms. in Bombay University Library) as one of Garga. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti (Anand, ed.) VI. 2 speaks of nāma beginning from मन्त्रमित्र.
Varāhamihira the twelve names of Viṣṇu are associated with the twelve months.\[567\]

As to the names of girls, some special rules were laid down. Many grhyasūtras say that the names of girls should contain an uneven number of syllables and the Mānava gr. (I. 18) expressly says that the names of girls should be of three syllables. Pār. and Vārāhagṛhya further say that the names of girls should end in ‘ā’, Gobhila and Mānava say they should end in ‘dā’ (as in Satyadā, Vasudā, Yasodā, Narmadā), Śaṅkha-likhita dharmasūtra and Baijāvāpa require that it should end in ‘i’, while the Baud.\[568\] gr. śeṣa-sūtra says that it should end in a long vowel. The Vārāhagṛhya adds an intricate rule that the name of a girl should have an ‘a’ vowel in it and should not be after a river, a nakṣatra or should not be the name of the sun or moon or Pūṣan and should not be one having the idea of ‘given by god’ as in Devadatta or having the word ‘rakṣita’ (as in Buddharaṇī).\[569\] Manu II. 33 prescribes that the names of women should end in a long vowel, should be easy to pronounce, should not suggest any harsh acts, should be perspicuous, should be pleasing to the ear, auspicious and should convey some blessing and in III. 9 Manu and Āp. gr. III. 13 say that one should not marry a girl named after nakṣatras, trees, rivers. In modern times girls frequently bear the names of the great rivers of India (Sindhu, Jānnavī, Yamunā, Tāpī, Narmadā, Godā, Krṣṇā, Kāverī &c.).

It is remarkable that Manu altogether omits the involved rules given by the grhya sūtras about naming a boy and prescribes (II. 31–32) two simple rules viz. that the names of all the members of the four varṇas should suggest respectively auspiciousness, vigour, wealth and lowness (or contempt) and that the names of brahmānas and the other varṇas should have an addition (upapada) suggestive of ārman (happiness), rakṣā

\[567\] The 12 names are Śrī, Ṛṣa, Nāg, Prājñā, Bāla, Gopāla, Dharmarāja, Vāsudeva, Mahārāja, Nāmarāja, Varunā, Vasiṣṭha.

\[568\] Vide Apāna p. 27 for quotations from Bhāgavata and Viṣṇupadāpāna. Nārāyaṇa Abhimukheśa (Bhāgavata) says that the ‘a’ should always be avoided in the names of girls.

\[569\] These directions of the Vārāha gr. were not observed in ancient times. The Mahābhārata (vol. II. p. 307) mentions women named Citra, Revati, Advini, also a woman named Devadatta (vol. I. p. 184) and Vasudēva (vol. III. p. 156) and also Śrīmadīkā (or Śrīma), Ṣrīmadīkā (or Śrīma) in vol. III. p. 325.
(protection), puṣṭi (prosperity) and preṣṭya (service or dependence on others). It is significant that none of the grhyā-
sūtras except Pāraskara\textsuperscript{570} makes any reference to these additions (śarman and the like) to the names of brāhmaṇas and others. Therefore this was comparatively a later development, though such additions must have been in vogue at least two centuries before the Christian era. The Mahābhāṣya \textsuperscript{571} (vol. III. p. 416) cites Indrāvarman and Indrapālita as the names of a rājanya and a vaiśya. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p. 27) says\textsuperscript{572} that the names of brāhmaṇas should have the addition of śarma or deva, of kṣatriyas varma or trāta, of vaiśyas bhūti or datta, and of sūdras dāsa. Similar rules are given in the Purāṇas\textsuperscript{573}. These rules were sometime observed, but were often broken from very ancient times as inscriptions show. A striking example of the observance of these rules is contained in the Talgunḍa Inscription of Kaktūsthavarman of the Kadamba family (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 24) where the founder who was a brāhmaṇa is styled Mayūrasarman, but his descendants who were kings had names ending in varman (which was appropriate to kṣatriyas). On the other hand we have frequent breaches of these rules. In the Gupta Inscriptions No. 35 (C. I. I. vol. III, p. 150, at p. 156 the Mandasor Ins. of Yāsodhar-
man of Mālava year 589, 645-46 A. D.) the genealogy of the brāhmaṇa ministers is Śaśṭhidatta, his son Varahadāsa, his son Ravikirti (so the upapadas 'datta' and 'dāsa' appropriate to vaiśyas and sūdras respectively were added to brāhmaṇa names). In the Neulpur plate of Subhakara of Orissa (8th century A. D., E. I. vol. XV. p. 4) we have several bhaṭṭas whose names end in vardhana, datta and svāmin. In the Nidhanpura plate of Bhaṣkararvarman (E. I. vol. XIX p. 115) among the numerous donees (who must have been all brāhmaṇas) there are some who are named Śrāddhadāsa, Karkadatta and Merudatta. In the Inscriptions of the Saka king Dāmijaḍa

\textsuperscript{570} ना ना ना ना ना ना ना ना ना ना ना ना ना ना ना ना ना। आप. श्र. III. 13; इसे बालाकर्म

\textsuperscript{571} 'अधानुलबसाधनाः समार्थो मात्रा भाष्यः। वामोद्वत्ते श्रीनिवास र्तिर्भुषः। या प्रसोद्वत्ते श्रीनिवास पुराणो अभ्योगान्ती यस्मात् ।

\textsuperscript{572} इस is on पादिका 2' मोर्द्व-विविधां वेशी वाच्यम। ओ वादिनिः VIII. 2. 83.

\textsuperscript{573} वादिनिः ष्ठिस्त्र देवस्य नरः समार्थ। एव ग्रहनाग्नि देवस्य दुष्कर्मपरिषम्।

\textsuperscript{572} वादिनिः ष्ठिस्त्र देवस्य नरः समार्थ। एव ग्रहनाग्नि देवस्य दुष्कर्मपरिषम्।

\textsuperscript{573} वादिनिः ष्ठिस्त्र देवस्य नरः समार्थ। एव ग्रहनाग्नि देवस्य दुष्कर्मपरिषम्।
of the year 60 (C. I. I. vol. II. p. 16) his father is called \textit{Valavāda} (Balavardhana) and his son Mitrovadhana (Mitrovardhana).

A few words may be said about matronymics. A few examples of such names have been given above from Vedic Literature. Āsv. gr.\textsuperscript{574} (1.5.1.) says that in selecting a bridegroom or bride “one should first examine the family, as has been already said ‘those who on the mother’s and father’s side’.” This refers to the Āsv. Śrauta sūtra where it is required that both parents of the brāhmaṇa at the time of camasaḥbhakṣaṇa in Daśapeya should be for ten generations perfect in their learning, austerities, and meritorious works and who can be traced to have throughout been of the brāhmaṇa class on both sides &c. Yāj. I. 54 enjoins that one should choose a girl from a great family of śrotiyas, which has been famous for ten generations (for learning and character). Therefore when in certain cases a person is named after his mother or after the gotra of his mother’s father, all that is intended to be conveyed is that he is descended from worthy male and female ancestors. There is no question in such cases of matriarchy. In the Nasik Inscription No. 2 (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 60) sīra Puḷumāyī is described as Vāśīthiputa and in E. I. vol. VIII, p. 88 the Ābhrat king Tūrasena is described as Maḍharputra.\textsuperscript{575} In a Scythian Inscription (E. I. vol. X at page 108) we have mention of ‘the son of Bhārgavi’. In all these cases the mother’s gotra name is specially emphasized probably to convey that the mothers were of the bluest blood. Comparatively late writers mention the gotra in which their mother was born (e.g. Bhavabhūti who flourished about 700-750 A. D. says that he was a Kāśyapa while his mother was a Jaṭākarṇī). From a Kārikā in the Mahābhāṣya we learn that the great grammarian Pāṇini was the son of a Dākṣiṇ. Pāṇini himself \textsuperscript{576} (IV. 1. 147) delivers a

\textsuperscript{574} कुतुम्ब परिवेश वे भार्तर विपुलवसति यथोत्तम कृत्तियां आचरण. सू. व. I. 5.1.

The printed text reads "नामावर्ग" which practically conveys the same sense.

\textsuperscript{575} Vide E. I. vol. XX. p. 6. for other examples of Maḍharputra and Vāśīthiputa.

\textsuperscript{576} सर्व सर्वप्रतिवेश वृक्षविकृतच पाणिनी। मधनावर्ग व. I. p. 75 on पाणिनी (I. 1. 20). पाणिनी was also called सर्वप्रति (from his place शर्तप). Vide मधनावर्ग काव्यविवेचन बिंदुՎI. 62 and Nogawa plate of श्रेणी II (E. I. vol. VIII at p. 198, dated Gupta era 320 i. e. 649-50 A.D.). Pāṇini (IV. 3. 94) derives the word मधनावर्ग.
special rule about the formation of a name for a man from the gotra name of his mother to convey contempt (e.g. Gārgaḥ or Gārgikaḥ, a rogue, from his mother's name Gārgi). 577 Śāṅkāyana gṛhya (I. 25. 2-9, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 52) prescribes that the father and mother (having bathed themselves and the child) should put on new clothes, that the father should cook a mess of food in the sūtikāgni, that he is to offer oblations to the titi of the boy's birth and to three constellations with their presiding deities, that he is to place in the middle the oblation to the nakṣatra of birth and he should make two other oblations to fire with two mantras and then the 10th oblation is made to Soma with Rg. I. 91. 7. The father pronounces aloud the child's name and causes the brāhmaṇas to say auspicious words.

The Āśv. gr. does not describe Nāmakaraṇa. Many of the other gṛhyaśūtras prescribe that the sūtikāgni is to be removed and the homa for nāmakaraṇa is to be performed in the Aupāsana (gṛhya) fire. The Bhāradvāja gr. 578 prescribes the repetition of the Jayā, Abhyatāna and Rāṣṭrabṛtt mantras and the offering of eight oblations of ghṛta with the eight mantras 'may Dātṛ bestow on us wealth' (Āp. M. P. II. 11. 1ff). The Hir. gr. (II. 4. 6-14, S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 214-215) contains similar rules. It prescribes twelve oblations with the mantras 'may Dātṛ bestow on us wealth' and gives two names (a secret nakṣatra name and an ordinary name) to the boy. The twelve oblations are as follows: four to Dātṛ, four to Anumati, two to Rākā, two to Siniva. According to some a thirteenth oblation to Kuhū was to be offered.

The later works state many details which it is unnecessary to set out. The mother with her child on her lap sits to the right of the father. Some late writers prescribe that the father is to give a secret name to the boy and should spread husked

577. The pāñcāśāstra gives several Vārtikas on Pañcini IV. 1. 147 and the Kālidāsa remarks 'niḥsaṁvākṣanā gṛhasthaśc sarvadūṣyayasaṁvākṣanā kālaḥ' and saras would mean gṛhastha puṣṭa (whose father was unknown).

578. e.g. Māyādīya Sm. I. 26 'दुश्चिमं स्नानं मातस्व तह्मवार्ता । ज्ञेश्वरधर्मविषयं नवानियसा हिन्ने इति' (I. 10. 9 ‘दुश्चिमं स्नानं तह्मवार्ता ।’), अन्यत्रतर अन्यान्य आचार्य्यां साधने इति. ज्ञेस्वार तह्मवार्ता अन्यान्य आचार्य्यां साधने इति. ज्ञेस्वार तह्मवार्ता अन्यान्य आचार्य्यां साधने इति. ज्ञेस्वार तह्मवार्ता अन्यान्य आचार्य्यां साधने इति. ज्ञेस्वार तह्मवार्ता अन्यान्य आचार्य्यां साधने इति.

Other śūtras specify other mantras from their respective śākhās.
grains of rice in a vessel of bronze, write thereon with a golden pen the words ‘salutations to Śrī Gaṇapati’ and then write four names of the boy, viz. kuladevātā nāma (such as Yogeśvaribhakta), then māsanāma (vide note 566 above), a vyāvahārikanāma, a nakṣatranāma. 579

Some sūtra works add a detail immediately after Nāmakarana. For example, Āsv. gr. (I. 15. 11) says ‘when a father returns from a journey he holds in his hands his son’s head, mutters the verse ‘āṅgād āṅgād &c.’ and thrice smells (kisses) his son on the head. Āp. gr. 15. 12 580 prescribes that on returning from a journey the father should address his son (abhimantrana) with the verse ‘āṅgād,’ should smell the child on the head with the verse ‘be thou an axe’ and should mutter in his right ear five mantras. These rules have a very ancient origin. The Kauśitaki Br. Up. II. 11 says that on returning from a journey the father touches the head of a son with the verse ‘āṅgād-āṅgād &c.’ and takes the name of the boy and also repeats the verse ‘aśmā bhava’ &c. In the case of the girl there is no smelling of the head nor muttering in the ear, but only address (with a prose formula). This no doubt indicates that greater value was attached to a son than to a daughter, but it also shows that the daughter was not altogether neglected.

Karnavedha:—(piercing the lobes of the ears of the child). In modern times this is generally done on the 12th day after birth. In the Baud. gr. śeṣa-sūtra (I. 12) karnavedha is prescribed in the 7th or 8th month, while Brhaspati quoted in Saṁskāraprakāśa (p. 258) says that it may be performed on the 10th, 12th or 16th 581 day from birth or in the 7th or 10th month from birth. The Sm. C. has a brief note on karnavedha. The grhṛya-pariṣista says that the father sits facing the east in the first half of the day and first addresses the right ear of the boy with the mantra ‘Oh gods, may we hear bliss with our ears’ (Rg. I. 89. 8) and then also the left ear. If the boy cries honey is to be

579. The Šāstras in Nāmakarana i.e., ‘nāmaśya kumāraśya bhūjasvarśya bhūjasvarśyayā yonih prāpātya ūruttāsvarādihā vā ūruttābhavādī nāmādhyayā kāmasya kālibhīṣaye’ śastraścaryam p. 861.

580. For abhravamānuṣyaṁ and for abhrā maṁ vide note 537 above. In Aṣ. M. I. 14. 3 the reading is bhrātiṁ, not bhrānaṁ. The formula for a daughter is śāntasvāpadvamātā śāntasvā patiḥ śāntesvāḥ (Aṣ. M. I. 14. 10).

581. The śastraścaryam (p. 873) quotes from Śabdartha the verse ‘ārtham ārtham nāmā yadā prapātenā bhrasvāṁ bhāvati sarvottanam bhrasvāṁ bhrasvāṁ’ Vide śastraścaryam p. 879 for karṇivāya.
given to him; after the rite brāhmaṇas are to be fed. In modern times, generally a goldsmith is called who pierces the lower lobes of the ears with a pointed golden wire and turns it into a ring round the lobes. In the case of girls the left ear is pierced first. That ears of boys were pierced even in ancient times is suggested by a mantra quoted in the Nīrūkta.582 ‘He (the teacher) who pierces the ear with truth, without causing pain and yet bestowing ambrosia, should be regarded as one’s father and mother’.

Nīskramaṇa:— (Taking the child out of the house in the open). This is a minor rite. Pār. gr. I. 17 gives the briefest description. Vide also Gobhila II.8. 1-7 (S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 56-57), Khādira II. 3, 1-5 (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 396), Baud. gr. II.2, Māṇava gr. I. 19. 1-6, Kāthaka gr. 37-38.583 This was done according to most authorities in the 4th month after birth. Aparārka (p. 23) quotes a purāṇa that the going out of the house may be done on the 12th day or in the 4th month. According to Pār. gr. the father makes the child584 look at the sun pronouncing the verse ‘that eye’ (Vāj. S. 36. 24). The Māṇavagrhyas prescribes that the father cooks a mess of food in milk and offers oblations thereof to the sun with the verses ‘the brilliant sun has risen in the east’ (Mait. S. 4. 14. 4), ‘he is the hansa sitting in pure worlds’ (Rg. IV. 40. 5 = Mait. S. II. 6. 12 = Tai. S. I. 8. 15. 2), ‘whenever him’ (Rg. X. 88. 11) and then he worships the sun with the verse ‘that Jātaveda’ (Rg. I. 50. 1, it occurs in all Samhitās) and then he should present the child turning its face towards the sun with the verse ‘salutation to thee, Oh divine (sun) who hast hundreds of rays and who dispellesst darkness, remove the misfortune of my lot and endow me with blessings’; then brāhmaṇas are to be fed and the fee is to be a bull. Baud.

582. निषिद्ध ॥ ४ ॥ य आनुपातिकविषयेन कर्षणकुलोऽवधेशम् ज्ञातञ्च संवर्चनः। ते सहस्रे दित्य भान्ति च तस्मात्ने न दुर्गोक्ततमादिनाः॥. This verse also occurs in Vas. II. 10 and Viṣṇu Dhy. S. 30, 47; vide Aṣṭādhyāyī 108. 22-23 where there is a very similar verse (वाष्टाध्यायीतपतिः) and सुपु ॥ 114.

583. These two chapters of the कांतस्मृत्वेद seem to be later additions. The com. नान्तकानत remarks ‘विषयात्मनापूर्ब्बविषयायाम् याति। शोचितस्तु परस्परवचन पुत्रतति दूरीये मासिक विन्दूः दूरीये मासिक वत्रां तथा जनान्त्र दवंस्थाः।’

584. चतुर्दशी मासिक तिथिभाष्येकं चतुर्दशी मासिकं तिथिकार ॥ १७॥ The verse is तिथिवृद्धिनमुपस्यमुपस्यमुपस्यमुपस्यमुपस्यमुपस्यमुपस्यमुपस्यमुपस्यमुपस्यमुपस्यमुपस्यमुपस्यमुपस्यमुपस्यमुद्विनावरं ग्रामात्रे। तत्त्वं प्रत्येकं अग्नि तत्त्वं अष्टीयमिवहुरं तत्त्वं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं अष्टीयमिवहुरं. Vide Tai- Ar. 4. 42 for this benediction.
gr. (II 2) prescribes a homa with eight oblations. Gobhila speaks of candradarśana. It says that on the 3rd tihti of the third bright fortnight after birth, the father bathes the child in the morning, worships in the evening the moon with folded hands, then the mother, having dressed the child, hands it with its face to the north from the south to north to the father and herself passes behind the back of the father and stands to the north of him, who worships with the three verses 585 'Oh thou whose hair is well parted, thy heart' (Mantrabrāhmaṇa I. 5. 10–12), then the father hands back the son to the mother with the words 'that this son may not come to harm and be torn from his mother'. Then in the following bright fortnights, the father filling his joined hands with water and turning his face towards the moon, lets the water flow out of his joined hands once with the Yajus 'what is the moon' (Mantrabrāhmaṇa I. 5. 13) and twice silently. The Khādirāgrhya has practically the same rules, except that it does not speak of two times. It will be noted that both omit the sight of the sun, but only mention the seeing of the moon. Laghu-Āśvalāyana VII. 1–3 speaks of the performance of abhyudayika śrāddha, then reciting the sūkta from 'svasti no mimtam' (Ṛg. V. 51. 11) and 'āsu śīśānam' (Ṛg. X. 103. 1), showing the boy to the sun in the courtyard of one's father-in-law or in that of another and then repeating the verse 'that eye' (Vāj. S. 36. 24). The Sm. O. remarks that those in whose sākha this rite is not mentioned need not perform it. The Śaṁskāraprakāśa pp. 250–256 and Śaṁskāraratnamālā pp. 886–888 give an extensive description and make of this śaṁskāra a matter of great pomp, festivity and rejoicing. Yama 586 quoted in Śaṁ. Pr. says that seeing the sun and seeing the moon should be done respectively in the 3rd and 4th months from birth.


585. The verse यस्य शुभेण दल्लूः occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 13. 4.

586. यमः। त्ततः सौन्दर्याथि अड्डिः सूर्यस्य प्रसादः दल्लूः। चाहुः सौन्दर्याथि अड्डिः लोकः। आप. म. पा. II. 250.
month from birth as the time for this sāṁskāra; but Māṇava gr. says it may be the 5th or 6th; while Sāṅkha quoted by Aparārka says it should be performed at the end of a year or at the end of six months, according to some. The Kāthaka gr. enjoins the sixth month from birth or the time when the child first strikes teeth. The procedure is very brief in all except Śāṅ. and Pār. Śāṅ. says that the father should prepare food of goat’s flesh, or flesh of partridge, or of fish or boiled rice, if he is desirous of nourishment, holy lustre, swiftness or splendour respectively and mix one of them with curds, honey and ghee and should give it to the child to eat with the reciting of the Mahāvyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvah, svah). Then the father is to offer oblations to fire with four verses ‘Annapate’, Rg. IV. 12. 4-5 and ‘him, Oh Agni, lead to long life and splendour &c’. The father recites over the child the verse Rg. IX. 66. 19 and then sets down the child on northward pointed kuśa grass with Rg. I. 22. 15. The mother is to eat the remnant of the food thus prepared. Āśv. has almost the same rules as to food (omitting fish) but prescribes only one verse ‘Annapate’. Āp. gr. prescribes feeding of brāhmaṇas, making them give benedictions to the child and then making the child eat only once amass of curds, honey, ghee and boiled rice mixed together, with the recitation of a mantra joined to the three vyāḥṛtis singly and collectively and says that according to some the flesh of partridge may also be added. Bhār. says that the method of making a child eat is the same as in Medhājanana and is silent about the food. Pār. gr. (I. 19) prescribes the cooking of sthālipāka and offering the two ājyabhāgas and then two offerings of ghee with the mantras ‘the gods generated’ the goddess of speech &c’ (Rg. VIII. 100. 11) and the verse ‘may vigour to-day produce for us gifts &c’ (Vāj. S. 18. 33). Māṇava, Kāthaka and Vaik. are entirely silent about flesh. Kāthaka

587. संवस्त्रलेखणान्तर्विन्दुकोष्ठकः। भव. q. by Aparārka p. 28.

588. अन्नपूर्वसः को देशान्वित्यान्तर्विन्दुकोष्ठकः। य मद्भावितः तारिज्जलिः अन्तः नी चिन्द्रिक्ष्याधे चतुर्भुजः॥ हे. सं.

589. शुरुवा स्वर्णश्रीय सर्वाभियोगस्मि। विवर्त्त अप्रोप्रोपयं सत्ववनसत्वस्त्र अप्रोप्रोपयं सत्ववनसत्वस्त्र सुकृतम् तीसः। सुकृतम् तीसः।

590. देवी वाङ्मयजनवत्व देवाली विशेषक्रमः पशचो वषुनितः। सा नौ नामदेशवर्ध्या

H. D. 33
prescribes the cooking of all havisya food and the other two works prescribe food cooked in milk.

It will be seen from the above that the principal part of the sāṁskāra is making the child taste food. Some writers add homa, feeding of brāhmaṇas, and benedictions. The Sāṁskāra-prakāśa (pp. 267-279) and Sāṁskāraratnamālā (pp. 891-895) have very detailed notes on this sāṁskāra. One interesting matter quoted by Aparārkā (p. 25) from Mārkaṇḍeya is that on the day of this ceremony, in front of the gods worshipped in the house, tools and utensils required in various arts and crafts, weapons and śāstras should be spread about and the child should be allowed to crawl among them and what the child seizes at first should be noted and it should be deemed that he is destined to follow that profession for his livelihood which is represented by the thing first touched by him.

Varṣavaridhana or abdapūrti:—In some of the sūtras provision is made for some ceremonies every month on the day of the birth of the child for one year and on every anniversary of the day of birth throughout life. For example, Gobhila gr. (II. 8. 19-20) says 'every month of the boy's birth for one year or on the parva days of the year he should sacrifice to Agni and Indra, to Heaven and Earth and to the Viśve devas. Having sacrificed to these deities he should sacrifice to the tithi and nakṣatra'. The Śaṅ. gr. (I. 25. 10-11 S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 52) similarly says 'having sacrificed in the same way every month on the tithi of the child's birth, he sacrifices when one year has expired in the (ordinary) domestic fire'. Baud. gr. III. 7 prescribes an offering of cooked rice for life (āyusyaacaru) 'every year, every six months, every four months, every season or every month on the nakṣatra of birth'. Kāthaka gr. (36. 12 and 14) prescribes a homa every month after nāmakarana for a year in the same way as in nāmakarana or jātkarma and at the end of the year an offering of the

591. अभवनमाकर पं 400 quotes a verse 'धनिशस्तु वा हुस्यां यदृच्छक स्वरूपी विश्वदायू द्वादशमी' and quotes सामस्नवित्त 'मयं नवं वर्षं' सादुल्लाही मियर्षदलाने मायकोडुर नवमकारमुद्द्रानिजवित्तनाथमधुनाथमदुपुरुषार्यभाषार्थ ।

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flesh of a goat and sheep to Agni and Dhanvantari and feeding the brāhmaṇas with food mixed with plenty of ghee. Vaik. III. 20–21 speaks at great length of the ceremony called ‘Varṣavardhana’ (increase of the years of a person) to be performed on the anniversary of the birth-day every year and lays down that in this rite the deity of the nakṣatras on which a child is born is the principal one, that oblations of ghee are to be offered to that deity and nakṣatras and then to the other presiding deities of the nakṣatras and to the nakṣatras themselves, then an oblation with the vyāhṛti (bhūḥ svāhā), then offerings to Dhātā. It describes in detail how different ceremonies are to be performed up to Upanayana, then up to finishing of Veda study, how ceremonies are to be performed on the anniversary day of one’s marriage, on the nakṣatras on which a person performed solemn sacrifices like Agniṣṭoma and that if he thus lives till 80 years and 8 months he becomes one who has seen a thousand (full) moons and is called ‘brahma-śarīra’, in celebration of which several ceremonies are prescribed (which for want of space are not set out here). In connection with the anniversary of the marriage day, Vaik. specially prescribes that whatever ceremonies women direct as done traditionally should be performed. Aparārka (p. 29) quotes verses of Mārkandeya to the effect that all should every year on the day of birth celebrate a festival (mahotsava) in which one should honour and worship one’s elders, Agni, gods, Prajāpati, the pītra, one’s nakṣatra of birth and brāhmaṇas. The Krtyaratnākara (p. 540), the Nityācārapaddhati (pp. 621–624) quote the same verses (as Aparārka does) and add that on that day one should worship Mārkandeya (who is believed to be immortal) and the seven other cirajīvins. The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 621) quotes a verse that in the case of kings the anniversary of the day on which they were crowned should be celebrated. The Nīrāyasindhu, the Saṃskāraspratikāsa (which in pp. 281–294 gives the most elaborate treatment) call

594. पद्मी विवाहिः भगवति मन्त्रिनिव वापिके चालल्लध वालिन सति विद्या वानि पारम्पर्यांत सिद्धार्था तत्कालिकः। ई.ई. म. ई. 11.1.1.7 also speaks of the anniversary of the day of marriage ‘वेदनेपि: विवाह विद्या वालिन तत्कालिकः’।

595. The nirayardinikā has these verses ‘अन्वयिका वापिके चालल्लध वालिन विद्या वानि।। ।। ।। ।। सति विद्या वानि सदीयिनिविन्या। सर्वेक्षितय सर्वविभेद्य धार्मिकयताः।। जानेयताः सतिवापिके चालल्लध वालिन।। वेदनेपिव विद्या वालिन।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।.
this festival 'abdpūrti'. The Saimkāra ratanāmālā contains a very extensive discourse on this rite (pp. 877-886) and calls this festival 'āyurvedhāpāna'. The Nirnayasindhu and the Saimkāra ratanāmālā set out the verses that are addressed to Märkanḍeṣya and others. In modern times women do celebrate every month the birthday of a child and the first anniversary of birth. They make the child cling to the principal house-post or to the post used for churning out butter from the psil of curds and water.

_Caula_ or Cudākarma or Cudākarana:—(the first cutting of the hair on the child’s head). This samskāra is mentioned by every writer. 'Cudā' means the ‘lock or tuft of hair’ kept on the head when the remaining part is shaved (i.e. the śikhā); so cudākarma or cudākarana means that rite in which a lock of hair is kept (for the first time after birth). We get ‘cauda’ from ‘cūdā’ meaning ‘a rite the purpose of which is keeping a lock of hair’ and ‘da’ and ‘la’ often interchange places. So we get ‘cauda’ or ‘caula’ also as the name of the ceremony.

According to many 597 writers caula was performed in the third year from birth. Baud. gr. (II. 4), Pār. gr. (II. 1), Manu II. 35, Vaik. III. 23 say that it may be performed in the 1st or 3rd year; Āsv. gr. and Vārāha gr. say it may be performed in the 3rd year or in the year in which it is the custom of the family to perform it. Pār. also refers to family usage. Yāj. specifies no year, but mentions only family usage. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p. 29) allowed it in the first, 2nd or 3rd year, while Śaṅkha-Likhita allowed it in the 3rd or 5th (Aparārka p. 29), Śad-guru-siśya quoted in the Saṁskāraprakāśa (p. 296) and Nārāyaṇa (on Āsv. gr. I. 17. 1) say that some performed it at the time of upanayana.

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596. स च चुडाकरानां पर्नावयवाच । धार्मिकानां च चुडाकरानां उपायवाच । पर्समं चुडाकर्माणि चुडाकरानां चुडा निक्षते विनिक्षिप्तानि ता त्रिवेदः संबंधति । सत्यार्थसाक्यम् p. 295. The Mahābhārata (vol. II. p. 362 on pā. V. 1. 97) explains it as 'चुडा महाभारतम् ज्ञाते' and we know from works on poetics that 'समावेशोऽविचेष्टानि चुडाकरानां चुडाकरानां' निन्तिर (there is no distinction between 'ba' and 'va' or 'da' and 'la' in Yamaka, paronomasia and citrakāya).

Whether such a ceremony was performed in the Vedic ages cannot be ascertained with certainty. Bhār. gr. I. 28 expressly\(^{599}\) refers to the Vedic verse (Ṛg IV. 75. 17 or Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 5) as indicative of the practice of Caula in Vedic times ‘where arrows fall together like boys having many tufts of hair’. Manu II. 35 also has in view this Vedic verse.

The principal act in this ceremony is the cutting of the hair of the child. The other subsidiary matters are the performance of homa, feeding of brāhmaṇas, receiving of their benedictions and giving of dākṣiṇā, the disposal of cut hair in such a way that no one can find them.

The ceremony is to be performed on an auspicious day as set out in note 494 above. Āp. gr. 16. 3 says it should be performed when the moon is in conjunction with Punarvasu nakṣatra, while Māṇava gr. says that it should not be done on the 9th titi of a month. Later works like the Saṃskāraprakalṣa (pp. 299–315) give very intricate rules about the auspicious times, which rules are passed over here. The most exhaustive treatment of this ceremony in the sūtra works is to be found in Āsv., Gobhila, Vārāha 4 and Pār. II. 1.

The materials required in this ceremony are stated as follows: (1) To the north of the fire are placed four vessels each of which is separately filled with rice, barley, māsa beans and sesame respectively (Āsv. gr. I. 17. 2), but Gobhila (II. 9. 6–7) says that they are to be placed to the east and Gobhila and Śān. say that these are to be given to the barber at the end of the rite; (2) to the west of the fire the mother with the boy on her lap is to be seated and two vessels one filled with the dung of a bull and the other with sāmi leaves are to be also placed to the west (Gobhila II. 9. 5 and Khādira II. 3. 18 place the dung to the north of the fire and Khādira says that she sits to the north); (3) to the right of the mother the father sits holding 21 bunches\(^{599}\) of kuṣa grass or the brāhmaṇ priest (if there be any) may hold them; (4) warm and cold water or only warm water; (5) an ordinary razor or one made of Udumbara wood (according to Khādira II. 3. 17 and Gobhila II. 9. 4); (6) a

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\(^{598}\) अर्थादेः सांस्कारिकवर्णो चौथे कुर्विन्ति यथाविति यथोप्पज्व वा। निषायते त। यत्र 

\(^{599}\) 21 bunches are required because he cuts off the hair four times on the right side and three times on the left side and each time three kuṣa bunches are required.
mirror (Gobhila and Khādīra). According to Gobhila and Khādīra the barber, hot water, mirror, razor and bunches of kuṣa grass are to the south of the fire and bull's dung and a mess of rice mixed with sesame are to the north of the fire. Āśv., Pār., Kāṭhaka and Māṇava say that the razor is to be of loha (which the commentator Nārāyaṇa explains as copper).

After homa is performed, the principal matter (of cutting the hair) is to be begun. According to Gobhila and Khādīra the father, having contemplated upon Savitr, looks at the barber with the mantra 'here comes Savitr' (Mantra-br. I. 6. 1) and contemplating on Vāyu looks at the warm water with the mantra 'with warm water, Oh Vāyu, come hither' (Mantra-Br. I. 6. 2). The father then mixes the hot and cold water and may put, in a part of the water, butter or drops of curds and apply the water to moisten three times the boy's head with the mantra 'may Aditi cut thy hair; may the waters moisten (thy hair) for vigour'. Then on the right portion of the boy's hair the father puts three kuṣa bunches with the points towards the boy with the formula 'herb, protect him' (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1). With the words 'Axo, do not harm him' (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1) he presses a copper razor (on the kuṣa blades). The hair is cut with the mantra 'with that razor with which Savitr, the wise, cut (the hair) of king Soma and of Varuṇa, cut now his (the boy's hair), Oh brāhmaṇas, so that he may be endowed with long life and (reach) old age'. Each time the hair is cut, he gives the cut hair with their ends turned towards the east together with śanti leaves to the mother, who puts them down on the bull dung. Cutting is done a second time with the mantra 'with what Dhātā shaved (the head) of Brhaspati, Agni and Indra for the

600. The several sūtras generally cite different mantras at the time of the performance of the several acts. It is not possible for want of space to set out all these different verses. Only the mantras used in the Ādv. gy. are cited in order to convey some idea of the rite as it was practised in ancient times.

601. It appears that originally the father himself performed the cutting of the hair. Some of the grhya sūtras like those of Band. and Śān. nowhere mention the barber in this ceremony. Hence it appears that later on the father performed only the homa and repeated the mantras, while a barber was employed to shave the boy's head. 'तेन पञ्च्वाणाना कार्यंति विबारकुक्तिः स एव वपसवानसि सिंहं सम्पति। सदृश्यान्तः तदृशासिकाना अहाँगाकारधिकरात्मकं सहस्त्रं चेताबानं भव नायिने वर्णं कारधिक सिद्धाः॥

[Śāntaka-rāmāyaṇa p. 901]
sake of their long life, with that I shave thy (head) for the sake of long life, fame and happiness'. The cutting is done a third time with the mantra 'with what he may after night (is past) see the sun again and again, with that I shave thy (head) for the sake of long life, fame and happiness'. The cutting is done for the fourth time with all the three mantras together. Then the hair is cut three times on the left side similarly. The edge of the razor is then wiped off with the mantra 'when thou shavest as a shaver the hair (of the boy) with the razor that wounds and is well-shaped purify his head, but do not deprive him of life'. Then he gives orders to the barber 'doing with lukewarm water what has to be done with water, arrange his hair (well) without causing him (the boy) any wound'. Let him have the hair of the boy arranged according to the custom of the family. The rite only (without the mantras) is performed for a girl.\footnote{603}

According to several sūtras, the cut hair placed in the dung of a bull is buried in a cow stable\footnote{603} or is thrown in a pond or in the vicinity of water (Pār., Bhār.) or is buried at the root of the Udumbara tree (Bhār.) or in a bunch of darbha grass (Baud., Bhār., Gobhila) or in the forest (Gobhila). The Mānava gr. prescribes that as the hair fall down when cut they are gathered by some friendly person. The Kāthaka gr. and Mānava gr. say that the barber gets a sesame cake and a fine piece of cloth, while Vaik. says food is given to him. A bath for the boy is expressly prescribed by Baud. and some others.

There is a great divergence of views about the number of locks of hair to be left on the head and the portion of the head where they are to be left. Baud. gr. says that one or three or five locks\footnote{604} may be left on the head or according to family usage and he further says that some sages say that the locks should

\footnote{602. All the mantras in Āsv. gr. occur also in Mānava gr., some occur in Baud., Bhār., Pār., and others. The mantras in Āsv. viz. \textit{सुकृति} वन, व्यवस्य, वेद धातव्य, वेद \textit{पुरुष}, \textit{वस्तुरियो} अर्थं सा are आद. \textit{म. पा. II. 1. 1, 3-5 and 7 with slight variations. The verse \textit{वस्तुरियो} अर्थं of महाद्व. no. are the same as \textit{अर्थं} VIII. 2. 17 and Āsv. appears to have adapted it purposely to make it suit the caula.}

\footnote{603. अयोध्यगोधियपितसोऽदेशतोऽवकान्तोऽवकान्तस्युपर्वमथायिता निवृत्तिः माधवभ. \textit{सु} I. 28; \textit{सु} विषयेऽन्तोऽसोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽन्तोऽ
be as many as the pravaras invoked by the father.\textsuperscript{605} Āsv. gr., and Pār. gr. say that locks may be kept according to family usage. Ap. gr. says that the locks may in number follow the pravara or they may be kept according to family usage. Gobhila and Khādīra say that the locks should be arranged according to gotra and family usage. Whether they mean by ‘gotra’ the number of pravaras of the gotra or some rule such as the Kāṭhaka gives is not clear. The Kāṭhaka gr. says that the Vāsiśṭhas keep a lock on the right, that persons of Atri and Kāśyapa gotra (or pravara) keep locks both on the right and the left, that the Bhrigu shaves the entire head, that the Āṅgiras gotra keeps five locks or only a line of hair, while persons of other gotras (like Agastya, Viśvāmitra &c.) keep a sikhā (without any particular number of locks) simply because it is an auspicious sign or one may follow the usage of one’s\textsuperscript{606} family. Vāl.\textsuperscript{607} says that the locks may be one, two, three, five or seven according to the pravaras. Rgveda\textsuperscript{608} VII. 33. 1 refers to the fact that Vāsiśṭhas had a lock of hair on the right side of the head and so the rule of the Kāṭhaka has a very hoary antiquity behind it. Up to modern times one of the characteristic outward signs of all Hindus was the sikhā (the top-knot). A verse of Devala says that whatever religious act a man does without the yajnopavītta or without sikhā is as good as undone and Harita rules that a person who cuts off his sikhā through hate or ignorance or foolishness becomes pure only after

\textsuperscript{605} The pravaras or ḍris of the several gotras are generally three but some gotras have one, two or five pravaras, but never four. Vide below under marriage for pravara.

\textsuperscript{606} तुम्हारे: कहु यामसिद्धान्तम्। साम्प्रदायिकायायपापानम्। प्रभु पुणम्। सन्दा प्रचार। अनुष्ठान:। बालि (राजि?) मे। कि कुलार्थ सिद्धिमोहणः। बघाउँगमे वा। काहक युग 40. 2-8. These sutras are quoted by Agastya p. 29 and by the सूतिचित्र I. p. 23. The सूतिचित्र in explaining the words सन्दा प्रचार says that some keep a sikhā of the form and size of the leaf of the Vatā tree. The स. प. p. 316 arranges the sutras differently and remarks सन्दा प्रचार तथाकथापापाधारसः। तथाकथापापाधारान्तवतविशेषः। तथाकथापापाधारान्तवतविशेषः। ।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।।.\

\textsuperscript{607} अनुष्ठान:। । रघुवाणिप्रवर्तकमपरिन्यासंवर्तमानसम्पाद्या। सिद्धेनुजः। वैशाखम III. 23.

\textsuperscript{608} स्वस्वतथा मा द्रुतसम्बन्धाय: पिण्डित्यधारा: आनि हि प सयु:। जन्तु नोचे परि नरिणो नूत मं दुहुँ दुहुँ नवस्थीते। वस्तिर्म:। क्र. VII. 33. 1.
performing the taptakracca penance.\textsuperscript{609} In the Mudrārāksa (1.8) there is a reference to the śīkha of Cāṇakya having been kept untied when he was angered by the Nandas. Sabara (on Jaimini I. 3. 2) remarks that the śīkha (its position and locks) is a sign to indicate the gotra and quotes Rg. VI. 75. 17 (yatra bāṇāḥ &c. cited above in note 598). Vasūṭha (II. 21) prescribes that members of all varṇas (including the śūdra) should arrange their hair according to the fixed usage (of their family) or should shave the whole head except the śīkha. A Vedic passage\textsuperscript{610} is 'the head that has no śīkha on it is unholy'. For rules about the śīkha of students vide later on under upanayana. During recent times men, particularly those receiving English education in towns and cities, are forsaking the ancient practice of keeping a śīkha and follow the western method of allowing the hair to grow on the whole head.

In modern times the rite of cūḍākaraṇa generally takes place if at all on the day of Upanayana.

Āśv. gr. (I. 17. 18) expressly says that the ceremony of cūḍākaraṇa was to be performed for girls also, but no Vedic mantras were to be repeated. Manu (II. 66) says that all the ceremonies from jātakarma to caula must be performed at the proper times for girls also in order to purify their bodies but without mantras and Yāj. (I. 13) is to the same effect. Even such late writers as Mitramiśra say that the caul of girls may be performed according to the usage of the family and that their hair may be entirely shaved or a śīkha may be kept or there should be no shaving at all.\textsuperscript{111}

In some castes even in modern times girls when mere children are shaved once, it being supposed that the first hair are impure.

Vidyārāmbha:—The gṛhya sūtras and dharmasūtras are entirely silent as to what was done for the child's education

\begin{itemize}
  \item[609] Sutrāntaśāstra bhāṣya Bahsyat vastra śāstrasya bhāṣyaḥ. Sa śūkṣmā弥漫ित्रपीता sthānam niḥśāyām n nīpiṇa
  \item[610] Vidyārambha:—The gṛhya sūtras and dharmasūtras are entirely silent as to what was done for the child's education
  \item[611] Sutrāntaśāstra bhāṣya Bahsyat vastra śāstrasya bhāṣyaḥ. Sa śūkṣmā弥漫ित्रपीता sthānam niḥśāyām n nīpiṇa
\end{itemize}
between the third year when usually caula was performed and the 8th year (from conception) when the upanayana usually took place (in the case of brähmanas). They state that rarely upanayana was performed even in the 5th year (as will be shown hereafter). Some faint light is thrown on this matter by the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, which says that the prince after the performance of caula is to engage in the study of the alphabet and of arithmetic, and after his upanayana he is to study the Vedas, ānvikṣiki (metaphysics), vārtā (agriculture and the science of wealth) and dāndani (the art of government) up till the 16th year when the godāna ceremony is to be performed and after which year he may marry. Kālidāsa also (in Raghuvamśa III. 28) says that prince Aja first mastered the alphabet and then entered into the ocean of (Sanskrit) literature. Bāna has probably the Arthaśāstra in view when he makes prince Candrāpiḍa enter the temple of learning (vidyāmandira) at 6 and remain there till he became sixteen and he (like Milton in his letter to Hattilie) tells us how extensive the ideal curriculum of studies in arts and sciences for the prince was thought to be. In the Uttarārāmacarita (Act II) it is said that Kuśa and Lava were taught vidyās other than the Veda after their caula and before upanayana.

It appears that at least from the early centuries of the Christian era, a ceremony called Vidyārambha (commencement of learning the alphabet) was celebrated. Aparāka (pp. 30–31) and the Sm. C. (I. p. 26) cite verses from the Mārkaṇḍeśvara-purāṇa.

612. वृद्धोक्तरणां चिरिं संख्या जीवनपुक्ते।। इश्कपननाश्वरीकारीक्ष्यों च शिष्येऽष्यं वाताशिष्यवाताशिष्यवाताशिष्य:। ज्ञानवेष चापस्मातालाभात॥। अविनद्र गायनम् दुर्वरम्।। अर्थशास्त्र I. 5.

613. Vide काव्य शास्त्र सार ६९ for विद्याधािरिव and para 71 for the various arts and sciences. पदे बाने भापसे प्रस्तावान: चापस्मातान्नृत्यो ज्ञानवेषवाताशिष्य: । वाताशिष्यवाताशिष्यवाताशिष्यवाताशिष्य:। ज्ञानवेष चापस्मातालाभात॥। अविनद्र गायनम् दुर्वरम्।। अर्थशास्त्र I. 5.

614. Vide para 74 about 6 and 16 years.

615. अविनद्र प्रमां च अनुसे अनुस्राने। बाने व्याप्यपु: च चापस्मातान्नृत्यो ज्ञानवेषवाताशिष्य:। रिष्यं च चापस्मातान्नृत्यो ज्ञानवेषवाताशिष्यवाताशिष्य:।

It appears that at least from the early centuries of the Christian era, a ceremony called Vidyārambha (commencement of learning the alphabet) was celebrated. Aparāka (pp. 30–31) and the Sm. C. (I. p. 26) cite verses from the Mārkaṇḍeśvara-purāṇa.
about vidyārmbha as follows: in the fifth year of the child on some day from the 12th of the bright half of Kartika to the 11th of the bright half of Āśādha, but excluding the 1st, 6th, 8th, 15th tithi or rikā tithis (i.e. 4th, 9th and 14th) and Saturday and Tuesday, the ceremony of beginning to learn should be performed. Having worshipped Hari (Viṣṇu), Lakṣmī, Sarasvati, the sūtra writers of one’s śākhā and the lore peculiar to one’s family, one should offer in the fire oblations of clarified butter to the above mentioned deities and should honour brāhmaṇas by the payment of dakṣinā. The teacher should sit facing the east and the boy should face the west and the teacher should begin to teach the first lesson to the boy who should receive the benedictions of brāhmaṇas. Thereafter teaching should be stopped on the days of anadhyāya (which will be specified later on).

The Saṃskāra-prakāśa (pp. 321–325) and Saṃskāraratnakālamā (pp. 904–907) have an extensive note, a considerable part of which is devoted to astrological matters. The Saṃskāraprakāśa quotes passages from Viśvamitra, Devala and other sages and works that vidyārmbha is performed in the 5th year or in any case before upanayana. It also quotes a verse from Nrṣimha that Sarasvati and Gañapati should be worshipped and then the teacher should be honoured. The modern practice is to begin learning the alphabet on an auspicious day, generally the 10th of the bright half of Āśvina, Sarasvati and Gañapati are worshipped, the teacher is honoured and the boy is asked to repeat the words ‘om namah siddham’ and to write them on a slate and then he is taught the letters (‘a’, ‘ā’ &c.) of the alphabet. The Saṃskāraratnakālamā calls this ceremony Aksaraśvikāra (appropriately enough) and among other texts cites a long prose passage from Garga quoted in the Pārijata and prescribes a homa also with ajyāhutis to Sarasvati, Hari, Lakṣmī, Vighnēśa (Gañapati), sūtrakāras and one’s vidyā.

615. सर्वस्वीपुनाश्रयश्चारायणां परिपुर्णोत्तमे। स्मात्स्मा सुचोि सर्वाय्यं भौत्तिपतेषु। पदार्थावशेष्यां सुरुवं खसिलवतस्त्र तद्त सर्वत्राध्यात्मकेऽते। सुचोिकेषु। सब्यीशस्त्रेम आयातायायते। तत: मन्त्रस्त्रेम् नामश्च। वाचायनष्मभोजनसन्नासशः। भुवनेश्वरसाधारणविशेषनासाधारणमः सिद्धिमेन सुतुप्पारे शक्रियों। बहुविधारीं प्रविधारीं। बुद्धिमेण सर्वरसिद्धिहस्तायाः प्रविधारीं। विश्वास्येक्षेत्र मध्यवृक्षकृचराध्यायायायते। तत: आचार्यं विद्वानं कुलवा सर्वस्वाध्यायायायायायमेव। बहुविधायात् । संस्कारकाओत्तमे प 906.
CHAPTER VII

UPANAYANA

This word literally means 'leading or taking near'. But the important question is 'near what'? It appears that it originally meant 'taking near the śācārya' (for instruction); it may have also meant 'introducing the novice to the stage of student-hood'. Some of the gṛhyaśūtras bring out this sense clearly e.g. the Hir. gr. I. 5. 2616 says "The teacher then makes the boy utter 'I have come unto brahmaçārya. Lead me near (initiate me into it). Let me be a student, impelled by the god Savitṛ'". The Māṇava and Kāṭhaka gr. (41.1) also use the word upāyana for upānayana and Ādityadārśana on Kāṭhaka gr. (41.1) says that upānaya, upanayana, mauniñjībandhana, baṭukaraṇa, vratabandha are synonyms.

A few words about the origin and development of this most important sāmśkarā would not be out of place here. Comparison with the ancient Zoroastrian scriptures (vide S. B. E. vol. V. pp. 285–290 about the sacred girdle and shirt) and the modern practices among the Parsis of India tend to show that Upanayana goes back to an Indo-Iranian origin. But that subject is outside the scope of this work, Confining ourselves to Indian Literature, we find that already in the Rg. X. 109. 5 the word 'brahmaçārī' occurs 'oh gods! he (Brhaspati), all pervading one, moves as a brahmaçārī pervading all (sacrifices); he is only one part of the gods (i.e. of sacrifices); Brhaspati secured by that (i.e. by his service to the gods) a wife (me who am named) Juhū, who was (formerly) taken by Soma'.

616. अधेनालंकारांदहातिः। कल्पविनाशालशाश्च। स वचनः कल्पविनाश अववाचि दुहे महत। हिरयान. स. I. 5. 2 (S. B. E. vol. 50 p. 150); कल्पविनाशालशाश्च। वातविनाशालशाश्च। च। पार. स. II. 2; vide नौनितात्त्व II. 10. 21 (S. B. E. vol. 50 p. 65). The phrases कल्पविनाशालशाश्च and कल्पविनाशालशाश्च occur in the भक्ति XI. 5. 4. 1; vide आद. न. प. II. 3. 36 for कल्पविनाशालशाश्च. विषेषम् on या. I. 14 remarks ‘वेदविनाशालशाश्च। विद्वेदप्रभावविनाशालशाश्च। तद्वेदप्रभावविनाशालशाश्च। यथात्मकः। नवर्ध्य वा कसे।’. Vide नौनितात्त्व on हिरयानकृष्ण, I. 1. 1.

617. कल्पविनाशालशाश्च। विजयो विजयो विजयो। स देवानां अग्नयेनमुद्धरो। तैन ज्ञातिपञ्चदिनृष्टी। तुहीत सोमैव न तुहीत। स. X. 109. 5 = अपर्व V. 17. 5. The reference to Soma recalls Rg X. 85. 45. 'सोम ब्रह्मचारी। Every girl was supposed to have been under the protection of Soma, Gandharva and Agni before her marriage with a human bridegroom.
word 'upanayana' can be derived and explained in two ways: (1) taking (the boy) near the ācārya, (2) that rite by which the boy is taken to the ācārya. The first sense appears to have been the original one and when an extensive ritual came to be associated with upanayana the second came to be the sense of the word. Such an ancient work as the Āp. Dh. S. I.1.19 says that upanayana is a sāṁskāra (purificatory rite) laid down by revelation for him who seeks learning (i.e. it accepts the second explanation) or this sūtra may mean 'it is a sāṁskāra brought about by imparting the śruti (viz. Gāyatrī mantra) to him who seeks learning'. This would mean that upanayana principally is gāyatrīyupadesa (the imparting of the sacred Gāyatrī mantra). This appears to be suggested by the Vedic passage quoted above (p. 154 n. 326) 'he created the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī, the ksatriya with Triṣṭubh, the vaiśya with Jagati', and by Kātyāyana Śrauta 'one should initiate the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī'. Jaimini also (in VI. 1.35) propounds the view that upanayana is a sāṁskāra and has a seen result viz. thereby the boy is brought near to the teacher for learning Veda.

Ṛg. III. 8. 4 is a verse that clearly indicates that some of the characteristics of upanayana described in the gṛhya sūtras were well known even then. There the sacrificial post (yūpa) is praised as a young person (i.e. in the language of the later classical rhetoricians there is the first kind of the figure Ațiṣayokti 'here comes the youth, well dressed and encircled (the boy by his mekhalā and the post by its rāsanā); he, when born, attains eminence; wise sages, full of devotion to the gods in their hearts and entertaining happy thoughts, raise him up'. Here in ‘un-nayanti’ we have the same root that we have in upanayana. This mantra is employed in the upanayana by several gṛhya sūtras e.g. Āśv. I. 20. 8 (who employs it for

618. tṛṣṇaṇवर्धनं कर्मसङ्गेष्य। ...... तत्र पौर्णिकक्षःदित्वावाद। पदं अधिनियुतं कर्मसङ्गग्नवीते देववाद अतिष्ठि। स पद। उप समार् आचार्योपविन्यास: चतुर्वचन्म मानवपञ्चवन्त। समार्थो चाचार्योपविन्यास: पदं बहुपुर्णम् नास्ति। जयति VI. 1.35; ‘विद्वार्तने-वेषाः श्रुतिः। (संस्कृतम् बाबुपल्लवब्युङ्गति)। उपनासनसमवेत्स्मर्तर्द्वस्मादेव। विद्वानस्मर्तर्द्वस्मादेव। चतुर्वचन्म मानवपञ्चवन्त। समार्थो आचार्योपविन्यास: पदं बहुपुर्णम् नास्ति। जयति VI. 1.35; ‘विद्वार्तने-वेषाः श्रुतिः। (संस्कृतम् बाबुपल्लवब्युङ्गति)। उपनासनसमवेत्स्मर्तर्द्वस्मादेव। विद्वानस्मर्तर्द्वस्मादेव। चतुर्वचन्म मानवपञ्चवन्त। समार्थो आचार्योपविन्यास: पदं बहुपुर्णम् नास्ति। जयति VI. 1.35; ‘विद्वार्तने-वेषाः श्रुतिः। (संस्कृतम् बाबुपल्लवब्युङ्गति)।

619. संस्कृतस्य तुध्यनवादु विचारान्तः। हृदयविद्वानः। (वंसनो: बाबुपल्लवब्युङ्गति)। उपनासनसमवेत्स्मर्तर्द्वस्मादेव। विद्वानस्मर्तर्द्वस्मादेव। चतुर्वचन्म मानवपञ्चवन्त। समार्थो आचार्योपविन्यास: पदं बहुपुर्णम् नास्ति। जयति VI. 1.35; ‘विद्वार्तने-वेषाः श्रुतिः। (संस्कृतम् बाबुपल्लवब्युङ्गति)। उपनासनसमवेत्स्मर्तर्द्वस्मादेव। विद्वानस्मर्तर्द्वस्मादेव। चतुर्वचन्म मानवपञ्चवन्त। समार्थो आचार्योपविन्यास: पदं बहुपुर्णम् नास्ति। जयति VI. 1.35; ‘विद्वार्तने-वेषाः श्रुतिः। (संस्कृतम् बाबुपल्लवब्युङ्गति)।

620. युवा स्वामी: पतित्वेत्तारः त्रुम्भोत्तरः युवा स्वामी: पतित्वेत्तारः त्रुम्भोत्तरः पदं स्वामी: पतित्वेत्तारः त्रुम्भोत्तरः। त्वस्माता: कथो उपनासनसमवेत्स्मर्तर्द्वस्मादेव। (संस्कृतम् बाबुपल्लवब्युङ्गति)। उपनासनसमवेत्स्मर्तर्द्वस्मादेव। विद्वानस्मर्तर्द्वस्मादेव। चतुर्वचन्म मानवपञ्चवन्त। समार्थो आचार्योपविन्यास: पदं बहुपुर्णम् नास्ति। जयति VI. 1.35; ‘विद्वार्तने-वेषाः श्रुतिः। (संस्कृतम् बाबुपल्लवब्युङ्गति)।
making the boy circumambulate) and Pār. II. 2. (prescribes that the mantra is to be recited when tying the girdle round the boy’s waist). In the Tai. S. VI. 621 3. 10. 5 we have the famous passage referring to the three debts where the words ‘brahmācārī’ and ‘brahmācārya’ occur. ‘Every brāhmaṇa when born is indebted in three debts viz. in brahmācārya to the sages, in sacrifice to the gods and in offspring to the manes; he indeed becomes free from debts who has a son, who sacrifices and who dwells (with the teacher) as a brahmācārī.’

In the other Vedas and in the Brāhmaṇa literature there is ample material to show what the characteristic features of upanayana and brahmācārya were. The whole of Atharvaveda XI. 7 (26 verses) is a hymn containing hyperbolical laudation of the brahmācārī (Vedic student) and brahmācārya. The very first verse 622 may be cited as a sample. ‘The brahmācārī incessantly covering (the world by his glory) roams in the two worlds; the gods have the same thoughts (of grace and favour) about him; he fills his teacher by his austeries.’ Verse 3 says ‘the teacher leading (the boy) near him makes the brahmācārī like unto a foetus’ (here the word ‘upanayamānaḥ’ occurs). Verse 4 states that the heaven and the earth are the ‘samidh’ (the fuel stick) of the brahmācārī and that the brahmācārī by his mekhalā (girdle), by his samidh and by his life of hard work fills the world with austeries. Verse 6 tells us that the brahmācārī wears the skin of a black antelope and has a long beard; verse 13 says that the brahmācārī offers samidh into fire (or if fire is not available) to the sun, to the moon, to the wind or into waters. This hymn thus brings out most of the characteristic features of the brahmācārī and of upanayana (viz. deerskin, mekhalā, offering of samidh, begging and a life of hard work and restraint). From the reference to the beard and from the words ‘this man (ayam purusāḥ)’ occurring in the Atharvaveda VIII. 1. 1 and elsewhere it appears probable that upanayana was performed rather later in those ancient days than in the days of the sūtras.

621. आयमानो हि मे माधवाभिषिक्तानां जापे महाचेत्य अतिरिक्ते पोलेन देवेः।

622. नास्ति चारिकायस्य सुभवसि उदयसे सर्वभूतानि संविवर्गः। तस्मात् वृद्धिः िन्न च स आचार्य ज्ञातां विपिनः। अधैरेऽवृत्र ए। XI. 7. 1. This verse is explained in गौषाणमण्डलम II. 1. आचार्य उपनामानाय नास्ति चारिकायस्य कुष्ठे गर्भमस्त। अधैरे XI. 7. 3; the idea is found in Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 16-18 (quoted above p. 189 f. n. 443) and compare शतपथब्राह्मण XI. 5. 4. 12 ‘आचार्यां गर्भिणिः दृढ़मन्वय वृक्षणं। तुविवस्य स आयमस्माधवो। सह नास्ति:।’ नास्ति चारिकायस्य संविवर्गः सम्प्रदायी। कालं पशुनां श्रीकिशो श्रीकृष्णः। अधैरे XI. 7. 6.
In the Tai. Br. III. 10. 11 there is the story of Bharadvāja who remained a brahmacārī for three parts of his life (i.e. till 75) and to whom Indra said that in all that long period of brahmacārya he had mastered only an insignificant portion (three handfuls out of three mountains) of the Vedas, which were endless in extent. The story of Nābhānediśtha, son of Manu, who was excluded from ancestral property at a partition made by his brothers, narrated in the Ait. Br. shows that he was a brahmacārī staying with a teacher away from his father’s place. The Šat. Br. XI. 5. 4. contains many and almost complete details about the life of brahmacārins which bear a very close similarity to those taught in the grhyā sūtras. A brief summary is set out below. The boy says ‘I have come unto brahmacārya’ and ‘let me be a brahmacārī’. Then the teacher asks him ‘what is your name’; then the teacher takes him near (upanayati); the teacher takes hold of the boy’s hand with the words ‘you are the brahmacārī of Indra; Agni is your teacher, I am your teacher, N. N. (addressing the boy by his name)’. Then he consigns the boy to (the care of) the elements. The teacher instructs him ‘drink water, do work (in the teacher’s house), put a fuel stick (on the fire), do not sleep (by day).’ He repeats the Sāvitrī (mantra sacred to Savitṛ). Formerly it was repeated a year (after the boy came as a brahmacārī), then at the end of six months, 24 days, 12 days, 3 days; but one should repeat to the brahmā boy the verse at once (on the very day of upanayana); the teacher repeats it to him first each pada separately, then the half and then the whole. Being a brahmacārī one should not eat honey.

623. नन्दनीति ह्व बे जिविधभाविनीयांय्बिस्वस्यवस्ते ते हि...इति उपवनयोक्तः। यथे चतुर्या सुरुचिः विनिरन्त्रितां जुत्वां इति। चतुर्या स्वामित्वं चतुर्या व्याप्तिः हेतुवः। ते हि नीच निरीक्षनां विज्ञानान्ति दृष्टिकोणः। तथा हृदयाकाराद्विद्रुद्धे सा हृत्ता भ्रातोर्त्तुम्बनः प्रेम। य एते। अत्राः से तेषाः। पदवी विद्याविद्याविकायोऽध्यायः। अतः इति तद्देशेन्द्रयः। ते। भा. III. 10. 11.

624. नामानुसारे वे मात्रं भक्तियों वसन्तं प्रातो निःस्वारसः। साविकेयोऽपि भक्ति भक्तिभवे। ऐ. भा. 22. 9. This story occurs also in Tai. S. III. 1. 9. 5.

625. नन्दनीति ह्व बे जिविधभाविनीयांय्बिस्वस्यवस्ते ते हि...इति उपवनयोक्तः। यथे चतुर्या सुरुचिः विनिरन्त्रितां जुत्वां इति। चतुर्या स्वामित्वं चतुर्या व्याप्तिः हेतुवः। ते हि नीच निरीक्षनां विज्ञानान्ति दृष्टिकोणः। तथा हृदयाकाराद्विद्रुद्धे सा हृत्ता भ्रातोर्त्तुम्बनः प्रेम। य एते। अत्राः से तेषाः। पदवी विद्याविद्याविकायोऽध्यायः। अतः इति तद्देशेन्द्रयः। ते। भा. XI. 5. 4. 1-17.
The word 'antevaśi' (lit. one who dwells near a teacher) occurs in the Śat. Br. V. 1. 5. 17 and in the Tai. Up. I. 11. The Śat. Br. (XL 3. 3. 2) says he who takes to brahmacarya indeed takes upon himself a sacrificial session of long duration. It further says (XL 3. 3. 3-6) that the boy when entering upon studenthood approaches giving a fourth part of himself to Agni, Death, the teacher and himself and that by the offering of samidh (to fire), by begging and by doing work in the teacher's house respectively he secures freedom from the action of the first three. It also says that after one finishes studenthood and takes the ceremonial bath one should not beg. Vide Gopatha Br. (ed. by Gastra) 2. 3 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 53. The Śat. Br. (III 6. 2. 15) further says 'therefore brahmacārins protect the teacher, his house and his cattle, with the idea that otherwise he might be taken away from them.'

Janamejaya Pārīkṣita asks the haṁsas (who were the Āhavanīya and Dakṣīṇā fires) 'what is holy' and the latter reply 'It is brahmacarya' (vide Gopatha Br. 2. 5). Gopatha (2. 5) further says 'the period of studenthood for the mastery of all Vedas is 48 years, which, being distributed among the Vedas in four parts, makes brahmacarya last for 12 years, which is the lowest limit; one should practise brahmacarya according to one's ability before taking the ceremonial bath.' The same work says that the brahmacārī should fetch samidhs every day for worshipping fire and beg and that if he does not do so continuously for seven days he has to undergo upanayana again (2. 6) and that the lady of the house should daily give alms to a brahmacārin with the idea that he may not deprive her of her wealth, of merit due to īṣṭāpūrta. It also says that a brahmacārī should not sleep on a cot, should not engage in singing and dancing, should not roam about, should not spit about nor go to a cemetery.

626. दृष्टांतः वा एवं,उपैति सो नमुक्त्यांनीति। सतपथ XI. 3. 3. 2. This is quoted in Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 52. The words 'अन्तेवासी' refer to sipping water before and after bhūjana respectively with the words 'अमृतपोषारपायमासि सवाहत' and 'अमृताधिपननन्नानासि सवाहत,' Vide सांक्षेपप्रशस्त p. 893. These two mantras occur in आप. मः. पा. II. 10. 3-4.

627. तत्समानः नमुक्त्यामिः अर्जित्य गीतादितिः शुद्धांभुव्योद्रियकानादितिः। सतपथ III. 6. 2. 15.

628. अःत्यावनिलितवं सविद्वृम्भवं च चेरस्नानं वेदेवचं 'पुष्च वाक्षणि विषल क्रिया' विषयंन्यायांगसंग्रहितम् सतार्याः कः यात्रांमिति। गौपथ 2. 5.

629. तत्सुसुंहः वारिणि अवद्वस्तां दृष्टांताय वारिणि मा भवविद्वारायुक्तविश्वसनविभावयति। नेपतिवली रुपार्थनार्थिः मा नतत्त्वं म सर्कितं म निदानितः न इत्यावर्त्ति। गौपथ 2. 5-7.
It appears from the above and from the Upaniṣad passages set out immediately below that originally Upanayana was a very simple matter. The would-be student came to the teacher with a śamīḍh in his hand and told the teacher that he desired to enter the stage of studenthood and begged to be allowed to be a brahmacārī living with the teacher. There were no elaborate ceremonies like those described in the gṛhya sūtras. The word brahmacyāra occurs in the Kaṭha. Up. I. 1.15, Mundaka II. 1. 7, Chāṇḍogya VI. 1. 1 and other Upaniṣads. The Chāṇḍogya and the Br. Up., probably the oldest among the Upaniṣads, furnish very valuable information. That some ceremonies were required before a young boy was admitted as a student even in Upaniṣadic times is clear from the statement in the Chāṇḍogya V. 11. 7 that when Āsvapati Kekaya was approached by Prācīnāśāla Aupamanyava and four others who carried fuel in their hands (like young students) and who were grown-up householders and theologians, ‘he (Āsvapati) without submitting them to the rites of Upanayana began the discourse’. When Satyakāma, Jābala tells the truth about his gotra to Gauṭama Hāridrumata, the latter says ‘fetch, dear boy, fuel, I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth’ (Chāṇḍogya IV. 4. 5). Similarly in the Br. Up. VI. 2. 7, it is said that former students (i.e. students in former ages) approached (the teacher for brahmacyāra) only in words (i.e. without any further solemn rite or ceremony). In the most ancient times it is probable that the father himself always taught his son. But it appears that from the times of the Tai. S. and the Brāhmaṇas the student generally went to a guru and stayed in his house (vide note 624 about Nābhānediṣṭha). Uddālaka Aruni who was himself a profound philosopher of brahma asks his son Śvetaketu to enter upon brahmacyāra and sends him to a teacher to learn the Vedas. The same Upaniṣad describes the

630. ते ह सतिरायः पुरुषज्ञ सतिरकामिरे ततांगायपरायेन्द्रुचयः। कावर्म व। 11. 7.
631. सतिर्मि सतिरायेन ला ने च सतिर्मा इति। कावर्म व। 4. 5.
632. उपेय अवत्त्वत्तिः च तथा ह तैव पूर्वेऽवपन्निः स हृदायणारविवस्तिः। कावर्म व। VI. 2. 7.
633. Vide ब्रह्म, उ। VI. 2. 1 ‘अवत्त्वातः सिद्धान्तोत्तरमिति होस्य,’ सतिरायेन्द्रुचयः। तथा च यथा। ततांगायपरायेन्द्रुचयः। आवत्त्वातः सतिर्मा होस्य। कावर्म व। VI. 2. 7.
634. अद्वैतानिधिः आया ह निद्वत्ता ज्ञेयोत्तर। ततांगायपरायेन्द्रुचयः। अवत्त्वातः सतिरमिति। कावर्म व। VI. 1. 1–2.

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āśrama of brahmacarya 'dwelling as a brahmacārī in the house of a teacher, mortifying his body in the house of his teacher till his 635 end'. Chāndogya IV. 4. 4. shows that the teacher asked the pupil his gotra (in order that he may address him by that name). The same Upaniṣad shows that the brahmacārī had to beg for food (IV. 3. 5), that he had to look after the fire of his teacher (IV. 10. 1–2) and that he had to tend his cattle (IV. 4. 5). The age when upanayana was performed is not expressly stated in the Upaniṣads except in the case of Śvetaketu who was 12 (vide note 634 above). The period of student-hood was usually twelve (Chāndogya II. 23.1, IV. 10.1, VI.1.2), though the Chāndogya (VIII. 11. 3) speaks of Indra's brahmacarya for 101 years and Chāndogya II. 23.1: speaks of brahmacarya for life.

We shall now turn to upanayana as described in the sūtras and smṛtis. The following matters fall to be treated under Upanayana: The proper age for upanayana, the auspicious seasons for it; the skin, the garments, the girdle and the staff for the brahmacārins of different varnas; the yajñopavita; the preliminaries of upanayana, such as homa, taking of curds by the boy, aṣṭajalīpurāṇa, aṣmārohana; the principal rites of upanayana viz. taking of student's hand by the teacher, touching the chest of the student expressive of acceptance as pupil, handing the boy to Śāvitrī and other gods (paridāna), instruction in the duties of the student (such as putting fuel on fire, begging &c.), instruction in the famous Śāvitrī mantra; medhājanana; study of the Vedas and daily recitation of Vedic texts; special vrūtas of the brahmacārī; Patitāśāvitrīka (those whose upanayana has not been performed at all) and rules about them. These matters will now be dealt with in order. It should be remembered that all these matters are not dwelt upon by all the smṛtis nor are they treated of in the same order. Further the Vedic mantras often differ in the different sūtras.

The proper age for Upanayana

The Āsv. gr. 636 (I. 19. 1–6) says that a brāhmaṇa boy should undergo upanayana in the eighth year from birth or from conception, a kṣatriya in the 11th year, a vaishya in the

635. Chāndogya II. 23. 1. This refers to the नैदिककालिन.
636. अन्तर ते शास्त्राणनुसारं गगनं च यतः पुरुषस्य शास्त्राण वै अद्वैतानां कालनाय सर्वनाशानां श्रीरति कालः । आ द्वार्तसाधारण । आ च्यव्विशालसाधारण । आद्य. पु. I. 19. 1–6.
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12th and that to the 16th, 22nd and 24th years respectively for the three varnas it cannot be said that the time for upanayana has passed. Ap. 637 (10. 2), Sān. (II. 1), Baud. (II. 5. 2) and Bhār. (I. 1), Gobhila (II. 10. 1) grhya sūtras, Yāj. I. 14, Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 19 expressly say that the respective years are calculated from conception. The Mahābhāṣya 638 also refers to the rule that a brāhmaṇa's upanayana is to be performed in the 8th year from conception. Pār. gr. (II. 2) allows upanayana in the 8th year from birth or conception and adds that in the case of all varnas family usage may be followed. Yāj. I. 14 also refers to family usage. Sān. gr. (II. 1. 1) allows upanayana in the 8th or 10th year from conception, the Mānava gr. (I. 22. 1) allows it in the 7th or 9th year, the Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 1–3) prescribes 7th, 9th and 11th years for the upanayana of the three varnas respectively. In some smṛtis upanayana is allowed to be performed even earlier or at different ages, e.g. Gautama (I. 6–8) prescribes that upanayana for a brāhmaṇa is in the 8th year from conception but it may be in the 5th or 9th according to the result desired; and Manu. II. 37 says that if spiritual eminence (for the boy) is desired (by his father) then upanayana may be performed in the 5th year for a brāhmaṇa, in the 6th year for a kṣatriya if there is a desire for military power, in the 8th for a vaiśya if there is desire for endeavour to accumulate wealth. Vaik. (II. 3) also prescribes the 5th, 8th, 9th years from conception for a brāhmaṇa if there is a desire respectively for

637. गार्डङ्गसेव माहांसुद्रपनितं सिन्ध्वाचारुपनुस्म माहांपदेषु वैश्व. आप. स. 10. 2-3. Vide सं. म. pp 340-341 for discussion whether there is option of counting the years from conception or birth in the case of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. Ap. and several others employ the Ātmanepada ‘उपनेन’ while Āsv., Khādira (II. 2. 1) and Pār. employ the Parasmapada उपनेत. It should be noticed that in the Atharvaveda XI. 7. 3., Śaun. XI. 5. 4. 1, Āṣ. उ. IV. 4. 5 and elsewhere in the Vedic texts it is the Ātmanepada that is found. Pāṇini (1. 5. 56) lays down that the root ‘ni’ takes the Ātmanepada alone in the case of several senses one of which is आपनेत (and so we should have उपनेन only). द्रवयाद्वे quotes a grammar that the परमपेत is a mistake ‘परमपेत’ is माहामापदेषु माहांसुद्रपनितं सिन्ध्वाचारुपनुस्म. Vide संस्काराणां. p. 339 for criticism of द्रवयाद्वे’s view. Vide अवर् quoted above (p. 269 f. n. 619).

638. गार्डङ्गसेव माहांसुद्रपनितं सिन्ध्वाचारुपनुस्म माहामापदेषु माहांसुद्रपनितं सिन्ध्वाचारुपनुस्म. आप. ध. व. प. 57.

639. आचार्येन माहामापदेषु वैदेहाचारुपनुस्म माहांसुद्रपनितं सिन्ध्वाचारुपनुस्म माहामापदेषु माहांसुद्रपनितं सिन्ध्वाचारुपनुस्म. आयिका प. 59. व. अद्वैतदेव. प. 589. आयिका प. 59. अद्वैतदेव.
spiritual eminence, long life and wealth. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 21 and Baud. gr. (II. 5) prescribe 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th years respectively for one desiring spiritual eminence, long life, brilliance, abundant food, physical vigour and cattle.

Therefore, the 8th, 11th and 12th years from birth for the three varnas are the principal time for upanayana; while the years from 5th onwards up to 11th are the secondary time (gaunā) for a brāhmaṇa, 9th to 16th are secondary for kṣatriya and so on. From 12th to 16 is gaunatara for brāhmaṇas and after 16 gaunatama for them. Vide Sanskhāra-prakāśa p. 342.

The auspicious times according to the Āp. gr. and Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 19, Hir. gr. (I. 1) and Vaik. are vasanta (spring), grīṣma (summer), and śarad (autumn) for the three varpas. The Bhār. gr. (I. 1) says that upanayana for a brāhmaṇa should be performed in vasanta, for a kṣatriya in summer or hemanta, for a vaiśya in śarad, in the rains for a carpenter (rathakāra) or in śiśira for all. Śabara in his bhāṣya on Jaimini VI. 1. 33 where upanayana is denied to śudras quotes 'vasante brāhmaṇam upanayita' as a Vedic text. Āṣv. gr. I. 4. 1 (quoted above in f. n. 494), Hir. gr. (I. 1. 5, S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 37) and Bhār. gr. (I. 1) say that upanayana should be performed in the bright half of a month, on an auspicious nakṣatra, particularly under a nakṣatra the name of which is masculine.640

Later works introduced very intricate rules about the proper months, tithis, days and times for upanayana. It is neither possible nor very necessary to go into these astrological details. But a few words must be said as in modern times upanayana is performed only in accordance with these rules. Vṛddhagārgya641 laid down that six months from Māgha were the proper months for upanayana, while others say that five months from Māgha are the proper ones. Then 1st, 4th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 13th, 14th, 15th i.e. (full moon and new moon) tithis are generally avoided (though there are some counter exceptions which are not set out here). It is stated that upanayana should not be performed when Venus is so near the sun that it cannot be seen, when the sun is in the first degree of any zodiacal sign, on anadhyāya

640. आपुर्यमन्नापेक्षा उपये नस्ते विवेद्येप उपनामयेये। मास्साव इ. 1. 1. For उपनामयेये see note 512.

641. मासावाव वृद्धार्ग्यः। मासावावास्ते तु अलावावग्रन्तं मथु वृद्धार्ग्यः। quoted in संस्कृतविज्ञापिता 1. 355; तथा च ज्योतिरस्त्रेण। मासावाअव च मालेलु मूर्ति पन्नासु शयने। पुत्रम परिणस्वायत्ते। प्रकाशिते 1. p. 27.
days and on galagraha\textsuperscript{442} (the tithis specified above). Jupiter, Venus, Mars\textsuperscript{443} and Mercury are respectively the presiding deities of the Rgveda and the other Vedas. Therefore the upanayana of those who have to study these Vedas should be performed on the week days presided over by these planets. Among week days Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are the best, Sunday is middling, Monday is the least suitable, but Tuesday and Saturday are prohibited (except that for students of the Sāmaveda and kṣatriyas Tuesday is allowed). Among the nakṣatras\textsuperscript{444} the proper ones are Hasta, Cittā, Śvāti, Pusya, Dhanisthā, Aśvini, Mrugasāra, Punarvasu, Śravāṇa and Revatī. There are other rules about nakṣatras with respect to those who follow a particular Veda (which are passed over). One rule is that all nakṣatras except Bharani, Kṛttikā, Maghā, Viśākhā, Jyeṣṭhā, Śatārakā are good for all. The Moon and Jupiter must be astrologically strong with reference to the boy's horoscope. The rule about Jupiter probably arose from the fact that Jupiter was supposed to rule over knowledge and happiness and as upanayana was meant to be the entrance for Veda-study, Jupiter's benevolent aspect was thought to be necessary. If Jupiter and Venus are not to be seen owing to nearness to the sun, upanayana cannot be performed. Jupiter when in the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th zodiacal sign from the sign of birth (calculation to be made inclusive of the sign of birth) is auspicious, when in the 1st, 3rd, 6th, 10th place from the sign of birth it is auspicious after the performance of a propitiatory homa and when it is in the 4th, 8th, 12th place from birth, it is inauspicious. The moon is supposed to be malefic when she is in the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th or 12th place from the sign of birth. Four hours from sunrise is the best for upanayana, from that time to noon is middling and afternoon is prohibited. Some said that a person's upanayana should not be performed in the month in which he was born, others restricted the prohibition to the pākṣa (the half) of the month in which he was born. There are other rules about the Lagna (the rising

\textsuperscript{442} नदे चन्द्रेऽपने शुक्ल निरः बृह नामस्कृते। कर्त्तव्यायनपनां नामां वेदां गद्ये।

\textsuperscript{443} तिथिः नाम पुराणं तस्मान तत्। अध्यायासाभिः मोक्षं अपेक्षे गद्ये।

\textsuperscript{444} पुराणं प्राचीनम्। पीठाढ्योगी द्विनयनितिप्रकृतिसमुदायेऽविभाषा। अपराध। पुराणं ।

\textsuperscript{445} नीर्विन्यसः नामः क्षेत्रे दिने भिन्नतिं दिने। क्षेत्रे भिन्नतिं दिने।
zodiacal sign at the time of upanayana) which are not set out here. There are other prohibited astrological conjunctions like Vysttipata, Vaidhri &c. For detailed rules on these, works like the Sastras (pp. 355-385), Nirnayasindhu and Dharmasindhu may be consulted.

For persons who are entitled to perform the upanayana of a boy, vide note 480.

A brahma-catur had to wear two garments, one for the lower part of the body (vasas), another for covering the upper part of the body (uttariya). Ap. Dh. S. (I. I. 2. 39-I. I. 3. 1-2) says that 'the garment (vasas) for a brahma, ksatriya or vaisya brahma-catur is respectively to be made of hemp, flax, ajina (deerskin), some teachers prescribe that the lower garment should be of cotton but coloured reddish-yellow for brahmans; dyed with madder for ksatriyas, dyed with turmeric for vaisyas.' Pār. gr. (II. 5), Manu (II. 41) speak of 'āvika' (made of wool) for vaisya instead of 'ajina'. Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 64-67) says that a brahma (brahma-catur) should wear a (lower) garment which is white and unblemished (or new) and for a ksatriya or vaisya it should be the same as in Ap. Dh., but for vaisya Vas. prescribes also one made of kuśa grass or he says that all should wear cotton cloth that is undyed.' Gaut. (I. 17-20) on the other hand says 'for all the lower garment may be made of hemp, flax or kuśa grass (cīra) or of the hair of the mountainous goat (kutapa); other teachers prescribe coloured garments, one coloured with the juice of trees for brahmans and madder-red and yellow for ksatriya and vaisyas. Āsv. gr. (I. 19.8), Pār. gr. (II. 5), Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 61-63), Baud. gr. (II. 5. 16) say that the upper garment for a brahma should be the skin of a black deer, for ksatriya the skin of ruru deer and for a vaisya of cow-skin or of goat skin. Baud. and Āsv. prescribe only goat skin. Pār. gr. adds that if any one cannot secure a skin suited to one's varpa, he may wear an upper garment of cow-hide as the cow is the chief among animals. 646 Baud. gr. II. 5. 16 prescribes the skin of black deer for all in the same

645. नामः ॥ लक्ष्मीनार्दनोनिनः । काभ्यं च तेन भल्लुष्यतीसूत्रितः । मासिति राधा

646. रेवानहिन्नसततरीयं माध्यमं दौरं वर्त्तं-परं पदवं वा वैद्यश्च सर्वेऽः वा नष्ठानि वा मन्नानां वर्त्तं वा परशियं वा गणेशसिद्धि म्हणामानं ॥ । पारस्परिके II. 5.
Garments worn at Upanayana

circumstances. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 3. 7-8) gives the option to all varnas to use a sheep skin (as upper garment) or a woollen plaid (kambala). Āsv. gr. (I. 19. 8-9) appears to suggest that the lower and upper garments may be of the same skin or that the lower garment may be white or coloured (as stated above by Āp. Dh. S.). The Kāṭhaka gr. 647 (41. 13) says that the upper garment for the three varnas should be respectively of the skins of black deer, tiger and ruru deer. A vestige of these rules survives in the modern practice of tying a small piece of deer skin to the yajñopavita of the boy when his upanayana is performed.

That the rules about the lower and upper garments go back to great antiquity is shown by a reference to a Brāhmaṇa passage in the Āp. Dh. S. 648 I. 1. 3. 9 ‘one should wear only deer-skin (as lower and upper garments) if one desires the increase of Vedic lore, only (cotton) garments if one desires the increase of martial valour and both if one desires both.’

Dança (staff)—There is some divergence of view about the trees of which the staff was to be made. Āsv. gr. (I. 19. 13 and I. 20. 1) says ‘a staff of the palāśa wood for a brāhmaṇa, of udumbara for a ksatriya and of bilva for a vaiśya or all the varnas may employ a staff of any of these trees.’ The Āp. gr. 11. 15-16 (this is the same as Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38) says that the staff should be of palāśa wood for a brāhmaṇa, of the branch of the nyagrodha tree (so that the downward end of the branch forms the tip of the staff) for a ksatriya, of badara or udumbara wood for a vaiśya; while some teachers say that the staff should be made of a tree (which is used in sacrifices) without reference to any varna. Gaut. (I. 21) and Baud. Dh. S. (II. 5. 17) say that the staff of palāśa or bilva should be used for brāhmaṇa and Gaut. (I. 22-23) says that aśvattha and plô wood staff should be used respectively for ksatriya and vaiśya or of any sacrificial tree for all varnas. Baud. gr. prescribes nyagrodha or rauhitaka for ksatriya, and badara or udumbara for vaiśya. Pār. gr.

647. चन्द्रशेखरमात्रायमणितवैयामराधयापिनः राधयापिनः। कारकवर्णम् राधयापिनः।
648. नण्डरीविश्वनन्तिनःनवसीये वक्षरिन्द्विश्वनन्तिनःनवसीये। आभं, यो, वर्णविश्वनन्तिनः। आदिऽ, यो, वर्णविश्वनन्तिनः। आप, यो, वर्णविश्वनन्तिनः। आदिऽ, यो, वर्णविश्वनन्तिनः।
(II. 5) recommends a staff of palāsa, bilva and udumbara respectively for the three varṇas (or any of these for all). Kāthaka gr. (41.22) recommends palāsa, aśvaththa and nyagrodha respectively for the three. Manu (II. 45) prescribes bilva and palāsa for brāhmaṇa, vaṭa and khadira for ksatriya, pīlu and udumbara for vaiśya, and Kulluka adds that two staffs should be used by the boy, as two are recommended in a compound.

The staff was required for support, for controlling the cattle of the teacher (which the student was to tend), for protection when going out at night and for guidance when entering a river or the like.\(^649\)

The length of the staff varied according to the varṇa of the boy. Āsv. gr. I. 19. 13, Gaut. I. 25, Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 55-57), Pār. gr. (II. 5), Manu (II. 46) prescribe that in the case of the brāhmaṇa, ksatriya or vaiśya boy respectively the staff should be as high as his head, forehead or the tip of the nose. The Śaṅ. gr. (II. 1. 21-23, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 250) on the other hand reverses this (the brāhmaṇa having the shortest staff and the vaiśya the longest). Gaut. I. 26 says that the staff should be one not eaten by worms, should have the bark attached to it, and should have a curved tip, while Manu II. 47 adds that the staff should be straight, pleasing to look at and should not have come into contact with fire. The Śaṅ. gr. (II. 13. 2-3) prescribes that the brahasūrī should not allow any one to pass between himself and his staff and that if the staff, girdle or the yajñopavita break or rend, he has to undergo a penance (same as the one for the breaking of a chariot at a wedding procession) and that at the end of the period of brahmacaryya, he should sacrifice in water the yajñopavita, staff, the girdle and the skin\(^650\) with a mantra to Varuṇa (Rg. I. 24. 6) or with the sacred syllable ‘om’. Manu II. 64 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (27. 29) say the same thing.

Mekhalā (girdle):—Gaut. (I. 15), Āsv. gr. (I. 19. 11), Baud. gr. (II. 5. 13), Manu II. 42, Kāthaka gr. (41. 12), Bhār. gr. (I. 2) and others prescribe that a girdle made of muṇja grass should be

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\(^649\) 互異ाधिशिविधिनि मेक्षितां चैत्य प्रतिपूणः। पा. I. 29; तत्र दु:ष्क्षणार्थभिषीत्वा नस्ति नाशनवा मुनिनिः। अपरार्धिकः। As the carrying of a staff has a seen result, it need not be carried at all times, according to Aparārtha (p. 57), but the others having unseen results must be worn always.

\(^650\) उपर्युतं च दु:ष्क्षणमिति तदोपविद्युतं। दृश्योपावसत्तुर्वम्यो मेक्षालमितिनि तथा। अयदुपावस्तुऽवस्तु वृष्णा वत्सोऽस्य च। स्त. य. II. 30. 31, रस means ‘औषध’.\ }
tied round a brähmana boy’s waist, one made of mūrvā grass (which is used for making a bowstring) for a ksatriya and one of hemp cords for a vaiśya. Pāraskara says that the string of a bow should be used for a ksatriya and of mūrvā grass for a vaiśya and adds that in the absence of these the girdle should respectively be made of kuśa, aśmantaka and balvaja grass (for brähmana, ksatriya and vaiśya). Manu (II. 42-43) gives the same rules as Pār. gr. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.2. 35-37) \(^{651}\) optionally allows a girdle of muñja grass with an iron piece intertwined in it for ksatriyas and woollen string or the yoke-string or a string of tāmala bark for vaiśyas (according to some). Baud. gr. (II. 5. 13) allows muñja girdle also to all. Some of the sūtras (e.g. Baud. gr., Āp. Dh. S.) further prescribe that the girdle of muñja grass should have three strings to it and the grass should have its ends turned to the right and the knot of the girdle should be brought near the navel. Manu (II. 43) says that there may be one knot or three or five (according to family usage, says Kullūka). \(^{652}\)

In order to convey an idea of the rites of upanayana in the days of the grhya sūtras the ceremony as contained in the Āsv. gr. sūtra (which is among the shortest) is set out in full. \(^{653}\)

'Let him initiate the boy who is decked, whose hair (on the head) is shaved (and arranged), who wears a new garment or an antelope skin if a brähmana, ruru skin if a ksatriya, goat’s skin if a vaiśya; if they put on garments they should put on dyed ones, reddish-yellow, red and yellow (for a brähmana, ksatriya, vaiśya respectively), they should have girdles and staffs (as described above). While the boy takes hold of (the hand of) his teacher, the latter offers (a homa of clarified butter oblations) in the fire (as described above) and seats himself to the north of the fire with his face turned to the east, while the other one (the boy) stations himself in front (of the teacher) with his face turned to the west. The teacher then fills the folded hands of both himself and of the boy with water and with the verse 'we choose that of Savitṛ' (Rg. V. 82. 1) the teacher drops down the water in his own folded hands on to the water in the folded

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651. या राजार्य गोयकाय सापोपिष्ठ। अविरविच किवद्वय सैता ताशी विवेक।
आप. च. १. ३५-३७। दान्त्रिस is explained as धन (hemp) in the com. on मानिष्ठ म. १०. १० and by हर्वृव १३। तान्त्रिक पूर्वकारसंज्ञा देख। तथा वाचा मानिषा
652. The number of knots was probably regulated by the number of the pravara sages invoked by a person.
653. Vide Appendix for the text of Āsv. gr. and for a very concise form prepared recently.

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hands of the boy; having thus poured the water, he should seize with his own hand the boy’s hand together with the thumb (of the boy) with the formula *by the urge (or order) of the god Savitri*, with the arms of the two Aśvins, with the hands of Pūsan, I seize thy hand, oh! so and so"; with the words ‘Savitri has seized thy hand, oh! so and so’ a second time (the teacher seizes the boy’s hand); with the words ‘Agni is thy teacher, oh! so and so’ a third time. The teacher should cause (the boy) to look at the sun, while the teacher repeats ‘God Savitri! this is thy brahmacārī, protect him, may he not die’ and (the teacher should further) say ‘Whose brahmacārī art thou? thou art the brahmacārī of Prāṇa. Who does initiate thee and whom (does he initiate)? I give thee to Ka (to Prajāpati)’. With the half verse (Rg. III 8. 4.) ‘the young man, well attired and dressed, came hither’ he (the teacher) should cause him to turn round to the right and with his two hands placed over (the boy’s) shoulders he should touch the place of the boy’s heart repeating the latter half (of Rg. III 8. 4). Having wiped the ground round the fire the brahmacārī should put (on the fire) a fuel stick silently, since it is known (from śruti) ‘what belongs to Prajāpati is silently (done)’, and the brahmacārī belongs to Prajāpati. Some do this (offering of a fuel stick) with a mantra ‘to Agni I have brought a fuel stick, to the great Jātavedas; by the fuel stick mayst thou increase, Oh Agni and may we (increase) through brahman (prayer or spiritual lore), svāhā’.

Having put the fuel stick (on the fire) and having touched the fire, he (the student) thrice wipes off his face with the words ‘I

653a. Here the boy should be addressed by his name. The formula ‘devasya tvā’ occurs in several connections (e.g. in adoption etc.) in several śāhitas. Vide for this Bṛ. S. II. 11, Śat. S. II. 6. 8. 6. A similar formula occurs in Āra. S. 228. II. 3. 24 and II. 9. 5, Bṛ. I. 11. 17, Śat. I. 22. 5, Bṛ. I. 2. 5, 28 (Bṛ. 3. 1. 28—dhanvantarāṇanāyike), Bṛ. I. 11. 17 (reads as in Śat. I.)

654. देवं देवं मा सुदृढः. This mantra occurs also in the Āra. S. 228. II. 3. 31 (अजानाते देवं देवं सुदृढः सुदृढः) and in Śat. I. 22. 5, Śat. I. II. 18. 4 and others.

655. The words कैसचं तवं परिविन्यासं occur in Āra. S. 228. II. 3. 29, Śat. I. 22. 5, Bṛ. I. 2. 2 (with variations in all).

656. For the whole verse śruti śaman ca vide note 620 above.

657. अये सनिधानाः इति—The first half occurs in Āra. S. 228. II. 3. 29, Bṛ. I. 2. 2, Bṛ. I. 2. 2, Bṛ. I. 7. 2, Bṛ. I. 10. 46, Śat. I. 8, all of which have a long latter half like यथा रंगगे सनिधास्य सनिधिस्ये इति आतावा सा एषा लक्ष्यम् न लक्ष्यम् एषाह्न सनिधिः इति.
anoint myself with lustre'; it is known (from śruti) 'for he does anoint himself with lustre'. May Agni bestow on me, insight, offspring and lustre; on me may Indra bestow insight, offspring and vigour (*indiya*); on me may the sun bestow insight, offspring and radiance; what thy lustre is, Oh Agni, may I thereby become lustrous; what thy strength is, Agni, may I thereby become strong; what thy consuming power is Agni, may I thereby acquire consuming power'.

Having waited upon (worshipped) Agni with these formulas, (the student) should bend his knees, embrace (the teacher's feet) and say to him 'recite, Sir, recite, Sir, the *Sāvitrī*. Seizing the student's hands with the upper garment (of the student) and his own hands the teacher recites the *Sāvitrī*, first *pāda* by *pāda*, then hemistic by hemistic (and lastly) the whole verse. He (the teacher) should make him (the student) recite (the *Sāvitrī*) as much as he is able. On the place of the student's heart the teacher lays his hand with the fingers upturned with the formula 'I place thy heart unto duty to me; may thy mind follow my mind; may you attend on my words single-minded; may Bṛhaspati appoint thee unto me'. Having tied the girdle round him (the boy) and having given him the staff, the teacher should instruct him in the observances of a *brahmacārī* with the words 'a *brahmacārī* art thou, sip water, do service, do not sleep by day, depending (completely) on the teacher learn the Veda'. He (the student) should beg (*food*) in the evening and the morning; he should put a fuel stick (*on fire*) in the evening and the morning. That (which he has received by begging) he should announce to the teacher; he should not sit down (but should be standing) the rest of the day.'

The whole procedure of upanayana is more elaborately described in the Āp. gr., in Hīr. gr. and Gobhīla. A few points

658. अद्विति *&c.* These mantras occur in श्र. III. 3. 1. 2 and III. 5. 3. 2; also in श्र. ३. ५. ६; &c.
659. सम नति *&c.* These words also occur in श्र. II. २, म. २२. १०, म. ३. १४; (where we have सम हँसि). These words also occur in the marriage ceremony (as addressed by the husband); vide श्र. II. ८.
660. अनुवंतिति *&c.* These words (with some additions and omissions) occur in आ. श्र. II. ६. १४, श्र. II. ३, म. ४१. १७ and several others. These are based on the *śāstra* passage quoted in note 625 above. In some it is said simply 'do not sleep' and this is explained in आ. श्र. I. १. ४. २६ as 'अय: दु:भिताब्धि अर्थः सत्समावेश्यि सत्यां गतिगति'.
661. अनुवंतनिगिर्य sacrifice is to be performed after a part of the Veda has been learnt.; vide आ. श्र. I. २२. १०-१६, नंदिएष्य III. २. ४६-४७.
of interest and divergence may be noted here briefly. It is remarkable that Āsv., Āp. and several other sūtrakāras do not say a word about the sacred thread, while a few like Hir. gr. (I. 2. 6), Bhār. gr. (I. 3) and Mānava gr. (I. 22. 2) say that the boy already wears the yajñopavīta before the homa begins; while Baud. gr. (II. 5. 7) says that the boy is given the yajñopavīta and then made to recite the well-known mantra ‘The Yajñopavīta is extremely sacred’ and the Vaik. smārtta (II. 5) says that the teacher gives the upper garment to the boy with the verse ‘paridami vāsah’, the sacred thread with the mantra ‘Yajñopavītam’ and the black antelope skin with the mantra ‘the eye of Mitra’. Sudarśana on Āp. gr. 10. 5 says that the boy puts on the yajñopavīta with the mantra before he takes his meal (according to some) or (according to others) before he puts the fuel stick on the fire and relies on Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 for support. According to Karka and Harihara (on Pāraskara) the yajñopavīta was given to the student by the teacher after the tying of the girdle. The Sāṃskāratattva p. 934 says the same. Later works like the Sāṃskāratanamālā (p. 202) prescribe the wearing of the sacred thread before the homa. The origin and development of the ideas about yajñopavīta will be dealt with separately later on, Āp. gr. (X. 5), Baud gr. (II. 5. 7) and Pār. gr. (II. 2) prescribe a dinner to brāhmaṇas before the ceremonies begin and receiving their benedictions. Āp. gr. (X. 5), Bhār. gr. (I. 1), Baud gr. (II. 5. 7) say that the boy also is made to take food; according to later works (e.g. Sāṃskāratanamālā) the boy takes his meal in the same dish with his mother (for the last time) and other brahmacārins (eight in number) are also invited at the same time for meals in the

662. स्मास सांस्कृतिक संस्कृत सुत्रोन्त कथा परंपरा मन्त्रि आचार्य मन्त्रि आचार्य वर्ष । यज्ञुपावित्र वर्ष । आयुधोपावित्र वर्ष वर्ष । यज्ञुपावित्र वर्ष । नाभतं तेजस ।

663. पद्मशाला—this is आप. म. पा. II. 2. 8; निर्देश चक्षु: is आप. म. पा. II. 2. 11.

664. Acc. to Pratihāryaṇaṣṭhara II. 2. 3 the आचार्य says ‘यज्ञुपावित्री वर्ष । त्वा यज्ञुपावित्रीनामात्माः’

665. वै. ग. घु. ‘मण्ड भौमाति तत्र चालीपुरणी केलोग्रं तत्त्वं सहितं समीक्षते वा निष्ठुरं’ &c. (II. 5. 7).
company of the boy. This practice is observed even in modern times. Almost all prescribe that the boy is shaved on this day (as in caula); this also is done in modern times. But in ancient times the shaving was done by the ācārya himself as stated by Sudarśana on Āp. gr. 10, 6-8. There are several other matters detailed in Āp. and others, on which Āsv. and some others are silent. The important ones are mentioned below.

(a) Āp. gr. (10, 9), Mānava gr. (I. 23. 12), Baud. gr. (II. 5. 10), Khādira gr. (II. 4) and Bhār. gr. (I. 8) make the boy tread on a stone to the north of the fire with his right foot after homa. The mantras repeated in the several sūtras are significant asking the boy to be firm like a stone. 667

(b) Mānava gr. (I.22.3) and Kāthaka gr. (41. 10) prescribe after homa the tasting of curds thrice after repeating the verse ‘Dadhikrāvno akārisam’ (Rg. IV. 39. 6 = Tai. S. I. 5. 4. 11).

(c) Pār. gr. (II. 2), Bhār. gr. (I. 7), Āp. gr. (II. 1-4), Āp. Mantrapātha (II. 3. 27-30), Baud. gr. II. 5. 25 (quoting Sātyayanaka), Mānava gr. I. 22. 4-5, and Khādira gr. II. 4. 12 refer to the fact that the teacher asks the boy his name and the latter pronounces his name. The teacher also asks whose brāhmaṇārī the boy is.

A person was given (as shown above at pp. 246-247) an abhivādanīya name either derived from the nakṣatra of birth or from a deity name or the gotra name. This was necessary for several purposes. The teacher had to know that the boy came from a good family, he had also to address him by name (as there might be several pupils). It is wrong to suppose 668 from the story of Satyakāma Jābāla (where the

666. नामस्वरूपः द्विःपदस्य नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि.

667. अनुसरणानेवते तत्र नामंत्रः संस्कृतेऽनुसारं नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि नामस्वरूपानि.

668. Vide Keay in 'Ancient Indian Education' p. 23 where he says 'it was still the rule for brāhmaṇās to be received as students.' Dr. Ghurye in 'Caste and race in India.' p. 43 merely repeats this dictum.
teacher asked him his gotra) that only brāhmaṇas were admitted to brahmacarya. All smṛtis, even the latest, contemplated that the three castes had the right to learn the Veda. It is one thing to have a right and another to exercise it. Probably very few kṣatriyas cared to submit their sons to the rigorous discipline of brahmacarya as laid down in the smṛtis and cared much less for Veda studies. In the Mahābhārata and in the Kādambārī it is said that the princes were taught in a special house constructed for the purpose and teachers were paid handsomely and brought there to teach instead of the princes going to the teachers.

It is not possible for want of space to show how the greatest possible confusion prevails as to the order of the various components of the ceremony of upanayana. But a few striking examples may be given. Āśvalāyana gr. treats of the tying of the girdle and the giving of the staff almost at the end of the ceremony, while Āp. gr. puts this after homa and immediately before anjalipūrana (filling the folded hands of both with water); Āśvalāyana puts ādityadarśana after the boy’s hand is held by the teacher and before paridāna (handing the boy over to the deities), but Bhār. (I. 9) puts it after the instruction in the observances of brahmacarya. The Bhār. gr. (I. 9) treats of ādityadarśana almost at the end of the rites, while Āśv. places it among the earlier ones after homa. Besides the same mantras are employed by different sūtras for different purposes; for example, the mantra ‘suṣravah &c.’ is employed by Āp. at the time of taking the staff by the boy (XI. 14 and Mantrapātha II. 5. 1), while Āśv. gr. (I. 22. 19), Bhār. gr. (I. 10), Mānava gr. (I. 23. 17) employ it in ‘medhājanana’ (on the 4th day after upanayana) and Pār. gr. (II. 4) employs it at the time of putting a fuel stick on fire. Āśv. employs the verse ‘yuvā suvāsāh’ (Rg. III. 8. 4) for making the boy turn round (first half) and for touching the region of the boy’s heart (latter half), while the same verse is employed at the time of tying the girdle round the boy’s waist by the Mānava gr. (I. 22. 8) and Pār. gr. (II. 2).

Later writers went on adding mantras and details. On the day prior to upanayana the Nāndiśrāddha was performed as said by Haradatta on Āp. gr. 10. 5. Grahamakha (a sacrifice to the planets) also may be performed the previous day or on any day within 7 or 10 days of the upanayana. Then before the actual upanayana, there is the worship of Gaṇapati and of
Kuladevatās, punyāhavācana, the worship of Mātrā and the consecration of the maṇḍapa-devatās. For the detailed modern procedure (prayoga) of upanayana, the S. R. M. (pp. 197-210), which in the main follows the briefer procedure in the gṛhya sūtras, may be consulted. Up to the act of making the boy dine with his mother it is the father who does everything; thereafter it is the ācārya who does the rest. The sāmkalpa of upanayana is given below.

Yajñopavītā—A few words must be said on the history of yajñopavītā from ancient times. Among the earliest references is one from the Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 1 'the nivita (used in actions) for men, the prācināvītā (used in rites) for pitṛs, the upavīta (in rites) for gods; he wears it in the upavīta mode (i.e. slung from the left shoulder), thereby he makes a distinguishing sign of the gods'. In the Tai. Br. (I. 6. 8.) we read 'wearing in the prācināvītā form he offers towards the south; for in the case of pitṛs, acts are performed towards the south. Disregarding that one should wear in the upavītā form and offer in the north only, since both gods and pitṛs are worshipped (in this rite)'.

The three words nivita, prācināvītā and upavītā are explained in the Gobhila gr. (I. 2. 2-4) which says 'raising his right arm, putting the head into (the upavītā) he suspends (the cord) over his left shoulder in such a way that it hangs down on his right side; thus he becomes yajñopavītā. Passing his left arm, putting the head (into the upavītā) he suspends it over his right shoulder, so that it hangs down along his left side; in this way he becomes prācināvītā; a person becomes prācināvītā only in the sacrifice offered to the Manes'. To the same effect is

669. अध्ययनान्धः ब्रजवाली नामकृति प्रफुल्लप्रकाशिके स्मार्थेन्द्रियं श्रीत्रप्रजापतिः सीतारामायणीयते अर्थोदयतित्वादित्वानांस्य लक्षणाः कारणाः वृत्त संकल्पं लिप्तं।

670. Vide 'Orion' by the late Mr. Tilak pp. 145-148 for discussion on this.

671. नीतिः नामवाणिः माँत्रिनातिं शिवरुपास्यां देवालं। अपपराते देवोपरामेव तत्त्वजने। से. II. 5. 11. 1.

672. दुःखितं भारीनायिनी निर्विरोधं। दुःखितार्थं शिवरुपास्य। अनाहस्य तद। वरसे नूक्षपितोऽपि। उपरयो हि देवाय शिव पराश्रयोऽपि। अथवे यदद्रूप दुःखितार्थं विरोधं। ये दुःखितार्थं। से. मण्ड 1. 6. 8.

673. दुःखितं शाख्यकुलवर्ष शिवरुपास्य सुस्थितं अस्तित्वाधिकारं दुःखितं कार्यनायतं। सत्यं शाख्यकुलवर्ष शिवरुपास्य दुःखितेऽस्मिन मतियापति। सत्यं कार्यनायतं सत्यं सत्यं शाख्यकुलवर्ष मतियापति। गोमितला। मण्ड 1. 2. 2-4.
Khādirā gr. I. 1. 8-9, Manu II. 63, Baud. gr. paribhāṣā sūtra II. 2. 7 and 10, Vaiṣk. I. 5. The Baud.674 gr. paribhāṣā-sūtra II. 2. 3 says 'when it is carried over the neck, both shoulders and the chest and is held with both the thumbs (of the two hands) lower than the region of the heart and above the navel, that is nivita; (when the śruti says it is) for men, what it means is that it is for sages. The occasions when nivita mode is used are: rṣi-tarpana, sexual intercourse, samāskāra of one's children except when homa is to be performed, answering the calls of nature, carrying a corpse and whatever other actions are meant only for men; nivita is what hangs from the neck'.

The Śat. Br. (II. 4. 2. 1, S. B. E. vol. 12, p. 361) says "the gods being yajñopavitins approached near, bending their right knee; he (Prajāpati) said to them 'the sacrifice is your food, immortality is your strength, the sun is your light'; then the plītras approached him, being prācīnāvātins and bending their left knee and then men approached him covered with a garment and bending their bodies" etc.675 It is important to note here that men are said to have been covered only with a garment and there is no reference in their case to any mode of wearing either as yajñopavita or nivita or prācīnāvita. This rather suggests that men wore only garments when approaching gods and not necessarily a cord of threads. In the Tai.676 Br. III. 10. 9, it is said that when vāk (speech) appeared to Devabhāga Gautama he put on the yajñopavita and fell down with the words 'namo namah'.

It seems to follow from a passage in the Tai. A. (II. 1) that a strip of black antelope skin or of cloth was used in ancient times as upavita677 the sacrifice of him who wears the

674. उपविशार्धायां श्रीवं द्रुव्यः च संपरिश्रय ह्रदयः शेषाः पावित्राः प्रमत्रां।

675. ततो बुधे यज्ञोपवित्राः श्रवणः दृश्यः आपत्तिस्वभावात्र्योगवभावात्रेऽवर्गः।

676. उपविश्वार्धायां श्रीवं द्रुव्यः च संपरिश्रय ह्रदयः शेषाः पावित्राः प्रमत्रां।

677. अन्तः क्रियाः हे बुधे यज्ञोपवित्राः श्रवणः दृश्यः आपत्तिस्वभावात्र्योगवभावात्रेऽवर्गः।

677. अन्तः क्रियाः हे बुधे यज्ञोपवित्राः श्रवणः दृश्यः आपत्तिस्वभावात्र्योगवभावात्रेऽवर्गः।
yajñopavīta becomes spread out (prosperous, famous), while the sacrifice of him who does not wear it does not spread; whatever a brāhmaṇa studies, wearing a yajñopavīta, he really (therein) performs a sacrifice. Therefore one should study, sacrifice or officiate at a sacrifice with the yajñopavīta on for securing the spreading of sacrifice; having worn an antelope skin or a garment on the right side, he raises the right hand and keeps the left down; this is yajñopavīta; when this position is reversed it is prāçīnāvīta; the position called samīvīta is for men.' It is remarkable that here at any rate no cord of threads is meant by upavīta, but only a piece of skin or cloth. The Par. M. (I. part 1 p. 173) quotes a portion of the above passage and remarks that the Tai. Ār. lays down that a man becomes an upavītin by wearing one of the two, viz. antelope skin and (cotton) garment.

In the Pūrvamāṁśasūtra (III. 1. 21) it is established (with reference to the words) in the Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 1 (upavayate etc. quoted in f. n. 671) that one has to be an upavītin throughout all the actions, prescribed in the sections on the Dārśa-Pūrṇamāsā sacrifice and not only when the Sāmīdhent verses are recited. The first part of the same passage is discussed by Jaimini (III. 4. 1-9) and it is established that the passage enjoins the wearing of upavīta in Dārśa-Pūrṇamāsa which is devakarma and that the reference to prāçīnāvīta and nīvīta is only an anvāda intended to emphasize the desirability of the wearing of upavīta in sacrificial to gods. The Tantravārtika explains that nīvīta is tying the upavīta round the throat like a braid of hair (according to some), according to others it is tying it round the waist as if for girding up the loins and that the first is not done except in battle, while the latter has to be resorted to in all acts in order to devote sole attention to them. So according to the Tantravārtika, the Tai. S. is not referring (in II. 5. 11. 1) to a cord of threads but to a piece of cloth. Some of the sūtrakāras and commentators drop hints that garments were used or could be used as upavīta. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 4. 22-23) says that a householder should always wear an upper garment and then adds 'or the sacred thread may serve the purpose of an upper garment.' This shows that originally

678. तेजस्वितस्यऽपि पृथ्वी जड़णिनवपाविकस्माय प्रायीतिकं वेदिरिकविनां विचिनाति।

679. निर्देशं कर्तिवत्सलयं नवायर्य भूषितै। कर्तिवत्सल: परिधीश्च। तत्र मन्द्रबिना
प्रायायो गुरुभुषां न प्रायस्तित। परिधीश्चादृश सर्वेऽवंशयोऽभिविश्वासं। तन्त्रवार्तिकं
on Jaimini III. 4. 2 (p. 891).

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upavita meant an upper garment and not merely a cord of threads. In another place the same sutra says (II. 8. 19. 12) 'one (who partakes of śrāddha dinner) should eat covered with an upper garment slung over the left shoulder and passing under the right arm'. Haradatta gives two explanations of this, viz. that one should wear an upper garment (while dining at a śrāddha) like a yajñopavita i.e. under the right arm and over the left shoulder, that is, a brāhmaṇa cannot rely on Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 4. 23 and wear at śrāddha repast only the sacred thread (but he must wear the garment in that fashion) and give up the sacred thread for the time.  

While another view is that he must wear the sacred thread and the upper garment both in the fashion of upavita. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 6. 18-19) prescribes that when a student wears two garments he should wear one of them (i.e. the upper one) in the yajñopavita mode, but when he wears only one garment then he should wear it round the lower part of the body (and should not cover the upper body with a portion of the garment though it may be long enough for that). Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 prescribes that a man must be yajñopavitin at the time of waiting upon teachers, elders, guests, at the time of homa, in japa (murmuring prayer), at meals and in taking ācamana and at the time of daily vedic study. On this Haradatta says 'yajñopavita means a particular mode of wearing the (upper) garment; if one has no upper garment, then there is another (but inferior) mode stated in Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 4. 23 and that at other times it is not necessary to have the yajñopavita'.

The Gobhil gr. (I. 2. 1) in treating of upanayana  says 'the student takes as yajñopavita a cord of threads, a garment

680. निर्वपसनत्र वासः कार्यकर्म। अवि वा सुनमेयोपविनान्ती। आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 4. 22-23; संस्काराचुदास्य वातेवरीती सुनिर्देश। आप. ध. सू. II 8. 19. 12; हर्द्वप वात्सल्योपविनान्ती। तेन यज्ञोपायने वातेवरीत सुस्वार्कुमारी। नायसः मोलिने 'अपि वा भूमिनान्तीती'। वर्धमाणे 'वा भूर्याने'। 'वातेवरीती विविधः। आप्यायनान्तीवर्ते। आप. ध. सू. II 2. 6. 18-19; आपने नायसः भूर्याने वस्मानान्तीर्यानी हाते ज्ञात्यामणि समा अवभासने स्वभावे च बास्यानीती रत्नान। आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 15. 1, where हर्द्वप says 'वास्यानीतिवर्ते वातेवरीती। वृत्तिकार्य भागुपास्य इत्याविविधतिः। वास्यानीतिवर्ते वृत्तिः इत्याविविधति इति एकु विविपाकाति कालान्तरे नारद्युन्नामाने।'; vide औपन्नस्थेतु (Jñānanda. part I. p. 502) 'अन्यथा वर्षी वागु गांधे होम जापे तवेद व। स्त्रायार भोजने नियम आध्यात्मानां च संजन्याति। उपासने नायसः च संज्ञाय न्यस्य विनियम प्रसादम्। वातेवरीती भविष्य विनियम सन्तानाः॥'

681. यज्ञोपविनयं भुज्स्य वाक्य वा बुधस्य बुधस्य। गौतमद्विष्ठ I. 2. 1; सुनमानि पञ्चायतेष्वविनयमणिति। अवि नारद मेयोपविनितादीन्त कर्तवादि विनियमाविनी यज्ञोपविनितं स्त्रायारसुस्त्रितानि। स्वामिनि I. p. 32.
or a rope of kuśa grass'. This indicates that though a cord of threads was considered in Gobhila’s days as the appropriate yajñopavita, that was not an invariable rule in his day and that a garment could be employed instead. The commentator being brought up in the latter day tradition explains by saying that if the sūtra was lost in a forest then a garment may be worn like the sacred thread and if even that was lost a rope of kuśa. But this appears to be rather far-fetched as an explanation of Gobhila’s unqualified words. Manu (II. 44) says that ‘the upavita of a brāhmaṇa should be made of cotton, its strands should be twined with the right hand moved over them (or the twist of the strands must be upwards) and it should have three threads’. Medhātithi comments on this that ‘upavita’ means a particular mode of wearing a garment or a particular position of it and therefore here by upavita is meant that which can be worn in that mode. The Sm. C. quotes a prose passage from Raṣṭrīga ‘or one may carry out all the purposes for which yajñopavita is required by means of a garment and in its absence by a string of three threads’. From the above passages, from the fact that many of the gṛhyaśūtras are entirely silent about the giving or wearing of the sacred thread in upanayana and from the fact that no mantra is cited from the Vedic Literature for the act of giving the yajñopavita (which is now the centre of the upanayana rites), while scores of vedic mantras are cited for the several component parts of the ceremony of upanayana, it is most probable, if not certain, that the sacred thread was not invariably used in the older times as in the times of the later smṛtis and in modern times, that originally the upper garment was used in various positions for certain acts, that it could be laid aside altogether in the most ancient times and that the cord of threads came to be used first as an option and later on exclusively for the upper garment.

A few rules about yajñopavita may now be stated here. The yajñopavita is to have three threads of nine strands well

682. The mantra अन्वेषणम् परम् &c. is cited only in Baud. gr. (note 662 above) and in Vaik. (II. 5), has certainly a comparatively modern ring about it and is not cited in any well-known ancient work.

683. Vide स्त्रयविलायत p. 4 and सं. प. 416-418 as to how the upavita is to be manufactured and who is to manufacture it, one interesting fact being that an upavita prepared by a maiden was to be preferred to one prepared by a widow. अनुपवित्र quoted in the आपवानस्तिन defines अनुप- त्रिक्षु in Manu II. 44 as ‘करणं विक्रियानोपवित्रं निष्क्रियानोपवित्रं। विद्वित्त मात्र साहो शुचमायुर- हुन्त स्मुदका’ (p. 2).
twisted (for each thread). Vide Baud. Dh. S.I. 5.5., Devala quoted in the Sm. C.\textsuperscript{684} The nine devatās of the nine tantus (strands) are given by Devala viz. Orkhāra, Agni, Nāga, Soma, Pitṛs, Prajāpati, Vāyu, Sūrya,\textsuperscript{685} all gods. Medhātithi on Manu II.44 says that in iṣṭis, animal sacrifices and soma sacrifices, the yajñopavīta was to have only one thread of three tantus, but it was three-fold in three classes of ahiṇa, ekāha, and sattra sacrifices as they required three fires and in the seven somasamāsthās seven-fold and five-fold when viewed with reference to the three savanas and two samdhyaśas. The yajñopavīta should reach as far as the navel, should not reach beyond the navel, nor should it be above the chest.\textsuperscript{686} Manu II. 44 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 27. 19 prescribe that the yajñopavīta for brāhmaṇa, ksatriya and vaiśya should respectively be of cotton, hemp and sheep wool. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 5), Gobhila gr. (I.2.1) say that it may be of cotton thread or of kuśa grass and Devala as quoted in Sm. C. says that all twice-born persons should make their yajñopavīta of cotton, of kuśā, hair of cow’s tail, hemp, tree bark or kuśa according to the availability of the material.\textsuperscript{687} The remarks of the Sāṁkāramayūkha after quoting Manu II. 44 are interesting ‘we do not know the origin of (or authority for) the practice of present-day ksatriyas and vaiśyas, viz. of wearing cotton yajñopavīta’. This shows that in the 17th century A.D. many ksatriyas and vaiśyas put on yajñopavīta.\textsuperscript{688} Kumārila also says that wearing yajñopavīta and studying Vedas is common to all the three varṇas.

The number of yajñopavītas to be worn differed according to circumstances. A brahmaçārī was to wear only one yajñopavīta and samnyāsins, when they kept yajñopavīta at all, also wore

\textsuperscript{684} फौं खुं वा निक्रियवत्तिपिन्नम् । आ नामसः । चै. ध. । श. I. 5. 5-6; अधे देवतेन । वां बर्णन। । ।

\textsuperscript{685} अव भावसंि । देवतामुद्धदय । बहोऽ । आस्राहः । मधोपत्राधिकसदिकसदिकसदिक एव ।

\textsuperscript{686} कार्थकानु । परिषापानदान । दूषणसे । नारायं । ध धूम । बिधुरोऽ । कार्थकानु । तदवस्मवपिती । सयासितिपिन्नम् । नाचौकपल्ली । दूषणसे । राष्ट्रुवंशविशेष । नामकृति।

\textsuperscript{687} काव्यासमाप्तम् । प्रेमकात्यात्तमः । सदा संभव । कार्थकानुैं । विना ।

\textsuperscript{688} एव च श्रद्धाविषयनानां विपरीतिर्विषयानां कार्थकानुपितैत्वान । तत् सूत् । न विषय।

\textsuperscript{687} I. p. 32; प्रर. मा. I. 2. p. 36; इवुद्धरति (VIII. 47-48) has a similar verse.

\textsuperscript{688} I. p. 31
only one. A snātaka (i.e. one who has returned from the teacher's house after brāhmaṇacarya) and a house-holder were to wear two while one who desired long life may wear more than two. Vas. Dh. S. XII. 14 says 'snātakas should always wear a lower garment and an upper one, two yajñopavitas, should have a stick and a pot filled with water'. Kaśyapa allowed a householder to wear any number up to ten. Whether yajñopavita as worn in modern times was worn from the most ancient times or not, it is certain that long before the Christian era it had come to be so worn and it had become an inflexible rule that a brāhmaṇa must always wear a yajñopavita and have his top-knot (of hair) always tied up; if he did any act without observing this rule, it was ineffectual. Vas. and Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 1) both say that a man must always wear yajñopavita. If a brāhmaṇa took his meals without wearing yajñopavita, he had to undergo prāyaścittā viz. to bathe, to mutter prayers and fast; vide Laghu-Hārīta verse 23 quoted by Aparārka pp. 1171, 1173. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 prescribes prāyaścittā for answering calls of nature without having the yajñopavita placed on the right ear (as Yāj. I. 16 prescribes). Manu IV. 66 forbids the wearing of another's yajñopavita along with several other things (such as shoes, ornament, garland and kamaṇḍalu). In Yāj. (I. 16 and 133) and other smṛtīs the yajñopavita is called brahmaśūtra.

An interesting question is whether women ever had upanayana performed or whether they had to wear the yajñopavita. Several smṛtīs contain instructive dicta on this point. The

689. Snatakarni tva nityam vastuttra samsthayoti samastu:... vesastit XII. 14; viśuṣṭam kuru 71. 13-15 has similar rules; the verse of Vasiṣṭha is quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 133, compare mānu. IV. 36; evavasthitam iti yati jna nāma chāriṇaḥ. Śrutiḥ ca eva vartayantāvahāyāṁ śrutiṁ samayāṁ... yathā vāpi mihāḥśuyaṁ bhaṣyaḥ. Evadhānta VIII. 44-45. Vide dūro quoted in śrutīnim. I. p. 32 and samaye jñātārya pāṇḍava śrutiḥ śaubhāṣyaḥ vā. Saṁyambhi samayānimīśāyāṁ samayānam śiṣyaḥ śiṣyāvāmī vā. Vide note 609 above.

690. Vide note 609 above.


Hāritadharmasūtra as quoted in the Sm. C. and other digests says 'there are two sorts of women, those that are brahma-
vādīnas (i.e. students of sacred lore) and those that are sadyo-
vadhūs (i.e. who straightway marry). Out of these brahma-
vādīnas have to go through upanayana, keeping fire, vedic study
and begging in one's house (i.e. under the parental roof);
but in the case of sadyovadhūs when their marriage is drawing
near, the mere ceremony of upanayana should somehow be
performed and then their marriage should be celebrated.' In
the Gobhila gr. 693 II. 1. 19 it is said "leading forward towards
the sacred fire (from the house) the bride who is wrapped in
a robe and wears the sacred thread (slung from her left
shoulder, in the yajñopavita mode) the husband) should
murmur the verse 'Soma gave her to Gandharva' (Rg. X. 85.
41)". It is clear that the girl, according to Gobhila, wore the
yajñopavita as a symbol of the rite of upanayana. The com-
mentator to whom this procedure naturally seemed strange
explains 'yajñopavitinim' as meaning 'whose upper garment is
worn in the fashion of the sacred thread'. In the Sāṃskāra-
tattva of Raghunandana it is stated that Hariśarmā held that
according to Gobhila the bride was to wear a yajñopavita,
though Raghunandana himself does not approve of this ex-
planation. In the ceremony of Sāmāvartana, Āsv. gr. III. 8, 694
on the subject of applying ointment says 'after having smeared
the two hands with ointment a brāhmaṇa should subdue his
face first, a kṣatriya his two arms, a vaiśya his belly, a
woman her private parts and persons who gain their live-
lihood by running, their thighs'. It is improper to say,
as some do, that as to women this is a general rule inter-
polated in the treatment of sāmāvartana and has nothing to
do with the latter. We should rather hold that Āsv. knew
of women undertaking Vedic study and so prescribed what
they should do in their sāmāvartana. In the Mahābhārata
(Vanaparva 305. 20) 695 a brāhmaṇa is said to have taught to the

693. Gobhil Gr. II. 1. 19; the com. says 'yajñopavatīnirnāṇaṃ kṛtavām sā yajñopavatīnām.

694. Asv. Gr. III. 8. 11.

695. Mahābhārata Vanaparva 305. 20.
mother of the Pândava heroes a number of mantras from the Atharvaśīras. Ḫātita\textsuperscript{696} prescribes that in the case of women samāvatāna took place before the appearance of menses. Therefore brahmavādini women had upanayana performed in the 8th year from conception, then they studied Vedic lore and finished student-hood at the age of puberty. Yama\textsuperscript{697} says 'in former ages, tying of the girdle of muñja (i. e. upanayana) was desired in the case of maidens, they were taught the vedas and made to recite the Sāvitrī (the sacred Gāyatrī verse); either their father, uncle or brother taught them and not a stranger and begging was prescribed for a maiden in the house itself and she was not to wear deer-skin or bark garment and was not to have matted hair'. Manu seems to have been aware of this usage as prevalent in ancient times, if not his own. Having spoken of the saṁskāras from jātakarma to upanayana, Manu winds up (II. 66) 'these ceremonies were to be performed in their entirety for women also, but without mantras' and adds (II. 67) 'the ceremony of marriage is the only saṁskāra performed with Vedic mantras in the case of women; (in their case) attendance on the husband amounts to serving a guru (which a student had to do) and performance of domestic duties to worship of fire' (which the student had to perform by offering a fuel-stick in the evening every day). This shows that in the day of the Manusmṛti, upanayana for women had gone out of practice, though there were faint glimmerings of its performance for women in former days. Relying on the words 'in former ages' occurring in the verses of Yama quoted above medieval digests like the Sm. C., the Nirñayasindhu and others say that this practice belonged to another yuga. In Bānbhaṭṭa's Kādambari,\textsuperscript{698} Mahāśvetā (who was practising tapas) is described as 'one whose body was rendered pure by (wearing) a brahmāsūtra (i. e. yajñopavita)'. The yajñopavita came to have superhuman virtues attributed to it and so probably even women who were practising austerities wore it. The Sam. Pr.

696. याय्यसः समावर्तनं । इति हरितोपत्थराङ्गसंस्कारसंस्कारादिकाः प. 404.

697. यमोदि युवाको कुर्सियों सौभाग्यनिविन्दिते। असुखवें च बेदारां सावित्री-वाचनं तथा।। पिता पितु-प्रत्य वा तुला अर्थवर्धितेऽवस्मी। सबूते जैव कष्टखा भृकुटिर्यथा। विम्बि-यथा।। वैष्णवरूत्जिनी च अवैयाकारं च।। संस्कारसंस्कारादिकाः प्प. 402-403; these verses are ascribed to Manu in the स्यातिजनिति (I. p. 24) edited by Mr. Gharpure, but this seems to be a misreading for यम (which is the reading of the Mysore ed.)

698. अक्षरस्ते पवीत्रांसंस्काराः in para 133 of कारुकेरि (वृत्तिः)
(p. 419) quotes a verse saying that the Supreme Being is called yajña and yajñopavita is so called because it belongs to the Supreme Being (or is used in sacrifices for Him).

Though kṣatriyas and vaiśyas also were entitled to have the upanayana performed, it appears that they often neglected it or at least neglected the constant wearing of yajñopavita, so much so that from comparatively early times the yajñopavita came to be regarded as the peculiar indicator of the wearer's being of the brāhmaṇa caste. For example, Kālidāsa in Raghuvarama (XI. 64) while describing the irate brāhmaṇa hero Paraśurāma says 'wearing the upavita, which was the heritage that came to him from his father, and holding a formidable bow that came to him from the side of his mother (who was a kṣatriya princess)'. If the upavita had been as constantly worn by the kṣatriyas as by brāhmaṇas in Kālidāsa's day he would not have spoken of it as the peculiar sign of a brāhmaṇa. In the drama Vēṇīśaṁhāra (Act III) when Karna resented the attitude of Aśvatthāman, who raised his left foot for kicking Karna, and said that he could not cut off his leg as by virtue of his caste (as brāhmaṇa) he could not be punished in that way, Aśvatthāman replied by throwing away his sacred thread with the words 'here do I give up my caste'. That shows that in the days of the Vēṇīśaṁhāra (not later than about 600 A. D.) the yajñopavita had become the peculiar indicator of the caste of brāhmaṇas only.

The Baudhāyana-sūtra quoted in the Saṁskāra-ratnamālā (p. 183) says that yarn spun by a brāhmaṇa or his maiden daughter is to be brought, then one is to measure first 96 angulas of it with the syllable bhūḥ, then another 96 with bhūvah and a third 96 with svah, then the yarn so measured is to be kept on a leaf of palāśa and is to be sprinkled with water to the accompaniment of the three mantras 'āpo hi śthā' (Rg. X. 9. 1–3), with the four verses 'Hiranyavarṇāh' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1 and Atharva I. 33. 1–4) and with the anuvāka beginning with 'pavamānah suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 4. 8) and with the Gāyatri, then the yarn is to be taken in the left hand and there is to be a clapping of the two hands thrice, the yarn is to be twisted

699. ब्रजार्थि परमात्मा य एकते चैव होत्तमिः। एकमिति वारोक्षेवं तत्त्वायकोपितेऽत्त्वकस || सं. प. 419.

700. विश्वासंहारगीतिवर्णं माधवं च महादर्शलिं दुधवत्। एकतेरात्र XI. 64.

701. आश्चर्य चैव印度गीतिवर्णं सह जालिं विषयज्ञा। बेणीसंहार III.
with the three verses ‘bhūrangnim ca’ (Tait. Br. III. 10. 2) and then the knot is to be tied with the formula ‘Bhūrbhuvah svaś-
candramasam ca’ (Tait. Br. III. 10. 2) and the nine deities ‘ōṁkāra, Agni (quoted above in note 685)’ have to be invoked on
the nine strands, then the upavīta is to be taken with the mantra ‘devasya tvā’ and then it is to be shown to the sun with the
verse ‘ud vayam tamassaspari’ (Rg. 50. 10) and then the yajñopavīta is to be put on with the verse ‘yajñopavitam &c.’
Then there is to be a japa of the gāyatrī verse and then ācamana. For a brief statement of the mode of putting on
a fresh sacred thread vide note below.  

The Baudhāyana-grhyasūtra (II. 8. 1-12) gives a few insignificant points of difference as to the upanayana of
kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, ambaśṭha and karṇa (son of a vaiśya from a śūdra female). It is not necessary to go into these
details.

The next important question is as to whether upanayana was performed in the case of the blind, the deaf and dumb, the idiotic
&c. Jaimini has established that those who are devoid of a limb are not eligible for agnihotra, but this inability arises only
when the defect is incurable. Similarly the Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 1,
Gaut. 28. 41-42, Vas. 17. 52-54, Manu 9. 201, Yāj. II. 140-141,
Viuspu. Dh. S. 15. 32 ff. lay down that persons who are impotent,
palita, congenitally blind or deaf, cripple and those who suffer
from incurable diseases are not entitled to share property on a
partition, but are only entitled to be maintained. But they all
allow even these to marry. As marriage is not possible for
dvijātis unless upanayana precedes it, it appears that the cere-
mony of upanayana was gone through as far as it could be
carried out in the case of the blind, the deaf and dumb &c. The
Baud. gr. sēsasūtra (II. 9) prescribes a special procedure for
the upanayana of the deaf and dumb and idiots. The principal

702. In modern times whenever a new yajñopavīta has to be worn
(because the one worn is lost or cut &c.) the ceremony briefly consists
in repeating the three verses ‘śrī hi śrīḥ’ (Rg. X. 9. 1-3) over water
with which the yajñopavīta is to be sprinkled; then there is the repetition
of the gāyatrī ten times (each time preceded by the vyāhritis, as
‘ōṁ bhūrbhuvah svaḥ’) and then the yajñopavīta is to be put on with
the mantra ‘yajñopavitam paramā’ (cited above in note 662).

703. अभूविनिलय द्वस्त । अन्मति निवसंस्नीवीत । सै. VI. 1. 41-42. The
exclusion of these from inheritance will be dealt with later.
points in which their upanayana differs from that of others are that the offering of samidh, treading on a stone, putting on a garment, the tying of mekhalā, the giving of deer skin and staff are done silently, that the boy does not mention his name, it is the ācārya himself who makes offerings of cooked food or of clarified butter, all the mantras are muttered softly by the ācārya himself. The sūtra says that according to some the same procedure is followed as to other persons who are impotent, blind, lunatics, or suffering from such diseases as epilepsy, white leprosy or black leprosy &c. The Nirnayasindhu quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa cited in the Prayogapārijāta about the upanayana of the impotent, the deaf and others which contains rules similar to Baudhāyana’s. The Sāṅh. Pr. (pp. 399–401) and S. R. M. (pp. 273–274) also quote the passage and explain it. The purāṇa says that those who cannot repeat the Gāyatri (such as the deaf and dumb) should be brought near the teacher or fire and that the teacher should then touch them and then mutter the Gāyatri himself, but that in other cases such as lunatics, they should be made to repeat the Gāyatri at least if possible and if that too is not possible, then on touching them the ācārya should repeat it. The same purāṇa prescribes that kunda and golaka (the first being the offspring of an adulterous intercourse when the husband of the woman is living and the second when the husband is dead) should have upanayana performed in the same way as for the deaf and dumb, if it is known that the adulterer and the woman were both of the brāhmaṇa caste. There is some difference of opinion as to kunda and golaka. Manu (II. 174) defined them as above. Aś. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 1, Manu (10. 5) and Yāj. (I. 90, 92) expressly say that a person born of a brāhmaṇa from a brāhmaṇa woman belongs to the same caste only if he is born in lawful wedlock and that even the anuloma sons must be born in wedlock. The kunda and golaka being the offspring of adultery

704. ॥ ॥ अचिनापिन्याच्याय मनयमण्डलंत्रानावताः पूर्वाकालावताः अवसाशायिनी निमित्त वस्तुचिताः वचनान्ततमः ॥ श्रीमयमव सदयानी ॥ श्री ॥ सप्तवृत ॥ ॥ ॥

705. ॥ आचिनापिन्याच्याय मनयमण्डलंत्रानावताः पूर्वाकालावताः अवसाशायिनी निमित्त वस्तुचिताः वचनान्ततमः ॥ श्रीमयमव सदयानी ॥ श्री ॥ सप्तवृत ॥ ॥ ॥

706. ॥ अचिनापिन्याच्याय मनयमण्डलंत्रानावताः पूर्वाकालावताः अवसाशायिनी निमित्त वस्तुचिताः वचनान्ततमः ॥ श्रीमयमव सदयानी ॥ श्री ॥ सप्तवृत ॥ ॥ ॥
would not really be brāhmaṇas even though both parents were brāhmaṇas. Thus, though these two are not strictly brāhmaṇas, upanayana of a secondary kind is allowed to them. Manu (III. 156) included the kuṇḍa and goλaka among brāhmaṇas not to be invited at śrāddha. Elaborate discussions have been held why they were so specially mentioned, when they were not on Manu's own dictum brāhmaṇas. Some like the author of the Samgraha held that the kuṇḍa and goλaka forbidden by Manu in śrāddha were those born under the ancient practice of niyoga; while others repudiated the idea that those born under the practice of niyoga had any taint attaching to them.707

It is not necessary to go into the question of the upanayana of mixed castes. Manu (X. 41) says that the six anulomas are eligible for the rites of dvijas (and so for upanayana) and the Mit.708 on Yaj. I. 92 and 95 says that the anulomas have upanayana performed according to the rules of the caste of the mother and further mixed castes arising from the six anuloma castes in the anuloma order are also eligible for upanayana. The Baud. gr. śeṣasūtra II. 8 gives rules for the upanayana of ksatriyas, vaisyās and of mixed castes like rathakāra, ambasātha &c. Gaut.709 IV. 21 made an exception in the case of the son of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman. All pratilomas were like śūdra according to Manu (IV. 41) and the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman, though anuloma, was like pratilomas. A śūdra is only ekajāti and not dvijāti (Gaut. X. 51) and for the pratilomas (as well as for the śūdra) there was no upanayana.

Upanayana was so highly thought of that some of the ancient texts prescribe a method of upanayana for the Aśvattha tree. Vide Baud. gr. śeṣasūtra II. 10. In modern times also rarely this upanayana is performed. To the west of the Aśvattha tree homa is performed, the sāṃskāras from puṇśavanas are imitated but with the vīhārtis only, the tree being touched with Rg. III.

707. Vide स्वरूपवाचक on आदि (II. pp. 399-400, Gharpure's ed.) for this elaborate discussion; vide also संहिताकाल pp. 397-398.

708. अन्तर्भूर्धिभिः पाभृत्तिः साधितीवर्षः सोविन्धिरयन्त भवति। भवति। भवति। 'प्रसंसकारं कर्त्तव्यं किं परि' निःसर्गम् साधितीवर्षः सोविन्धिरयन्त भवति। भवति। भवति। भवति। 'प्रसंसकारं कर्त्तव्यं किं परि' निःसर्गम् साधितीवर्षः सोविन्धिरयन्त भवति। भवति। भवति। 'प्रसंसकारं कर्त्तव्यं किं परि' निःसर्गम् साधितीवर्षः सोविन्धिरयन्त भवति। भवति। भवति। 'प्रसंसकारं कर्त्तव्यं किं परि' निःसर्गम् साधितीवर्षः सोविन्धिरय

709. सामान्यस्य अन्तर्भूतम्। शुद्धवा। गौतम IV. 20-21; अनुभागसामान्यस्य सामान्यस्य वैद्यवहनसाम्यस्य गौतमस्य शुद्धिः। अप्र. य. 1. 1. 6.
8. 11 'vanaspate'. A piece of cloth is held between the tree and the performer, then eight auspicious verses are repeated (maṅgala-lāṣṭaka), the cloth is removed and then the hymn called Dhrusūkṣta (Rg. X. 72. 1-9) is repeated. Other mantras (like Rg. X. 62–63) are also recited. Then a piece of cloth, yajñopavita, girdle, staff and deer-skin are given with appropriate mantras and lastly after touching the tree, the Gāyatrī is repeated. In E. C. vol. III. Malavalli No. 22 there is a reference to the upanayana of Āsvattha trees performed by one Bāḥappa in 1358 A. D.

Śāvitrivypadeśa:—It will be seen from the passage of the Śat. Br. quoted above (in note 625) that the sacred Gāyatrī verse was imparted in very ancient times to the student by the teacher a year, or six months, 24, 12 or 3 days after upanayana and that the Śat. Br. prescribes that in the case of brāhmaṇa students this must be done immediately. This ancient rule was probably due to the fact that students in those far-off times when they came to the teacher at the age of seven or eight had hardly any previous instruction and so must have found it difficult to pronounce properly and correctly the sacred verse immediately on initiation. It is for this reason that so modern a work as the S. R. M. (p. 194) says that such mantras as ‘Śan-no devirabhisṭaye’ (Rg. X. 9. 4) which have to be repeated by the brahmacārī in the rites of upanayana should be taught to him even before upanayana, just as the wife (who being a woman had no upanayana performed) was taught the Vedic mantras accompanying such acts as that of examining aśiya in sacrifices. The same rule of postponing the instruction in Gāyatrī is stated in Śān. gr. II. 5, Mānava gr. I. 22, 15, Bhār. gr. I. 9, Pār. gr. II. 3. The general practice however seems to have been to impart the Gāyatrī that very day. According to most of the sūtras the teacher sits to the north of the fire facing the east and in front of him the student sits facing the west and then the student requests the teacher to recite to him the verse sacred to Śāvitrī and the teacher imparts to him first one pāda at a time, then two pādas and then the whole. According

710. नमोऽनाथलोकस्मिन्दिति, नमोऽनात्मकामिदं कूदम्यादमुद्गे नामावर्तमानमेव।
711. संवत्सरं साविनिमथादि विशेषतः सा। संव. प्र. II. 5; तां श्रीमानं साविनी संवतस्तः साविनिमथादि आदिमुद्गे विशेषतः सा। मामां श्री. प्र. I. 9.
to Baud. gr. II. 5. 34-37 the student places on the fire four fuel sticks of the palāśa or other sacrificial tree anointed with clarified butter and repeats mantras to Agni, Vāyu, Āditya and the lord of vrataś with ‘svāha’ when offering⁷¹³ them. Various intricate modes occur in the sūtras and the commentaries thereon about how this first instruction in Gāyatri is to be carried out. The differences are due to the place assigned to the vyāhritis⁷¹⁵ (bhuḥ, bhuvah, svah). Two illustrations are set out below from Sudarsana⁷¹⁴ on Āp. gr. II. 11. The syllable ‘om’ has been looked upon as very sacred from ancient times and is a symbol of the Supreme Being. The Tai. Br. II. 11 contains a eulogy of ‘omkāra’ and quotes Rg. I. 164. 39 in support ‘reō aksare pareme &c.’ taking the word ‘aṃksara’ to mean the ‘omkāra’. The Tai. Up. I. 8. says ‘(syllable) om is Brahma; om is all this (universe)’. A brāhmaṇa about to begin the teaching (of the Veda) says ‘om’ with the idea that he may reach near brahma. ‘Om’ is called pranava. Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 13. 6 says ‘omkāra is the door to

⁷¹². अमेरूपते सा विर्यं ब्राह्मण चरित्रभामि तच्चक्षेयं तन्मे राप्तां स्वाहा। पाोऽूदपने आदिन्द्र संदर्णेव आबासव विर्यं ब्राह्मण चरित्रभामि तच्चक्षेयं तन्मे राप्तां स्वाहा। द्व. २. II. 5. 36-37.

⁷¹³. The mystic words सूर, सूर, सं: are sometimes called महाभागिन (vide Gobhila gr. II. 10, 40, Manu II. 81). They are also called simply आघातिन; vide स. दू. I. 5. 1, where सह: is said to be the 4th. The number of vyāhritis is usually seven, सूर, सूर, सं: मह: जन: तस्य सर्यं (Vasiṣṭha 25, 9, Vaik. VII. 9). Gantama (I. 52. and 25, 8) speaks of only five, viz. सूर, सूर, सं: सर्यं, while the आघातिन सांतमा has the same five, but सदां is last.

⁷¹⁴. आघातिनिवत्ता: पालिक्षिप्तमेतर व तथविव्युत्तिमधं विभत्तिमधं। आप. सः ११. ११; on which शुद्धरूप सागः ‘अं दूस्तनिपुरुपर्वतः। आम्रु: माहृंमयं धीमाही। ओऽ सूर: चित्तो यो न: प्रशोधाय। ओऽ सूस्त्तिनिपुरुपर्वतः माहृं देवस्य धीमाही। ओऽ सुः चित्तो यो न: प्रशोधाय। आम्रु: तस्तिनिपुरुपर्वतः माहृं देवस्य धीमाही: विचयो यो न: प्रशोधाय। ओऽ तस्तिनिपुरुपर्वतः ... धीमाही सूरः। ओऽ चित्तो यो न: प्रशोधाय। ओऽ तस्तिनिपुरुपर्वतः ... धीमाही सूरः। ओऽ चित्तो यो न: प्रशोधाय। ओऽ तस्तिनिपुरुपर्वतः ... वाराच्य:। compare Bhārat gr. I. 9. दू. सः २. II. 5. 40 is the same as आप. सः २. II. 11. सं: is often pronounced सुर:। आघातिन नाहः। आघातिन सर्यं। ... आघातिन नाहः। आघातिन सर्यं। आघातिनिवत्ता। On the other hand, the sāṃskṛta forms are the correct ones.}
heaven; therefore one who is about to study the Veda, should start his study by first repeating om.' Manu (II. 74) prescribes the repetition of praṇava at the beginning and at the end of daily Vedic study and further on (II. 76) says that the three letters 'a', 'u', 'm' (in om) and the three vyāhṛtis were distilled from the three vedas by Prajāpati as the essence. Medhātithi on Manu (II. 74) says that 'om must be uttered at the beginning of the daily Vedic study by the student or by the householder (when performing brahmajāna), but it is not necessary in japa' &c. In the Mārkandeya-purāṇa chap. 42, Vāyu chap. 20, Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti VI. 59-62 and in numerous other places there are hyperbolical or esoteric identifications of the three letters of om with Viṣṇu, Lokom and the jiva, with the three Vedas, with the three worlds, with three fires &c. In the Kaṭhopaniṣad I. 2. 15-17 om is said to be the end of all Vedas, the source of the knowledge of brahma and also its symbol.

The sacred Gāyatrī verse is Rg. III. 62. 10 and occurs in the other Vedas also. It is addressed to Savitṛ (the sun) and may also be interpreted as a prayer to the Source and Inspirer of everything. It literally means 'we contemplate that esteemed (longed for) refulgence (glory) of the divine Savitṛ who may inspire our intellects (or actions)'. Some gṛhya sūtras prescribe the same verse for all students, whether brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas or vaiśyas. But others say that for brāhmaṇa the Sāvitṛ verse is the Gāyatrī, but for ksatriyas and vaiśyas, a sāvitṛ (verse addressed to Savitṛ) in the Triṣṭubh (having 11 syllables in each quarter) or Jagati (12 syllables in each quarter) should be the proper one. Here again there is difference. According to the commentators on the Kaṭhaka gr. (41. 20), the verse 'adabdhhebhīḥ savitā' (Kaṭhakam IV. 10) and the verse 'Viśvā rūpāṇi' (Kaṭhakam XVI. 8) are cited as the Sāvitṛ for a ksatriya and a vaiśya respectively; while the commentator on Śaṅ. gr. (II. 5. 4-6) says that the Triṣṭubh which is to be taught as the Sāvitṛ to the ksatriya students is 'ā krṣṇena rajasā' (Rg. I. 35. 2) and the Jagati Sāvitṛ for the vaiśya is 'Hiranyapāṇiḥ savitā' (Rg. I. 35. 9) or 'hainsah śucisad' (Rg. IV. 40. 5). According to the Vārāha-gṛhya (5) 'devo yāti savitā' and 'yuñjate manah' (Rg. V. 81. 1) are the Triṣṭubh and Jagati meant as Sāvitṛ for the ksatriya and vaiśya respectively. According to Sātātapa quoted in the Madanapārijāta (p. 23) the verse 'Deva savitāḥ' (Tail. S. I. 7. 7. 1, Kaṭhakam XIII. 14.) is the sāvitṛ for the ksatriya. According to Medhātithi on Manu II. 38 'ā krṣṇena (Rg. I. 35. 2) and 'visvā rūpāṇi' (Kaṭhakam XVI. 8)
are the two Sāvitrīs respectively for kṣatriya and vaiśya. That all these rules about the Sāvitrī being in the Gāyatrī, Tristubh and Jagati metres for the three varṇas respectively are probably very ancient follows from the text 'gāyetryā brāhmaṇamārasrājata triṣṭubhā rājanyam &c.' (quoted in note 356 above). The Āṣv. gr., Āp. gr., and some other sūtras are entirely silent on the point, while Pār. gr. II. 3 allows an option viz. all varṇas may learn the Gāyatrī or the Sāvitrī verses in the Gāyatrī, Tristubh and Jagati respectively. Why the Gāyatrī verse (Rg. III. 62. 10) came to be famous it is difficult to say. Its fame was probably due to its grand simplicity and to its adaptability to an idealistic conception of the world as emanating from an all-pervading Intelligence. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 32-33) explains the Gāyatrī in various ways. In the Tai. Ār. (II. 11) it is stated that the mystic words 'bhuḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaha' are the truth (essence) of speech and that Sāvitrī in the Gāyatrī means 'one who engenders glory' Atharvaveda 19. 71. 1 calls it 'vedamātā' and prays that it may confer long life, glory, children, cattle &c. on the singer. The Br. Up. V. 14. 1-6 contains a sublime eulogy of Gāyatrī which word is there derived from 'gaya', meaning 'pṛāṇa', and the root 'trai' (to save) and it is said that when the teacher repeats the Gāyatrī for the benefit of the young student he thereby saves the boy's life (from ignorance and the effects of sin). The Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 10 mentions a brāhmaṇa text to the effect that the Sāvitrī is recited for all the Vedas (i.e. by its recital all Vedas become recited as it is their essence). Manu II. 77 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 14) says that each pāda of the Sāvitrī was as if extracted from each of the three Vedas and that (II. 81 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 15) the Sāvitrī together with om and the three mystic syllables (bhuḥ &c.) is the mouth of Vedic lore (since Vedic study starts with it, or 'brahma' may mean 'the Supreme Being'). Manu II. 77-83, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 11-17, Saṅkhasrīti XII, Saṁvarta (verses 216-223),

715. ग्रामीणो ग्रामाणादासुदासो ये ग्रामाण त्र्योक्तिगुणम् राज्यपतिः अयोध्य वैशालीम् यथा गायत्रीम्। पार. सं. II. 3.

716. वैद्यः कर्मस्थानुसङ्गे: सूक्ष्मसङ्करः: सूक्ष्मसङ्केतं वर्णा: सर्वसे चड़े वाचः सर्वसे तटन्तः शुद्धे वर्णा। अयोध्य ग्रामिनी ग्रामाणी निवासीह वस्त्रोपक्षिकोन्यन्तरानं स्थिता तिर्थ: असहिता। तत् आ. आ. II. 11 (अनवनां में means 'without stopping or break').

717. सर्नता सर्नता वर्णसङ्गे सूक्ष्मसङ्करः सूक्ष्मसङ्केतं वर्णानन्तः। असदा: आयुः वर्गः यद्यमेवः शुद्धे वाचः दृष्टि वस्त्रोपक्षिकरः। अयोध्यसः वर्गः नास्तिकोऽन्तः। अथावेदवः 19. 71. 1.

718. स्रोतह निर्भृत निर्भृत निर्भृतं वस्त्रोपक्षिकं वर्णानन्तं वर्गः अयोध्ये तत् आयुः अयोध्यान्तः। ब्र. वं. V. 14. 4.
Bṛhat-Parāśara chap. V (where the mystical significance of each of the 24 letters of the Gāyatri is explained) and numerous other works contain hyperbolical eulogies of Gāyatri. Parāśara V. 1 calls it 'Vedamātā'. The words 'Apyo jyoti rasonṛtam brahna bhūr-bhuvāḥ svarom' are said to be the śīras (head) of the Gāyatri (vide Śāṅkhaṃśrī XII. 12). Manu (II. 104) and others prescribe that every day a brahmacārī (as well as others) must perform japa of Gāyatri. Baud. Dh. 8. II. 4. 7–9 prescribes that in the evening Śaṁdhīyā adoration one should murmur the Gāyatri a thousand times, or a hundred times with praṇāyāma each time or ten times with 'om' and the seven vyāhṛtis. Vas. Dh. S. 26. 15 prescribes that a man desirous of purifying himself from sin should repeat the divine Gāyatri 1000 times (daily) as the maximum or 100 times (as the middle way) or at least ten times. There are mantras for invoking the Gāyatri and for taking leave of it.

Brahmacārī-dharmāh:—Certain rules and observances are prescribed for all brahmacārīs. They are of two kinds, some are prescribed for a very short time and some have to be observed for all the years of studenthood. The Āśv. gr. I. 22. 17 says 'for three nights, or twelve nights or a year; after upanayana ...

719. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 143–152 for lengthy remarks on several matters connected with the Gāyatri; on p. 145 there is a dhyāna of the 24 letters of the sacred verse. Vāj. I. 23 refers to the sīras of Gāyatri.

720. विश्रवस on ya. I. 25 quotes a verse of वारदे ‘देवी सवस्तिक्ष्यति इत्यासास्माद दुष्यायने’ and adds चतुर्विधायं विश्रवस्वरविश्रविश्रवै शुचिते ज्ञातु। लक्षणा पुष्पविद्याया नागालिनेत्यैर्खुतिः इति अवस्थित। न वेश विश्रवस्ताये।

721. The अहंगवर्जय acc. to गोपिन्द is ‘आयां वर्जय देवी अवर्जयाविनिते’ quoted in मुनिनित्रित्र (I. p. 143) and the विश्रवस्तिक्ष्यति is ‘उदारे शिशुरे जाते दुष्यायने प्रतांतातिनित्रित्र’ महज्ज तस्मातात्यते वटरे देवी विश्रवस्ति quoted in the वाज्यनित्रित्र (I. 241). The मुनिनित्रित्र (I. p. 151) quotes from नोमिनित्रित्र ‘महज्ज सर्वजीवं विश्रवस्तिक्ष्यते’ महज्ज ‘यद्यपि’ and also ‘उदारे शिशुले जाते &c.’ These are recited in the modern Śaṁdhīyā also.

722. अध योगीनिक भग्नायानस्तितिवर्जयो व्रजेतु। गोपय 2. 4.

723. अर्थबृहोभिविधाय नागः गार्भायानितार्य विषार्य द्वारवर्जय संसरस्वर या। आयु. य. I. 22. 17; वस्तुनित्रित्र धार्मिन्ति आयुर्लक्षणायानस्ताः पोषयति। य. II. 5. 55; तिश्राव अहंगवर्जयाविनितर्विवेदित। सार्वस्य य. II. 4. 33, There is great divergence of views on the meaning of अहंगवर्जय. According to नारायणा on आयु. य. I. 8. 10 अहंग means certain cereals ‘हेमिन्द्रि कृष्णायाम् सावा हृद्र मुनिरित्रा’ नागनामाम नागालिनेत्यैर्खुतिः। गार्भायानितार्य निष्णानितार्याः संस्तितिवर्जय । वाज्यनित्रित्र मुनिनित्रित्र। अर्थस्वरूपस्तितिः ‘वाज्यनित्रित्र’ महज्ज। महज्ज on मन्त्र V. 72 explains स्याहासिक्षितार्य सार्वस्य। महज्ज on मन्त्र V. 72 explains अर्थस्वरूपस्तितिः ‘मूर्तस्य मन्त्र V. 72 explains अर्थस्वरूपस्तितिः ‘स्याहासिक्षितार्य सार्वस्य।’
the brahmačārī should not eat ‘kṣāra’ and ‘lavaṇa’ and should sleep on the ground”. The same rule is stated by Baud. gr. II. 5. 55 (adding the maintenance of the fire kindled at the upanayana for three days), Bhār. gr. I. 10, Pār. gr. II. 5, Khāḍira gr. II. 4. 33 (adding avoidance of milk also for three days). Hir. gr. (I. 8. 2) specially prescribes for the first three days the avoidance of kṣāra, of lavaṇa and vegetables, and the duty of sleeping on the ground, of not drinking out of an earthen vessel, of not giving the remnants of his food to sūdras and several other observances which he has to continue throughout the period of student-hood. These latter are briefly indicated in Manu II. 108 and 176 viz. offering samidhs into fire, begging for food, not using a cot, working for the teacher, daily bath, tarpana of gods, sages and pītrs &c.

The observances that last throughout the period of student-hood are first seen in the passage of the Śat. Br. (quoted above in note 625). The same are laid down in Āśv. gr. I. 22. 2 (quoted on p. 283 above), Pār. gr. II. 3, Āp. Mantrapāṭha (II. 6. 14), Kāṭhaka gr. (41. 17) and other texts. These are principally ācamana, guruśuṣrūṣa, vāksanyayana (silence), samidadhāna. When the teacher says in the upanayana ‘drink water, do work &c’, the student is to reply with the word ‘yes’ (‘bāḍham’ or om). But the sūtras and smṛtis lay down many rules about these and other observances; vide Gaut. II. 10–40, Śaṅ. gr. II. 6. 8, Gobhila gr. III. 1. 27, Khāḍira gr. II. 5. 10–16, Hir. gr. 8.1–7, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 11–I. 2. 7. 30, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2, Manu II. 49–249, Yāj. I. 16–32 &c. The rules centre principally round agniparicaryā (worshipping fire), bhikṣā (begging for food), saṁdhyopasana, study of Veda and its methods and duration, avoidance of certain foods and drinks and other matters like singing &c., guruśuṣrūṣa (including honouring him and his family and other elders), and the special vratas of the brahmačārī. These principal topics will be dealt with in some detail now. Before doing so some other matters will have to be briefly disposed off.

On the 4th day after upanayana a rite was performed called Medhājanaṇa724 (generation of intelligence) by virtue of which

724. Compare Medhājanaṇa in Ātakam above (on p. 233). ‘सम्बन्धाज्ञानोऽवस्था सम्बन्धाज्ञानतः। येन तस्मातिसंस्कारमयोऽवस्था \nसंिस्कारम्।’ संिस्कारम् quoted in śr. m. p. 446. Three directions viz. south, south-east and south-west are objectionable (निर्देशः); the rest are unobjectionable. Śāṅkiṇa (quoted in संिस्कारम् p. 445) ‘सम्बन्धाज्ञानोऽवस्थां द्वियोऽस्य वाच्योऽस्य नैर्नैर्नैर्न’ वर्णित्वा विद्यौत्तित्वोऽस्मानोऽस्मात्। विद्यौवेद्यस्य विद्युपे! विद्युपे! 
H. D. 39
it was supposed that the student's intellect was made capable of mastering Vedic lore. Āśv. gr. I. 22. 18–19 deals with this. The teacher makes the student sprinkle water in an unobjectionable direction thrice from the left to the right with a pot of water round about a palāśa tree that has one root, or round a bunch of kuśa grass if there is no palāśa, and makes him repeat the mantra 'Oh glorious one, thou art glorious. As thou, glorious one, are glorious, thus, glorious one, make me full of glory. As thou art the preserver of the treasure of sacrifice for the gods, thus may I become the preserver of the treasure of Veda among men.' The Bhār. gr. (I. 10) also prescribes this rite on the fourth day after upanayana and says that a palāśa tree with one root is to be anointed with ājya and the mantra 'suśravah' (the same as in Āśv.) is to be muttered. Kāthaka gr. 41. 18, Mānava gr. I. 22. 17 also refer to this. The Śām. Pr. (pp. 444–446) gives a more elaborate description. In addition to what is stated in Āśv. gr. it quotes from Śaunaka and adds a few more details, viz. the student deposits at the root of the palāśa his garments already worn, the staff and the girdle and then wears new ones and then when the boy returns to the house, a stream of water is poured before him. The teacher takes the garments &c. left by the boy. The Ap. gr. 11. 24 says that on the fourth day the teacher takes the garments worn on the day of upanayana by the student and the boy wears new ones. Sudarśana on Ap. 11. 24 speaks of palāśa-karma on the fourth day. The boy goes cut with his ācārya to the east or north and three sthanḍīlas are prepared to the north or east of a palāśa tree and on these three pranava (om), śraddhā and medhā are invoked, are worshipped with unguents, flowers, lamp &c. (as in the regular worship of an image), then the pranava is worshipped with the formula 'yas-chandasām' to 'śrutam me gopāya' (Tai. Up. I. 4. 1), śraddhā with the hyma 'śraddhayāgniḥ' Rg. X. 151 and Medhā with the anuvāka 'Medhā devī' (Tai. Ār. X. 39). Then the staff is deposited at the foot of the palāśa, another staff is taken and the student returns to the house with the ācārya. In modern times in the Deccan a similar ceremony is gone through under the (Marāṭhī) name 'Palasulā'.

725. सुश्रव्य: has two meanings (1) 'glorious,' (2) 'who hears well' (i.e. who learns the Veda well by hearing it from the teacher). This occurs in अप. म. प्र. II. 5. 1 also (but in अप. ग. XI. 14 it is the nām for taking the staff).
We have seen above that the student has to offer samīdh (fuel stick) into the fire on the day of upanayana. The fire kindled at the time of upanayana was to be kept up for three days and the fuel-sticks were offered in that fire during those days. Afterwards samīdh was to be offered in the ordinary fire (vide Baud. gr. II. 5. 55-57, Āp. gr. 11. 22). The student is required to offer every day after upanayana a samīdh into fire in the evening and in the morning. Āsv. gr. I. 23. 6 prescribes this and the commentator Nārāyaṇa adds that in so doing he has to observe the procedure prescribed in Āsv. gr. I. 20. 10-1. 21. 4 for the putting on of samīdh on the first day. Śāṅ. gr. II. 10, Manu II. 186, Yāj. I. 25 and almost all others prescribe the offering of samīdh into fire in the evening as well as in the morning; but Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 17 notes that according to some 'agnipūjā' was to be performed in the evening only. Āp. Dh. S. (1. 1. 4. 14-20) lays down the following rules: 'the student should always bring fuel from the forest and heap it on a low place (otherwise if placed high it may fall on anybody's head), one should not go out after sunset for bringing fuel-sticks. Having kindled fire, having swept round it he should offer fuel-sticks in the evening and the morning as already directed (in the grhyasūtra). One should sweep round the fire that is burning red-hot with the hand and not with a broom (of kuśa grass).'

The Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 12 further prescribes that no fuel is to be placed on fire (in śrauta and śāmarti rites) unless water has been sprinkled over it. The student had not only to offer samīdh on his own account into the fire, but he had to help his ācārya in the latter's worship of fire by bringing fuel and by offering oblations for his ācārya when the latter was away on a journey or was ill. The Āsv. gr. I. 9. 1 says beginning from marriage a householder should worship grhyā fire himself or his wife or son or maiden daughter or pupil may do so.' The Chāndogya Up. IV. 10 contains the story of Upakosala Kāma-lāyana who was a student of Satyakāma Jābāla and looked after his teacher's fires for twelve years and whom Satyakāma did not teach anything, though the wife of Satyakāma interceded on behalf of the dejected pupil.

726. संप्रदायणं द्वितीयं ब प्रतिष्ठितं विज्ञापितं न नासप्रदेशं सामस्यावरो गतस्त | अधिविदधव व वर्षम् अवस्याद्यस्यां समीक्षितं व विषयेऽवर्गम्। सामस्यावरुचिपूर्वदेश वसितस्यां विषयेऽवर्गम्। अतएव ग. ३०. I. 1. 4. 14-18; नाप्रायोगिन्यत्वेऽपि ग्रहणवतत्राय। अतएव ग. ३०. I. 5. 15. 12.

727. पानिकर्षणकर्षि शुभे पितरच्छेदप्यात्मकः परम्परा वा युक्तं कुमारवेचीसन्तः | अतिर. ग. ३०. I. 9. 1; vide also साब. g. II. 17. 3 to the same effect. The various kinds of fires will be discussed later on under 'marriage.'
A few words about samidhs may be said here. The samidh must be of palāṣa or some other yajñīya tree (used in sacrifices). Such trees are palāṣa, aśvattha, nyasrodha, plakṣa, vaikaṅkata, udumbara, bilva, candana, sarala, śala, devadāru, and khadira. The Vāyupurāṇa quoted by Aparāṅka (p. 51) says that palāṣa samidhs should be preferred, in their absence samidhs of khadira, in the absence of the first two, of śami, rohitaka and aśvattha and in the absence of all these of arka and vetasa. The Trikāṇḍa-mandana (II. 83–84) has several rules on this point. The principal trees for fuelsticks (samidhs) are palāṣa and khadira, but samidhs of kovidāra, bibhitaka, kapitha, karaṅba, rājakṣa, śakadruma, nipa, nimba, karaṇja, tilaka, ślesmātaka or sālmani are not to be employed. The samidh was not to be thicker than the thumb, was to have its bark on it, was not to be worm-eaten nor divided, nor longer nor shorter than the span (prādesa) nor having two branches, it was to be without leaves and was to be strong. According to Hārīta 'when death wanted to seize the brahmaṇcārī formerly, Agni saved him from death and so a brahmaṇcārī should serve fire.'

The number of samidhs varied as shown above and not only in the worship of Agni by the brahmaṇcārī, but also elsewhere.

Bhikṣā:—The Āsv. gr. after prescribing begging for food states (I. 22. 7–8) that the student should first beg of a man who would not refuse or of a woman who would not refuse and that in begging he should say 'sir, give food'. More detailed rules are laid down by others.

The Hir. gr. (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 157) says "after giving the student the staff the teacher gives him a bowl (for collecting
alms) and says to him 'go out for alms.' Let him beg of his mother first, then in other families which are generously disposed; he brings the food to his guru and announces it to him with the words '(these are) the alms' and then the teacher accepts with the words 'these are good alms.'" The Baud. gr. II. 5. 47-53 gives the same rules and adds that a brāhmaṇa student should beg with the words 'bhavati bhikṣām dehi' (lady, give me food), a kṣatriya with the words 'bhikṣām bhavati dehi' and a vaiśya with the words 'dehi bhikṣām bhavati.' Pār. gr. II. 5, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 28-30, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 17, Manu II. 49, Yaj. I. 30 and others contain the same rules about addressing the ladies for alms. Pār. gr. II. 5 says that the student should first beg of three women who would not refuse or of six, of twelve or of an unlimited number and that according to some he should first beg of his mother. Manu II. 50 says that he should first beg of his mother, sister or mother's sister. Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 26 says that if women refuse to give alms to a devout brahmacārī he snatches away or destroys their merit arising from sacrifices, gifts and burnt offerings, progeny, cattle, spiritual glory (of their families) and food and quotes a Brāhmaṇa passage therefore indeed one should not refuse to give food to a crowd of students moving about (for alms) for fear that among them there may be some one who is like this (a devout student), and who has carried out all the observances for students. If a brahmacārī cannot get food elsewhere he may beg from his own family, from his elders (like maternal uncles), his relatives and lastly from his ācārya himself. As to the persons from whom to beg for food, one sees how the growing strictness of caste rules about food during the lapse of centuries affected the brahmacārī. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 25 prescribes that

731. अतिसै भक्ति पावन मपंसाहिः। स मातृभक्षेयं मिलेवेत्। स मातृभक्षेये मिलेवेत्। महति तिस्येव बुद्धितै भक्षणो मिलेवेत्। मिलेवेत् महति बुद्धितै राजनाथा। देवी मिलेवेत् महति महाभिखण्डतै। भक्षणायाचारिः भगवानमिलेवेत्। भगवानमिलेवेत् प्रिणतै। यो। शु. II. 5. 47-53.

732. Vide śat. प. II. 6. 5-8, मोनिश्च. II.10. 42 11, आदिनृ. II. 4. 28-31 for similar rules.

733. मोनिश्च. II. 43-44 'आचार्याविर्भोजनमेवार्थोमेवन वेषं दूरै पूर्वी पिठिरेत् ।' महात्मण् 184 has the same rule.

734. सर्व भक्तिविवेचनं सवं भक्तिविवेचनं मिलेवेत्। भक्ति मिलेवेत् प्रिणमिलेवेत्। महात्मण् 34. आदिनृ. II. 1. 3. 25; मोनिश्च. II. 41. अपत्तिः is variously explained; on आदिनृ. शु. I. 7. 21. 6 'पवित्तं संपर्क देशिले तथापि' वारुण explains as संपर्कावराः (with whom no social inter- (Continued on next page)
he could beg food from anybody except apapātras (persons like cāpḍālas) and abhiśastas (i.e. those who are guilty of or suspected of grave sins). Gaut. II. 41 expressly says that a brahmacārī may beg food from all the varṇas except from those who are abhiśasta and patita. Manu (II. 183 and 185) says a brahmacārī should beg for food at the houses of those who study the Veda and perform sacrifices, who are devoted to their duties and are virtuous in their conduct; if from such persons food cannot be had he may go about the whole village, but should avoid those who are abhiśasta. Yāj. I. 29 says 'for his own maintenance a brahmacārī should beg food from brāhmaṇas who are blameless' and the ancient commentator Viśvarūpa says that the best way is to beg at brāhmaṇa houses, the next best is to beg of kṣatriya and vaiśya houses and to beg of sūdras is allowed only in āpad (time of distress or difficulty). Ausana (Jiv. ed I. p. 505) says that a brahmacārī should beg only from houses of his own caste (as the best way probably) or he may beg at the houses of all varṇas, while Āṅgiras quoted in the Par. M. (I. 2, p. 41) says that even in a season of distress a brahmacārī should not beg for cooked food from sūdras. The Madanapārijata p. 33 quotes a passage from the Bhaviṣyapuruṣaṇa to the effect that a brahmacārī may beg food from anybody except a sūdra.

Food obtained by begging was supposed to be pure as said by Manu II. 189, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 56 and Yāj. I. 187. It was further said that a brahmacārī who subsists on food obtained by begging is like one observing a fast (Manu II. 183 and Brhat-Parāśara p. 130). The brahmacārī was to eat food collected from several houses and was not to take food at a single person's house, except that when he was requested to dinner in honour of gods or the Manes he might do so by partak-

(Continued from last page)
ing of such food at such dinners as would not violate his vows. Vide Manu II. 188–189 and Yāj. I. 32.

Corresponding to the duty of the student to beg was the obligation cast on householders to serve food according to their ability to brahmacārins and yatis (ascetics). Gautama V. 16 prescribes that after performing the daily yajñas to gods (vaiśvadeva) and offering bāli to bhūtas, the householder should offer alms (of food) preceded by the word 'svasti' and by water. Manu III. 94, Yāj. I. 108 and others say that alms should be given to ascetics and brahmacārins with honour and welcome. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 108 says that alms should be ordinarily one morsel of food as large as the egg of a pea-hen and quotes a verse of Śatapatha735 saying that 'bhikṣā is as much as one morsel, that puṣkala is equal to four morsels, hanta is equal to four puṣkalas and agra is equal to three hantas.'

The idea that a brahmacārī must beg for his food and offer fuel-sticks every day was so ingrained in ancient times that the Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 54 and Manu II. 187 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 52) prescribe that if for seven days continuously a brahmacārī who was not ill failed to offer fuel-sticks and to beg for food he violated his vow and had to undergo the same penance as was prescribed for a brahmacārī having sexual intercourse.726 Even in modern times many brāhmaṇa students (not only those who study the Veda from orthodox teachers but even those learning English) begged for their daily food and by dint of hard discipline, patient industry and integrity rose to high positions in public life. However the practice of poor begging students attending English schools in this way is dying out, since English education does not now ensure for the poor brāhmaṇa students even a bare maintenance.

Other important rules about the begging of food are that the student should not beg for his sake alone, should announce

735. विशेष च वा तत्रांसमेत:। वाल्स्व भवनाभिविनयाना। वाल्स्वात्रा भवेद्विशा

726. न भीताङ्ग व्यासिष्टिकथाय:। नवालासामायस्वप्नात्राय:। अवधूतां वदवनात्र विनुष्टिव:। ममानां वर्णाद्वितीयोऽपि वा। अवधूता हृ

726. नेच्छावाचच तत: पापस्वःसमिद्व:। सहाश्चसुरैवद्विषिवतिः अर्थात् ||

Bṛ. 1. 2. 54. Manu (XI. 118–123) explains who is avākirgini and states the penance for him.
to the teacher all that he has brought and eat only that which the teacher directs him to take; if the teacher is gone on a journey then he should announce it to the teacher’s family (wife, son); if even these are absent, then to other learned brāhmaṇas and eat with their permission. Vide Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 31-35, Manu II. 51. He should leave no residue in his dish and wash it after taking his meal therein. If he is not able to eat the whole that he has brought he should bury it underground or consign it to water or place that which is more than he can eat near an ārya or give it to a śūdra who works for his teacher (Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 37-41). Ap. Dh. S. (I. 1. 3. 43-44) says that alms are held to be equal to sacrificial food, the teacher holds the place of the deity and of the ahavanlya fire.\footnote{727}

Other miscellaneous acts that the students had to do were bringing\footnote{728} water for the ācārya in pots, collecting flowers, cowdung, earth, kuṣa grass &c. (vide Manu II. 182).

Samāḍhyaː—On the day of upanayana there is no morning saṁḍhya. Jaimini\footnote{729} says 'as long as there is no imparting of the Gāyatrī there is no saṁḍhya.' So the student begins his saṁḍhya in the noon of the day of upanayana. As however on that day he knows no Vedic text except the Gāyatrī, his whole saṁḍhya worship consists of the Gāyatrī.

The word 'saṁḍhya' literally means 'twilight', but also indicates the action of prayer performed in the morning and evening twilight. This act is generally styled 'saṁḍhyopāsana' or 'saṁḍhyāvandana' or simply 'saṁḍhya'.\footnote{740} This act of adoration is sometimes prescribed as necessary thrice a day viz. at day-break, in the noon and at sun-set e.g. Atri\footnote{741} says 'a twice-born person possessed of the knowledge of the Self should perform three saṁḍhya adorations.' These are respectively named Gāyatrī (morning one), Sāvitrī (noon) and Sarasvatī.

737. \textit{Mbh.} II. 231 also calls the guru śhavanīya fire.


739. पुनयु नवमीद्वारा न तास्मात्सांवटितम् च च तीति मद्यतासांवटिते सर्वं कर्म समाप्तेते: (Jaimini quoted by \textit{s.m. p. 439}.)

740. विबचना on \textit{ya.} I. 25 says 'संबंधनी चोपास्याकर्षणी नामार्थियां काव्यवत्व: पाश्चात्य: च, and the \textit{māra}. (on the same verse) says 'अहोराजस्य: संगीत: ये किंच विधियते स संध्या'. मेधा. on \textit{Mbh.} II. 101 says 'त सर्वो तस्मात: अन्तः नामिे परमेज्ज्ञान भवस्य एवं संध्या' and on IV. 94 'सततितति जन्यपातिविभिः संध्यासंबंधोऽवस्ते'.

741. सङ्करां च कत्तरां विज्ञेनभवनन्दा सदन। उमे संध्ये च कत्तरां विद्यार्थिया सङ्करां विद्यार्थिया आदि quoted by \textit{महाराज} p. 49; कृष्ण सांध्या हु स्माही नामार्थिनी महाभाव स्वत्व। या अन्त्यस्मात्या केस्वतुऽन्तर्यात्मा सांध्ये विद्यार्थिया सर्वनाथीके चापामाथा (in \textit{Arthasastra} p. 49). Aparārka says that सङ्करां च should not be performed in the house.
(evening one) by Yoga-yajnavalkya. Generally however the saṁdhya prayer is prescribed twice (Āśv. gr. III. 7, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8, Gaut. II. 17, Manu II. 101, Yāj. I. 24–25 &c).

All prescribe that the morning\textsuperscript{745} prayer is to be begun before sunrise and should be carried on till the disc of the sun is seen on the horizon and the evening prayer begins when the disc of the sun is about to set and goes on up to the appearance of stars. This is the most proper time; but a secondary time was allowed up to three ghaṭikās after sunrise and sun-set. The duration of the prayer each time was to be one muhūrtā (i.e. two ghaṭikās, according to Yoga-yajnavalkya) whatever the length of the day may be.\textsuperscript{742} Manu (IV. 93–94) however recommends the prayer to extend as long as one could afford, since the ancient sages secured long life, intelligence, glory, fame and spiritual eminence by long saṁdhya prayers.\textsuperscript{746}

According to most writers japa of Gāyatrī and other sacred mantras is the principal thing in saṁdhya and other things such as mārjana are merely subsidiary, but Madhātithi on Manu II. 101 (where the words are ‘japaṁ niṣṭhitam’ and not ‘tiṣṭhan japat’) says that japa is subsidiary or secondary and the place of the prayer and the posture of the praying person are the principal items. When it is said ‘one should perform the saṁdhya’ what is meant is that one should contemplate the deity called Āditya represented by the orb of the sun and should also contemplate on the fact that the same Intelligence dwells in his heart. The proper place for saṁdhya prayer is outside the village (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8, Gaut. II. 16, Mānava gr. I. 2. 2), in a lonely place (Śaṅ. gr. II. 9. 1 ‘arānye’) or on a river or other sacred spot (Baud. gr. II. 4. 1). But this does not apply to the agnihotrin,\textsuperscript{745} who has to perform vedic rites and repeat homa.

\textsuperscript{742} Vide here also Manu II. 101.

\textsuperscript{743} Vide also Manu II. 101.

\textsuperscript{744} Vide here also Manu II. 101.

\textsuperscript{745} Vide here also Manu II. 101.

\textsuperscript{746} Vide here also Manu II. 101.

\textsuperscript{745} This is the same as the same as Manu II. 104. 18 (for śrīdharmabhāṣya) and again X. 20.

\textsuperscript{745} Vide here also Manu II. 101 and again Manu II. 104. 18 (for śrīdharmabhāṣya) again X. 20.

\textsuperscript{745} Vide here also Manu II. 101 and again Manu II. 104. 18 (for śrīdharmabhāṣya) again X. 20.
mantras at sun-rise and who therefore may perform saṁdhya āsrama in his house. Vasiṣṭha quoted by Aparākṣa says that saṁdhya āsrama performed in a cowpen or on a river or near the shrine of Viṣṇu (or other deity) respectively is ten times, 100,000 of times or numberless times better than saṁdhya āvandana in the house. All prescribe that the morning saṁdhya is to be performed standing and the evening one in a sitting posture (Āṣv. gr. III. 7. 6, Śān. gr. II. 9. 1 and 3, Manu II. 103) and the morning saṁdhya is to be performed facing the east and the evening one facing the northwest (Āṣv. gr. III. 7. 4, Śān. gr. II. 9. 1). He is to bathe, to sit in a pure spot on a seat of kuśa grass, should have the sacred cord in the usual position and restrain his speech (i.e. be silent and not talk in the midst of saṁdhya).

The principal constituents of saṁdhya āsrama are these: ācamanās (sipping of water), prāṇāyāma, mārjana thrice (sprinkling himself with water to the accompaniment of several mantras), ahamāraṣṭa, offering of water to the sun (arghya), japa of Gāyatri, and upaṣṭhāna (reciting mantras by way of worship of the sun in the morning and generally of Varuna in the evening). Among the earliest references to saṁdhya āsrama is the one in the Tār. Ar. II. 2, where it is said that when brahmavādins facing the east throw up water consecrated by the Gāyatri, the evil spirits that fight with the sun are sent tumbling into the country (called) Mandeha Aruna (of the evil spirits). This shows that in ancient times saṁdhya āsrama consisted principally of offering water (arghya) to the sun in worship and japa of Gāyatri. Āṣv. gr. III. 7. 3-6, Śān. gr. II. 9. 1-3 and others refer only to the japa of the Gāyatri āsrama in

746. यूँही कालनम्य संध्या गोते बुधगण स्वता। रत्तारामको नर्मनमत्वानुस बिध्वेसलिपिः परिलिखित वा हि श्रैणे p. 50, while युगम्य लोकक p. 224 quotes सावित्र युगम्य लोकक पते तन्यास्वित्री अनुसार संध्या मेन श्रीमती नर्मदिनी।

747. तत्रिहृ वा वर्णिस्व जस्ती तन्मताराममन्त्रावलिनिः प्रमाणमिति तदृष्टि व एव कृतिस्मिति पुनः संध्यासमारवर्तिनी अन्य उद्देश्य विचारणर्ता एवादि अवैतीय प्रकृतिनिति ता वहने वैविद्यानुसार तत्रिहृ वर्णिस्व जस्ती नर्मदिनी हि स्वता संध्या मेन श्रीमती। तै अय. II. 2. The स्वातिक I. p. 154 quotes some verses from सीतारामवर्तक (which are almost the same as ब्राह्मणवर्तक vol. I. 50. 163-65) “विभाषाशरीराः विषालयाः वासुकिः नाम वाचस्माणि। सावित्री सदसाहुसुभुवाः विनि सिंहि अनुसर्णि ते सावित्री वासुकिः वाचस्माणि। कालिन वेद्यस्ते वेद्यस्ते वासुकिः स्वदेशाः सर्वो ज्ञात स्मरितोधिः। संध्या वै सावित्रीय संतीयवच सत्यातो।” The सवैतिक I. सूत्रस्तेस्ते वेद्यस्ते । तैसम्य वेद्यस्तेस्ते। तैसम्य वेद्यस्तेस्ते। तैसम्य वेद्यस्तेस्ते। तैसम्य वेद्यस्तेस्ते। तैसम्य वेद्यस्तेस्ते। तैसम्य वेद्यस्तेस्ते। तैसम्य वेद्यस्तेस्ते। तैसम्य वेद्यस्तेस्ते। तैसम्य वेद्यस्तेस्ते। तैसम्य वेद्यस्तेस्ते। तैसम्य वेद्यस्तेस्ते। तैसम्य वेद्यस्तेस्ते। तैसम्य वेद्यस्तेस्ते।

Similar verses occur in अस्वामिण्ण IV (Jiv. part I. p. 189), धृतरस्ते स. 64, धृतरस्ते p. 560.
Sāndhyopāsana. Manava gr. (I. 2. 1-5) refers only to the arghya offering to the sun and japa of Gāyatrī. It is in the Baudh. Dh. S. II. 4 that we find an elaboration of sāndhyopāsana into various components such as ācāmana, mārjana, japa of Gāyatrī and upaṣṭhāna (worship) of Mitra and Varuṇa (respectively in the morning and evening with only two verses in each case). Modern writers went on adding details e.g. it is now the practice in the Deccan to repeat the 24 names of Viṣṇu at the very beginning of the sāndhyopāsana, but this is hardly anywhere prescribed by any smṛti or early commentator. Similarly elaborate rules are laid down about mystic nyāsas with the sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (vide Aparārka p. 140), of the nyāsa of the Nārāyanamantra of 25 letters on 25 parts of the body (Vyādha-Hārīta VI. 16-19) and of the letters of the Gāyatrī Brhatparāśara chap. V. p. 83). In modern times ācāmana is performed with the three names of Viṣṇu, viz. Keśava, Nārāyaṇa and Mādhava in the form ‘om Keśavāya namah’. The 24 names are given below.

A few words on each of the principal components of sāndhyā may be said here. Elaborate rules about ācāmana are laid down in several smṛtis; vide Gaut. I. 35-40, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 2-11 and 16. 1-16, Manu II. 58-62, Yāj. I. 18-21. Such rules must have been elaborated from very ancient times. The Tai. Br. (I. 5. 10) prescribes that one should not perform ācāmana with water that is in a cleft of the earth. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 5. 15. 5) says the same thing. One should perform

748. 748a. Surāja-giri, sāndhāyapāniti. Āpan. I. 11. 13. 32-33. 1 pūrva smṛti. Saupradhikāditya,
ācamana in a sitting posture (and not standing nor bent) in a pure spot, facing the north or east, one should sip water thrice with water that is not hot and that is free from foam or bubbles, one should after sipping water wipe the lips twice (thrice according to Āp.) and should touch with the wet right hand one's eyes, ears, nose, heart and head. The water for ācamana should be as much as would penetrate (or reach) to the heart in the case of brāhmaṇas, to the throat in the case of kṣatriyas, to the palate in the case of vāśyas; women and śūdras should sip on occasions of ācamana only once as much water as would reach the palate. Manu (II. 18) and Yāj. (I. 18) say that water should be sipped by the brāhmāmatīrtha (i.e. from the root of the thumb). The further elaborate rules laid down in such smṛtis as Gobhila gr. (I. 2. 5–6), Śāṅkhasmruti 10 are not set out here. The occasions for ācamana are many. According to Gobhila gr. I. 1. 2 one must do every grhyā rite with yajñopavita worn in the usual way and after ācamana. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 says that ācamana is a subsidiary matter in all religious acts. There are several occasions when the sipping of water twice is necessary, the principal being before and after bhojana (meals); vide Gautama I. 40, Vas. 3. 38, Yāj. I. 196, Śm. C. I. p. 100, Madanapārijāta p. 57, Par. M. I. part 1, pp. 241–243. Both the Br. Up. (VI. 1. 14) and Chān. Up. V. 2. 2 refer to the practice of sipping water before and after bhojana and the Vedāntasūtra III. 3. 18 is based on these upanisad passages and says that water is looked upon as the garment of prāna. Numerous occasions when ācamana is necessary are stated in Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 16. 15–16, Manu V. 138 and 145, Yāj. I. 196, Kūrmapurāṇa I. 2. 13. 1–8 &c.

750. The roots of the smallest finger, the index finger and of the thumb and the tips of the fingers of the hand are respectively called the अन्तर (or अंत), तित्त्र, निर्गहि and कैलासंह. Vide Yāj. I. 19. Viśnu Dh. S. 62. 1–4, Vas. Dh. S. III. 64–68, Baud. Dh. I. 5. 14–18. As everywhere, there are differences here also. Vas. holds that pītya is between the forefinger and the thumb, and that manuṣa tīrtha is at the tips of the fingers. Others say that the roots of the four fingers constitute आर्स tīrtha (Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 18).—Vaik. I. 5. and Par. gr. pariṣīṭa mention five tīrthas (the 5th being in the palm is called tīnegya). tīnegya is also styled Saumya by others.

751. विष्णुप्रसिद्धिः अपनानितत्वोद्धीति च अपि। रेसित्रुणः कृ. I. 1. 2.

752. विष्णुप्रसिद्धिः अपनानितत्वोद्धीति अपि आसपासपरिश्रावितिवे सूत्र. सूत्र. VI. 1. 14; छलाग्नम् पूर्वायुपस्थितम् दुःखारोपीतिमन्दिरः परिपूर्वति दुः खारोपीतिमन्दिरः ह परिपूर्वति अपि। कर्त्तवं यो व. 2. 2.
Prāṇāyāma (restraint of breath) is defined by the Yogasūtra (II. 49) as the regulation of inhalation and exhalation of air. Gaut. I. 50 prescribes three prāṇāyāmas, each of which lasts for 15 mātras (moras). Baudh. Dh. S. IV. 1. 30 (Vas. Dh. S. 25. 13=Sankhāsāṃti VII. 14) and Yāj. I. 23 say that the ārasa of Gāyatrī, the three vyāhṛtis each preceded by ‘om’ and the Gāyatrī verse are to be rehearsed mentally during the time of prāṇāyāma. According to Yoga-yājñavalkya, one should first revolve in the mind the seven vyāhṛtis, each preceded by ‘om’, then the Gāyatrī and then the ārasa of Gāyatrī. Prāṇāyāma has three components, pūraka (inhaling the outside air), kumbhaka (keeping in the inhaled air i.e. neither taking in air nor giving it out) and recaka (exhaling air from the lungs). Manu VI. 70-71 highly praises the utility of prāṇāyāma in purifying the mind of sin.

Māṛjana is performed by means of kuśa grass dipped in water kept in a vessel of copper or udumbara wood or earthenware and while doing so one is to repeat ‘om’, the vyāhṛtis, Gāyatrī and the three verses ‘āpo hi śthā’ (Rg. X. 9. 1-3). Baudh. Dh. S. II. 4. 2 adds more Vedic mantras for māṛjana. Māṇava gr. I. 1. 24, Yāj. I. 22 and others prescribe māṛjana only with the three verses ‘āpo hi śthā’ (Rg. X. 9. 1-3).

Aghamarśana (driving out sin) consists in taking water in the right hand formed in the shape of a cow’s ear, holding it near one’s nose, breathing out from the nose on the water (with the idea of driving away sin from oneself) to the accompaniment of the three verses ‘ṛtam ca’ (Rg. X. 190. 1-3) and then casting the water away to one’s left on the ground.

753. तासिर्मंसति (आश्चर्य व शति) आश्चर्याच्यः वर्गिनिविचेषु: मण्डवामः | नैवाश्च II. 49.

754. सुवुर्मसंसारानस्तथः सर्व नैवस ई। संसारसंसारानस्तथः तत्सिद्धिरहरूऽः। आश्चर्याच्यः वर्गिनिविचेषु: विद्याविनिविचेषु: मण्डवामः शति: | नैवाश्च Pāṇini quoted in Brāhma iv. p. 141.

755. श्रवणसंसारः अविद्या-विद्याविनिविचेषु: पवनाच्चविद्याविनिविचेषु: पार्वताकपोच्चहितंकुशाविनिविचेषु: विद्याविनिविचेषु: मण्डवामः शति: | नैवाश्च Pāṇini quoted in Brāhma iv. p. 141.
Arghya (offering water out of respect to the sun) consists in taking water in one's joined hands, repeating the Gayatri verse over it and standing facing the sun and casting it up thrice. If a man cannot have water (being at the time of Samhyā on a road or in jail &c.) he could use dust for water. The Tai. Ār. II. 2 says that a brāhmaṇa contemplating the rising and setting sun and doing obeisance to it by going from left to right attains all bliss, since this Āditya is Brahma.

As to japa of Gayatri, vide above under Sāvitrīyupadesā (p. 304). There is an extensive literature about the greatness of the japa of Gayatri and of other holy vedic mantras which are passed over here and for which reference may be made to Aparārka pp. 46-48, Sm. C. I. pp. 143-152, Gr. R. pp. 241-250, Āhnikaprabhāsa pp. 311-316. A few details will be given under āhūnaka.

As to upasthāna vide above (p. 315, note 748). According to Baud, the worship of the sun is done with the verses 'udvayam' (Rg. I. 50.10), 'Udu tyam' (Rg. I. 50.1), 'citram' (Rg. I. 115.1), 'tau ca kṣur' (Rg. VII. 66.16), 'ya udayā' (Tai. Ār. IV. 42.5). Manu II. 103 prescribes that he who does not perform the Samhyopāsana in the morning and evening should be excluded from all actions meant for the benefit or honour of dvijas. Gobhila smṛti II. 1 says the same and adds that brāhmaṇya resides in the three Samhyās and that he who has no concern for samhyopāsana is not a brāhmaṇa. Baud, Dh. S. II. 4. 20 calls upon the religious king to make brāhmaṇas, who do not engage in samhyopāsana thrice a day, perform the work peculiar to śāstras. The Kūrma-purāṇa goes so far as to say that even if a person engages in other actions which are religious but gives up the performance of samhyopāsana, in so doing he falls into numerous hells. Manu declares (II. 102) that sins committed at night through ignorance (or oversight) are removed by the performance of

756. अन्तर्द्वार विनाशक्मित्वमिश्रितापनकुर्म नाश्को विनाश्य सकं भवते सम्बुक्तोरं

757. अन्तर्द्वार विनाशक्मित्वमिश्रितापनकुर्म नाश्को विनाश्य सकं भवते सम्बुक्तोरं

758. अन्तर्द्वार विनाशक्मित्वमिश्रितापनकुर्म नाश्को विनाश्य सकं भवते सम्बुक्तोरं

759. अन्तर्द्वार विनाशक्मित्वमिश्रितापनकुर्म नाश्को विनाश्य सकं भवते सम्बुक्तोरं
morning saṁdhyā and the sins committed in the day are removed by the evening saṁdhyā. Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 25-28, Yaj. III. 307 are to the same effect. When a person is impure owing to mourning or birth in the family, he is to perform saṁdhyā only up to arghya to the sun but not japa nor upasthāna.

In modern times the saṁdhyopāsana has become a lengthy business by the addition of materials from puṣāpas and the tantras. But as observed by the Samskāratnamāla rituals like nyāsa are non-Vedic and many do not perform them. For various nyāsas and mudrās (postures of the fingers, hands etc.) one may consult the Smṛti-muktāphala (Śānkiya pp. 328-333), Sm. C. I. pp. 146-148.

Nyāsa means 'mentally invoking god and holy texts to come to occupy certain parts of the body to render it a pure and fit receptacle for worship and contemplation.' The sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) are respectively invoked to reside in the left and right hands, the left foot, the right foot, the left and right knees, the left and right sides, the navel, the heart, the throat, the left and right arms, the mouth, the eyes and the head (vide Aparārka p. 140). The Bhāgavata (VI. 8. 4-5) recommends that one should perform nyāsa on the hands and limbs of one's own body with the two mantras of Nārāyaṇa and thus make Nārāyaṇa one's armour when some danger arises and that one should perform nyāsa with 'om' and other syllables on one's feet, knees, thighs, belly, heart, chest, mouth and head. The Sm. C. I. p. 144 quotes verses from Vyāsa and Brahmā as to the nyāsa of the letters of the Gāyatrī with 'om' and 'namah' on the several parts of the body.
body. Vṛddha-Hārita VI. 16–19 speaks of the nyāsa of the twenty-five letters of the mantra about Nārāyana on the twenty-five parts of the body. The Nityācārapaddhati (pp. 578–579) describes the nyāsa of the letters of the alphabet (51 in all) from 'Oṃ Keśavāya namah' to 'ksam Nyānāhāya namah.' One well-known mode is to assign Govinda, Mahīdhara, Hṛṣikeśa, Trivikrama, Viṣṇu, Mādhava respectively on the tips of the thumb, the index finger, the middle finger, the ring-finger, the small finger and the middle of the palm. Manu II. 60 enjoining the touching of the limbs and head with water appears to contain the germ of this practice of nyāsa.

The Sm. C. I. (pp. 146–148) quotes long passages about the mudrās (hand poses) to be made in the saṁdhyā adoration. The Śaṅgraha quoted in the Pūjā-prakāśa (p. 123) states that the mudrās are to be made in worship, at the time of japa, dhyāna (contemplation) and when starting on kāmya rites (performed for securing some desired object) and that they tend to bring the deity worshipped near to the worshipper. The names and number of mudrās differ considerably. For example, the Sm. C. and Smṛ. Mu. (āñika pp. 331–332) quote passages defining the following mudrās viz. sammukha, samputa, vistīra, dvīmukha, trimukha, adhomukha, vyāpakāñjalika, yamapāsa, grathita, sammuṇkhumukha, vilamba, muṣṭika, mīna, kūṛma, varāha, simhākranta, mahākranta, mudgara and pallava. The Nityācārapaddhati p. 533 derives the word mudrā from 'mud' (joy) and the root 'rā' (to give) or 'dravay' (causal of dru, to put to flight) and says that "mudrā" is so called because it gives delight to the gods and also puts to flight asuras (evil beings). That work and the Pūjā-prakāśa (pp. 123–126) give the names of mudrās. They are āvāhanī, sthāpini, saṁnidhāpani, saṁrodhini, prasādamudrā, avagunthana-mudrā, sammukha, prārthana, śaṅkha, cakra, gadā, abja, (or padma), musala, khadga, dhanus, bāṇa, nārāca, kumbha, vigaha (for Vighneśvara), saura, pustaka, lakṣmi, saptajīva (for Agni Vaiśvānara), durgā, namaskāra (bringing together both hands from the wrist to the tips of the fingers), añjali, saṁhāra (in all 32). The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 536) says that śaṅkha, cakra, gadā, padma, musala, khadga, śrīvatsa and kaustubha are the eight mudrās of Viṣṇu. The Sm. C. quotes a
work called Mahāsamhitā that the mudrās are not to be performed in the presence of a crowd and if so performed the deities become angry and the mudrās become fruitless. The Śāradātilaka (23.106) states that all deities are gladdened by the mudrās and in verses 107-114 describes the following mudrās, viz. āvāhanī, sthāpanī, samniḍhāpanī, samrodhini, sammukha, sakala, avagunthana, dhenu, mahāmudrā. The Ācāra-dinakara of Vardhamāna-sūri composed in saṃvat 1468 (1411-12 A. D.) for Jainas enumerates 42 mudrās and defines them (1923, part II. pp. 385-386).

The influence of these mudrās spread outside India and they are still practised in the island of Bali. Miss Tyra de Kleen has brought out a very interesting book on the 'mudrās (the hand poses) practised by Buddhist and Śaiva priests' (called pedandas) in Bali, with 60 full page drawings (1924, New York).

Study of the Veda:—A detailed examination of the educational system from ancient times onwards, together with its methods, courses of study and kindred topics will require a volume by itself. The works mentioned in the note below may be read for that purpose. Here a few salient features alone can be set out.

The pivot of the whole educational system of ancient India was the teacher (variously called ācārya, guru, upādhyāya). The instruction was oral. Rg. VII.103.5 (speaking of frogs) says 'when one of these frogs follows another in making noise just as a learner repeats the words of the teacher'. Vide the quotations from the Atharvaveda and the Śat. Br. cited above (f. n. 622 and 625). In the beginning the father alone may have taught his son. The story narrated in the Br. Up. V. 2. 1 and the story of Śvetaketu Āruṇeya who was taught by his father everything he knew (Br. Up. VI. 2. 1 and 4) illustrate this (vide f. n. 633). But even from very ancient times the practice

764. अन्य बहुसंख्यतो निषेध:। न जाति विज्ञानम् भागानसमाहे। हृदयनिति निरूपातनं निराथ च कुलं मनसं। स्वतंतिर्यं I. p. 148.

765. Vide Rev. F. E. Keay's 'Ancient Indian Education' (1918), Dr. A. S. Altekar's 'Education in Ancient India' (1934), S. K. Das on 'Educational system of the ancient Hindus' (1930) and Dr. S. C. Sarkar's 'Educational ideas and institutions in ancient India' (1928). The last work is based entirely on the Atharvaveda and the Rāmāyaṇa.
of sending boys to learn from an ācārya had become usual. The Chān. Up. itself says in one passage (VI. 1) that Śvetaketuś Aśruneśa was placed by his father for twelve years as a student with a teacher. The same upaniśad (III. 11. 5) says that the father should impart the 'madhuvidyā' to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil only. As the boy stayed with the teacher in the latter's house and all instruction was oral, the teacher's position assumed the greatest importance. Satyakāma Jābāla says to his teacher (in Chān. IV. 9. 3) 'I have heard from persons like your revered self that knowledge when learnt from an ācārya reaches the highest excellence'. The Śvetāṣṭara upaniśad (VI. 23) places the guru almost on a level with God and inculcates the highest devotion to him. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 6. 13 says 'the pupil should wait upon the ācārya as if he were God.' The story of Ekalavya, whom Droṇa refused to take as a pupil because he was a nisāda and who by worshipping the image of Droṇa is alleged to have become an adept in archery, illustrates two points viz. the prevailing notion of the greatness of a guru and the necessity of single-minded devotion to him for attaining proficiency (vide Adiṣṭh. 132 for the story and also Droṇaparva 181. 17.). The Mahābhārata condemns him who learns the Vedas at home and says that Raibhya became superior to Yavakrita because the former learnt from a guru, while the other did not do so.

In Manu and other smṛtis there is some divergence about the

766. अवस्थितो भविष्यति पिनेयोऽयति होताच। बुधः उप. VI. 2. 1; वहं निब बेदौ सर्वं तनृव्यायान्तः। बुधः उप. VI. 2. 4; कुशलाद्या वालसिद्धियति। छाण्यस्य V. 3. 1. 

767. खुर्व बेद स्त्रीरकृत्वा आचार्यिन्यं चिद्या विद्यता सादिै ऐष्ट्योन्यतित चापूवे IV. 9. 3; आचार्याद्धे V. 11. 2; vide कमृो. II. 9, 

768. पश्च देवेद परा भविष्यति दुहि तद्विद्या सत्साय। तत्सै चाधिति। खुर्व बेदौ स्त्रीपश्चाय। ऐष्ट्य: विद्यो मति। ऐष्ट्य: विद्यो मति। ऐष्ट्य: विद्यो मति। ऐष्ट्य: विद्यो मति। ऐष्ट्य: विद्यो मति।

769. विद्या आधारालर्थसीत। आप. ख. I. 2. 6. 13.

770. Vide अनुवादलर्थ 35. 15 'आदि व्रजान्ति: सर्वश्च बेदादिन्तहि। नृपादिन्त नृपादिन्त व्रजादिन्त ते विद्वः'; नृपादिन्त 138. 25-26 'काले कुशलाद्या विद्यते द्वादिन्त ते विद्वः। नृपादिन्त सत्यो। खुर्व बेदौ नृपादिन्त अधारालर्थसीत।
greatness of the ācārya. Manu II. 146 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 44) says that both the father (janaka) and the teacher are called father (pītā) but the father (i.e. ācārya) who imparts the sacred Veda is superior to the father that gives (physical) birth, since the birth in spiritual learning is for a brāhmaṇa of eternal benefit here and hereafter. But in II. 145 Manu* says that an ācārya is ten times superior to an upādhyāya, the father is superior to a hundred ācāryas, while the mother is thousand-fold superior to the father. Gaut. II. 56 declares that the ācārya is the highest among all gurus while according to some the mother is the highest. Yāj. I. 35 also places the mother higher than the ācārya. Gaut. I. 10–11, Vas. Dh. S. III. 21, Manu II. 140, Yāj. I. 34 define* the ācārya as one who performs the upanayana of the student and imparts the whole Veda to him. The Nirukta* (I. 4) derives ācārya as follows: ‘he makes the student understand the proper course of conduct, or he collects wealth (i.e. fee) from the student (or gathers together the meanings of words), or he increases the intelligence (of the student).’ Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 14 says ‘The ācārya is so called since the student gathers his duties from him.’ Manu II. 69 says that the teacher, after performing upanayana, teaches his pupil the rules about saucia (bodily purity), śāra (rules of conduct in every day life), the offering (of fuel-stick) in fire and saṁdhyā adoration. Yāj. I. 15 is to the same effect. Though the words ācārya, guru* and upādhyāya are very often used as synonyms, ancient writers made a distinction between them. According to Manu II. 141 and 142, an upādhyāya is one who teaches to a student a portion of the Veda or the Vedaṅgas* (subsidiary lores of the

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* Textual references and notes are added for clarification and understanding.
Veda) as a means of his own livelihood and is one who performs the saṁskāras and who maintains the child. This latter definition shows that guru means the father here. Vas. Dh. S. (III. 22-23), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 29. 2, and Yāj. I. 35 define upādhyāya in the same way as Manu. According to Yāj. I. 34 the guru is one who performs the saṁskāras and imparts the Veda. This corroborates the statement made above that originally the father himself taught the Veda to his son. The word guru is often used in the sense of any elderly person, male or female, who is entitled to respect. Viṣṇu Dh. 776 S. (32. 1-2) says that the father, the mother and the ācārya are the three highest gurus of a person and Manu II. 227-237 contain the most sublime glorification of these three. Dāvala 777 says that ‘among gurus five deserve special honour, viz. father, mother, ācārya, eldest brother and husband (in the case of women)’. Manu (II. 149) says that whoever confers on another the benefit of knowledge, whether great or small, is the latter’s guru.

A great deal is said about the qualifications of the ācārya who is to perform the upanayana of a person and to teach him the Veda. Āp. Dh. S. 778 I. 1. 1. 11 refers to a Brāhmaṇa text to the effect ‘he whom a teacher devoid of learning initiates enters from darkness into darkness and he also (i.e. an ācārya) who is himself unlearned (enters into darkness).’ Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 1. 12-13) further provides that one should desire a performer of one’s upanayana who is endowed with learning and whose family is hereditarily learned and who is serene in mind and that one should study Vedic lore under him up to the end (of brahma-caryya) as long as the teacher does not fall off from the path of dharma. Vyāsa (quoted in Sām. P. p. 408) says 779 that the ācārya should be a brāhmaṇa who is solely

776. जयः अन्नपालिते भक्तितः। पिता माता चार्थ्यः। निबुधमयैः 32. 1-2; मनु II. 225-232 are the same as लक्ष्मण 211. 20-27; मनु 230, 231, 234 are the same as सांविल्प 108. 6, 7, 12; मनु II. 123, 233, 234 = निबुधमयैः 31. 7, 9, 10.

777. सुभाषिते सुभाषिते पुराणः पर्यं विवेचनः। यो मात्रति या यत्र वेद विवेचनां निर्देशे। उपेक्षा भाषा च माता च पण्डित गुरुः सुभाषितः। येषषाधिकारः स्रोतः माता हुष्ट्रितः॥

778. तत्सर्वं एव तस्मि मन्विनिति संस्मिद्धाभावनं तदस्मिद्धं तस्मिद्धाभाविनिति हि ब्राह्मणां।

779. नेतृनिर्देशं परमां कुदलिं अशिष्यं भुजिसम्। सप्तसांस्कृतां इत्यादि कविं वित्तिन्निति

devoted to the Veda, who knows dharma, is born of a good family, who is pure, is a śrottriya that has studied his Vedic śākhā and who is not lazy. Śrottriya has been defined above (f. n. 290). Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 6. 4 and Baud. gr. I. 7. 3 define a śrottriya as one who has studied one śākhā of a Veda. Vide Vāyupurāṇa vol.I. 59. 29 also. The ācārya in upanayana must be a brāhmaṇa; as to the study of veda one should ordinarily learn the Veda from a brāhmaṇa teacher; in times of difficulty (i. e. when a brāhmaṇa is not available) one may learn the Veda from a kṣatriya or vaiśya teacher; but in such circumstances the only service that a brāhmaṇa student rendered to the guru would be following after the non-brāhmaṇa teacher; he had not to render bodily service (such as shampooing or washing the feet &c.). Vide Āp. Dh.S.II. 2, 4. 25–28 (quoted above in note 229), Gaut. 7. 1–3, Baud. Dh. S. I.2. 40–42, Manu II. 241. Manu II. 238 allows even a brāhmaṇa to learn śubhā vidyā (visibly beneficial knowledge) even from a śūdra. Śāntiparva 165. 31 does the same. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 118 remarks that a kṣatriya or vaiśya should teach a brāhmaṇa only when urged by him and not at his sweet will. Aparārka (p. 160) says that Manu II. 241 allows only teaching to a kṣatriya, but does not allow him to make it a means of his livelihood.

We saw above (p. 321) that the instruction was entirely oral. The first thing that was taught to the boy was the pranava and the vyāhritis and the Gāyatri. Then the boy was to be taught other parts of the Veda. It is desirable to set out briefly the method of teaching the Veda followed in ancient times. The Śān. gr. (IV. 8) describes the method as follows: the teacher sits facing the east or north, while the other (i. e. the student) sits to his right facing the north or two students may sit in that way; but if there are more than two they should sit as the available space will allow. The student should not sit on a high seat.

780. Ṛgveda βευδακοντοήκαν ραβέρασβρεις θεοτρής θευτρίς. Α. Α. μ. II. 3. 6. 4; Εκκαριανίων ομώνυμων κοινών. Βιβλική. I. 7. 3; Βιβλική έκκατεμπρέες Αγαθών θεοτρής θεοτρής

781. Ἀκατομμυρίαν διδάσκων διδάσκων συματυών. Συναγωγας ὁμοεπίταυρος εὐπαιριώνος ομοτρής. Σαλέτιμπαρ 165. 31.

782. Ἀκατομμυρίαν ἐν κατομμυρίαν διδάσκων διδάσκων συματυών. Συναγωγας ὁμοεπίταυρος εὐπαιριώνος ομοτρής. Σαλέτιμπαρ 165. 31.

783. Compare Α. Α. μ. II. 1. 2. 3. 6. 24–25 Αγαθών. Νικόλαου Στρόζαν Βιβλική έκκατεμπρέες Αγαθών θεοτρής. Α. Α. μ. II. 160.
before the teacher nor on the same seat with him; he should not stretch out his feet, nor should he sit seizing his knees with his arm, nor should he lean against a support, nor should he place his feet on his lap nor should he hold his feet like an axe. After the student utters ‘Recite, Sir,’ the teacher should urge him to pronounce ‘om’; the other (i.e. the student) should reply ‘om’. Thereafter he (the student) should recite continuously. After reciting he should clasp the teacher’s feet and say ‘we have finished, Sir’ and go away to his business. Some teachers say that the teacher should say ‘Leave, let us stop’. In the Rk Prātiśākhyā, 15th pāta, there is a description of the method of teaching the Veda, which closely agrees with the above quotation from the Śān. gr. It adds that the teacher may also sit facing the north-east. When the teacher recites two words or more, the first pupil (to the right of the teacher) repeats the first of the two or more words and the other pupils repeat the rest afterwards. The teacher recites one word if it is a compound, two words if they are un-compounded; the teacher also clearly explains how to recite the words if there is any difficulty; in this way the whole prāṇa is finished and all the pupils repeat again the whole of it. A prāṇa generally has three mantras and each adhyāya has about sixty prāṇas. Manu (II. 70–74) also prescribes certain rules: the student should sip water (ācamana) when about to begin Vedic study, should face the north, should fold both hands together (and place them on his knee), should wear light (pure) clothes, should at the beginning and end of Vedic study clasp the feet of the teacher with crossed hands.

784. According to the com. नात्वण on Śān. gr. II. 5. 10–11 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 67 f. n.) the words ‘अर्थिन मो.’ are uttered by the teacher. But this does not seem to be correct. In हेव. ज. III. 1 we read ‘युध्यं नामर्थिन। अर्थिन भोगे अर्थिनं’ and in योगन्यण VII. 1. 1 we have ‘अर्थिन भोगे इति हृदयसारः सूक्ष्मसारं सूक्ष्मसारं।’ The स्वामिराजवर्धन supports the above translation.

785. अभ्यास देवेद पाणि कीले द्विये पाणि भवेः ययां निसोः।...युहुः सिद्धवाच प्रकाश युवानसंसारतं साधनव्योधुभावं पति है।प्रविष्टं कल्याणं सन्नात्मकं मधुं मधुवाक्षिलत्वं वर्षन्ति। सन्नात्मानविधाय, 15th p. 503. Vide Max Müller’s History of A. S. L. p. 503 ff. for further details.

786. नात्वण is explained differently from Manu by अप्रासादस्वति (in verse) quoted in सं. म. p. 524 viz. the left hand should be turned upwards, the right hand should be placed on it with the palm turned downwards, and the fingers of the two hands should firmly hold the backs of the hands. सूक्ष्म quoted in स्वतिल्व। (I. p. 51) reads ‘सत्तां द्व विनात्व अर्थिन जात्वणवर्धरि सिद्धते।’
and should touch the right foot of the teacher with his own right hand and left foot with the left hand, should repeat ‘om’ at the beginning and at the end of Vedic study. The teacher should say to the pupil ‘repeat’ and should stop from teaching with the words ‘let there be a pause’. Gaut. (I. 49-59) gives similar rules. The Gopatha Br. I. 31 uses the expression ‘sarve vedā mukhato gṛhitāḥ’, which is current even in modern times (it means all Vedas were committed to memory by word of mouth).

The study of the Veda was the first duty of every twice—born person (dvijati). Vedic Literature had grown to vast proportions even in the times of the Tai. Br. (III. 10. 11), as the story of Indra and Bharadvāja cited above (p. 271) shows. The ideal was set up by Manu II. 165, viz. that the whole Veda together with secret doctrines (Upaniṣads) was to be learnt by every dvijati. The Śat. Br. XI. 5. 7 contains a eulogy of Veda study (svādhyāya) and the injunction ‘svādhyāyosdhyetavyaḥ’ (one must study the Veda) occurs there very frequently. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 1 and 3) quotes787 the Tai. Ā. II. 14. 3 that the study of the Veda (svādhyāya) is austerities and also the Śat. Br. XI. 5. 6. 8. The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 1) quotes a Vedic text ‘a brāhmaṇa should study and understand without any purpose (or desire of reward) dharma and the Veda with its six añgas.’788 The Mahābhārata says that a brāhmaṇa may be deemed to have completely accomplished his duty by the study of the Veda.789 Yāj. I. 40 says that it is Veda alone that confers the highest bliss upon dvijatis by enabling them to understand and perform sacrifices, austerities and suspicious acts (like samskaras). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 9) contains the traditional extent of the four Vedas, viz. that there were 101 śākhás of the Yajurveda, 1000 of the Sāmaveda, 21 of the Rgveda and nine of the Atharvaveda.790 Concessions had to be

787. *tasya śraddhāya śrutiḥ śāstraṃ...*... *āraṇyaṃ vā nāpavindinābhāṣyaṃ.* Sākṣyadāsō hṛṣya eva prakāraṃ. *āraṇ. dh. sū. I. 4. 12. 1 and 3; compare sūtra II. 166* भेदाधिपति हि विषयं तथ: विविधोऽपि।; दृष्टम II. 33 is to the same effect; अविवर्त इत्यत्थायं* वेदौ! नयनवैधाः स्त्रात्माः नयन्विदाणात् साध्ययथः। च. प. प. 504.

788. *mahābhāṣya nitiṣālāṃ gṛhīta vā cākṣyadāsaḥ vedaṃ tathā śāstraṃ śāstraṃ śāstraṃ śāstraṃ śāstraṃ*... *sūtra III. 1 explains nitiṣālāṃ as kāraṇa pradīpoṣadāśīdanāh nitiṣālāṃ abhyāsāḥ.*

789. *pratirūpākārah śrāvyayāh hīnīh vā bhavantī. kṣaye dīrghasya dhāmakārace māmānityo māmānitya māmānitya bhavanti* *śāstraṃ 239. 13; the latter half is sūtra II. 87.*

790. *ṣākhā-bhikṣuṣākāḥ śaktarājyaṃ sāmaṇḍaḥ arāṇyaśākāsīya bhāṣāḥ! nāyakāryaḥ* वेदौ। नामात्म्यं I. प. 9.
made to the shortness of human life and the weakness of the human mind. Therefore Gaut. II. 51, Vas. Dh. S. VII. 3, Manu III. 2, Yaj. I. 52 and others allowed a person to study only one Veda. After a man studied his own Veda, he could if so minded study another sākhā of another Veda or other Vedas. The rule laid down by many smṛtis is that one should study the sākhā of the Veda which his ancestors studied and should perform religious rites with mantras derived from that sākhā. Vide Medhātithi on Manu III. 2 and Viśvarūpa on Yaj. I. 51.\(^{791}\)

That person who does not study a Vedic Sākhā studied by his ancestors and studies another sākhā altogether was called ‘sākhāraṇḍa’. Whatever religious rites a man did with the procedure and mantras of another sākhā giving up his own sākhā becomes fruitless. But an exception was made to the effect that if some\(^{792}\) religious rite was omitted in one’s sākhā, but was dealt with in another sākhā and was not opposed to the teaching of one’s sākhā, it may be performed as in the case of Agnihotra (which is not dealt with in all sākhās, but is to be performed by all).

Teachers mostly confined themselves to one place. But we find that even in ancient times there were teachers who wandered from one country to another. In the Kaṇṣ. Br. Up. IV. 1 we find that the famous Bālākī Gārgya moved about in the countries of Uśīnara, Matsya, Kuru-Paṅcāla and Kaśīvi-deha. In the Br. Up. III. 3. 1 Bhuju Lāhyāṇi tells Yājñavalkya that he and others wandered about in the country of Madra for study. Students generally stuck to one teacher; but it appears that they sometimes flocked to renowned teachers as waters flow down a slope\(^{792}\) (Tāi. Up. I. 4. 3). There were also students who wandered from teacher to teacher and were

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791. विनािवधानम् विनािवधानम् समास्य यथा. सा रूपाञ्जिति विनािवधानम् समास्य विनािवधानम् कर्षणे। उक्ते in 29०६०० I. p. 49. यदैव पिनािवधानम् साक्षा अवशिष्टा सा न विनािवधानम्। सेषसंस्करण II. 2; चेतुन्मिति चेतुन्मिति चेतुन्मिति चेतुन्मिति मानसाचार नामः विनािवधान ॥ विनािवधान ॥ वर्णमाला I. 57. विनािवधान हितो वेदो हितो हितो हितो हितो हितो।

792. Vide गोपिनाधिनी I. 24-35 quoted by Aparārka p 8 and पिनािवधानम् I. p. 50 and गुप्सम्बन्ध (B. I. ed.) II. 91 and 93 आत्मनीम् रध्यु वन्यवन्य तवो रध्यु धर्मवन्य। मयं देवतास्मातं स्वभावात् ते चोजो देवस्य मुङ्गलात्मानः।

793. उपािपः अविनािवधानम् यथा अविनािवधानम्। उन्नी सा तान्त्रिकथस प्रातांगपत्र सम्बन्धं। उपािपः अविनािवधानम् यथा अविनािवधानम्।
therefore derisively called ‘tirthakāka (crows at a sacred place),’ as the Mahābhāsya states.\textsuperscript{134}

As the study of the Veda was a duty enjoined upon a brāhmaṇa, so teaching Veda to another was a duty. Medhātithi on Manu (II. 113) quotes a Vedic text\textsuperscript{795} ‘He who having studied the Veda would not teach one who requests him to do so would be one who destroys his own good acts (i.e. would lose the benefit thereof), would shut the door leading to happiness; therefore he should teach; it leads to great glory.’ When Satyakāma Jābāla did not teach his pupil Upakosala anything for twelve years, though the latter served assiduously by attending to the sacred fires of the teacher, the teacher’s wife remonstrated with the husband by saying ‘this student has worked hard and attended the fires, may the fires not censure you and order you to teach him the vidyā he desires’ (Chāṇ, Up. IV. 10. 1–2). The Praśna Up.\textsuperscript{796} VI. 1 gives expression to the view that if a teacher keeps back anything he knows he dries up entirely. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 2–3 expressly prescribes ‘the teacher whom a student asks for instruction should not refuse him, if he finds no defect in the student.’\textsuperscript{797} Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 3. 25–28) lays down certain excellent rules for the teacher ‘the teacher, anxious for the welfare of the student as if he were his son, should attentively impart learning to the student without hiding anything from him in all matters of duty; nor should the teacher restrain the student for his own work in such a way as to cause obstacles in his study except in seasons of distress. A teacher becomes no teacher if he avoids giving instruction’ (i.e. he may be abandoned). The Droṇaparva (50. 21) says that a pupil comes only after the son according to the idea of those

\textsuperscript{n}\textsuperscript{794} वषा स्वर्गः कालो न निःस्वत्ता स्वाधिनि एव यो हिंदुस्तानि समा न विहिं चित्ति स व्या वस्ती स तीर्थपाल इति। महाभाष्य I. p. 391 (on Ṛg. II. 1. 41).

\textsuperscript{n}\textsuperscript{795} अध्यायनांनेतीतिवेदेवनां तन्त्रास्त्र न केवल ध्रुपदेन। \ldots \text{ताथा च श्रुतिः। यो हि विद्यामनावयिने न मुद्याल वायुदर्शय (ेनः! स्वयं) समाहू अन्यो द्वारायनाश्च। अन्यायानथिन्द्रसण्यम्।} नेत्रार्य on मन्त्र II. 113. The portion ‘यो हि श्रुतिः कथा स्वयं’ is quoted as from नेत्रार्य by the स्वाधिनि I. p. 53.

\textsuperscript{n}\textsuperscript{796} ‘ताष्ठेन कुर्मकोशवान नामिनि वेद्य व्याकरणविवेदं तन्त्राम म्हेवादिनिष्ठि समुद्री स्वयं परिशुद्धिपाल वेदविवेदतिवादिति सत्साहायं श्वेत’ महाभाष्य VI. 1.

\textsuperscript{n}\textsuperscript{797} अध्यायनांनेतीति नोदुपिते कैथे अन्यायानथिनि। न प्रस्तुतम् वेद्य प्रहेतु आप. प्र. स्थ. I. 4. 14. 2–3; सत्तपतिपीते सिद्धे न्यायानन्दितिविषयत। हृते कुष्ठं तव स्वयं सिद्धार्थं पवस्ती च कार्य (अन्याय I. 14. 39) quoted in प्रस्त. महा I. part I. p. 146 and as श्वेती in स्वाधिनि I. p. 53.
who know dharma. If a teacher does not teach a pupil anything even after his pupil has stayed with him for a year, the former receives all the sins of the pupil. A teacher who did not teach or was sinful was to be abandoned. Similarly a teacher, who became puffed up, did not care for what should or should not be done and took to a sinful path was to be abandoned.\(^{799}\) Ap. I. 1. 13 lays down that a student must stay with his teacher who performs his upanayana till he completes his study, unless the teacher himself swerved from the path of dharma and became a sinner and (I. 2. 7. 26) that if the teacher cannot teach the subject, the pupil may resort to another teacher.

The smrtis lay down rules about the qualifications of a student who deserves to be taught. In the Vidyāsūkta quoted in the Nirukta\(^{800}\) (II. 4) we see that the teacher was not to impart vidyā (knowledge) to one who was jealous (or who treated vidyā with contempt), was crooked and was not self-restrained and that learning was to be imparted to one who was pure, attentive, intelligent and endowed with brahmacarya (celibacy), who would never prove false (to his teacher) and who would guard what he learnt as a treasure. Manu (II. 109 and 112 also) says that ten persons deserve to be taught viz. the son of the teacher, a student who serves his guru, one who gives some knowledge in exchange, one who knows dharma or who is pure (in body and mind), who is truthful, who is able to study and retain it, who gives money (for teaching), who is well-disposed and who is one's near relative (agnate). Yāj. I. 28 mentions all these and adds that the student must be grateful, not inclined to hate or prove false to the teacher, healthy and not disposed to find fault. The student should always be dependent.

\(^{798}\) शास्त्रान पुजेः सद्यात्मकृतम् नारायणमिति। अनेन क्षणान्तरस्य भवानन्दम् विशिष्टम्। ओवैवोपविश्वे 33. 79; अठारहवेंविवर्ताहृदिभाषाय अन्नदीपां ग्रहे॥ वीरमहेन्द्रकृतम् २१. १२; vide also लोकसंग्रह १३. ५०।

\(^{799}\) शास्त्रात्त्वमतीत्रस्य कार्याकृतिज्ञसतं। ओवैवोपविश्वे परिबध्वे विखिते॥ ओवैवोपविश्वे १७८. ४८; शास्त्रीपृष्ठ ५७. ७; १४०. ४८ &c. In some places the last part is read as कृतेन अभिधिधिष्टम्। अवधिकारण प. ६७ quotes it as यवः। Vide सुधीर-पुराण (दर्शन ११४. २५) for the same.

\(^{800}\) अद्यापायात्त्वात्त्वधिकतः न मा जया निमित्ततः तत्त्वं स्याम॥ यदेव विद्याः। शास्त्रम-मधव सेविनानां नारायणमिति। यदेव न हुः तत्त्वात्त्वधिक तस्मै मा जुया निमित्ततं शास्त्रं॥ विवेच्य नै २८ (७८ विवेच्य २९. ९०)। माधु (II. ११४-११५) is very similar.
on and under the control of the teacher (as Āp. Dh. S. 801 I. 1. 2. 19 and Nārada say) and should stay with no one but the teacher. We saw above (p. 274) that from ancient times the student had to serve the teacher by tending his cattle (Chāndogya IV. 4. 5), had to beg for food and announce it to the teacher (ibid. IV. 3. 5) and to look after his sacred fires and to learn the Veda only in the time that would be left after doing work for the guruk. 802. Besides these, the rules concerning his conduct towards the teacher, the teacher’s wife and son, concerning the method of salutation and showing respect, the food, drinks, and actions allowed or prohibited to students are too numerous to be set out in detail. A few important ones from Gautama, Āp. Dh. S., Manu II and Yāj I. 33 are stated below. Gaut. (II. 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25) says that the student should speak the truth, bathe everyday, should not look at the sun; should avoid honey, flesh, perfumes, the wearing of flowers, sleeping by day, rubbing oil on the body, putting collyrium in the eyes, going in a cart, 803 wearing shoes and holding an umbrella, love affairs, anger, covetousness, infatuation, vain discussions, playing on musical instruments, luxurious baths with hot water, meticulous cleansing of the teeth, ecstatic states of mind, dancing, singing, calumny of others, dangerous places, gazing at women or touching young women, gambling, serving a low person (or doing very low work), injury to animals, obscene or harsh talk, wine. Manu (II. 198 and 180-181) prescribes that he should not sleep on a cot and should observe complete celibacy, but if he suffers from night emissions he should bathe, worship the sun and repeat thrice the mantra ‘punar mām’ (Tai. Ar. I. 30). The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 21-30, I. 1. 3. 11-24) contains similar rules of conduct. Āp. says (I. 1. 2. 28-30) that the student should not wash his limbs with hot water (generally), but he may do so if they are smeared with dirty and impure matter provided he does it out of the sight of the teacher and that he should not bathe in water in a sportive manner, but

801. न भक्ताणि विद्यार्थ्यो परिपत्रवास्थालि आचार्याः स्वाभावित्व सत्याग्रह सत्याग्रही। वित्तकारी तुरस्तातिविशेषवाच्य। आप. य. I. 1. 2. 17, 19-20; ‘अस्मतं दृश्यवर्षेऽस्मि’ विशेष आचार्य स्त्री सत्याग्रहं। नासू (अपाणवां वर्षे 33)।

802. छ. उप. VIII. 15. 1 ‘आचार्यां भक्तानि विद्यार्थ्यं च विद्यार्थियां तत्त्वो विशेष विद्यार्थियो।

803. उक्तानि छचर्म पानिमिति पर्य वर्जित। आप. I. 2. 7. 5, but when on a journey the student may sit in a cart, if ordered by the teacher ‘वान्यस्तवेद्यास्तां वर्जित व’ आप. य. I. 2. 8. 12.
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should bathe in it motionless like a stick. Āp. not only prohibits for him sexual intercourse (I. 1. 26) but ordains that he should speak with women only as much as is absolutely necessary. The student was not to laugh, but if he could not help laughing he should do so covering his face with his hands (says Āp.).

Gautama and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 2. 34 and 37) say that the student is to serve his teacher by following after him when he goes anywhere, he should help the teacher in his toilet and bath and should shampoo his body and take food left by him (ucchīśṭa); he should be diligent in doing work that would be pleasing and beneficial to the teacher; he was to study when the teacher called him, he was not to cover his throat with a piece of cloth, or was not to sit in the presence of his teacher with his feet on his lap, was not to stretch his feet, he was not to clear loudly his throat, nor to laugh, yawn or crack the knuckles; he was when called by the teacher to reply at once leaving his seat or bed and was to approach the teacher even when he called from a distance; he should always occupy a seat lower than that of his teacher and should go to sleep after his teacher and rise before him (Gautama II. 20–21, 30–32). Manu II. 194–198 and Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5, 26 and I. 2. 6. 1–12 contain similar rules. Manu (II. 199) says that a pupil should


805. The word ‘uchchīśṭa’ is used, as exhaustively pointed out by Medhatithi on Manu VI. 80, in several senses. It literally means ‘what is left out.’ The most usual senses are three, viz. (1) food left in the plate from which one has eaten, (2) food taken out in a vessel for serving to a person but not exhausted by being served in his plate, and (as applied to a person), (3) one who has not washed his hands and mouth after eating food (or as applied to a plate) the plate (not yet cleaned) from which one has taken his meal. Vide मनु IV. 211 for the 2nd meaning. Another meaning is: (4) one who has answered a call of nature and not yet performed the purificatory acts like śacamanī is said to be uchchīśṭa. Vide Manu IV. 142 (for this and the 3rd meaning) and V. 143 (for 3). Sometimes the word is used in its literal sense (vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 2). Vide Manu V. 141 for another application of the word.
not mimic the gait, the manner of speech and the actions of the teacher. Manu (II. 200-201) calls upon the pupil to close his ears (with his hands or fingers) or to leave the place where somebody indulges in calumnies about the teacher or points out the faults in him, and states that if the pupil himself finds fault with his teacher or calumniates him, the pupil (in the next life) is born as an ass or a dog. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 26 says the same.

Some rules are laid down as to how the brahmaśārīn is to deal with the hair on his head. Even the Rg. speaks of boys with several śikhās (topknot). Vide note 598 above. Gaut. I. 26 and Manu II. 219 say that a brahmaśārīn may either shave his entire head, or may allow all the hair to grow as matted or should keep only a tuft of hair on the head (and shave the rest.). Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 31-32, Vas. VII. 11 allow only two alternatives viz. growing all the hair or keeping a tuft of hair, while Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 41 says that a student may either shave the entire head or grow matted hair. One was not to untie one’s śikha, while on the public road.

One of the rules for the student was that he was not to pronounce the name of his teacher even when the teacher was not present without prefixing or affixing an honorific addition (such as śrī, bhaṭṭa, acārya). Gaut. ordains that the student should not speak of his teacher, the teacher’s son or wife or of a man who has been initiated for a śrauta sacrifice by their bare names and then says that when it is absolutely necessary.

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806. न च विज्ञाप्स्यो सन्तवादी रेखानि न तत्त्व नितिष्ठे। निबद्धमार्ग 28. 26. निद्रा is declaring faults that really do not exist and ध्रीमति is pointing out faults that do exist.

807. भुजःदानितिसिद्धांगमास्मि। नौकन I. 26; अनिश्चित सिद्धान्ते वा साध्येविवर्तवृत्त अभ. घ. छु. I. 1. 2. 31-32.

808. न पश्चि मिश्रित निष्कर्षते। शरीर quoted by अभ. घ. प. 225.

809. आचार्यस्यनन्दनस्यकृतित्वातानैः। नामनाने कृतो सन्तवान्तो निबद्धो। नौकन II. 24 and 28. If the dikṣita is present he may be addressed as ‘सन्तवानि’ (or भी जननम) एवं कुर्ष’ and when absent as ‘तमस्वदा सन्तवानि’ कुर्ष’ &c. Of Gaut. II. 28 Haradatta gives two explanations (सन्तवानि, either means मानन सह or सन्तवानि आपति) and he takes 28 to refer to the pupil’s name. Vide मेना. on मन्त्र II. 128 for explanations. सं. घ. प. 492 explain सन्तवानि: कृतित्वातान। Vide मन्त्र II. 199 and निबद्धमार्ग 28. 24.
to refer to these by name the student should not pronounce the name and gotra of his teacher as they are, but by means of a synonym (e.g. if the teacher's name is Haradatta or Devesvara the pupil should respectively say Devarāṭa or Sureśvara). 

Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 15 says that even after returning home a snātaka should avoid touching his former teacher with his fingers (to call his attention), frequent muttering of something in his ears, laughing into his face, calling him out loudly, taking his name, ordering him about. Manu II. 128 and Gaut. VI. 19 say that a man who has been initiated for a śrauta sacrifice should not be addressed by his name, even though he be younger than the person addressing, but that one should use the words 'bhūḥ' and 'bhavat' when addressing him or speaking about him and may refer to him by words like dīkṣita &c. There are other rules about addressing or referring by name which may be set out here for the sake of completeness. The Sm. C. (I. p. 45) and Haradatta on Gaut. II. 29 quote a smṛti\(^8\)\(^1\) that one should not mention by name only one's teacher, teacher's son and wife, a dīkṣita, any other guru, father, mother, paternal and maternal uncles, one's benefactor, a learned man, one's father-in-law, one's husband, one's mother's sister. The Mahābhārata says that one should not mention by name or address as 'tvam' (thou) one's elders, but one may speak of one's contemporaries or those who are younger by their names.\(^8\)\(^1\) Another verse says that one should not mention one's own name, the name of one's guru, the name of a mean person, of one's wife and one's eldest child.

Upasyaṁghrahaṇa consists in repeating one's gotra and name, saying 'I salute', touching one's ears, clasping the feet (as stated above) and bending one's head while so doing. In abhivādaṇa there is no clasping of the feet with the hands; one

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\(^{810}\) आचार्य जैत तप्य न त्येवो दुसिद्धिः वासवः। वितरं वा विप्रे श्वादुर्वा नामस्य भयं तेषांहि विदेशिणिः व नरिदृश्यं न्यासां पतितव शः। न बुधाकालिनिः विद्वानसहस्त्र भास्विनो तथा। स्वपनिता I. p. 45 and 4635 on Sū. II. 29.

\(^{811}\) श्वासार्व नागवेये च देशानां परिवर्तनं निरूप। अवश्यं समानतांशुचन्द्रेऽवे। न कुप्तवत्॥ शास्त्रिंकर्तवयं 193. 25; vide also Vīg. Dh. S. 32. 8; अतद्वारा श्रीमान्म वराहाम 3070 च। अवश्यं न उपदेशर्थवेदोपन्यासयोः॥ quoted by the Adhyayāntikam p. 27 (but in Avmaksya one has to take one's name) and on p. 119 (1st avay) it quotes from नारायण 'शृणुदेवोऽध्यायं अर्थमेव अालमन'। आयुक्तान्तरं तद्धे शास्त्रित्सन्धानमच।
may or may not touch the feet of the person to be honoured. *Abhivādana* must always be preceded by *pratyabhīva.*

Very detailed rules were laid down about *pratyabhīva* (rising from one's seat to receive a person), *abhivādana* (saluting a man), *upāsāmāgraḥana* (saluting by clasping the feet of the teacher or another with one's hands), *pratyabhīva* (returning a salutation), and *namaskāra* (bowing with the word 'namah'). According to Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 19 and I. 3. 10. 17 the student must, when he meets his teacher after sunrise, clasp his teacher's feet and also before beginning the day's lesson of Vedic study and also after finishing it. Manu II. 71 says the same. Gaut. (I. 52–54) prescribes the clasping of the feet every day in the morning and at the beginning and at the end of a lesson in the Veda. According to Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 20 on other occasions whenever the student meets the teacher only *abhivādana* is sufficient, though according to some teachers (Ap. I. 2. 5. 21) clasping the teacher's feet is necessary on each occasion. Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 23 states that in *upāsāmāgraḥapa* the teacher's right foot is to be stroked below and above with the student's right hand and the foot and ankle are both to be taken hold of, while according to some teachers, the student must press each foot of the teacher with both hands and clasp them. Manu II. 72, Vīṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 15, and Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 24 say that the student is to clasp the feet of the teacher with crossed hands, touching the right foot with the right hand and the left foot with the left hand. Kulliaka on Manu II. 72 quotes Paithinasi that the student should clasp the teacher's feet with his hands turned upwards. Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 28 adds that clasping should not be done when either the teacher or the pupil is seated, or is lying down or impure. According to Gaut. VI. 1–3 one must clasp every day on the first meeting and particularly on his or their return from a journey, the feet of one's parents, of the blood relations of parents (e.g. paternal and maternal uncles), of the elder brother, of the guru (i.e. ācārya, upādhyāya) and of persons venerated by one's gurus. Ap. Dh. S. (I. 4. 14. 7–9) says that even after finishing

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812. *Upaniṣadānām nām abhimānāyām dharma nāh ānām śāstra vākṣyamānāt prakāśe yah abhimānāh ānām Śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 abhimānaḥ mā hṛti ānām śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 abhimānaḥ mā hṛti ānām śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 abhimānaḥ mā hṛti ānām śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that the ears are touched for concentrating one's mind; Abhimānaḥ on 1. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that the ears are touched for concentrating one's mind; Abhimānaḥ on 1. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś (I. 2. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only, *Upaniṣadānām* śāstra prakāśe yah abhimānāh. (Upaniṣadānām) 7; bh. 1. ś
one's studies and returning home a man must every day clasp the feet of gurus (father, mother, teacher and other venerable persons) and of elder brothers and sisters according to their seniority.

Abhivādana is of three kinds, viz. nitya (obligatory every day), naimittika (to be done only on certain occasions) and kāmya (to be done only if a person has certain rewards in view). As examples of nitya abhivāda one may instance the rules of Āp. Dh. S.813 (I. 2. 5. 12-13) "every day a student should get up from bed in the last watch of the night and standing near his teacher salute him with the words 'I so and so, ho' (salute thee); and the student should also salute other very aged (and learned brāhmaṇas) who may reside in the same village before his morning meal." Yāj. I. 26 also speaks of the latter. The occasional abhivādana is done on certain occasions such as return from a journey (Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 14). A person may salute elderly persons whenever he chooses, if he is desirous of long life or (bliss in) heaven (Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 15 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 26). Manu 814 (II. 120 and 121) says 'the prāṇās (vital breaths) of a young man mount upwards when an old man approaches; but by rising to meet him and salutation (to him), he (the young man) recovers them. He who habitually salutes and constantly pays reverence to the aged obtains an increase of four things viz. length of life, knowledge, fame and strength." Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 11,815 Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 44, Manu II. 130 and Vas. Dh. S. I. 13. 41 prescribe that a person must honour by rising and mentioning one's name an officiating priest, one's father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles, even though these may be younger than oneself in

813. अनायावर्तमानमन्यतिवर्ग पुरोर्वतिकालिनिवर्गविवर्तमानस्य तिरिग्रीजा। समानमात्रेऽवस्त्रादृश्याय इत्यतेर्वर्गाय दानसंपादये। अप. ध. स. I. 2. 5. 12-13; compare मनु II. 122, 124.

814. कर्मे भोज अन्वेष्टिति स्वः स्विरी आपाति। मद्यपानिन्दिषवात्यं नित्यम् अविश्वेत। मनु II. 120. This verse occurs in शब्दोत्सव 38. 1 and अदिशास्यपर्य 104. 64-65 and also in the महाभाष्य vol. III. p. 58, where we have नमाच्छुदृढः पति मद्यपानिन्दिषवातः नित्यम्। मद्यपाने च हृदयं। कहीं ... पद्वते हृदय I. Vide शब्दोत्सव 109 (ed. by Faussbühl, 1900) for a verse closely parallel to मनु II. 121.

815. सदिश्ववधेयपुरुषं नामदित्तमत्वमपि। मद्यपानिन्दिषवातिः। दूःष्ठोऽवसान्त्सब्रह्मुष्टि। मनु II. 130 says "अपिनिन्दिषे मनुस्त। while नामद 6. 9 is अपिनिन्दिषे मनुस्तात्। दूःष्ठोऽवसान्त्सब्रह्मुष्टिः। मद्यपानिन्दिषवातिः।
years. Gaut. (VI. 9) however says that in the case of these one need only rise from his seat to receive them; but it is not necessary to salute them (abhivādana is not necessary). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 4 expressly says that in the case of officiating priests and others specified by Āp. and Gaut. and who are younger, rising from one's seat is tantamount to abhivādana. Manu II. 117 says that one must perform abhivādana to a person from whom one learns secular, Vedic or spiritual knowledge of any kind. There is some difference in the words used at the time of abhivādana. Usually the words are 'abhivādaye devadatta- śarmā-ham' (vide Āp. I. 2. 5. 12, Gaut. VI. 5, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 27, Vas. XIII. 44, Manu II. 122 and 124). But this mode is appropriate only if the person addressed knows how to return the salutation. Manu II. 123 and 126 and Vas. Dh. S. 13. 45 declare that in the case of those who do not know how to return a salutation (pratyabhivādana, and according to Manu in the case of women also) one should omit the word 'bhoḥ' and simply say 'abhivādaye aham' (omitting one's name). Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 20 similarly says that in saluting women, a kṣatriya or a vaiśya one should use a pronoun and omit one's name.817

The manner of abhivādana was as follows:818 'A brāhmaṇa shall salute stretching forward his right arm on a level with his ear, a kṣatriya holding it on a level with the chest, a vaiśya holding it on a level with the waist and a śudra holding it low (up to his feet) and that the salutation shall be by joining one's hands' (Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 16-17). The Madanapārijāta adds that abhivādana is with both hands when the person to be saluted is learned, but with one hand only if he is not learned (p. 27) and the Sm. C. (I. p. 36) quotes Viṣṇu and Atri to the

816. That is one has to take one's name in abhivādana; but one does not take the name of the person who is saluted (Gautama VI. 12). The śurṣṭivāṁśa p. 7 says that in ēvamahānu (and in ātivādu also) the person saluting says ākhyānatāṃ devadattaḥ śarmā-ham āḥ āhārimahāyuḥ; āhāri on Manu II. 122 says the words are āhārimahāyuḥ āhārimahāyuḥ āhāriḥ; dhrtu on Āp. VII. 5 states that āhārimahāyuḥ should be 'āhārimahāyuḥ śuṣṭamāḥ śhāṃśamāḥ śhāṃśamāḥ śhāṃśamāḥ'; while dhrtu on Manu II. 124 says it should be āhārimahāyuḥ śuṣṭamāḥ śhāṃśamāḥ śhāṃśamāḥ (i.e. he omits the word āhāri, which Manu II. 122 appears to require and which Āp. VI. 5 does not require)


same effect. The stretching of the hands up to the ear &c. indicates how far the head is to be bent in each case.

There were also other rules about honouring one's elders in the presence of one's teacher or honouring the teacher's teacher or about one's behaviour when a gentleman comes to see one's sāṝya and leaves him, which are here passed over for want of space. Vide Ṛṣ. Dh. S. I. 2. 6. 29–32, Manu II. 205.

A brāhmaṇa who does not know the form of returning a salutation must not be saluted by a learned man; he is like a śūdra (Manu II. 126). Similarly a brāhmaṇa was not to perform abhivyādana to a ksatriya or a vaiśya however learned the latter may be, but one should simply say 'svasti'; those who are of the same caste should do abhivyādana. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 and Aparārka p. 1188 quote sūtras of Hārīta prescribing as prāyaścittā a fast of one, two or three days respectively for a brāhmaṇa saluting a ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra and also for saluting when the persons saluted or the man saluting are in such a condition as to make them unfit for abhivyādana. One should not salute with the shoes on or when one's head is wrapped up or one's hands are full (Ṛṣ. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 19); or if one carries a load of fuel-sticks or holds a pot of flowers or food in one's hands one shall not salute, nor shall one salute on occasions similar to the preceding (such as one being engaged in worship of manes, of fire or other gods or when one's teacher is so engaged), nor should one salute a teacher standing very close to him (Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 31–32). When one is impure or the person he meets is impure (owing to āśusa or other causes) no salutation is to be made or returned (Ṛṣ. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 17). Gaut. IX. 45 says that one should not occupy a seat or perform abhivyādana and namaskāra with shoes on. One need not salute a person who is not a guru or who stands in a lower or higher place than oneself (Ṛṣ. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 14). Ṛṣ. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 23, Manu II. 135 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 17 say that a brāhmaṇa ten years old is like a father to a ksatriya even 100 years old and so deserves salutation from the ksatriya.

819. नामिन्यान्वयुविशायन चतुश्चिन्द्र संस्कृतं चतुर्विधं चतुर्विनिस्सिद्धं। कृत्यं शुद्धं कृत्यं साधनां साधनोपेयं क्षमन्। भविष्यम ॥


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Äp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 14. 12) gives a special rule that a friendship kept for ten years as fellow citizens, a friendship contracted at school for five years, the fact of a śrotṛiya being three years older entitles the friend or śrotṛiya to a salutation. But Gaut. (VI. 14-17) and Manu II. 134 give somewhat different rules viz. contemporaries who are born in the same year are to be addressed with the word 'bhoh' or 'bhavat' and a fellow citizen who is ten years older than oneself and an artist who is five years older than oneself and a śrotṛiya studying the same Vedic school as oneself who is three years older are to be addressed similarly. Manu adds blood relations to the list when the difference in age is very small. The Smṛtyarthaśāra p. 7 gives a long list of persons whom one should never salute viz. an heretic, a person guilty of grave sins, an atheist, gamblers, thieves, ungrateful persons, drunkards. Vide also Manu IV. 30 and Yāj. I. 130 (as to showing no respect even by words to heretics &c).

In the case of certain persons one was to show honour only by rising from his seat and not by abhivādana. Gaut. (VI. 9) mentions some such persons who are already referred to in note 815. He adds that (VI. 10-11) even a śūdra of eighty years or more must be honoured by rising by him (even though the latter be of a higher varṇa) young enough to be his son (but there will be no abhivādana) and that an ārya (i.e. one belonging to the three higher castes) must be honoured by rising by a śūdra even if the latter be older (and so a vaiśya must honour a kṣatriya though the latter be younger). Haradatta explains that the word śūdra in Gaut. VI. 10 is only illustrative and that an old vaiśya must be honoured by a young kṣatriya or brāhmaṇa by simply rising from his seat and an old kṣatriya by a young brāhmaṇa in the same way. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 4. 16-18) lays down that if a brāhmaṇa who has not studied the Veda comes as a guest one may give him a seat, water and food but one should not rise to receive him, but should rise to receive him if he is entitled to abhivādana on account of age (as stated in Āp. I. 4. 14. 12, and Manu II. 134); similarly a brāhmaṇa need not rise to receive a kṣatriya or vaiśya (except on the same ground of age).

The rules about returning a salutation (about pratyabhivāda) are made somewhat intricate and obscure by the varying interpretations of commentators. Pratyabhivāda consists in pronouncing a benediction in the proper form given by a guru.
or other person who has been saluted. Among the oldest\textsuperscript{820} is the rule in \textit{Ap. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 18} 'when returning the salute of one belonging to the first three castes, the (last syllable of the) name (of the person whose salutation is to be returned) shall be lengthened to three moras'. \textit{Vasishtha's rule (XIII. 46)} is 'when the salute is returned, the last vowel (of the noun standing) in the vocative is protracted to the length of three moras and if it is a diphthong (i.e. e or o but not of the dual number) it becomes 'āy' or 'āv' e.g. 'bho becomes bhāv'. \textit{Manu II. 125} prescribes "a brāhmaṇa should be thus saluted in return, 'mayst thou be long-lived, O gentle one!' and the vowel 'a' or any other vowel at the end of the name (of the person addressed) should be made \textit{pluta} (i.e. lengthened to three moras) and if the name ends in a consonant, the preceding vowel is made \textit{pluta}.'

That these rules are very ancient follows from \textit{Pāṇini's sūtra (VIII. 2. 83)} 'when the salutation of a person who is not a śūdra is returned by the person saluted, the final vowel in the name (that occurs at the end of the sentence of \textit{pratyabhivāda}) becomes \textit{pluta}. ' \textit{The Mahābhāṣya} comments on this and two \textit{vārtikas} thereon say that this rule does not apply when it is a woman to whom the salutation is returned and it applies optionally when the person whose salutation is returned is a \textit{kṣatriya} or \textit{vaiśya}. All these rules are exemplified in the foot-note below.\textsuperscript{821} \textit{Ap. Dh. S.} agrees with this rule of the ancient grammarians. The verse of \textit{Manu (II. 125)} also really means the same thing; but there the word 'akāra' is only

\textit{820.} \textit{धर्मसूत्रं धर्मभविषिते सुवर्णा सिद्धविश्वव्याकरणम्} सम. म. प. 453; \textit{पुराण न नामीविद्यादग्निमितवेन च पूवपयथं वर्नानाम्} \textit{आदि. धा. खु. I. 2. 5. 18}; \textit{स्वविद्यादग्निमिते द्विद्वेषयें हवे संवध्यायदद्विनाथायाम् हाथयो यथा मा मानिति} \textit{बसविद्यात् XIII. 46}; \textit{आद्यध्राक्षम तीव्रिति वाचयो तिव्रिति मित्रविद्यायेन} \textit{आद्यध्राक्षम नामोद्वेदे वाचयो पुराणसन्धिः पुराणसन्धिः म मतः II. 125}. Some MSS. read पुराणसन्धिः as one word.

\textit{821.} \textit{अध्यायमेवः} \textit{पाणिनि VIII. 2. 83}; if it is a \textit{क्राक्ष} who performs \textit{अंश्यत्रु} (as in \textit{अंश्यत्रु} वप्पशम नी) \textit{प्रत्याशिव्यवः} is \textit{आयुर्मनावतं देस्यता} है (3 indicates that the vowel preceding it is \textit{pluta} i.e. drawn out to the length of three moras). If the name ends in a consonant the \textit{अध्यायमेव} will be \textit{आयुर्मनावतं सोमसन्धिः}. If a woman salutes (as in \textit{अंश्यत्रु} वप्पशम नी) the return is \textit{आयुर्मनावतं महानाथ} (i.e. there is no \textit{हुँ}). If a \textit{क्राक्ष} \textit{इन्द्रमन} salutes the return is either \textit{आयुर्मनावतं वप्पशम 3 वा आयुर्मनावतं वप्पशम}. If a \textit{वदव} \textit{इन्द्रमन} salutes, the \textit{अध्यायमेव} is \textit{आयुर्मनावतं वप्पशम} 3 वा. \textit{वदविवर्णित}. If it is a \textit{वदव} \textit{इन्द्रमन} who salutes, the \textit{अध्यायमेव} is \textit{आयुर्मनावतं वप्पशम} (i.e. there is no \textit{हुँ}).
illustative and stands for all vowels. The ancient commentator Medhātithi interprets Manu so as to agree with Panini and says 'in the realm of the use of words and their senses Panini has higher authority than Manu, that the pratyabhivāda words containing the benediction about long life are not stereotyped, that when a kṣatariya returns the salutation of a kṣatariya or a vaśiya of a vaśiya, the same rules hold good'. As a person of a higher varna was not to do abhivādana to one of lower varga (vide note 819 above) there would be no occasion for pratyabhivāda from the side of the latter. The verse of Manu is interpreted by Haradatta and a few others in a different manner. According to them the last vowel in the name of the person whose salutation is to be returned is pluta and then 'a' is added to it, and that if the vocative ends in e or o, it becomes āya or āva (with 'a' added). This view is opposed to Panini, the Mahābhāṣya, the Kāśikā, Āpastamba and several writers of digests. Aparākṣa and the Sm. C. condemn the interpretation put upon Manu's verse by commentators like Haradatta.

What great importance was attached to the correct utterance of the return salutation can be seen from the fact that one of the miscellaneous reasons assigned for the necessity of grammatical studies in the Mahābhāṣya is that (as stated in a verse) a person who returns from a journey will perform salutation to ignorant persons (who do not know how to utter pratyabhivāda) as if to women with the words 'abhivādaye

822. अनिवार्यतेः एवं वाच्य आश्चर्यांि व सहैत । इत्यतः प्रकारः। आश्चर्यांि वर्जिते दृष्टिभक्तिजातसंबन्धप्रति विदितार्यमिलत । यथार्थ... सामायिकोग ज्ञानिज्ञातिको ज्ञानमुच्ये सर्वान्तिनिः। विशेषणविशेषार्थो एव विपक्षः। शुस्ते तस्मात स्त्रियाः स्त्रियाः स्त्रिया। नैतिक विधितत्वमिलत । सूत्रमे अनु । १२.१२५।

823. तदात्मानं प्राप्तमेकं ज्ञेयं कर्यं तत्स्त्रयां दृष्टिभक्तिः । अनिवार्यतेः एवं वाच्यांि व सहैत । इत्यतः प्रकारः। आश्चर्यांि वर्जिते दृष्टिभक्तिजातसंबन्धप्रति विदितार्यमिलत । यथार्थ... सामायिकोग ज्ञानिज्ञातिको ज्ञानमुच्ये सर्वान्तिनिः। विशेषणविशेषार्थो एव विपक्षः। शुस्ते तस्मात स्त्रियाः स्त्रियाः स्त्रिया। नैतिक विधितत्वमिलत । सूत्रमे अनु । १२.१२५।

824. अतः पूर्वांतः यथिते विनिवेशोद्वारांनुि व्यवस्थिततः एवं रतमेकं अवगतीः। न ईस्नुपूर्वांतः नानान्तः विधियते इति निर्दिक्तपि। अपराधः प. ५३; सुधिवारिको प. ३७ रिपेटिस विधि च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः चहिह्न्दे च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः प. ५३; सुधिवारिको प. ३७ रिपेटिस विधि च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः चहिह्न्दे च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः प. ५३; सुधिवारिको प. ३७ रिपेटिस विधि च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः चहिह्न्दे च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः प. ५३; सुधिवारिको प. ३७ रिपेटिस विधि च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः चहिह्न्दे च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः प. ५३; सुधिवारिको प. ३७ रिपेटिस विधि च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः चहिह्न्दे च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः प. ५३; सुधिवारिको प. ३७ रिपेटिस विधि च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः चहिह्न्दे च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः प. ५३; सुधिवारिको प. ३७ रिपेटिस विधि च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः चहिह्न्दे च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः प. ५३; सुधिवारिको प. ३७ रिपेटिस विधि च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः चहिह्न्दे च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः प. ५३; सुधिवारिको प. ३७ रिपेटिस विधि च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः चहिह्न्दे च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः प. ५३; सुधिवारिको प. ३७ रिपेटिस विधि च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः चहिह्न्दे च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः प. ५३; सुधिवारिको प. ३७ रिपेटिस विधि च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते। अपराधः चहिह्न्दे च हृदि आभिनिवितवर्जिते।
ayamaham (i.e. grammar is to be learnt by men for fear that they may be treated as women when a person salutes them).

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 27) prescribes that the student shall behave towards his teacher's wife as towards the teacher himself, but he shall not clasp her feet or eat the residue of her food. Gaut. (II. 31-32) also says the same thing and adds that the student shall not assist the wives of the teacher at their toilet or bath nor wash their feet nor shampoo them. Manu II. 211, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 37, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 6 have the same rule. But Gaut. II. 33 states an exception that on return from a journey the student shall clasp the feet of the wives of his teacher (also Manu II. 217 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 15). Manu (II. 210) gives special directions the wives of the teacher who belong to the same caste must be treated as respectfully as the teacher but in the case of those who belong to a different caste he need only rise from his seat and salute (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 5 also is similar), and a student who is full twenty years old shall not honour the young wife of a teacher by clapping her feet (Manu II. 212 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 13); but even a young student may prostrate himself on the ground for honouring the young wife of his teacher without clapping her feet (with the words abhivādaye amukaśarmā-ham bhūḥ).

As regards women who are not wives of the teacher, the following rules deserve attention. The first rule is that married women, whatever their age may be, deserve honour (and so he must salute &c.) according to the ages of their husbands (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 18 and Vas. Dh. S. 13. 42). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 2 gives the same rule, but restricts it to wives of the same caste. Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 6 prescribes that the same honour must be shown to the mother and father as to a teacher i.e. their feet must be clapsed on those occasions on which a teacher's feet are to be clapsed and Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 9 extends the rule to elder sisters. Gaut. (VI. 7-8) states that the feet of the wives of (elder) brothers or of one's mother-in-law.
need not be clasped on any occasion; and the feet of a paternal uncle’s wife or of elder sisters need not be clasped except when one returns from a journey. But Manu (II.131–132) gives different rules. A maternal or paternal aunt, a maternal uncle’s wife, a mother-in-law are equal to one’s teacher’s wife and must be honoured like her; one’s elder brother’s wife’s feet must be clasped every day if she is of the same caste, but the feet of the wives of one’s other paternal and maternal relatives need only be clasped on one’s return from a journey. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 3 places a maternal or paternal aunt and the eldest sister on an equality with the teacher’s wife. As already stated above in the case of all women the salutation is simply ‘I salute’ (abhivādaye aham)’ without mentioning one’s name. Devala says ‘the mother, mother’s mother, teacher’s wife and the full brothers and sisters of one’s parents, paternal grand-mother, mother-in-law, elder sister and the foster mother are women who are (to be honoured like) gurus’.

Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 30, Vas. Dh. S. XIII. 54, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 31, Manu II. 207 require that the student will behave towards the teacher’s son as towards his teacher. That this rule is very ancient follows from a passage in the Mahābhāṣya; where it is stated and a proviso is added that the student will not however clasp the son’s feet nor eat the leavings of his food. Āp. Dh.S.I.2.7.30 only mentions as prohibited the eating of the leavings of food, but Viṣṇu Dh. S. (28, 32–33) prohibits also the washing of the son’s feet. Manu (II. 208) gives a restrictive rule that the son of the teacher deserves the same honour as a teacher, if he imparts instruction in place of the teacher (because the latter is otherwise engaged), whether the son be younger or of the same age as the student, but that the student in any case must not shampoo the limbs of the son nor assist him in his bath nor wash his feet nor eat the leavings of his food.

From Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 28 and I. 4. 13. 13 it appears that the system of pupil teachers (who were called ‘samādiṣṭa’)
obtained in ancient times and Āp. prescribes that the student shall behave towards a pupil teacher who teaches him at the teacher's command as towards the teacher and shall honour him also by clasping his feet, as long as he is giving instruction.

Further rules are laid down about showing courtesy to a person who is not a relative or who is not a teacher &c. Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14, 26–29 and Manu II. 127 lay down that one should, on meeting a brāhmaṇa, ask after his health with the word 'kuśala,' a kṣatriya about his health using the word 'anāmaya,' a vaiśya by using the word kṣema (or anasaṭa according to Āp.) and a śūdra by employing the word arogya. Thus one who is older (according to the rule in Manu II. 134 cited above on p. 339) should be saluted, while one who is of the same age or younger should simply be asked 'kuśala' &c. Gāut. V. 37–38 gives similar directions. Manu (II. 129) enjoins that one should address a woman who is the wife of another man and who is not a blood relation as 'lady' (bhavitā) or 'beloved sister' and (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4.14.30) that one should not pass a learned brāhmaṇa without addressing him nor a woman whom he meets in a forest or other lonely place and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 7 says that in such circumstances he must address her (in order to assure her) as 'sister' (if she is of the same age as himself) or 'daughter' (if she is younger) and 'mother' (if she is older than himself).

It is stated in the Udvahatattva (p. 144) that the word śrī is to be prefixed when referring by name to a deity or a teacher, to the place of one's teacher, to a holy place or to the presiding deity of a holy place, to one who has secured Yogic siddhis or to those who have secured by sacrifices the worlds of bliss; and Raghunandana adds that according to the usage of respectable people śrī is prefixed to names of such persons while they are alive. The same work also tells us that women of the dvijātis were to have the honorific suffix 'devī' added to

831. According to ह्रद्युष the questions would be in the case of members of the four varṇas respectively, अथि कुर्चि मदना, अद्ववनामयम् मदना, अववनामयमास्ति, अद्ववनामभवन्, 'कुर्चि मदनात्मश्वातिष्ठावणांमुः। अथि ह्रद्युष् । मा। V. 37–38; ह्रद्युष on these says 'अथि कुर्चि मदनात्मश्वातिष्ठावणांमुः। अद्ववनामयमास्ति, अद्ववनामभवन्; अद्ववनामभवन्ति कृष्ठि, अद्ववनामभवन्ति वैर्गे; अद्ववनामभवन्ति जूठूः.'

832. द्वैं द्रुषं विद्याध्यायं स्वामिनवेनः। सिद्धं सिद्धं भवितादि अर्यार्थं सच्चुरि- रिविद्धं स्वामिनसद्वविमितां एवं सर्वविमितां सर्वविमितां वैद्यं वामस्व- रिविद्धं जीवनं अनुस्मरितं सर्वचारं द्वैं न तत्त्वति किष्ठ:। एहार्थम् p. 144.
their names and of the śūdra caste the word 'dāśi'. This is still the practice particularly in Bengal and Northern India.

The works on Dharmaśāstra give very interesting rules about the grounds on which respect was to be shown to a person. Honour consists in saluting a person, or rising to meet him or allowing him to walk in front of one or giving him a garland, sandal-wood paste on festive-occasions and the like. Manu (II. 136) and Viśṇu Dh. S. (32. 16) say that wealth, kindred, age, (performance of) religious rites and sacred knowledge confer title to respect, but each succeeding one out of these five is superior to each preceding one. Gaut. (VI. 18-20) is slightly different; he says 'wealth, relations, occupation, birth, learning and age must be honoured; each later named is more important than each preceding one; but Vedic learning is more important than all (the rest)'. Vas. Dh. S. 13. 56-57 also says that learning, wealth, age, relationship and religious actions are titles to respect, but each preceding one is more important than each succeeding one. Yāj. I. 116 puts the order as vidyā, karma, age, relationship and wealth (i.e. wealth is the least ground for giving honour). Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 35 says that if respect is not paid to guru (parents), ācārya, upādhyāya and ātvika (they are arranged in descending order) one incurs sin, but if honour is not shown on the ground of learning, wealth &c, there is no sin but one loses happiness and success. Manu II. 137 says that a śūdra who is beyond 90 years is still a child to a learned brāhmaṇa. In order to show that Vedic learning is superior to seniority of age Manu (II. 151-153) narrates the story of a young scion of the Angiras gotra who taught his pītras and addressed them as 'little sons' and whose action was supported by the gods with the remark that a man destitute of knowledge was a child and he who taught him the Veda was his father. This story is referred to expressly by Baud. Dh. S. I. 4. 47 and tacitly by Gaut. VI. 20. It is borrowed from the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa.

833. धृष्टिक हर्षिणस नलार्धो। खंडतिरावा च। अन्व. य. I. 4. 13. 2-5; दुर्गुच्छ सूक्तो अन्तरसंस्कृतम क्षणविद्यापदिका। विनष्टस्थलसमविद्याश्रयमयिसि मानवानि परमापरमिति। क्षुर्तं हु सर्वस्यी भरीव। तन्यन्तरसंस्कृतां क्षुर्तेन। गौ. VI. 18-20.

834. शिशुस्वाम आपूर्वो मनुष्यति मन्नत्रस्वयंप्रसीग निन्तुं शुक्रं दृष्टदोर्मनवत। ते पितरंनुभवं पल्लवि छो। नुपुरस्तं शुक्रं दृष्टदोर्मनवत दत्तं सोमपतिरूपं च। निन्तुं विगतिः यो मन्नत्रस्वयंप्रसी। ते दृष्टवेदविनवत् ते देश अवस्थित् च। यों निन्तुं विगति। तद्ध्व स वनवनं अव्ययुः कैलेशं गृहविशालदिश्च। 13. 3. 24. शिशुस्वाम्ते निन्तुं विगति।
(13. 3. 24). Manu II. 155 clinches the argument by saying 'the seniority of brāhmaṇas springs from (sacred) knowledge, of kṣatriyas from valour, of vaśyas from (the possession) of corn and other wealth and only among śudras is age a ground of seniority'.

Kauṭ. says that men deserve honour according to their learning, intelligence, valour, high birth and eminent deeds.\textsuperscript{835}

One has to distinguish between abhivādana and namaskāra. In the former one not only bows but utters words like 'abhivādaye &c.', while in the latter one only bows and folds one's hands. The latter is done only to images of gods, brāhmaṇas, saṁnyāsins and the like. The Śrītyarthaśāra p. 8 prescribes a fast for one day as a penance for not bowing to images of gods, saṁnyāsins &c. Viṣṇu\textsuperscript{836} (quoted in the Sm. C.) says that one should not salute (abhivādana) a brāhmaṇa, but should only perform namaskāra in all public assemblies, in sacrifices or in palaces or royal courts. The posture of the hands in namaskāra is stated as follows: 'One should join the hands in the shape of a shegoat's ear in namaskāra to a learned man, one should fold the hands together in bowing to an ascetic, one should salute an ignorant man with one hand and should not perform abhivādana to one who is younger.\textsuperscript{837}

One had to show respect by circumambulating\textsuperscript{838} from left to right temples or images of gods, bulls, cowpens, cows, ghee, honey, sacred trees that had brick or stone platforms built round them (like śavyattha) and squares (where four roads meet), a teacher who is very learned, a learned and religious brāhmaṇa, clay from sacred places.

One was not to approach empty-handed one's parents, ṛcārya, sacred fires, houses and the king, if the latter has not heard of him before.\textsuperscript{839}

\textsuperscript{835} पुरुषा विद्याबुद्धि पौर्णांगत्वा ज्ञानकर्ममिति पतनी हुनें। अर्यसाधा III. 20.
\textsuperscript{836} विनायकः समस्तदैव सर्वसंस्कृत रात्रिश्रृंखला च। नस्तर्क नरसभाति माधवः नामविनायकः। पुरुषों इतिविकर्षणः कपिल नामविनायकः। सं. प. 38.
\textsuperscript{837} विधानादिप्रेमयुवांचकृतामः। अतानप्रवो विद्यार्थी शरीर संहिताप्राङ्गणः। पुरुषों वैदेशकपरणः कनिष्ठ नामविनायकः। सं. प. 468.
\textsuperscript{838} देवानां दैवतां तर्कपूर्वकतः कर्तव्य:। विधानादिप्रेमयुवां चकृतामः। प्रभुवाय कर्तृवैदेशिकसनां वैदेशिक स्थलवत्तादम्भ:। सं. प. 34. 41-42; चुविन्दे चेन्द्रनाथां दैवै गोदेश स्वतःधर्मः। भाषणम धारिकै चैव निविते कुरुपदविद्यपन्यः भालनिष्ठ 193. 8; vide also 163. 37 for a similar verse and माधवः नामविनायकः। भाषणम 113. 40; चेन्द्रनाथां चेन्द्रनाथां भोजनम् IX. 66; सं. IV. 39, भाषणम् I. 133.
\textsuperscript{839} नां तत्र तिर्थां भारतमिति गुहातिः। च रिञ्चार्यानुपाधिचेतायां चेत चाहलिति। अव. प. I. 2. 8. 23.
A matter closely connected with the showing of respect is that of the rules about the preference to be given on the road. This has already been dealt with in speaking of the privileges of brahmanas above pp. 146-147.

One striking point about the imparting of knowledge (particularly Vedic) in the ancient educational system of India was the great prejudice against learning from books. The greatest importance was attached to handing down the Veda intact and various devices were discovered and employed for securing this end, such as the various modes of repeating the Veda only in padas, in the krama, jata and other formations. Great care was taken to preserve the proper accentuation of the Vedic texts. There is a well known story how Tvasrati repeating the words ‘Indrasatrur-vardhaeva’ in wrong accents caused the fire to be extinguished instead of inflaming it against Indra as he intended. This story is alluded to in the Paniniya-siksa. The same work (in verse 33) condemns one who learns from a manuscript as among the worst of learners. The Veda was to be recited not only with proper modulation of the voice to convey the accents, but the accents were indicated also by the movements of the fingers (vide verses 43-45 of the Paniniya-siksa). All these intricate matters could be learnt only by oral instruction.

Great controversies have raged round the question whether the art of writing was known in India in very ancient times, whether it was used for literary purposes in the times of Panini and whether the Brahmi alphabet was an indigenous product or whether it was imported into India from some foreign land. Max Muller in his ‘History of ancient Sanskrit Literature’ started the astounding and absurd theory that writing for literary purposes was unknown to Panini (p. 507). Later on that position

840. अनेको हीना: द्वारको वर्ति श्रवणी या विद्वान्धरुिनो न वेदांतानासः। स सांवलो मजार्ये
विश्वास्तिः यथो-भस्कः न केलोपायसी। इत्यतः निवेदिता। वर्ष 52 of the Paniniya-siksa; मीता समीज निट: कामी तथा शैविकपास:। अनवर्ज्जोयमन्त्रमुच झुठेत भाषाविन्यासे। अमीनिन्धिष्का वर्ष 32. The legend is narrated in the तै. सं. II. 4. 12. 1 and the अलाबंध I. 6. 3. 8. वहु wanted to pronounce the word द्र-द्रमु: ('meaning ‘destroyer of Indra’) as a Tatpurṣa compound (in which the last syllable of the compound has the udatta accent), while he actually pronounced the word as a Bahuvrihi (meaning ‘whose killer would be Indra’), in which case the first word of the compound has the udatta accent (as in द्र-द्रपिष्ठा). Vide पाञ्चमिक VI. 1. 223 and VI. 2. 1.
was given up. Then Bühler wrote his famous work 'on the origin of the Brāhmi alphabet' mainly relying on the resemblances of a few letters of the Aśokan script with an ancient Semitic alphabet and came to the conclusion that the Brāhmi alphabet was derived from a Semitic script sometimes about 800 B.C. It never occurred to that learned scholar to advance and carefully examine the other possible hypotheses which any unbiased and cautious scholar should have ordinarily advanced viz. that the Semitic script might have been derived from the Brāhmi alphabet and was later on developed or both might have been derived from some unknown ancient script. All these theories are now in the melting pot on account of the seals bearing writing in some undeciphered script found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, some of which are at least 5000 years old. So if the Brāhmi alphabet was at all borrowed, it is clear now that it was not necessary for Indians to travel so far as Westernmost Asia for that purpose.

Oral instruction was the cheapest and most accurate method of imparting learning. In ancient times writing materials were not easily available and written texts could not be handled easily and would have been extremely costly. Therefore the method of oral instruction was resorted to and having been hallowed by the lapse of thousands of years it has been persisted in to the present day. Even in the 20th century after writing has been known for not less than 3000 years according to scholars like Bühler there are hundreds of brāhmaṇas who learn not only the whole of the Rgveda (about 10580 verses) by heart, but also commit to memory the pada⁸⁴¹ text of the Rgveda, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka and the six Vedāṅgas (which include the 4000 aphorisms of Pāṇini and the extensive Nirukta of Yāska) without caring to understand a word of this enormous material.

Par. M. (I. 1, p. 154) quotes a verse of Nārada to the effect ⁸⁴² 'what is learnt from reliance on books and is not learnt from

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841. The pada text of the Rgveda is the work of Śākalya and the padapāṭha is supposed to be paṃruṣeya (composed by a human author). The Nirukta (VI. 28) criticizes Śākalya’s division of the pada text. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 242 says that pada and krama are of human authorship.

842. इत्स्मकवर्कण्यापूर्व नाबोदिक उपसंहितावर्गां ना नायत न भर्तर न भर्तर भर्तर भर्तर्षिदेशिणि इ वितादल वा. म. I. part 1 p. 154; सायोन्लाई० I. p. 51 also quotes this verse.
Learning from books

Ch. VII]
a teacher does not shine in an assembly. Vṛddha-Gautama condemns to hell those who sell the Veda, who condemn the Veda and those who write it down. Aparārka (p. 1114 on Yaj. III. 267–268) quotes verses from the Caturvṛtiniśātīmata which prescribe various prāyaścitās for selling the Vedas, the anāgīs (of the Veda), the sūrtis, itiḥāsa and purāṇa, the secret pañcarātra (system), gāthās, nitiśāstrās &c. The prejudice against using books for learning was carried so far that among the six obstacles in the path of the acquirer of knowledge, reliance on books is mentioned as one. Aparārka (p. 390) quotes a long passage from the Bhavīṣyottarapurāṇa about the rewards of gifts of books of the epics and purāṇas to a brāhmaṇa or to a maṭha for the use of the public. A grant of the Valabhi king Guhasena I dated 559 A. D. refers to a collection of books on the true dharma. In the Kādambari (para 88) the queen Vilāsavati is described as surrounded by ascetic women who held books in their hands and read itiḥāsa. Vide under dāna and maṭha-pratiṣṭhā.

The teacher was expected to make the student understand by explanations in Sanskrit or in the prākṛits or even by employing the current languages of the various countries.

The Duration of studenthood (brahmacarya):—It appears from certain passages of the Upaniṣads that the usual duration of brahmacarya was 12 years. Śvetaketu Āruṇeya is said to have become a brahmacārī when he was twelve and to have mastered all the Vedas at the age of 24 (vide Chān. Up. VI. 1. 2

843. वेदविद्वानिणामृतेऽवद्यात्रै. वेदवान खेलिन श्रेष्ठ अफ डिग्नानिणिः पुराणौत्तम p. 582; the same verse occurs in अप्सासनपर्व 23. 72 (वेदवान डेशकाठिंपै).

844. धूर्त कुसलशुचद्रो नाथकानिषिद्व च दिशसप्तवीयाः निद्रा दिवियां निधिकृतिकाराणिः भद नागिया quoted in the स्मृतिः I. p. 52.


846. हिन्दुस्तानाध्यायननमुत्तमः कुसलकारि कुशीमिः...अर्धिन्द्रियानियुक्ताभान...सातार नानाम् कारुकत्री द्वन्दयिः प्रार 88.

847. संस्कृताः मात्राविषयीः निदियानुमुखः। द्वैशामपंथाविषया प्रोपेल्स अकः सुप्रसिद्धां भूतां भूतां मात्राशेषिं निर्दितोऽवृत्तम् (६५२५, गोद. by Jivananda, p 72).

848. अयासासको है वै कामनाधिनो सन्तोकामार्हे अथाता गात्रविषयस्य धृत्यं कृपया वर्षांग्निरूपिणं परिच्छेदः सं इ शम्भपालयस्यमिति समाप्तिः सं र्यवतां संसारात्माः। दा. दृष. IV. 10. 1.
quoted in f. n. 634). Similarly Chāṇ. IV. 10.1 appears to suggest that students left their teacher after twelve years of study. But a long period of brahmacarya was not unknown to the sages of the Upanisads. Chāndogya (VIII. 11. 3) declares that Indra remained as a student with Prajāpati for 101 years (three periods of 33 years plus five). The story of Bharadvāja narrated in the Tai. Br. quoted above (at p. 271) states that Bharadvāja studied the Vedas three parts of his life (at least till 75 years). The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 5) states that the period of studenthood for learning all the Vedas is 48 years; that distributing that period in four portions among the Vedas student-hood is for 12 years (for mastering one Veda), that period (12 years) is the shortest (for brahmacarya) and that one should learn of the Veda as much as one can before he is about to return from his teacher.

Some of the grhya and dharma sūtras contain these very words of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa e. g. Pār. gr. II. 5 says 'one should observe brahmacarya forty-eight years for the (four) Vedas, or twelve years for each Veda or until one has learnt one or more Veda'. The Baud. gr. (I. 2. 1-5) has a very suggestive passage "the ancient period of studenthood was forty-eight years for the four Vedas or 24 years, or 12 years for each Veda or at least one year for each kāṇḍa (section of the Vedic saṁhitās like the Tai. S.) or until the student learnt (one Veda), as life is fleeting and as there is a Vedic text 'one should consecrate (the three) sacred fires, while his hair is still dark". On Jaimini I. 3. 3Śabara states the objection (among other similar matters) that the smṛtis speaking of brahmacarya for forty-eight years are opposed to the Vedic injunction that 'a man who has a son and whose hair is still dark should consecrate the (three śrauta) fires' (i.e. he must do so in middle life, not when his hair is turning grey). Śabara gives his opinion that such smṛtis being opposed to śruti are to

849. तत्समा वेदवशिक्षिते साधनयुक्ते वेदायपेते वेदः साधनः महात्माम हृदयविषयं विकल्पमि। गेमध्यमा. II. 5 quoted in f. n. 628 above; आद. घ. प्र. I. 1. 2. 16 has the बुञ ‘दानसमर्थ्यस्य’.

850. अद्यावस्थितं वेदशिक्षिते वेदं तथा श्रीमान्य वासुदेवम्। पारं कक्षो II. 5; अद्यावस्थितं वेदशिक्षिते तुरानी हृदयविषयं विकल्पमि। ब्रह्मावद्यम् भवेष्। साधो-साधीम् I. 9; वदो एव दिष्टयोहस्यम्। आद. घ. प्र. I. 8. 14; नैति महाद्वारणमणी II. 51-53; गहुपुपम् I. 10; सादस्यम् II. 12, 15; आद. घ. प्र. I. 1. 2. 12-15 अद्यावस्थितं वेदशिक्षिते। आदेह। विभवसः।
be disregarded and makes fun of them by saying that some persons desirous of concealing their lack of manhood observed brahmacharya for forty-eight years and the prescriptions in these smṛtis to that effect are due to this fact. The very orthodox Kumārilabhaṭṭa could not tolerate this light-hearted statement of Śabara and rebukes the latter by saying that there is really no contradiction between the śruti text and the smṛti passage, since the smṛtis themselves prescribe other lesser and alternative periods, since it is possible to hold that smṛtis speak of brahmacharya for 48 years only with reference to him who wants to become a samnyāsin immediately after brahmacharya or who desires to become a perpetual student.

As the Vedic literature had grown to vast proportions and as it was thought necessary to preserve this ancient heritage, the ancient sages hit upon the plan of enlisting the whole population of the three varṇas in the task of preservation by making it as their duty to devote as much time as they could to the study and conservation of the Vedic literature. Therefore various alternatives were proposed viz. studying all the four Vedas for 48 years, three of them for 36 or if a man was very clever he may finish the study of three Vedas in 18 years or in 9 years or he should devote as much time as he would require for learning one Veda or more. Vide Manu III. 1-2 and Yāj. I. 36 and 52 for the various alternatives. Spending 12 years for Vedic

851. As upanayana was usually performed in the 8th year from conception or birth, the period of studenthood (if it was to be 48 years) would not end till a man became 56. Only a householder could consecrate the śrauta fires. So if the man was to marry after fifty-six his hair would be turning grey and by following the smṛti rule he would run counter to the Vedic injunction. Thus smṛtis would be opposed to śruti and Jaimini's conclusion in I. 3. 3 is that when that is the case smṛti is to be disregarded.

852. अद्यावतासरसाली वेदुव्वक वर्णणां जात्युत: द्वारकेशोश्रीकृष्णति द्वारकेष विवेध। श्रवण on श्र. I. 3. 3. p.169, आमःतिः पदः एवः गहनेर्ददामी सरसाली वेदुव्वकार्यां चरितरत्नः तत् वेद द्वारकेश्वरसाली विवेध। श्रवण on श्र. I. 3. 4. p. 186.

852a. अद्यावतासरसाली वेदुव्वक वर्णणां जात्युत: द्वारकेशोश्रीकृष्णति द्वारकेष विवेध। लक्षाः वेदुव्वकार्यां वेदवाय वा वेदं नापि वादामार्गास्मिनिः सरसाली विवेधाभवतः । तथादिः वेदुव्वकार्यां वेदवाय वा वेदं नापि वादामार्गास्मिनिः सरसाली विवेधाभवतः ।

852b. अद्यावतासरसाली वेदुव्वक वर्णणां जात्युत: द्वारकेशोश्रीकृष्णति द्वारकेष विवेध। लक्षाः वेदुव्वकार्यां वेदवाय वा वेदं नापि वादामार्गास्मिनिः सरसाली विवेधाभवतः । तथादिः वेदुव्वकार्यां वेदवाय वा वेदं नापि वादामार्गास्मिनिः सरसाली विवेधाभवतः ।

852c. अद्यावतासरसाली वेदुव्वक वर्णणां जात्युत: द्वारकेशोश्रीकृष्णति द्वारकेष विवेध। लक्षाः वेदुव्वकार्यां वेदवाय वा वेदं नापि वादामार्गास्मिनिः सरसाली विवेधाभवतः । तथादिः वेदुव्वकार्यां वेदवाय वा वेदं नापि वादामार्गास्मिनिः सरसाली विवेधाभवतः ।

852d. अद्यावतासरसाली वेदुव्वक वर्णणां जात्युत: द्वारकेशोश्रीकृष्णति द्वारकेष विवेध। लक्षाः वेदुव्वकार्यां वेदवाय वा वेदं नापि वादामार्गास्मिनिः सरसाली विवेधाभवतः । तथादिः वेदुव्वकार्यां वेदवाय वा वेदं नापि वादामार्गास्मिनिः सरसाली विवेधाभवतः ।

study must have been found even in ancient times impossible
for many among the brāhmaṇas and therefore the Bhāradvāja
gṛhya (quoted above in note 850) allowed the alternative that
one should study the Veda till the Godāna ceremony (which as we
shall see later on) took place in the 16th year. Āṣv. gr. sūtra
I 22, 3–4 also prescribes only two alternatives for brahmacharya
viz. for 12 years or as long as one could learn the Veda (so
Āṣv. contemplated brahmacharya for less than 12 years).
Haradatta remarks on Āp. Dh. S. I, 1. 2, 16853 that reading Āp. I.
1. 2. 12–16, I. 11. 3. 1 and Manu III. 1 together it follows that
every one must observe brahmacharya for three years at least
for each Veda and when it is said that one may observe
brahmacharya till one learns the Veda, that means beyond
three years for each Veda. This appears somewhat opposed
to the words of Āṣv. and Bhāradvāja.

Not only was the study of the Veda made an absolute duty
for all persons belonging to the three higher varpas, but the
study of Veda was essential for the performance of the solemn
Vedic sacrifices. Jaimini854 lays down that it is only he who
knows the Vedic portion necessary for a Vedic sacrifice, that is
entitled to perform that sacrifice.

Subjects of Study:—The study of the Veda means the study of
the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇa portion of the particular sākha or
sākhā.855 The Veda was deemed to be eternal and not composed
by any human author (i.e. it is apauruṣeya). Jaimini in I. 1. 6–23
establishes that the relation of word and sense is eternal and
that (in I. 1. 27–32) the Vedas are apauruṣeya. This is not the
place to set out or examine the arguments. All dharmaśāstra
writers proceed on this axiom of the eternity of the Veda. The
Vedānta sūtra (I. 3. 28–29) says that the Vedas are eternal and the
whole universe (including the gods) emanates from the Veda

853. विश्वास श्रावीरेश्वरे विवेक नामित्वादेव ज्ञात्वेनिवेशवन्निष्ठमिन्या। येन
एकत्र वेदवेन श्रीमणि शक्तिपूजयते सत्य-यथेष्ठवर्गं भावित्वाय विनिष्ठमिन्या।
...... ब्रह्महृदयकथितम् शा (सूत्र 3. 1.) इति एतकथा निष्पर अभिगान्याधिकारिव न
भार्तर्थिवर्गं तथास्य ॥ ६२५॥ अप. प्र. सू. I. 1. 2. 16।

854. उत्ते च वाचनं न ह नविन्दत्वं सन्तोषितस्त। त्री. III. 8. 18 on which Abhay
says: 'अत्यन्तरे कालार्थ पेशवापतवर्णं ज्ञात्यं विश्वस्य देवायामध्ये निरस्तिः।
...... किष्कि पुनिषिष्ठितस् तिहितामधिकारिः। खुशिनि विश्विनि श्राविनि अन्विति यथास्य कालमितिविदित्सानि
तन्त्रो वेदु स तेन कृतायाधिकारिः।'।

855. Vide अप. प्र. सू. 24. 1. 31 and वो व. सू. II. 6. 3 'स-नव-बाजनायथे
वैत्तिकातं वेदु।' केदार on त्री. I. 1. 33 'स-नव-बाजं ज वेदु॥.'
and reliance is placed on certain Upaniṣad passages and on Manu I. 21, Śānti-parva 233. 24 and other smṛtis. The Br. Up. IV. 5. 11 says that the Vedas are the breath of the great Being (i.e. the Supreme Spirit, God); in Br. Up. I. 2. 5 the Creator (Prajāpati) is said to have evolved all this viz. Rgveda, Yajurveda, Śāma, yajñas and so forth. The Śvetāsvatara Up. VI. 13 says that the Supreme Being evolved Brahmā and imparted the Vedas to him. The Śāntiparva says that speech in the form of Veda is without beginning and without end, from which all activities and creation proceed, and that the Vedas become latent at the periodical dissolution of the world and become manifest to the great sages again when the world is recreated. But the eternity of the Veda and apauruṣeyatva of the Veda were interpreted in various ways e.g. the Mahābhāṣya says that, though the purport of the Veda is eternal, yet the arrangement of words is non-eternal and therefore there are various śākhas (branches or recensions) of the Veda, named Kāthaka, Kālāpaka &c.

From very ancient times the literature to be studied appears to have been vast. Vide Tai. Br. quoted above (at p. 271) where the Vedas have been declared to be endless. In the Rgveda itself (X. 71. 11) reference is made to the verses learnt by the four principal priests (hotā, adhvaryu, udgātā and brahmā), it is also said that persons who studied together showed great disparity in their mental advancement (Rg. X. 71. 7) and that co-students feel elation when their friend wins in a debate in an assembly. The Śat. Br. (XI. 5. 7. 4-8, S. B. E. vol. 44, pp. 97-98) enumerates under ‘svādhyāya’ rks, yajus formulae, śāmans, Atharvāṅgirasaḥ (Atharvaveda), itihāsa-pūrāṇa, gāthās in praise of heroes (called Nārāyaṇis). The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa II. 10 also says ‘in this way all these Vedas were created together with kalpa, rahasya (secret doctrines),”
Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, itihāsa, anvākhyaṇa, purāṇa, anuvā- sanas, vákovāya &c. In the Upaniṣads frequent mention is made of the literature studied by persons before they became seekers for the knowledge of brahma. For example, in Chāṇ. Up. VII 1. 2 Nārada tells Sanatcumāra that he had studied the four Vedas, Itihāsa-purāṇa as the fifth Veda, the Veda of Vedas (grammar), pitṛya (treatise on śrāddhas), rāṣi (arithmetic), daiva (portents), nidhi (finding out hidden treasures), vákovāya (dialogue or dialectic), ekāyana (politics), devavidyā (Nirukta), brahmadevyā (metres and phonetics), bhūtavidyā (exorcising ghosts), kṣatravidyā (dhanurveda), naksatravidyā (astronomy), sarpavidyā (snake charms), devajnavidyā (arts like dancing, singing, preparing unguents &c.). The same list is repeated in Chāṇ. Up. VII 1. 4 and VII 7. 1. In the Br. Up. 859 II 4. 10 and IV 5. 11 there is a similar smaller list. In the Mūḍaka Up. I 1. 5 it is said that the ācārya Áṅgiras told Śaunaka who was a great householder that the four Vedas and the six áṅgas (mentioned in note 775 above) are inferior knowledge and that the highest knowledge is that by which the Imperishable One is apprehended. Gaut. XI. 19 exhorts the king to rely upon the Veda, dharmaśāstras, the áṅgas, Upavedas and Purāṇa for regulating the conduct of his subjects. Áp. Dh. S. (quoted above in note 775), Viśnu Dh. S. 30. 34–38, Vas. III. 19 and 23, VI. 3–4 mention the áṅgas of Veda. Pāṇini shows acquaintance not only with the Veda and Brāhmaṇas but he knew ancient Kalpasūtras, Bhīṣṣusūtras and Nāśaūtras, secular works on various subjects (IV. 3. 87–88, 105, 110, 111, 116). Patañjali 860 (2nd century B.C.) mentions how vast the field of Sanskrit literature had become. Yāj. I. 44–45 calls upon the student to study every day according to his ability also Vākovāya, Purāṇa, Nārāśamśi, 861 gāthās, itihāsa, vidyās if he desired to

859. एवं वा अनेकव नवत्रो शुक्लि नवरसिंद्रि ्त्रूहन्तः सामवेदोऽवैविनिद्रियि
860. एवं वा अनेकव नवत्रो शुक्लि नवरसिंद्रि ्त्रूहन्तः सामवेदोऽवैविनिद्रियि
861.MIT. ON YAJ. I. 45 TAKES गैणितिक as distinct from नागराजी:

"नागराजसी अवैध्वत-प्राणया गाढा बनणाम् नामानां: यथा।"
please the gods and manes. Fourteen vidyās are generally enumerated as in Vāyū Purāṇa, Matsya 53. 5-6, Vṛddha-Gautama, and other works, viz. four Vedas, 6 aṅgas, purāṇas, nyāya (logic), mīmāṃsā and dharmaśāstra. Some added four more to these, viz. the Upavedas of Ayurveda, Dhanurveda, Gāndharvaveda and Arthaśāstra (which were affiliated respectively to the four Vedas) and thus the vidyās are also spoken of as 18. Kālidāsa in the Rāghuvamśa (V. 21) expressly says that Varatantu taught his pupil 14 vidyās. In E.I. vol. VIII p. 287 (in an inscription of 199 Guptasaṁvat i.e. 517-18 A. D.) it is said about Sūrman, an ancestor of Mahārāja Samākṣobha, that he knew the highest truth because of his proficiency in the 14 vidyā-sthānas. Kumārila in his Tantravārttika (p. 201) says that vidyā-sthānas are looked upon as authoritative in knowing dharma are 14 or 18. The Vārāha Grhyā (6) refers to different preparations for different people, viz. a yajñika had to study mantra and Brāhmaṇa, kalpa (vedic ritual) and mīmāṃsā and one could study at his option grammar, the smṛtis and vāktra (?) and the śrotiṣya only committed to memory the Veda; the first two were called snātakas. Numerous grants and inscriptions testify to the provision made by kings and well-to-do donors for all branches of study. In E.C. vol. III. T N. 27 there is a grant made by the minister Perumal under the Hoysala king Viranarismāhadeva in 1290 A. D. which provided that each teacher of the Rgveda and the other Vedas was to receive a salary of six gadyāṇakas of gold a year and the teacher who taught the boys to read Nāgara, Kannada, Tigula (Tamil) and Ārīya (Marathi) was to receive the same salary. The Gadag inscription of the time of Vikramādiyā VI. (1098 A. D.) refers to the founding of a school for teaching Prabhākara’s system of Mīmāṃsā at Lakkigundī (E. I. vol. 15 p. 348). Vide E. I. vol. I. p. 338 (for endowment for teaching an astronomical work of Bhāskara).

Even in early times a very extensive literature on Dharmaśāstra had come into existence. The literature of the epics, of Kāvyas, drama, fables and romances, astrology, medicine and several branches of speculation had grown to an

862. Vāyū Purāṇa, Matsya 53. 5-6, Vṛddha-Gautama (quoted by Mahārāja p. 6) name the 18 ūrīs.

863. Mahārāja p. 201 on Kālā. 3. 6; vide also p. 195.
enormous extent. On account of this vast literature many portions of which appealed more to the emotions and intellect than the Vedas could, the study of the Vedas receded in the background and the study of subsidiary works became more popular. Therefore the smrtis again and again raise their voice and try to impress it upon all that the first duty of a divyati is to study the Veda. The Maitri Up. VII. 10, though comparatively a late work, inveighs against brahmanas studying non-vedic texts. Manu (II. 168) says that the divja who, without studying the Veda, bestows labour upon another lore, is quickly reduced to the status of a sudra in this very life together with his descendants. Kulluka on this verse cites the aphorism of Sankha-Likhita: one should not, without studying the Veda first, study another lore, except the Vedangas and smrtis. Vas. Dh.S. III. 2 expressly quotes the verse of Manu II. 168 as Manava sloka. The Tai. Up. I. 9 speaks of svadhyaya (study of the Veda) and pravacana (teaching it or daily repeating it) as tapas and joins these two with rta, satya, tapas, dama, sama, fires, agnihotra and progeny in order to emphasize that these two are the most important and it also exhorts the student on the eve of his return home not to neglect his study of the Veda.

The study of the Veda did not merely consist in learning the mantras by heart. Sankara in his bhasya on Vedantasutra I. 3. 30 quotes a Brahmana text to the effect that he who teaches a mantra or officiates at a sacrifice with mantras of which he does not know the seer, the deity or the Brahmana (i.e. viniyoga, employment or use) falls on a stump or in a pit. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 300 quotes a verse of Vyasa to the same effect. Not only was the Veda to be committed to memory (i.e. not only was there to be patha) but one had also to understand

864. puebhavathantam tamabh byevaduravam vasihdham upajahitah. tattvamaharhna ma-

865. at eva sakhovijnvato na vedamabhayat iti vyahamahabhayat iti vedavatupitam iti quoted by kumara on madh II. 168; tatho patravakte vdelamahabhayah ahati hi nam: sa tv sudyate

866. katham ca vrdayapary jnathen ca ...... vrdayapary jnathen svapit naiva bhadrasya: 

tadbhi tapas iti. m. up. I. 9.

867. shrutnavam samvadakavatmah samvedhahdram darsahah. yah yav ahavadirodaya-

vad-yogah etadamanthana na naiva pramanah pramanah pramanah iti dhruvah praptah iti sarva eva samastah vrdayam vrdayam vrdayam vrdayam tattvamaharhna mayi samvadhitah vamad vamad vamad vamad iti. samvad on vedantasutra I. 3. 30.
the meaning. The Nirukta (I. 18) quotes two verses which condemn in very strong language one who only commits to memory the Veda and does not know the meaning 'that man, who having studied the Veda, does not know its meaning, is indeed a tree, a stump, a mere carrier of a load; he alone who knows the meaning secures all happiness; his sins being shaken off by knowledge, he reaches heaven'. Dakṣa II. 34 says that the study of Veda involves five things viz. first committing to memory the Veda, then reflection over its meaning, keeping it fresh by repeating it again and again, japa (inaudibly muttering by way of prayer) and imparting it to pupils. Manu XII. 103 says 'those who have committed to memory the Veda are superior to those who are ignorant of it, those who retain their Veda (i.e. who do not allow it to be forgotten) are superior to those who only studied it (and then forgot it), those who know its meaning are superior to those who simply retain it in memory, those who perform what the meaning of the Veda dictates are superior to those who know its meaning'. Śabara 870 says that the real purpose of the study of the Veda is the knowledge about religious actions that it conveys and that from the mere memorizing of the Veda, no rewards are promised by those who know the lore of the sacrifices. Viṣṇavāpura on Yāj. I. 51 says that he alone is really vedapārḍa who has made the Veda his own as to the spirit (the meaning). Aparārka (p. 74) quotes a long passage from Vyāsa condemning the mere memorizing of the Veda.872 Vide also Medhātithi on Manu III. 19.

868. चाधाः समहारः किलाद्ध्रुवस्य देवम् न प्रजानामायो योर्युम्। यो अर्पित हृद सकलं मयैः स्वतंत्रस्य भागमतो ज्ञातारथवादाय। पद्यविनोत्तरतिः निमित्तेव सच्चये। अन्न-प्राधिक्षुष्णः यो न तस्यतितैः कार्तिकयां निकृष्टः। I. 18.

869. ब्रह्माष्टकारं पूर्वं दिशायते। जाप। तदान निीत्र्वं ब्रह्माष्टकारं हि पञ्चाय। II. 34 quoted by the मिथिलां या III. 310 and अपार्क  p. 126.

870 भ्रोहादि हि तद्वर्यां: कार्तिकायां न व तस्यतत्त्वमाभासानत्वमाभासां भाषा। अनं तात्त्वमाभासां। II. 56. This passage is quoted by Medhātithi on माप III. 1.

871. वेदार्थ वाणनांतरसे अभ्यासमयं स्वीकार्यं न अन्वयं एव। तथा व वर्तमानः स्वाधीनेन वेदार्थावसे न वेदार्थस्य एव। विचालम् on या I. 51.

872. Two or three verses may be quoted: न वेदार्थाभासायं संभोगं कार्यवर्तम क्रिया। पाण्डवाभासायं हि पृष्ठी गीतिस्त्रोतो एव। यो तत्त्वमाभासायं न निवार्थवस्य। त्यस्य नात्त्वमाभासायं न अपार्क  p. 74-75 quoting द्वारकां, printed चार्ङ्ङुराक्ष (ताराम 14. 86-87) has the Hāyu 'यो...चार्ङ्ङुराक्ष'. अमालद्यूतिः (JIV. I. p. 517) has the first two verses quoted here.
In spite of these excellent precepts it appears that from very ancient times the Veda was only committed to memory and most men learned in the Veda never cared to know its meaning. The Mahābhārata speaks disparagingly of the Āśūtriyas having an intellect dulled by the constant repetition of the anuvākas of the Veda. Further there was always an undercurrent of the belief that the mere memorizing of the Vedic texts conferred great sanctity on the memorizer and removed all sins. As time went on these ideas became supreme and the neglect of the meaning of the Veda has gone so far that among many modern orthodox brāhmaṇas there is a belief that the meaning of the Veda cannot be known and it is futile to try to find its meaning. The Tai. Br. says that a man’s sins are destroyed by the Veda and by svādhyāya. In Vas. Dh. S. 27. 1, Manu XI. 245, Yāj. III. 310 and in numerous other places it is said that sins do not affect a man who studies the Veda and that the study of Veda destroys sin. Vas. Dh. S. 28. 10–15 speaks of about 35 groups of Vedic hymns (like the Aghamārṣaṇa, Rg. X. 190) by silently muttering which a man is purified of his sins; but Vas. Dh. S. 27. 4 is careful to add that Veda study only removes such sins as are committed through ignorance or carelessness. Similar provision for removal of sins by the muttering of the Vedic mantras is made in Viśnū Dh. S. 56. 1–27, Yāj. III. 307–309, Manu XI. 248–260 &c.

Not only was the Veda to be committed to memory, but when learnt it was not allowed to slip from one’s mind, Ap. Dh. S. 1. 21. 8 makes ‘brahmājja’ (i.e. abandoning what is learnt) a grave sin along with drinking wine and others. Similarly Manu XI. 56 and Yāj. III. 228 also treat it as equal to drinking wine or the murder of a brāhmaṇa.

Similarly Manu IV. 163 forbids nāstikya (holding that there is no soul or no Hereafter) and the reviling of the Veda and in
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1. 56 regards the latter as a grave sin equal to drinking wine, while Yāj. III. 288 treats it as grave as brahmahatyā. Gaut. 21. 1 mentions the nāstika among patītas along with brāhmaṇa murderer and drinker of wine. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 4 includes the reviling of Veda among upapātakas (lesser sins). Manu II. 11 says that he who disrespects veda and smṛti by relying on syllogistic reasoning is a reviler of Veda and a nāstika (atheist) and should be excluded from social intercourse by good men. Vas. Dh. S. XII. 41 says ‘to hold the vedas as unauthoritative, to carp at the words of the sages, and to be wavering on all points lead to one’s destruction’. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 83 and Anuśāsanaparva 37. 11 for the same (in the latter the 2nd pāda is śāstraṇām cābhilanghanam).

Another striking feature of the ancient educational system was the total absence of any prior agreement about fees for teaching students. So early as Br. Up. IV. 1. 2 we find Yājñavalkya

(Continued from last page)

survival of the soul after death and Yama declares that he who does not believe in the world hereafter again and again comes within his grasp (2.6). The word pālita is derived by pālita in ‘अस्मिनाश्चर्यितो नास्मि’ IV.4. 60 (the meaning being pālita वासिष्ठ द्वितीय प्रसिद्ध). The शूल्ली (of महाक) on the शूल्ली (of विद्वान) p. 284 (Madras ed.) regards शूल्ली as the founder of materialism and the com. शूल्ली (on the same quotes a verse (p. 285) ‘विद्वानम् कथा वेदोष्ठिदेव शूल्लीश्च शूल्लीश्। शूल्लीश्च विद्वानस्यां शूल्लीश्च शूल्लीश्च।’ This verse is quoted in the स्मरणिकाद्विन (वार्षिकोपनिषत) also. Śeṣa. on Br. IV. 163 says ‘स्मरणिकाद्विनानां विद्वानस्यां नालस्यस्य’। सर्वश्रेष्ठ अनवधवर्जने वि-‘द्वितीय वेदोष्ठिदेव तद्विद्वानस्यां’। while शूल्ली (II. p. 395) explaining Manu III. 150 says ‘स्मरणिकाद्विनां ग्राहन कर्म वासिष्ठिश्च वैद्वानिश्च नालस्यस्य’। Manu IX. 225 prescribes banishment from the capital for heretics (प्रक्षेपदस्ति). विद्वानाम् III. 18. 27-28 speaks of the teaching of स्मरणिकाद्विन (वार्षिकोपनिषत) also. महाक (Br. Up. IV. 1. 2) regards a शूल्ली as an unfit witness in general. The Sarvadarsanasaṃgraha gives a synopsis of the views of Cārvāka and the Pudāvatāsaṃgha of विद्वान composed about 588 (A.D.) also summarises the views of वैद्वान. (ed. in B. I. series by L. Sual). The Mahābhārata (vol. III. pp. 325–326) refers to Lokayata. The well-known verse ‘पारस्या घोष नाबद्धेऽसेवा सुहोत्सव निविष्टम्। महानन्दित्व िष्टित्वां पुष्पस्यां तु नृत्येऽक्ते।’ occurs in the स्मरणिकाद्विन in its summary at the end of the section on वार्षिकाद्विन. The Pudāvatāsaṃgha verse 80 succinctly expresses the वैद्वानात्मक view ‘लोकायत्वा पुष्पावेऽ नास्या नास्ति न निविष्टते। नस्यां न निविष्टे न नास्ति पुष्पापि।’ निविष्टति means संसार. A comprehensive history of Indian Materialism would be a very interesting work but it has yet to be written.
saying to king Janaka who offered to give him a thousand cows, an elephant and a bull (or as Śāṅkara explains an elephant-like bull), ‘my father was of opinion that without fully teaching a pupil one should not receive any reward from him.” 876 Gaut. 877 (II. 54-55) says that at the end of his studies the student should request the teacher to accept the wealth that he could offer or ask the teacher what should be given and after paying or doing what the teacher wants or if the teacher allowed him to go without demanding anything, the student should take the ceremonial bath (i.e. return home). The Āśv. gr. (III. 9. 4) has almost the same words. The Āp. Dh. S. 878 (1. 2. 7. 19-23) requires the student to offer at the end of his studies, whatever their extent may be, a dakṣīṇā obtained from proper sources to his teacher according to his abilities and that if the teacher is in straightened circumstances, to offer him a fee even by begging from a person who is of the ugra caste or from a śūdra and that after offering a fee or doing even a very strikingly good turn to his teacher he should not boast of it to others nor should he ever dwell in his mind over it. The ideal was that the dakṣīṇā (fee) offered to the teacher at the end of study was simply for pleasing or propitiating the teacher and was not a complete equivalent of or compensation for the knowledge imparted. Manu (II. 245-246) says that the student need not give anything to the teacher till his snāna; when he is about to return home, he may offer to his guru some wealth; that the gift of a field, gold, a cow, or a horse, of even shoes or an umbrella, of a seat, corn, vegetables and clothes (either singly or together) may engender pleasure in the teacher. The Chān. Up. 879 III. 11. 6 eulogizes brahmavidyā by declaring it to be more valuable than the gift of the whole earth together with all its wealth. The sūtras 880 declare that even if the guru teaches a single

876. सर्वोच्च भगवन्येष पिता मेन्यन्ते नानाशिप्त हरेिति। कृष्ण. उप. IV.1.2.

877. विचार्ये शुरुविन नियमः। शत्राधिपतिः स्वामानन। मृ. II.54-55; विचार्ये
शुरुविन्ये नियमः। के लिया शत्राधिपतिः स्वामानन। गौड़. सू. III. 9. 4.

878. कृष्ण विचार्ये यात्राये नेपालिकामहापरमेश्वरो विकाराधिक। विचार्ये शत्राधिपतं शुरु
शुरुविन्ये शुरुविन्ये शुरुविन्द्र शुरुविन्द्र: शुरुविन्ये प्रहरीये शत्राधिपति:। दुःत्ता जानिकारी
वेद:। कृष्ण ज्ञानिकार। वारा. घ. I. 2. 7. 19-23.

879. व्यासकृत्रीये हिमालोत्स्री: परिवहीपां चन्द्रयुण्य वूकी कुयाहितन्द्र: सतौ सुकृष्ण
III. 11. 6.

880. एवं शुरुविन्ये शुरु: शुरुः शुरु: निरन्देतेत। शुरुविन्या नारिकां चन्द्रयुण्य श्वदश्चरीरमेवं शुरु: 
कृष्णारितं अनुसारं स्वतितवारा. I. p. 66 and रामीं अनुसारं परा. मा. I. 2. p. 53.
letter to the pupil, there is nothing in this world by giving which the pupil can get rid of the debt he owes. The Mahā-
bhārata says (Āśvamedhika 56. 21) that the teacher’s satisfac-
tion with the student’s work and conduct is indeed the proper
dakṣinā.881 Yāj. I. 51 says that one should give to his teacher
what he chooses to ask as dakṣinā and Kātyāyana882 quoted by
Aparārka (p. 76) prescribes that a brāhmaṇa pupil may give a
cow, a princely one a village, a vaśya a horse (if able to do so).
It has been shown above (p. 355) how kings and others made
gifts of lands or provided for salaries to teachers. One of the
earliest record about university scholarships is contained in the
Bahur (near Pondichery) plates of Nṛpatuṅgavarmaṇ in which
we find a grant to a Vidyāsthāna (a seat of learning) for
promotion of learning (E. I. vol. 18 p. 5). In E. I. vol. 15 p. 83
there is provision of 30 māltars of land for professors lecturing
to ascetics and of eight māltars to teachers giving lessons to the
youths in a monastery (in the times of Cālukya Somesvara I
at Südī in Dharwar District in śake 981). The Peshwa distrib-
uted to learned brāhmaṇas every year dakṣinā which rose to 4
lakhs of rupees a short time before 1818 A. D. It may be stated
that even in the 20th century there are numerous brāhmaṇa
teachers of the veda and the śāstras who teach pupils for
years without stipulating for any fee or even receiving any-
thing from them.

According to Manu II. 141, Śāṅkhasṛiti III. 2 and Viṣṇu
Dh. S. 29. 2 a teacher who teaches the Veda or the Vedāṅgas for
money or for his livelihood is called an Upādhyāya. Yāj. III.
235 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 20 and others include teaching for
money (and also learning from a paid teacher) among upapāt-
kas (lesser sins). Manu III. 156, Anuśāsana 23. 17 and Yāj. I.
223 say that he who is a hired teacher (bhṛtakādhyāpaka) and
he who learns from such a teacher are not fit to be invited at a
śrāddha. But Medhātitti (on Manu II. 112 and III. 146), the Mit.
(on Yāj. III. 235), the Sm. C. and others say that a person does
not become a hired teacher by accepting something from a
pupil, but that what is condemned is making a stipulation before-
hand that one would teach only if a certain sum or if so much

881. दूधिका परिचयों वै कुशलासाहित्यमेवः। आभाष्यकरि 56. 21.
882. नारायणमथव वरो भारो राजस्थानी वेदांता। काठशाल निःक्रियम अधिकारकम् विश्वासम्।
H. D. 46
were paid or delivered. In distress, Manu X. 116 and Yaj.
III. 42 allow even such stipulations for the purpose of securing
one’s livelihood.

The Mahabharata (Adi. 133, 2–3) shows that when Bhishma
appointed Droga as the teacher of the Pandava and Kaurava
princes he bestowed on him wealth and a well-furnished house
full of corn; but there was no stipulation.

It has been shown above (p. 113) that it was the king’s duty
to support learned men and students and to see that no brahmana
died of hunger in his kingdom (vide Gaut. X. 9–12, Visnu
Dh. S. III. 79–80, Manu VII. 82–85, Yaj. I. 315, 333). So a
student, when the teacher demanded a heavy fee at the end of
studies, could theoretically at least approach a king for the fee.
Kalidasa draws in Raghuvarsha V a graphic picture how Varan-
tantu demanded a dakshina of 14 crores from his pupil Kautsa
who approached Raghuv for the same and would not take more
than his requirements. Sometimes the teacher or his wife,
according to legends, demanded fanciful dakshina. For example,
Uttanka was asked by his teacher’s wife, when he urged her to
take something, to bring the ear-rings of the queen of the reigning
king (vide Adiparva chap. 3 and Asvamedhika-parve 56).

It would be interesting to see how far corporal punishment
of pupils was allowed in ancient India. Gaut.(II. 48–50)
lays down that pupils are to be regulated (ordinarily) without
beating; but if it is not possible to control the pupil (by words
&c.) then he may be struck with a slender rope or with a split
bamboo; that if the teacher struck (the pupil) in any other way
(e.g. with the hand &c.) the teacher should be punished by the
king. The Ap. Dh. S. I. 2, 8, 29–30 calls upon the teacher to
censure (by words) a pupil when he commits a fault and to
employ according to the gravity of the offence any one or more
of the following punishments till the pupil desists, viz. threatening
(the pupil), refusing to give him food, drenching him in cold
water and not allowing him to come in his presence. The

883. अर्थार्थार्थिणपति । अर्थार्थार्थिणपति । अर्थार्थार्थिणपति । अर्थार्थार्थिणपति ।
884. अर्थार्थार्थिणपति । अर्थार्थार्थिणपति । अर्थार्थार्थिणपति ।
885. अर्थार्थार्थिणपति । अर्थार्थार्थिणपति ।
Mahābhāṣya\(^{886}\) (vol. I. p. 41) refers to the fact that when a pupil pronounced a wrong accent (e. g. anudatta in place of udatta) the upādhyāya slapped him (on the back probably). Manu VIII. 299–300, Visnu Dh. S. 71. 81–82, Nārada (abhuyupetyā-suārūṣa, verses 13–14) follow Gautama as to corporal punishment, but add that beating should be on the back only and never on the head nor on the chest, while Nārada further rules that the beating should not be excessive. Manu (VIII. 300) says that the punishment in case of violation of these rules by the teacher is that for a thief and (VIII. 299) extends the same rules to the son and the wife. Manu II. 159 recommends that in imparting instruction about the right path of conduct, one should use sweet persuasive (not high-toned) words.

A few words must now be said about the education of kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras. According to Gaut. XI. 3 a king should be well-grounded in the three Vedas and in Ānyikṣikī (i. e. metaphysics) and in XI. 19 Gaut. says that the king has to rely for carrying out his duties on the veda, the dharmaśāstras, the subsidiary lores of the veda, the upavedas and purāṇas. Manu VII. 43 and Yā. I. 311 say that a king should be proficient in the three Vedas, in metaphysics, in dāndantī (the art of government and statecraft) and in vṛtā (economic life and production of wealth). These directions were probably meant to be an ideal and very few kings ever went through all this. If any conclusions are to be drawn from the stories in the Mahābhārata, we may say that princes at least hardly ever went to a guru's home, but teachers were engaged to teach them (as Drona was engaged by Bṛhma) and they became proficient in military skill. Alberuni (tr. by Sachau 1888, vol. I p. 125) says that brāhmaṇas taught the veda to kṣatriyas, but he is probably drawing only on the rules given in the smṛtis. Kings left ecclesiastical matters to their purohita and were always to rely on him for advice. Gaut.\(^{887}\) XI. 12–13 and Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 16 require that the purohita was to be a learned man of good birth, endowed with polished speech, a fine form, middle age and high character and that he was to be well-versed in dharma and artha. Āśv. gr. III. 12 describes how the purohita is to prepare the king for battle. Kaut. in his Arthashastra after

\(^{886}\) च युद्धान्त कर्तव्यादानं करोदि अविनाश्यापावस्तूसते अतेकर्ष वृद्धेयः \n\(^{887}\) असमान्य च उपयुक्तविविधीभिस्यनत्यागतिस्वप्नं \n
Mahābhāṣya vol. I. p. 41.

Mahābhāṣya vol. XI. 12–13.
stating several views gives his own opinion that the vidyās for a prince are four (the same as those of Manu and Yāj. above), that after the caula is performed the prince should learn the alphabet and arithmetic and when upanayana is performed he should learn the four vidyās till he is 16 years old and may then marry (I. 5), that in the first part of the day he should have instruction in elephant riding and horse riding, riding in chariots and in arms and the latter part of the day he should devote to hearing purāṇas, stories, dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra (polities). In the Hathigumpha Inscription (2nd century B.C.) there is a reference to rūpa (currency), gananā (finance and treasury accounts), lekha (official correspondence) and vyavahāra (law and judicial administration) as the subjects which Khāravela mastered as heir-apparent from his 15th year to his 24th (vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 71 at p. 81, J. R. A. S. 1918 p. 545, L. H. Q. vol. 14 for 1938 p. 459 ff.). In the Kādambari also Bāna shows that prince Candrāpiḍa did not go to a teacher’s house but that a school was built for him outside the capital where he learnt from his 7th to the 16th year.

As to the education of kṣatriyas in general we have hardly any directions in the dharmaśāstra works. But that there were several learned kṣatriyas and vaiṣyas who sometimes became teachers cannot be denied. Kumārila-bhaṭṭa says (on Jaimini I. 2. 2) that adhyāpana888 is not a special characteristic for recognising that a man is a brāhmaṇa, since certain kṣatriyas and vaiṣyas who have given up the observation of the caste rules also do so.

About the education of vaiṣyas there is still less material. Manu X. 1 lays down generally that the three varṇas (including vaiṣyas) are to learn the Veda, (X. 79) that trade, cattle-rearing and agriculture are the means of the vaiṣya’s livelihood and that (IX. 328-332) the vaiṣya should never think of giving up cattle rearing, that he should know the prices of jewels, coral and pearls, of metals and clothes, of perfumes and salt, the sowing of seed, the qualities and defects of soils, measures and weights, the different grades of qualities of goods, the profit and loss in trade, the rates of pay for servants, various alphabets and the places where saleable articles are produced or manufactured.

888. अध्यापननियम विद्याभाष्यविवेचनसाहित्यविवेचनात्मक साहित्यात योगिचित्रकविश्बादां त्रिवेद्य श्रेयं क्रियकारानुसार तत्त्ववाचक प. 108.
Education of vaishyas and sūdras

Yāj. II. 184, Nārada (abhuyupetāśuṣrūsā 16–20) indicate that boys were apprenticed with master artisans to learn several šilpas (crafts) like preparing ornaments of gold or for learning dancing, singing &c. An apprentice was to stipulate how long he would stay with the master craftsman, that even if he learnt the craft earlier than the stipulated time he was still to stay with the teacher and work for him till the period was over, that the teacher was to give food and lodging to the apprentice and to appropriate the proceeds from his work, that if the apprentice left the teacher before the time fixed even though the teacher was ready to teach him, he was to be compelled to stay with the teacher and to be imprisoned or sentenced to whipping by the king if he would not stay.

As for the education of the sūdra, there are hardly any rules in the dharmaśāstras. He gradually, as stated above (at pp. 130–121), rose in status and was allowed to engage in crafts and agriculture and so the same rules might have been applied to him as to vaishya apprentices. The sūdra could listen to the recitation of the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas as shown above (at pp. 155–156).

It appears that in very ancient times the status of Indian women as to education was much higher than in medieval and modern times in India. Several women are stated to have been the composers of Vedic hymns; e.g. Rg. V. 28 is ascribed to Viśvavārā of the Atri family; Rg. VIII. 91 to Apālā of the same family and Rg. X. 39 to Ghogā Kāśvati. The Br. Up. II. 4. 1. shows that Maitreyī, one of the two wives of Yājñavalkya, the great philosopher of ancient India, was herself a very earnest seeker after true knowledge and she prayed to Yājñavalkya that he should impart to her such knowledge as would make her immortal. In the same Upaniṣad (III. 6 and 8) we find that among the several interlocutors in the court of Janaka, king of Videha, who propounded several questions for solution before Yājñavalkya, Gargī Vācaknavī occupies a very prominent position. She pursued Yājñavalkya with subtle and searching questions till ultimately he was forced to warn her

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889. विज्ञानसमाये विदितं दक्ष्यविविधंसंस्कारं। सुवादवेद च ज्ञानमुच्ये कर्म कुर्यार्थे एव। सुवादवेद quoted in पुत्रिवेच इ. p. 195. It is interesting that the शिल्प on या. II. 184 regards अक्षुद्व as a शिल्प to be learnt under the apprentice system.

890. सा हवाच वैभवे शासी नाभुन्ते स्वरूपस भवन्ति वहन्तु समवाधनेव नदेन्त्र मेन्विनवति। दुह. उप. II. 4. 3 and IV. 5. 4.
not to probe too much into the nature of the First Principle which was beyond mere human reason and logical questioning or otherwise she might die by the fall of her head. Then she desisted, but her unquenchable thirst for philosophical knowledge again swelled up and she put two questions to Yājñavalkya hoping to confound him. In the same Up. (Br. Up. VI. 4. 17) there is a rite prescribed\textsuperscript{891} for one who desires to have a learned daughter. As in the very preceding sentence a prescription is given for one desirous of having a son who would master the three Vedas, it naturally follows that the learning of the daughter must refer to the same topic. But Śaṅkara, in whose day women were debarred from learning the Vedas, could not but explain the word ‘pandita’ as referring to proficiency in domestic work. It has been shown above (p. 294) that upanayana and veda study were allowed to women by Hārīta. In the daily rṣitarpāna (Āsv. gr. III. 4) among a host of sages water is offered to three women as teachers viz. Gārgī Vācaknavi, Vaḍavā Prātītheyl and Sulabhā Maitreyl. The very fact that the Kāśika on Pāṇini IV. 1. 59 and III. 3. 21 teaches the formation of ācārya and upādhyāya as meaning a woman who is herself a teacher (and not merely the wife of a teacher) establishes that the ancient grammarians were familiar with women teachers. Patañjali teaches\textsuperscript{892} how and why a brāhmaṇa woman is called Āpiśālā (one who studies the grammar of Āpiśali) and Kāśakṛtsnā (one who studies the mīmāṃsā work of Kāśakṛtsna). He also states the formation of the appellation ‘Audameghāḥ’ (meaning the pupils of a woman teacher called Audameghyā). Gobhila\textsuperscript{893} gr. II. 1. 19–20 prescribes that when the bride pushes forward with her foot a mat the bridegroom should make her repeat the mantra ‘may the way which my husband goes by be also assigned to me’ and that if she does not repeat this mantra (through bashfulness &c.) he

\textsuperscript{891} अय च हस्तेदुहिता ने वधिवा आदेत &c.। खुः उ. VI. 4. 17; कुःः
पाणिन्यां धूर्द-पविष्यन्ते वेदित्व-पविष्यन्ताः। स्तविकाम्।

\textsuperscript{892} आदिवित्तमाति माध्यमी आमिसता माध्यमी। महाभाष्यम् vol. II. p. 205 (on वारिक 3 on पाणिनी IV. 1. 14); काशिका पारम सामा मीमांसा काँपश्चन्
काशिकाक्रमिति काँपश्चन् माध्यमी। अय वारिक। महाभाष्यम् vol. II. p. 206 on वारिक 5 on पा. IV. 1. 14; vide also महाभाष्यम् vol. II. p. 249; सामा-क माध्यमम्
आदिवान: vol. II. p. 229 (on पा. IV. 1.78).

\textsuperscript{893} काशिकार्यरुपों स्वाभिध जातिःतार्थों परंपरेन्द्र वर्तनेत्वा मे वधिवा
ध्यायस्त कप्रियामयोः। सन्ध्यो अवदेशार्थोऽवधिवा माध्यमः महिः। वे. शिवलिङ्गं II. 1. 19–20. The
सप्त (सत्यत्सल्लालां L. 1. 8) is ‘सप्त’ मे वधिवा: पवित्र: काल्पताः। सिखा आदिर्। पारिजाती
विभेदक 17.
should repeat it substituting the words ‘to her’ for ‘to me’. In the Kāṭhaka\textsuperscript{894} gr. 25. 23 it is said that the Anuvāka beginning with ‘śarasvati predam-ava’ (of 21 verses) was to be recited both by the bride and the bridegroom according to some teachers. All this shows that women could recite Vedic mantras in the sūtra period. The Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana,\textsuperscript{895} a remarkable though in some places a filthy work, prescribes that women should study the Kāmasūtra and its subsidiary angas (viz. the 64 kalās such as singing, dancing, painting &c.) before they attain youth (i.e. in their father’s house) and after marriage with the husband’s consent. In the 64 kalās enumerated in that work (I. 3. 16) are included prahelikās (riddles of words), pustakavācana (chanting from books), kavyasamāsya-pūrāṇa (composing a suitable portion of a verse to fit in with a portion given), knowledge of lexicons and metres &c. We read in the epics and the dramas like the Śakuntala of women writing messages to their lovers. In the Mālatimadhava Bhavabhūti tells his readers that the fathers of the hero and the heroine studied in their youth together with Kāmanda at the feet of the same master. From anthologies like Rājaśekhara’s Saktimuktāvali we learn that there were poetesses like Vijā, Sītā &c. All these facts tend to indicate that literary attainments among women were not totally unheard of in ancient India.

But gradually the position of women became worse and worse. In the Dharmasūtras and Manu woman is assigned a position of dependence and even women of higher classes came to be looked upon as equal to śudras so far as Vedic study and several other matters were concerned. Gaut. 18. 1, Vas. Dh. S. VI. 1, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 45 and Manu IX. 3 say that women have no independence and in all stages depend upon men. We have seen (at p. 265) also that all the sāṃskāras (except marriage) were performed in the case of girls without Vedic mantras. Though according to the Pūrvamāṁśa the husband and wife were to perform Vedic sacrifices together (Jaimini VI. 1. 17–21) still women\textsuperscript{896} were only associated with their husbands and all the

\textsuperscript{894} ‘ततो भद्दान्य बाध्यतिः सन्ततिः वेदवन्योपवाच्यं शताबलिः शास्त्रस्योपकोष्।’

\textsuperscript{895} वा भस्माक सिद्धाऽचार्यतिमोत्तरत्वतः कामशूद्यात् तदविद्विशाली द्विय वाप्रायोऽदित्वं। मायपी- मन्नाथै। भवता च परम्परायुपपत्तिः कामशूद्यात् । कामपुर 1. 2. 1–3.

\textsuperscript{896} तथा गाण्यां काल्मकविपुप्पुप्पुपुण्यस्य विषयम्। हृदेन्वा वृत्ति दीर्घाणु तदाचार्य त्रिभुज ज्ञाति

कामविद्विशालवे अत्रोक्तिः चोमयोऽविशेष द्वियाः । कामिकमित्वस्य च अया चर्यायुपपत्तिे

कविः। ततः।
actions to be done by the sacrificer (yajamāna) were to be done only by the husband except where the texts expressly requested the wife to do certain things such as examining the ājya or repeating certain mantras (VI.1.24). Jaimini says that the husband and wife were not equal and Śabara explains that the yajamāna is a male and is learned, while the patni is a woman and has no vidyā. Medhātithi on Manu II. 49 raises the interesting question why brahmaçārins when begging for alms used a Sanskrit formula (bhavati bhikṣām dehi) which language ladies do not know. He replies that women can understand that vernacular words which they use being similar to Sanskrit words must be derived from them and that these few well-known Sanskrit words they can easily grasp. Besides even in Vedic times there was a tendency as in many other countries to make sarcastic references to women. The Rgveda VIII. 33. 17 says "Even Indra said ‘the mind of woman cannot be controlled; and also her intellect (or power) is slight’"; in Rg. X. 95, 15 ‘there is no truth in the friendship of women; they have the hearts of hyaenas’. The Śat. Br. XIV. 1. 1. 3 exhorts a person studying the Madhu-vidyā not to look at ‘woman, śūdra, the dog and the black bird that are all untruth’. In Manu II. 213-214, Anuśasanaparva chap. 19. 91-94, chap. 38 and 39 there is severe condemnation of woman. Such ideas, and ideas about pollution and the early marriage of girls are probably responsible for the great lack of literacy among women in medieval and modern times.

As literary education among women was in a languishing state or almost nil, the question of co-education hardly arises. There are no doubt faint indications that when women could at all devote themselves to learning, they must have been taught with male pupils. Poets like Bhavabhūti (in the Mālatīmādhava) envisage a state of society in which a woman (like Kāmandaki) learnt at the feet of the same master along with male students (like Bhūrivasu and Devarāta, who later on became ministers of states).

897. कश्च युन: संज्ञवस्त्रयामी सर्वा सिखा: संज्ञोक्षणे तथा संज्ञाय नवनासु ज्ञानसु धरणे ।...एवं सिखा: सागुरवस्त्रित्वातोर्भोस्मांत्वात्सवंद्वात् सत्य: वेदांधवेदी सर्वगति एवं तदववर्तन ग्यािविति अक्षरायां मािश्याः। येवानं मनु. II. 49.

898. कन्याचिक्षा तदन्तः सिखा: अमांसं मन:। जो अह तरु रक्ष्मम्। क: VIII. 33. 17.

899. न वै शन्तानि सर्वानि सत्यि सालापार Yap: हुष्यायेत। क: X. 95. 15.
The house of the ācārya where the student learnt was called ācāryakula (vide Chān. Up. II. 23. 2, IV. 5. 1., IV. 9. 1, VIII. 15. 1). The teacher who presided over a large establishment of pupils was called kulapati (e.g. Kaṇva is so referred to in the Śākuntala, vide note 134 above).

It is outside the scope of this work to show from the numerous inscriptions and copper-plate grants that have been published so far, how ancient kings and rich private persons made substantial grants to famous schools, colleges and universities. There were famous universities at Takṣaśilā (modern Taxila), Valabhi, Benares, Nālandā, Vikramaśilā &c. For an account of the university of Nālandā in the 7th century reference may be made to the accounts given by the two Chinese travellers Yuan Chhwang (vide Watters vol. II. pp. 109, 246) and Itsing ('Records of the Buddhist Religion' by Dr. Takakusu pp. 154, 177 &c.). Most of those seats of learning were endowed. One of the earliest of such grants is that of the Pallava Nṛpatunga-varman (Bahur Plates, E. I. 18 p. 5) whereby three villages were bestowed as a source of revenue (vidyābhoga) for the promotion of learning to the residents of a seat of learning (vidyāsthāna, a college) at Vāgūr. The Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara (in chap. 10) calls upon the king to hold assemblies of poets and learned men, to arrange for their examination and to distribute rewards to them in the manner of such ancient kings as Vāsudeva, Śātavāhana, Śūdraka, Sāhasāŋka. It also says that in Ujjaini such poets as Kālidāsa, Mentha, Bhāravi, Haricandra were examined and in Pātaliputra (modern Patna) such famous śāstrakāras as Pāpini, Vyādi, Vararuci, Patañjali, Varṣa, Upavarśa, and Pingala were examined.

The salient features of the educational system outlined in the Dharmaśāstra works are the high and honourable position assigned to the teacher, the close personal contact of the pupil with the teacher and individual attention, the pupil’s stay with the teacher as a member of his family, oral instruction and the absence of books, stern discipline and control of emotions and the will, cheapness (as no fees were stipulated for). The Indian system compares most favourably with any system of education of the West, whether in Greece or Rome or any other country. It gave to the students a more or less literary education, particularly of the Vedic literature and of philosophy, grammar and other subjects ancillary thereto. The principal
effort was directed towards the conservation of the ancient literature rather than to the creation of fresh literature. In these respects it was similar to the Grammar Schools of England and to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge as they were till about the middle of the 19th century. The defects of the Indian system were that it was too literary, there was too much memorizing, boys under it had hardly any instruction in useful manual arts and crafts, the studies were not brought in contact with practical life. The discipline was rigorous and joyless. Many of these defects were due to the exigencies of the caste system which assigned particular avocations to particular castes. We cannot and should not compare the system with the systems of education prevalent in the 20th century, when several subjects such as literature, music and the fine arts, handicrafts, mathematics, science, history and geography are taught in the schools to all boys and when it has been recognised that education is a prime concern of the State.

The four Veda-vratas:—Among the saṃskāras enumerated by Gautama there are four Veda-vratas (Gaut. VIII. 15). These four are also included in the 16 saṃskāras by several smṛtis. Their names and procedure differ considerably in the several gṛhyasūtras. Some gṛhyasūtras like Pār. do not describe them. A brief reference will be made to them here. The Āsv. gr. I. 22. 20 900 says in general words that in the vratas all the ceremonies beginning from shaving the head up to paridāna (i.e. Āsv. gr. I. 19. 8 to I. 20. 7) that are performed at the upanayana are repeated each time with each vratas. And the four vratas according to the Āśvalāyana smṛti (in verse) were Mahānāmī vratas, Mahāvrata (Aīt. Ar. I and V), Upaniṣad vratas and Godāna. Each vratas is to be performed for a year. Vide Laghu Āśvalāyana 11th section (Anan. Ed.). The Śaṅ. gr. (II. 11–12) describes, after the student is instructed in the sacred Gāyatrī, four vratas (observances) called Śukriya (which precedes the study of the main part of the Rgveda), the Śākvara, Vrātiṇa and Aupaniṣadā vratas (which three precede the study of the different sections of the Aitareya Áraṇyaka). The observance of the first of these (viz. Śukriya) lasted for three days or twelve days or one year or as long as the teacher liked and the observances of the other three were to be kept for one year each (Śaṅ. gr. II. 11. 10–12, S. B. E. vol. 29

900. पैदेन वामनायि परिवारायि प्रतिविशिि द्वारकायि आयि. सू. I. 22. 20.
p. 77). At the beginning of each of these three vratas there is a separate upanayana, followed by a ceremony called Uddikṣanikā (giving up the preparatory observances) and then the vrata is to be performed for one year. The Āranyaka is to be studied in the forest out of the village. Manu II. 174 prescribes that at the time of the beginning of each of these vratas the student had to put on a new deer skin, a new yajñopavīta and a new girdle. The Gobhila gṛhya III. 1. 26–31 (which is connected with the Sāmaveda) mentions the vrata as Godānika, Vṛāṭika, Āditya, Aupaniṣada, Jyeṣṭha-sāmikā, each lasting for one year. It adds that some do not observe the Āditya-vrata. The godāna vrata is connected by the Gobhila with the samskāra of godāna (to be described below) and it prescribes certain observances for it such as removing all hair on the head, chin and lips; avoiding false-hood, anger, sexual intercourse, perfumes, dancing and singing, collyrium, honey and meat; not wearing shoes in the village. It also prescribes that wearing the girdle, begging for food, carrying a staff, daily bath, offering a fuel-stick, and clasping the teacher’s feet in the morning are common to all vratas. The Godānika enabled the student to study the Pūrvārcika of the Sāmaveda (i.e. the collection of verses sacred to Agni, Indra and Soma Pavamāna). The Vṛāṭika was introductory to the study of the Āranyaka (excluding Śukrīya sections); the Āditya vrata to the study of the Śukrīya sections; the Aupaniṣada-vrata to the study of the Upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa; the Jyeṣṭha-sāmikā to the study of the Āśya-dohas. The Kh. gr. II. 5. 17 ff. speaks of the same vratas as Gobhila. Those who observe the Ādityavrata wore one garment, did not allow anything to come between them and the sun (except trees and the roofs of houses) and did not descend into water more than knee-deep. The Śakvara vrata was kept for one year, or for three or six or nine. Those who observe this vrata study the Śakvarī or Mahānāmnī verses. Vṛāṭika901 on Pāṇini V. 1. 94. (tadasya brahmacarya) mentions the Mahānāmnis and teaches the derivation of Mahānāmnikam (as the period of brahmacarya devoted to the vrata of the Mahānāmnis). There were certain peculiar observances for

901. The वर्तिकā 1 and 2 on पा. V. 1. 94 are तदृशः माधवस्थितमिव महानामनीतिः संविद्वारे उपसनयनां। वर्तिकाचित्रेष्व: । परिभाषरित्व: ।; परिभाषरित्व: महानामनीविष्णू वर्तिकारिणमिव। आदिक्रियानिक। ... महानामनीर्चित्तः महानामनीकितः। आदिक्रियानिकः। ... महानामनीर्चित्तः महानामनी। च बाध्यते वुङ्क्तम् ततां च ब्रवी वस्त्रोन्नामितयु भविषयति। महानामनीस्वप्रकाशति तत्त्व महानामनी। प्रकाशितः। महानामनी II. p. 360.
this such as bathing thrice a day (Gobhila III. 2. 7–46, Kh. gr. II. 5. 23 ff.), wearing dark clothes, partaking of dark food, standing by day, sitting by night, not seeking shelter when it is raining, not crossing a river without bathing in it (the virtue of the Mahānāmnis is centred in water). After the student has kept his vow for one-third of the time prescribed, the teacher is to sing to the student the first stotriya of the Mahānāmnis 903 (viz. the three mantras, vidā maghavan, ābhiśtvam, evāhi śakra) and in the same way the two other stotriyas (each consisting of three mantras). They are to be sung to the student who has fasted, has closed his eyes, has dipped his hand in a brass vessel full of water in which all sorts of herbs are thrown and whose eyes are veiled with a new piece of cloth, the student is to keep silent and abstain from food for one day and night (or three), to stand in the forest till sunset (and return to the village in the night), should sacrifice with mahānyāḥtis; look at fire, clarified butter, the sun, a brāhmaṇa, a bull, food, water and curds; then salute the teacher, break his silence and give a fee to the teacher and offer a mess of cooked food to Indra and give a dinner to the teacher and all co-students. The same rules apply to the Jyeṣṭhasāmaṇika vrata (introductory to the study of the three Āiyadhas 902 viz. mūrdhānam divah, tvām viśve, nābhim yajñānām). The student who undergoes this has to observe certain rules throughout his life viz. he cannot marry or have sexual intercourse with a śūdra woman, cannot eat bird’s flesh, he should not restrict himself to one kind of corn or one country and should always wear two garments, should bathe in water drawn with a vessel and should not eat in an earthen pot or drink water from it.

The Baud. gr. III. 2. 4 ff says that there are vratas of one year each which precede the study of certain brāhmaṇa texts (of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda); they are hotāraḥ 904, śukriyas, upaṇiṣadaḥ,

902. mahānāmnis are verses beginning with bhaya sāmaya bhaya which occur in pān. pā. IV, in the जैनिकप्रतापित of the saṃvedin II. 7 (ed. by Dr. Raghu Vira) and also in several other जैनिकप्रतापित.

903. The mantra sūryāni vṛiṣṭis is at saṃvedin I. 67 (and Bg. VI. 7. 1), sa vṛiṣṭi is at saṃvedin II. 491 (and Bg. VI. 7. 4), sa bhūmī vājraḥ is saṃvedin 2. 492 (Bg. VI. 7. 2).

904. The होν्दित or चुभरिताः are the mantras in Tai. Ar. III. 1–5 beginning with विहति बुधु विषमाजयम्.
The Veda-vratas

godānam and sammitam and it describes them in detail. For want of space all these are passed over. The Saṁskāra-kauśṭubha (pp. 571-580) gives in some detail the procedure of the Mahānāmni vṛata, Mahāvrata, Upaniṣadvrata and Godānavrata. It states that the Mahānāmni vṛata is performed in the 13th year from birth and Godānavrata in the 16th. It appears, however, that these vṛatas gradually fell into desuetude and medieval writers often pass them over altogether or barely mention them and emphasize only the general observances of brahmacārins viz. celibacy, begging for food, avoiding honey, wine and singing &c. For example, the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 6) refers to Śāvitrivrata, then the vṛata for Vedic study and then the Āraṇyaka vṛatas. The Mit. on Yāj. I.52 (vedam vṛatāni vā pāram nītvā) explains 'vṛataṁ' as simply the duties of the student already enumerated by Yāj. (among which the specific vṛatas of Mahānāmni &c. do not figure).

If the student failed in observing the specific vṛatas, he had to perform prāyaścitta by undergoing the prajāpatya penance thrice or six times or twelve times. If the brahmacārī is guilty of failing in his daily duties of observing sauc̄a and ācāmana, of the performance of saṁdhīya prayer, of using darbha, of begging for food, of offering fuel stick to fire, of avoiding the touch of śūdras and the like, of wearing the cloth (for covering his private parts), the loin thread, the yajnopavita, the girdle and the staff and deerskin, of not sleeping by day, of not holding an umbrella over his head or of not wearing shoes, or not putting on garlands, of avoiding luxurious bath, sandal paste, collyrium, of not sporting in water, of avoiding gambling, and addiction to dancing, singing and music, of not engaging in conversation with heretics, he had to undergo the penance of three krochras (according to Baudhāyana) and to perform a homa with the vyāhṛtis separately and together (i.e. four oblations of clarified butter were to be offered). If he was guilty of other more serious lapses he

905. वर्णनाधिकारकाश्च साहित्यांस्य च सांपत्तिकशिङ्गिताय विशंसकोण्यक्ष्योजोखयम् सत्ये।
906. सन्तानसत्यें सांपत्तिकशिङ्गिताय विशंसकोण्यक्ष्योखयम् सत्येः।

905. If he was guilty of other more serious lapses he
had to undergo heavier penance. The most reprehensible act in
a brahmacārīn was to have sexual intercourse with a woman.
The Tai. Ṛ. II. 18 speaks of the prāyaścitta for such a
brahmacārīn who is called avakīrnī. Gaut. 25, 1–2 quotes the
Tai. Ṛ. "they (the sages) say 'in how many (deities) he enters; (the answer is) he enters the Maruts with
his breath, Indra with his strength, Bṛhaspati with his spiritual
eminence and fire with the rest (of his senses)'" and Gautama
further provides that he should kindle fire at midnight on a new
moon day and then offer two ājya oblations by way of penance
with the two mantras 'kāmāva-' and 'Kāmāvadrugdhoṣmī'
&c., place a fuel stick on fire, sprinkle water round the fire,
offer the yajñavāstu oblation (for which see Gobhila gr. I. 8.
26–29) and standing near the fire should worship fire thrice
with the verse 'sam mā śāṅcantu'. Baud. Dh. S. (IV. 2, 10–13)
contains the same rules. Jaimini (VI. 8. 22) prescribes that
ordinary (laukika) fire is to be used for the pāśu to be sacrific-
ed (viz. ass to Nirṛti, which is symbolic of the stupid lapse the
student is guilty of) and Śabara quotes a Vedic passage that 'a
brahmacārīn who has become avakīrnī should sacrifice an ass
to Nirṛti'. Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 8, Vas. 23. 1–3, Manu XI.
118–121, Yāj. III. 280 contain similar provisions (Vasiṣṭha
allowing in the absence of an ass oblations of boiled rice
with the mantras mentioned by Gautama). Manu XII. 122–123 and
Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 49–50 prescribe that the brahmacārī so guilty
should for one year wear the skin of the ass, should beg for
food at seven houses announcing to them his lapse, should
take food only once, should bathe thrice and then only he
becomes pure. Manu II. 187 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 52) prescribes
similar penance for a brahmacārī who without being ill gives
up begging for food and offering fuel to fire continuously for
seven days. Prāyaścitta is prescribed for loss of yajñopā-
vita or its being torn, or its being polluted by impure things

908. *Avadānabuddhayā* M. 267; *Avadānabuddhayā*
M. 267; *Avadānabuddhayā* v. *Avadānabuddhayā*; *Avadānabuddhayā*; *Avadānabuddhayā*; *Avadānabuddhayā*; *Avadānabuddhayā*; *Avadānabuddhayā*.
like blood &c. It consists in offering homa and wearing a new one. Vide Saṃskāra-ratnamālā pp. 365-367 for details.

Naiṣṭhika brahmacārin (perpetual student).—

Brahmacārins were of two kinds, upakurvāṇa (the student who offered some return to the teacher, vide Manu II. 245, for the word upakurvita) and the naiṣṭhika909 (the student who remains so till his death). These two names occur in Hārīta Dh. S., Dakṣa I. 7 and in several smṛtis. The word 'naiṣṭhika' occurs in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 46, Yāj. I. 49, Veda-Vyāsa I. 41. The idea of perpetual studenthood is very ancient. In the Chāndogya910 Up. II. 23. 1 we read that the third branch of dharma is the (status of a) student who stays with his teacher's family and who wears out his body to the end in the family of the teacher. Gaut. III. 4-8, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 29, Hārīta Dh.911 S., Vas. VII. 4-6, Manu II. 243, 244, 247-249, and Yāj. I. 49-50 say that if the student likes he may stay with his teacher till life lasts and should serve his guru and in the rest of the time repeat the Veda; that if the teacher be dead he may stay with and serve the teacher's son if he is worthy or the teacher's wife or he may worship the fire kindled by his deceased guru; he should thus wear out his body; he obtains the highest worlds of bliss and is not born again. He has to perform throughout his life the duties of offering fuel sticks, Veda study, begging for food, sleeping on the ground (not on a cot), and of self-restraint (Brhaspati quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 62).

According to Viṣṇu quoted in Aparārka (p. 72) and the Sm. C.912 (I. p. 63) quoting the Saṃgraha persons who are

909. निष्र विन 'end or death' and निष्र is derived by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 49 as 'अन्तम निष्र विन वकानिकोत नवारिति निष्र':

910. सब श्रमसंन्या परेशथथप दानारित्य मन्त्रहुप एव द्वितीयो श्राव्यां- क्षणवशी दृष्टीवृतप्तमानानामानानां कुलभूतन्त्रस्थरं सर्वं एवं सुप्राप्तं नवारिति मन्त्रसंस्तोऽर्थोऽवस्थिति। चान्दोग्य Up. II. 23. 1. This is quoted by विन्म in on या. I. 49-50.

This Up. passage is the basis of Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 18-20; vide also ibid III. 4. 49.

911. द्वितीयो श्राव्यां उपवर्णार्ण निष्रित:। तोषक्षार्थवातो व्यक्तवात:। श्रीमं पूर्ववेदसाराणिपात्यादार्थस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्वस्सैर: हस्तित: व वात्स: परस्परवृत्तिदीर्घस्वस्त। अहवाचि च वेति अर्थितिः। विनावतु कस्मिन्धितावत्तेति। विन्म VII. 4-6. The words 'अविन्दीयार्थवातः' occur in the Upanishit ritual; vide पारस्व II. 2.

912. कुञ्जवान्तवात्सत्स्वामिजःप्रकृतिधार्मिकाः। तत्त्वां तत्त्वाः प्राधासिनस्ताः॥ विन्म विन्म अपि। पुराणों I. p. 72; पुराणोंसाहित्यान्वयनावशयनानं दासाः। विन्म नैर्दिकर्ता स्वाधीनसत्तायांको यथा संध्यो विन्म स्वाधीनोष्ठितः। I. p. 63.
dwarfs, ill-formed, congenitally blind, impotent, cripples and those suffering from incurable diseases should become perpetual students, as they are not entitled to perform the Vedic rites and are not entitled to inherit. We saw above that Kumārilabhaṭṭa accepted this view (vide note 852a). But this does not mean that the blind and other partially defective people could not marry at all. They could marry if they had sufficient wealth. For example, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, though congenitally blind, married and had sons. Aparārka (p. 72), the Sm. C., the Madanāpāri-jāta (p. 111), the Par. M. (I. 2, p. 51 ff) and others say that perpetual student-hood is not restricted only to the blind and the cripple, but it may be resorted to by even able-bodied men at their choice (vide Manu II. 243–44).

Atri (VIII. 16) says that if a person undertakes to be a perpetual student, but fails from that ideal, there is no prāyaścitta for that lapse. Some interpret this as applying to one who becomes a saṁnyāśin and then gives up that mode of life; while others like the Saṁskāra-prakāśa (p. 564) interpret it as meaning that the prāyaścitta is double of what the upakurvaṇa would have to undergo.

Paṭitasāvitrīka (those for whom there has been no upanayana and therefore no instruction in Gāyatrī and who are therefore sinful and outside the pale of Aryan society). The gṛhyas and dharma sūtras are agreed that the time for upanayana has not passed till the 16th, 22nd and the 24th year in the case of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas respectively, but that after these years are past without upanayana taking place they become incompetent thereafter for learning the Śāvitrī (the sacred Gāyatrī verse). Vide Āśv. gr. I. 19, 5–7, Baud. gr. III. 13. 5–6, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 22, Vas. XI. 71–75, Manu II. 38–39, Yāj. I. 37–38. Such persons are then called paṭitasāvitrīka or sāvitripatīta and also vrātya (Manu II. 39 and Yāj. I. 38 call them so). These works also declare that the consequences of this are that no upanayana is to be thereafter performed for them, they are not to be taught the Veda, nor is any one to officiate at

913. अप्रथमे दैविकं वस्तु मध्यकर्ति विष्णूः। वासविद्वन्ति न परशुरमः वेय ववषयति
अश्वं भावं तद्र भावं तद्र 
अश्वं वर्षं VIII. 16; the śastraprabhāsā p. 564 ascribes a very similar verse to शाश्वसन.

914. आ नांसरशु माझद्रवद्यनाथिं तद्र। आ दैविकाशिविवेध आ एकालिकानी
अष्टं स्त्र मरिन्यस्मयकविं रचितम्। नैयायवधिवधिष्टमभावेनिवादेनवर्षनम्।
अभिषुः यु. I. 19, 5–7; सू. (reads विषय्यते वेय ववषय्यते); विषय्यते र्विषय्यते।
their sacrifices and there is to be no social intercourse with them (i.e., no marriage takes place with them). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 24–27) prescribes that after the 16th or 24th year, the person should undergo the rules of student-hood two months just as those who meant to study the three Vedas and whose upanayana has been performed observe (viz. begging for food &c.), then his upanayana should be performed, then for one year he should bathe (thrice if possible) every day and then he should be taught the Veda. This is somewhat easy penance. But others prescribe heavier penalties. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 76–79 and the Vaik. smārta II. 3 prescribe that one who is patitasāvitrīka should either perform the Uddālaka vrata or should take a bath along with the performer of an Aśvamedha sacrifice or should perform the Vṛtyastoma sacrifice. Both Vasiṣṭha915 and the Vaik. smārta explain that the Uddālaka vrata consists in subsisting on barley gruel for two months, for one month on milk, for half a month on āmikṣā (the whey that arises by pouring curds in hot milk), for eight days on ghee, for six days on alms obtained without begging, for three days on water and in observing a total fast for one whole day. The Sm. C. (I. p. 28) says that this vrata is so called because it was promulgated by Uddālaka. Manu XI. 191 and Viśṇu Dh. S. 54. 26 prescribe a mild pārśva-citta for patitasāvitrīkas, viz. three pārśapatiya916 penances; while Yāj. I. 38, Baud. gr. III. 13. 7, Veda-Vyāsa I. 21 and several others prescribe only the Vṛtyastoma for those who are patitasāvitrīkas. Viśvarūpa917 (on Yāj. III. 262) tries to reconcile these contradictions by saying that the easy penance prescribed by Manu applies to a brāhmaṇa whose upanayana is not performed before the 16th year, but whose upanayana is sought to be performed before the 22nd year, while the Vṛtyastoma is to be performed for him whose upanayana is not

915. पति:सावित्रीक: वहाकर्ष्ये चैत:। हृदुपानपि यावेन वर्तितः सांस्कृतिक: पश्चिमानां

916. For the 12 days and consists in taking only one morning meal for 3 days, only one meal in the evening for three days, subsisting on alms obtained without begging for three days and total fast for three days.

917. पति:सावित्रीिः प्रवर्तितः पाश्चिमाः। विश्वरूपः वेषम् नामादित्यानमहाकाव्याधृतिप्रवर्तितः पार्श्वेऽपि नोपनीयं तत्त्वते मानवादेन। विभ्रमण on Va. III. 262.
performed for forty-eight years from the first prescribed period (viz. 8th year, 11th year or 12th). The Mit. on Yaj. III. 262 also tries to introduce vyavasthā (order) in the contradictory dicta of the smṛtis. According to Gaut. 21. 11, Yaj. III. 234 and others vrāśya (being patitasāvitrīka) is only an upapātaka and Manu XI. 117 prescribes an easy penance for all upapātakas.

Āp. Dh. S. 918 says ‘if a person’s father and grandfather also had not the upanayana performed for them, then they (i.e. the three generations) are called slayers of brahma (holy prayers or lore); people should have no intercourse with them, should not take their food nor should enter into marriage alliances with them; but if they desire then penance should be administered to them’. It then prescribes that they have to perform the penance (observing rules of student-hood) one year for each generation (that had not the upanayana performed), then there is upanayana and then they have to bathe (thrice or once) every day for a year with certain mantras viz. the seven Pāvamānī verses beginning with ‘yad anti yacca dūrake’ (Rg. IX. 67. 21–27), with the Yajuṣ pavitra (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1=Rg. X. 17. 10), with the sāmapavītra and with the mantra called Āṅgirasa (Rg. IV. 40. 5) or one may pour water only with the vyāhṛtis 919. After all this is done, one may be taught the Veda. Āp. Dh. S. goes further (I. 1. 2. 5–10) and says ‘if the generations beginning with the great-grandfather had not the upanayana performed on them, they are called the cemetery and that if there is desire they may observe the rules of student-hood for twelve years, then

918. अष्ट पवित्र विऩमह इत्यथवेविव रसायां स भविष्यांतुम्। वेषां महायानन्दो भौजौ विभासीति जानितु। तेषां महामृगाय विनिष्ठिनस्त। कक्षा प्रस्तरिततिं अकुलों सब्य्करस्त। अथास्तंतन। तत वेष्याम्। सत संबंध प्रकाश धनं रसायनं द्राक्षारामस्तो। चुटक! समानी। वाताव्रहिनेषु वृक्षत दूरक मनात्मिकांश्वंकृत्य आध्यात्मिकांश्वं। दुहुस्हानिष्ठिनी। अष्ट पवित्रां। अथर्ववेद अधि। च। 1. 1. 28–I. 1. 2. 1–4। पावमानी। वर्णमाला।

919. Haradatta explains that one is to pour water over one’s head with the folded hands after repeating these mantras.

920. The generations will be four युक्ति, ध्वनि, विपरीत and the man himself.
upanayana may be performed and then the person so desirous of upanayana will have to bathe with the Pāvamāni and other verses (as stated above), then instruction in the duties of the householder may be imparted to him (i.e. to the 4th); he cannot, however, be taught the Veda; but his son may have the sāṃskāra performed as in the case of one who is himself patitasāvitrika and then his son will be one like other āryas*. Haradatta remarks that Āp. does not declare the prāyaścitta for him whose great-grandfather's father also was without upanayana, but that those who know the dharmasāstra should find out a proper prāyaścitta even in such cases. It is clear that Āp. contemplates cases where for three generations there had been no upanayana and the fourth generation also had not the upanayana performed at the right time and desired to have it performed for him. Pār. gives a brief rule 'when three generations are patitasāvitrika, their offspring (i.e. the fourth generation) is excluded from the sacrament of upanayana and he cannot be taught the Veda.' So Pār. is more restrictive than Āpastamba.

There is a famous historical example of the application of these rules. Gāgābhāṭṭa, a profound scholar of Benares, officiated at the coronation of Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire, in 1674 and performed the upanayana of Shivaji before the coronation, when Shivaji was about 45 years old and had even two sons. Some eminent scholars like the late Mr. Justice Telang have found fault with Gāgābhāṭṭa.

921. धृष्टविना मित्रप्रति समस्तत सत्त्वविवस्तु हृदयान्तपी मृत्युत्तेजा विना। अध्यात्मानुसंहारं आप्तमेत्तेजा। गृहेश्वरलक्षणमात्रेः।

922. बिस्वभुज पतिसाविनीक्रियान्यासंतुष्टवर्णाय नांगड़पाणि च। पार. सू. इ. 5.

923. In 'Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles' appended to the late Mr. Justice Ranade's 'Rise of the Maratha Power', Mr. Justice Telang observes (p. 286) 'they had also to strain a point, when as a preliminary to the installation, the thread ceremony essential for a kṣatriya was performed on Shivaji at a time when he was forty-six or fifty years old and had already had two sons, an irregularity which also was, we are told, expressly assented to by all the brāhmaṇas and pandits. How the brāhmaṇas and pandits worked their way to this decision, none of our authorities state'; and further on (p. 288) he casts undeserved aspersions 'taking the whole evidence together it looks like a case of a more or less deliberate manipulation of facts and religious rites in aid of a foregone conclusion adopted for a purely political purpose'. Mr. Justice Telang writes rather like a judge than like a scholar or a

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and the other brāhmaṇas of that time; but these scholars are wrong and Gāgabhaṭṭa had behind him weighty and ancient authorities like Āp., Pāraskara, Viśvarūpa and Haradatta as shown above.

The Vaik. sūtra (II. 37) adds that in the case of the man who is himself patitasāvitrīka the sanśkaras (from Garbhādbhāna) have to be again performed (with Vedic mantras) and then the upanayana is performed.

One very important question that exercised the minds of some writers in medieval times was whether ksatriyas and vaisyās existed in the kāl age. In some of the purāṇas it is said in a prophetic vein that Mahāpadma Nanda will destroy the ksatriyas and thereafter rulers will be of the śūdra caste. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 23. 4-5 says 'Mahāpadma Nanda, the son of Mahānandi, born of a śūdra woman would be extremely greedy (of power) and will destroy the whole ksatriya race as if he were another Paraśurāma; thereafter śūdras will be kings'. The Matsya 272. 18-19 and the Bhāgavata-purāṇa XII. 1. 6-9 declare the same prophecies. The Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 24. 44 remarks that Devāpi, descendant of Puru, and Manu, descendant of Ikṣvāku, stay in

(Continued from last page)

historian. The judge has to give a decision on the evidence adduced by the parties before him; it is no part of his business to collect evidence for himself. But the role of a historian is entirely different. He must not only try to read all evidence available till the time he writes but he must himself ferret out all possible evidence and make searches in places where evidence is likely to be found. Above all he must be cautious in his condemnations of persons long dead on the strength of the meagre evidence read by him. Mr. Telang wrote the paper above referred to in 1892, but long before that Pāraskara (in 1886) and Āpastamba (in 1885) had been translated and published in 'the Sacred Books of the East series.' But he, though a great judge and also a great Sanskrit scholar, nowhere shows that he cared to see whether śastric rules allowed the upanayana of a man himself at any age whatever (after some penance). If he had seen those rules he would not have unjustly taken to task pandits that flourished two hundred years before him and attributed irregular motives to them. It does not appear that he made any search in the archives of the Udaipur Durbar to see how Shivaji traced his descent from the Sisodia clan, nor does it appear that he even went to Mudhol and other places in Maharashtra where ancient Maratha families have been holding sway for centuries. The papers recently published from the records of the Mudhol State amply establish Shivaji’s claim to a Rajput lineage.
Kalāpagrama, are endowed with great yogic powers, will revive the ksatriya race when the kṛta age will start again after the present kali age comes to an end and that some ksatriyas exist on the earth like seed even in the kali age. Vāyu (vol. I. 32. 39-40), Matsya (273. 56-58) have similar verses. Relying on such passages some medieval writers stated that there were no ksatriyas in their times. The Sudhātattva of Raghunandana (p. 268) after quoting the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 23. 4 and Manu X. 43 declares that ksatriyas existed till Mahānandī, that the so-called ksatriyas of his day were śūdras and that similarly there were no vaisāyas also. In the Śūdra-Kamalakara occurs this verse 'The varṇas are brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas, vaisāyas and śūdras, the first three being twice-born; all these exist in the several yugas; but in the kali age only the first and the last remain'. Nāgeśabhaṭṭa (first half of 18th century) in his Vṛatātprāyaścittanirṇaya (Chaukhamba Series) examines all the relevant Purāṇa passages and states as his conclusion that real ksatriyas do not exist and so those, in whose families no upanayana had been performed for ten or twenty generations, are not ksatriyas even though they rule over kingdoms and no upanayana can be performed for such kings. It must be stated that such views, though held by some rigidly orthodox writers of extreme views, were not shared by most writers. All the smṛitis speak of the duties of the four varṇas even in the kali age. Parāśara-smṛti which is said to be the smṛti par excellence for the kali age (as stated in I. 24) does so. Almost all nibanda-kāras (authors of digests and commentaries) discuss the privileges and duties of all varṇas. The author of the Mitākṣara, who is rightly described as the best of all nibanda-kāras, nowhere says that ksatriyas do not exist in the kali age. Numerous kings claimed to be descended from the Sun and the Moon. Hemādri in his Caturvargacintāmani states that his patron was a scion of Somavārīśa (vide H. Dh. vol. I. p. 356 for quotations). The princes of Rajputana and Central India claimed to have sprung from the Agnikūḍa on Mount Abu, viz. of the

four clans of Choban, Parmar (or Paramāra), Solanki (or Cālukya), Pañdhār (or Prathiṇāra). Vide Tod’s Rajasthan (Madras ed. of 1873) vol. I chap. VII pp. 82 ff. This theory of the Agnikulas is at least as old as 1000 A.D., since it is referred to in several inscriptions of the 11th century A.D. Vide the Vasantagadh Inscription of Paramāra Purṇapāla dated saṁ. 1099 (1042-43 A.D.) in E. I. vol. IX p. 10 and the inscription of Cāmuṇḍarāja dated saṁ. 1136 (1079-1080 A.D.) in E. I. vol. XIV. p. 295.

This question is now largely of academic interest. Whether a person is a śūdra or a member of the regenerate classes assumes great importance in adoption, inheritance and succession. Therefore the question, whether kṣatriyas exist in modern times, came before the British Indian courts over a hundred years ago. In Chouturya Run Murđun Syn v. Sahub Purhulad Syn 7 Moore’s Indian Appeals 18 this question was argued and the Privy Council citing the authorities on both sides set the question at rest by remarking (p. 46) ‘Their Lordships have nevertheless no doubt that the existence of the Khatri caste as one of the regenerate tribes is fully recognised throughout India and also that Rajputs in central India......are considered to be of that class......The courts in all cases assume that the four great classes remain’. The only question that is now permissible is whether a particular caste belongs to the regenerate classes or to the śūdra class. On this the courts often differ. Vide p. 75 under Kāyastha. In Maharaja of Kolhapur v. Sundaram Ayyar 48 Mad. 1 it was held (in an exhaustive judgment extending over 229 pages) that the Tanjore Maratha princes descended from Venkaji, the step-brother of the founder of the Maratha Empire, were śūdras and not kṣatriyas. The learned judges (at p. 51) quote Telang’s dictum criticized by me above (note 923), but refrain from expressing any decided opinion about the claim of Shivaji to be of kṣatriya descent. In Subrao v Radha 52 Bom. 497 it was held after a careful examination of authorities that the Marathas of Mahārāṣṭra are sub-divided into three groups, viz. (1) the five families, (2) the ninety-six families and (3) the rest and that the first two groups are kṣatriyas. It was further held that the tests to be applied in determining the class (varṇa) of a particular caste are three viz. the consciousness of the caste itself, the acceptance of that consciousness by other castes, and lastly its customs and usages.

We have already seen (in note 118) how even in the Vedic age there were non-Aryan tribes like the Kiritas, Andhras, Pulin-
das, Mūtabas, that were described as dasus by the Ait. Br. One word that is of striking importance is mleccha. The Śat. Br. (III. 2. 1. 23-24, S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 32) states that the asuras were defeated because they spoke an incorrect and corrupt dialect and that a brāhmaṇa should not, therefore, utter such a corrupt speech and so should not become a mleccha and an asura. Gaut. IX. 17 enjoins that one should not speak with mlecchas, impure or irreligious persons and Haradatta explains that mlecchas are the inhabitants of Ceylon and similar countries where there is no system of varṇas and āśramas. Viśṇu Dh. S. 64. 15 is to the same effect. Viśṇu Dh. S. 84. 1-2 and Śaṅkha 14. 30 prescribe that one should not perform śrāddha in a mleccha country nor should one visit such a country (except on a pilgrimage). Viśṇu Dh. S. 84. 4 states that that country where the system of the four varṇas is not in vogue is mleccha territory and Āryāvarta is beyond it, while Manu II. 23 states that the mleccha country is beyond Āryāvarta which land is fit for sacrifices and in which the black deer wanders naturally. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 15 quotes Bharadvāja to the effect ‘one should not study the language of the mlecchas, for it is declared (in the Brāhmaṇas) that a corrupt word is indeed mleccha’. Vas. Dh. S. VI. 41 also enjoins that one should not learn the mleccha dialect. Manu X. 43-44 knew that many of the tribes called Pundrakas, Yavanas, Sakas spoke mleccha languages and also the language of the Āryas (mlecchavāca-cāryavācaḥ sarve te dasyavah smṛtaḥ). In Parāśara IX. 36 mlecchas are referred to as eaters of cow’s flesh. That the mlecchas had affected the Sanskrit language by lending to it certain words follows from the discussion in Jaimini I. 3. 10 whether words like pīka (a cuckoo), nema (half), sata (a wooden vessel), tāmarasa (a red lotus) are to be understood in the sense in which mlecchas use them or certain meanings are to be assigned to them by deriving them from some root according to the rules of grammar, Nirukta and Nighantu and Jaimini’s conclusion is that they are to be understood in the same sense in which mlecchas employ them. Pāṇini derives the word yavanānī
and Patañjali speaks of the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavana by whom scholars generally understand Menander. Aśoka in his Rock Edict No. 13 refers to Yona kings and it appears from his reference that brāhmaṇas and śramaṇas were not found in the Yona country. A Yavanarāja Tūsāspa is mentioned as the governor of Kathiawar under Aśoka in the inscription of Rudradāman at Junagadh (E. I. vol. VIII at p. 43). In the Prakrit Inscriptions the Yavanas are referred to as Yavana (vide E. I. vol. VII. pp. 53–55 at Karle No. 7 and 10) or Yona or Yonaka (E. I. VIII. 90 Nasik cave No. 18). In Kharavela's inscription also the form is Yavana (E. I. 20 p. 79). In the Mahābhārata the words Yavana and Śaka occur very frequently. Vide notes above on these words. In the Dronaparva 119. 45–46 Yavana, Kamboja, Śaka, Śabara, Kṛāta and Barbarā are mentioned as one group fighting against Sātyaki. In Drona 119. 47–48 they are referred to as dasyus and as having long and flowing beards. In the Sūtāparva 22. 11 Jayadratha is said to have had Kamboja and Yavana women in his harem. The word Yavana is generally taken as referring to the Greeks. But there are dissenting voices also. Dr. Otto Stein in 'Indian Culture' denies that the word ever means Greeks and Dr. Tarn in his recent work on 'Greeks in Bactria and India' p. 254 argues that the Yavanas in the Nasik inscriptions were not Greeks but only Indian citizens of a Greek polis. The Śāntiparva 65. 17–22 prescribes for Yavanas, Śakas and similar tribes only the duties of obedience to parents and attendance on teachers and tending cattle and looking after agriculture, dedication of wells and making gifts to dvijas, aṅghras, satya, absence of fury, śauca, adroha, maintenance of wife and child. Atri VII. 2 puts the receiving of gifts from or eating the food of or having sexual intercourse with the women of Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Bāhlikas, Khaṇas, Dravidas on the same level with doing the same things with reference to nātā, nartaka, śvapāka &c. Aparāraka p. 923 quotes Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya to the effect that the touch of Mlechcha is on the same level with that of cāṇḍāla, Bhilla and Pārāśika.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in a very learned and scholarly paper in Indian Antiquary vol. 40 pp. 7–37 endeavours to establish that many non-Aryan persons belonging to tribes like the Yavanas, the Śakas became absorbed in the general mass of Hindu society, that even several of the princely families such as those of the Guhilot were not of pure Aryan descent and that the pride of
the purity of caste shown by many castes is not justified by history. He, therefore, appeals to modern Indians to forget all caste-exclusiveness and pride. But this appeal will be in vain. Merely showing that non-Aryan elements were absorbed in the body of the Aryan community several thousands or hundreds of years ago will not probably lessen that pride. Such people may retort that, whatever may have happened centuries ago, for about a thousand years there has been no such fusion. Therefore the appeal should rather be based on the futility of caste exclusiveness in the 20th century when owing to the exigencies of the times any one can pursue any occupation, when a sense of one nation and one people is absolutely necessary for securing to Indians their proper place in the society of nations.

The question of the re-conversion or re-entry of people converted to other faiths willingly or against their wishes will be briefly dealt with immediately below.

A few words may first be said about the Vṛtyastoma. The Tāndya-Mahābrāhmaṇa (or the Paṅca-viṁśa, as it is called from the number of Adhyāyas) describes four vṛtyastomas in chap. 17. 1-4 (khaṇḍas). The meaning of many words and passages in that chapter of the brāhmaṇa is uncertain and somewhat cryptic. The four vṛtyastomas were ekāhas (i.e. sacrifices taking one day only). Tāndya 17. 1. 1 begins with the story that when the gods went to the heavenly world some dependents of theirs who lived the vṛtya life were left behind on the earth. Then through the favour of the gods the dependents got at the hands of Maruts the Śoḍaśastoma (containing 16 stotras) and the metre (viz. anuṣṭubh) and then the dependents secured heaven. The Śoḍaśastoma is employed in each of the four vṛtyastomas, the first of which (17. 1) is meant for all vṛtyas, the 2nd is meant for those who are abhiṣasta (who are wicked or guilty of heavy sins and so censured) and lead a vṛtya life, the third for those who are youngest and lead a vṛtya life, and the fourth who are very old and yet lead a vṛtya life. Some of the passages convey a tolerably clear idea of what the vṛtyas were like. Those who lead the vṛtya life are base and are reduced to a baser state, since they do not observe student-hood (brahma-caryā) nor do they till the soil nor engage in trade. It is by the Śoḍaśastoma that they

924. श्रीना घरे रहने से बाल्यं मनस्तिं व हि मन्दवयं रमणि न जनि न बर्बिकां वर्णों घरों न तर्वति: समाभुषिति हि तत्स्था: 17. 1. 2.
can attain this (superior status). This shows that the vrātyas did not perform upanayana and did not study the Veda, nor did they do even what vaśyas do. Another passage says ‘those swallow poison who eat food of the common people as food fit for brāhmaṇas, who call good words bad, who strike with a stick him who does not deserve to be beaten (or punished), who, though not initiated, speak the speech of the initiated. The Ṣoḍaṣaṣṭoma has the power to remove the guilt of these. That (in this rite) there are four Ṣoḍaṣaṣṭomas, thereby they are freed from guilt.’\textsuperscript{925} This passage indicates that the vrātyas spoke the same language as the orthodox people, but were rough in their ways and lax as regards the food they partook of. They were thus outside the pale of orthodox Aryan society and they were brought within it by the Vṛātyastoma described in the Tāṇḍyāya. The origin of the word vrātya is lost in the mists of antiquity. The 15th Kāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda glorifies the vrātya and identifies him with the Creator and Supreme Being. The word is probably derived from vrāta (group) and means ‘he who belongs to or moves in a group.’ It is possible to derive the word from vṛata. Originally vrātyas appear to have been groups of people who spoke the same language as orthodox āryas, but did not follow their discipline and habits. The word vṛata occurs in Rg. I. 163. 8, III. 26. 6, V. 53. 11. Sahāya also perceived the difficulty raised by the glorification of the vrātya in the Atharvaveda 15. 1. 1 and his note is interesting, since he says that the description does not apply to all vrātyas, but only to some very powerful, universally respected and holy vrātya who was, however, not in the good books of the brāhmaṇas that were solely devoted to their own rites and sacrifices. Kātyāyanasrauta XXII. 4. 1–28 and Āp. Śrāuta XXII. 5. 4–14 also deal with Vṛātyastoma. Kātyāyana describes the four vṛātyastomās and adds \textsuperscript{926} ‘by performing the vṛātyastoma sacrifice, they should cease to be vṛātyas and become eligible for social intercourse with the orthodox āryas.’ The Pār. gt. II. 5 quotes the last sūtra of Kātyāyana with the

\textsuperscript{925} मासिद्वा वा ज्ञवे ये ब्राह्मण जन्मावस्थांतर्गतं व्रतमण्डलमूलकर्त्वे व्रतमण्डलमूलकर्तव्यत्र | निधि कुञ्जन मित्रवर्धितां वाद्यरघुणमथिक्षत्वेऽब्रह्मस्ति | ज्ञानमभविष्यते।\textsuperscript{926} सा तदनेन ब्राह्मणोपनिषधनेष्व | एवं व्रतसम्मति अवस्थिति मार्गात्मको चतुर्विधाः | व्रतसम्मति अवस्थिति ब्रह्मस्ति।
remark "for such persons he who desires to have the sacrament (samskāra of upanayana) performed on them should perform the sacrifice of vrātyastoma and then may indeed study the Veda for a text says 'they become eligible for (social) intercourse'."

In the Vṛātyatā-suddhisamgraha provision is made for the purification of vrāyas even after twelve generations (vide pp. 7 and 22-24) and that work adds (p. 42) that the Vṛātyastoma like the penance for an avakṛśin is to be performed in the ordinary fire (laukika āgni). It also suggests easy substitutes for the lengthy and trying penance of twelve years prescribed by Āp.

Hinduism has not been an avowedly proselytizing religion. In theory it could not be so. For about two thousand years the caste system has reigned supreme and no one can in theory be admitted to the Hindu fold who is not born in it. A Hindu may lose caste, be excommunicated and driven out of the fold of Hinduism, if he be guilty of very serious lapses and refuses to undergo the prāyaścittas prescribed by the sūtras. Gaut. 20. 15 states that he who was guilty of a misdeed for which death was prescribed as a penance became purified only by dying. But Gaut. himself prescribed death (21. 7) as penance only for the sins of brāhmaṇa-murder, drinking spiritual liquor and incest. Even as regards these three, lesser penances were prescribed by some sūtras as alternatives (e.g. vide Manu XI. 72, 74-8, 92, 108). When the sinner performed the prāyaścitta prescribed by the sāstras, he was to be welcomed by his relatives, who took a bath along with him in a holy river or the like and threw therein an unused jar filled with water; they were not to find fault with him and were to completely associate with him in all ways (Manu XI. 186-187, Yāj. III. 295, Vas. 15, 20, Gaut. 20. 10-14). Vas. 15. 17 says that those who were patita were to be re-admitted to all social
intercourse when they performed the prescribed penances
(paitānām tu caritavrataścānām pratyuddhāraḥ). But if the
sinner refused to undergo the prescribed prāyaścitta, then a
peculiar procedure called ghaṭasphota (breaking a jar) was
prescribed. In such a case the sinner’s relatives (sapindas)
made a slave girl whose face was turned to the south thrust
aside with her foot an earthen jar full of water so that all water
flowed out of it, then the relatives were to observe mourning
for one day and night (as he was deemed to be dead to them)
and from that day they were to stop speaking or sitting with
him, and all other social intercourse and he was to be given no
inheritance (vide Manu XI. 183–185, Yāj. III. 294, Gaut. 20.
2–7). In this way the obstinate sinner went out of the Hindu
fold. The ancient smṛtis do not expressly prescribe any rites
for bringing into the brahmanic or Hindu fold a person who
or whose ancestors did not belong to it. But as Hinduism has
been extremely tolerant (barring a few exceptional instances)
it had a wonderful power of quiet and unobtrusive absorption.
If a person, though of foreign ancestry, conformed to Hindu
social usages in outward behaviour, in course of time his
descendants became absorbed into the vast Hindu community.

928a. A few striking instances of religious tolerance among kings
and common people may be cited with advantage. The Pala king Mahipāla I
granted a village to a brāhmaṇa of the Vaiśasaneśākha in honour of
Lord Buddhā (E. I. vol. 14 p. 324). Similarly the king Subhakaradeva
who was a great devotee of Buddhā (paramasangata) granted two villages
to 200 brāhmaṇas (Neulpur grant in E. I. vol. 15 p. 1); vide also E. I.
vol. 15 p. 293. The famous Emperor Harṣa, whose father was a great
devotee of the Sun, and who was himself a great devotee of Śiva, pays
the highest honour to his elder brother Rājaśvārdhāna who was a very
devout Buddhist (paramasangata). Vide the Madhuban copperplate
makes large gifts to brāhmaṇas as well as to communities of Buddhist
monks (vide Nasik Inscriptions No. 10 and No. 12 in E.I. vol. VIII p. 73
and p. 82). The Valabhi king Guhasena who was himself a Māheśvara
(a Śiva) made a grant of four villages to a bhikṣu-sāṅgha. From the
Paharpur plate of the Gupta year 159 (478–79 A. D.) it appears that a
brāhmaṇa and his wife deposited three dināras with a city council for
the maintenance of the worship of arhats at a vihāra (E. I. Vol. XX. p.
59). The Mulgund inscription of the time of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. (of
902–3 A. D.) shows that to a temple of Jina at Mulgund a field was given
by a brāhmaṇa of the Bellā family (E. I. vol. XIII. p. 190). Vide
Rice’s ‘Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions’ pp. 113 and 207 for an
account how a Vijayanēgar king settled the dispute between Jainas
and Śrīvaiśīvavas in 1368 A. D.
This process has gone on for at least two thousand years. The beginnings of it are found in the Śāntiparva chap. 65 where Indra tells the Emperor Māndhātṛ to bring all foreign people like the Yavanas under brahmanical influence. The Besnagar column inscription shows that the Yona (yavana) Heliadora (Heliodorus) son of Diya (Dion) was a bhāgavata (devotee of Vāsudeva). Vide J. R. A. S. for 1909 pp. 1053 and 1087 and J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 23 p. 104. In the caves at Nasik, Karle and other places many of the donors are said to have been yavanas (vide E. I. vol. VII, pp. 53–54, 55, E. I. vol. VIII, p. 90, E. I. vol. XVIII, p. 325). Several inscriptions state that Indian kings married Hūṇa princesses, e.g. Allata of the Guhila dynasty married a Hūṇa princess named Hariyadevi (I. A. vol. 39 p. 191), king Yaśaśkarṇadeva of the Kalacuri dynasty is said to have been the son of Karṇadeva and Āvalladevi, a Hūṇa princess. These and similar examples show that persons of foreign descent and their children were absorbed into the Hindu community from time to time. This absorption is illustrated in modern times by the case of Faniendra Deb v. Rajeshwar (L. R. 12 I. A. 72) in which it was found that a family in Kooch Behar not originally Hindu had adopted certain Hindu usages and it was held that it had not taken over the practice of adoption. How Hindu customs and incidents persist even after conversion to Islam is strikingly shown by the Khojas and Kutchi Memons of Bombay Presidency, who though made converts to Islam several centuries ago, were held by the courts in India to have retained the ancient Hindu Law of succession and inheritance.928b

The problem of taking back into the Hindu fold persons who were forcibly converted to other faiths has engaged the attention of Sṛṅtis. Moslems first attacked India in the 8th century from the direction of the province of Sindh. This invasion led to the enslavement and forcible conversion of many people. It appears that Devala and other Sṛṅtikārās tackled with the problem of taking back such people. The Devala Sṛṅti opens with a question by the sages put to Devala who was sitting on the banks of the Sindhu at ease as to how

928b The Cutchi Memons Act (XLVI of 1920) as amended by Act XXIV of 1923 now enables Cutchi Memons by observing certain formalities prescribed by the Act to become free from the application of Hindu Law. By Act XXVI of 1937 it is declared that the personal law will apply to all Muslims instead of customary law on going through certain procedure prescribed by the Act.
brâhmanas and members of the other varnas when carried off by Mlecchas were to be purified and restored to caste. The following verses of the Devala-smṛti are very instructive on this point. Verses 7-10 declare that when a brāhmana is carried off by Mlecchas and he eats or drinks forbidden food or drink or has sexual intercourse with women he should not have approached, he becomes purified by doing the penance of cāndrāyana and parāka, that a ksatriya becomes pure by undergoing parāka and pādakroccha, a vaishya by half of parāka and a śudra by the penance of parāka for five days. Then verses 17-22 are most important. 'When persons are forcibly made slaves by Mlecchas, cāndalas and robbers, are compelled to do dirty acts, such as killing cows and other animals or sweeping the leavings of the food (of Mlecchas) or eating the leavings of the food of Mlecchas or partaking of the flesh of asses, camels and village pigs, or having intercourse with their women, or are forced to dine with them, then the penance for purifying a dvijāti that has stayed for a month in this way is prājapatyā, for one who had consecrated Vedic fires (and stayed one month or less) it is cāndrāyana or parāka; for one who stays a year (with Mlecchas in this condition of things) it is both cāndrāyana and parāka; a śudra who stays (in this condition) for a month becomes pure by krocchrāpāda; a śudra who stays a year should drink yāvaka for half a month. The appropriate prāyaścittas should be determined by learned brāhmanas when a person has stayed (in the above circumstances among Mlecchas) for over a year; in four years the person (who stays in the above circumstances among Mlecchas) is reduced to their condition (i.e., becomes a mleccha and there

928 C. नागात्तित्राणी व अ ते स्त्रे जाताक्षरितपुस्तकानि। अन्यत्र ताहिता कर्म पवालिपति
माणिक्यमस्य। तेन्द्रहर्षाद्वया राजस्मि भवेत्। स्वाजीविलुभऽर्धाणानानन्तममिथ च
संवेद्या। तदावत च वध वृक्षादृश्यं सह भवेत्। सामान्यित्निदयानां तु सामान्यम

विषयं नियोगित्राणी। अन्यत्र जात्तित्राणी। पञ्चकल्पवर्णमेवेत्। वाक्यमहत्त्र स्व अनुस्मरणीर

विनायकं। संवेद्यं गुणाद्वयं विनतं। सामान्यित्निदयानां वृक्षादृश्यं निदयानां। संवेद्यं अनुस्मरणित्वा विनायकं।।

17-22. These six verses are quoted as अलंकृतस्य by the भिन्न on p. III, 290 and by अनन्त p. 1200 (who reads निमित्त संवेद्यावेत् in v. 22). These six verses are quoted as रुपस्य in the अवधिविकाशितक of तुलसाद्वितीय (Jiv. ed.) p. 455. संवेद्यावेत् on मूः II, 180 appears to regard them as Devala’s as he says अलंकृतविभूति द्वारा पूर्वी स्त्रे जाताक्षरितपुस्तकादिविलुभऽर्धाणानानन्तममिथें।

The first verse occurs in रुपस्य V. 5 (Anan. ed.) after which we read ममिथाय अ वृक्षादृश्यं विनायकं वा निदयानां। So these verses are certainly older than 1000 A.D.
is no prāyaścitta for him"). The Prāyaścittaviveka states that after four years death is the only purifier for him.\footnote{228d. भस्माभिभवति वस्त्रमवस्त्रम सर्वमात्रमात्रामात्राया मात्रिमित्रसुदृढः. तद्यथ यस्मात्वर्म विरितवर्म मात्रिमित्रसामायेन सर्वमात्र मात्रिमित्रस्यिक प. 456.}

Three more verses of Devala (53-55) also deserve consideration: One who was forcibly seized by Mlecchas for five, six or seven years or from ten to twenty years, is purified by undergoing two Prājāpatyas. Beyond this there is no purification; these penances are meant only for him who has simply stayed among Mlecchas. He who had stayed with Mlecchas from five to twenty years is purified by undergoing two Cāndrayānas. These verses are apparently inconsistent with the verses cited above (17-22), but they most probably mean this that if a man only stayed among Mlecchas for 5 to 20 years, but has not done any of the forbidden things such as eating ucchīṣṭa or the flesh of asses &c., then he can be taken back even after so many years. This would be an exception to the rule contained in verse 22. There is no reason why the reasoning of Devala should not be extended to persons who have been in the condition stated in verses 17-22 for over four years. In the Pañcadasī (Trīpadipa v. 239) we have the following very significant passage:\footnote{228. जसस्य दीपिका, जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य स्मितानि जसस्य नीप साधिते: सर्वशास्त्र: सर्वसाधी: (तुलिपितां v. 259).}

This establishes that the great Vidyārānya, who after Śāṅkara-cārya, is the greatest figure among ācāryas, approved of the view that a brāhmaṇa even though enslaved by Mlecchas could be restored to his original status.

Under Shivaji and the Peshwas it appears that several persons that had been forcibly made Moslems were restored to caste after undergoing prāyaścitta (vide notes 2321-2 below for examples). But this was done in only a few instances.

In modern times there is a movement among Hindus called buddhi or patitaparāvartana (purification or bringing back into the Hindu fold those who had fallen away from it). In a very few cases persons born in western countries have been taken into the Hindu fold by the performance of vrātyastoma.
and other rites. But such instances are very rare and are not yet supported by the vast majority of Hindus. It has been shown above that for taking back a man who was once a Hindu but had left Hinduism, there is smṛti authority in Devala and others and the authority of the Nibandhakāras.

Punarupanayana (performing upanayana again).

In certain cases an upanayana has to be performed again. The Āṣv. gr. (I. 22. 22-26) prescribes that in punarupanayana the cutting of the hair and production of intelligence (medhājanana) are optional, there are no rules about paridāna (giving in charge of deities) and about the time (i.e. it may be performed at any time and no paridāna is necessary) and instead of the usual Gāyatrī, he should recite ‘tāt savitur vṛtamahē’ (Ṛg. V. 82. 1.). When a person in whose family one Veda is studied (e.g. the Ṛgveda) wants to study another Veda (e.g. Yajurveda), he had to undergo a fresh upanayana. The Āṣv. gr. sūtra is interpreted in this way by some. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 10 says that as the Śāvitrī (i.e. Gāyatrī, Ṛg. III. 62. 10) is recited for all Vedas according to the Brāhmaṇa passage quoted by Āp. one upanayana is sufficient for the study of the three Vedas in succession, but if a person wants to study the Atharvaveda after studying another Veda, then a fresh upanayana is necessary. This is one kind of punarupanayana. Another kind of punarupanayana takes place when in the first upanayana the principal rite viz. placing his hands on the boy’s shoulders and bringing the student near the teacher is left off through oversight or the first upanayana takes place in a season other than vasanta (spring) or in the dark half of a month or on a day which was anadhyāya (unfit for Vedic study) or on a galagraha (vide note 642 above) or in the latter part of the day. A third kind of punarupanayana is one which is by way of prāyaścitta for certain sins or lapses from good conduct.

Gaut. 23. 2-5

929. अद्वेगतेषस्य ज्ञातदान वेदस्य वेदाङ्गानि ज्ञातार्थं सदान्तो न विसंसा। अनिश्चल्यमिति मम अत्सन्नया।

930. अद्वेगस्य वेदान्तार्थं सन्तैत्रिये ज्ञातानि। अद्वेगतेषां ज्ञातायस्य वेदान्तार्थं। अनिश्चल्यमिति मम अत्सन्नया।

931. The संस्कारार्थम (p. 536 with Marathi tr.) युगसंस्कार युगपथे मात्रवर्गहेतु ते विनिवधस्य। सुद्धार्थात्मकतानि मद्ययमाणार्थे विनिवधस्य। नागिर्निवधितेषां ज्ञातार्थं सन्तैत्रिये ज्ञातानि। अद्वेगस्य वेदान्तार्थं ज्ञातानि। अद्वेगस्य वेदान्तार्थं ज्ञातानि।
prescribes the penance called Taptakrccha and punarupanayana for one guilty of drinking wine (surā) in ignorance or partaking of human urine, faeces and semen and the flesh of wild beasts, camels, asses, village cocks, and village hogs. Vas. (23. 30) also has a similar sūtra. Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 25 quotes a verse 'if a person belonging to the three varnas unknowingly drinks surā (wine) or faeces, he has to undergo punarupanayana' and says (II. 1. 29) that if a brāhmaṇa carries a corpse (other than that of his parents or teacher) he has to undergo punarupanayana. Manu V. 91 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 86 prescribe the same. In the Baud, gr. paribhāṣāsūtra (I. 12. 4–6) it is said that on partaking of honey, or flesh, śrāddha food or food from those in impurity on birth, or the milk of a cow before the lapse of ten days or the milk of a sandhinī cow, mushrooms or the resin exuded from trees, vilayana (a product of milk?), the food prepared for a number of people in common or the food of prostitutes, a man has to undergo punarupanayana and, according to some, also if he goes to a forbidden country, viz. Saurāṣṭra (Kathiswar), Sindhu, and Sauvira (Sind and the territory to its south and east), Avanti (Ujjain), Daksināpatha (Deccan), a brāhmaṇa has to undergo punarupanayana (except when he goes on a pilgrimage). It then sets out the procedure (such as a homa, putting a fuel stick of palāsa on the fire and oblations of cooked food and ājya) and adds that in punarupanayana shaving, daksinā, girdle, staff, deer-skin, begging for food and vratas do not take place.

The Vaik. smārta (VI. 9–10) contains similar rules for punarupanayana. Aparārka (p. 1160) quotes Paithīnasi to the effect that if a grown-up person drinks the milk of sheep or of a she-ass, she-camel or of a woman, he has to undergo punarupanayana and also the penance called prajāpatya.

Anadhyāya:—(cessation from Vedic study; holiday).

932. अपरार्क (p. 1160) quotes Paithīnasi to the effect that if a grown-up person drinks the milk of sheep or of a she-ass, she-camel or of a woman, he has to undergo punarupanayana and also the penance called prajāpatya.

933. अपरार्क (p. 1160) quotes Paithīnasi to the effect that if a grown-up person drinks the milk of sheep or of a she-ass, she-camel or of a woman, he has to undergo punarupanayana and also the penance called prajāpatya.
It appears that from very early times Vedic studies were stopped on various grounds. The Tai. Ār. II. 15 has a very important statement on this subject. 'Indeed as to this yajña (brahmâyajña) there are two cases in which the study of the Veda ceases, namely, when the man himself is impure or when the place is impure'. The Sat. Br. has a passage in which several occasions when Vedic study was ordinarily stopped are mentioned and it is added that those occasions do not prevent the repetition of Vedic texts as Brahmâyajña. 'Therefore one knowing this should certainly repeat the Veda as Brahmâyajña, when the wind blows, when lightning flashes, when it thunders or when there is a fall of thunderbolt, in order that vasaṭkāras may not be fruitless'. The Âp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 3.) quotes the Vâjasaneyi Brâhmaṇa (the Śatapatha) to the effect that 'Vedic study is Brahmâyajña; when it thunders, when lightning flashes, when there is a fall of the thunderbolt, when the wind blows, these are its vasaṭkāras; therefore when... fruitless'. The Ait. Ār. (V. 3. 3) notes that if there be rain when it is not the season of rainfall, he should make a break by observing cessation of Vedic study for three nights.

The subject of anadhyâya is discussed in the grhyas and dharmaśtras and in almost all smṛtis. It is not possible to give for want of space the differences between the several works. Among sūtras and smṛtis the most exhaustive and lengthy treatment is found in Âp. Dh. S. (I. 3. 9. 4. to I. 3. 11), Gaut. 16. 5-19, Sânkhâyana gr. IV. 7 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp. 115-118), Manu IV. 102-138, Yāj. I. 144-151. The subject is also treated

934. तथ्य वा एवं प्रसं ग्रहपाप्यो द्रवयं विषयेशसि । तै. आ. II. 15. This is quoted by Âpr. यू. III. 4. 7 'विषयाति तत्र द्रवयपाप्यो विषयेनिः । आ. II. 15. This is quoted by Âpr. यू. III. 4. 7 'विषयाति तत्र द्रवयपाप्यो विषयेनिः । अमनुवादिते। रामसूति विषयेने सतानवरि अवस्तुविषयाने सतानवरि अवस्तुविषयाने सतानवरि अवस्तुविषयाने सतानवरि अवस्तुविषयाने सतानवरि अवस्तुविषयाने सतानवरि अवस्तुविषयाने सतानवरि अवस्तुविषयाने सतानवरि अवस्तुविषयाने सतानवरि अवस्तुविषयाने सतानवरि अवस्तुविषयाने सतानवरि अवस्तुविषयाने सतानवरि

935. ततथ्य वा प्रत्येका शास्त्रपाप्यो चलनवरि अवस्तुविषयाधिकारिः। Manu IV. 127 conveys the same sense in almost the same words. A man may be impure on account of births or deaths in his family or on account of mala (dirt on his body) and a place may be so because it is in contact with some impure thing (such as विद्वित).

936. ततथ्य वा प्रत्येका शास्त्रपाप्यो चलनवरि अवस्तुविषयाधिकारिः। The words ततानि वे शास्त्रपाप्यो चलनवरि अवस्तुविषयाधिकारिः are quoted by Manu on य. I. 145.

937. ततथ्य वा प्रत्येका शास्त्रपाप्यो चलनवरि अवस्तुविषयाधिकारिः। The word 'vsaṭ' is never uttered when making an offering to a deity. Thunder and lightning are said to be the vasaṭkāras of brāhmaṇya. Just as when the word vsaṭ is uttered some offering follows, so, when it thunders some Vedic text by way of brāhmaṇya should be repeated.

937. अपि वा प्रत्येका शास्त्रपाप्यो चलनवरि अवस्तुविषयाधिकारिः।
at length in the Sm. C., Smṛtyarthasāra, the Saṁskāra kau-
stubha (pp. 564–570), the Saṁskāra-ratnamālā (pp. 327–339) and other Nibandha works. In the following an attempt is made to present a tolerably exhaustive list of anadhyāyas together with a few references to the original sources.

Among tithis the following are anadhyāyas. On the first, the 8th, the 14th, 15th tithis (Paurnamāśī and Amāvāsyā) there was to be cessation of Vedic Study for the whole day; vide Manu IV. 113–114, Yāj I. 146 (in both pratipad is not expressly mentioned) and Hārita. Patañjali in the Mahā-
bhāṣya (vol. II. p. 386) refers to anadhyāya on amāvāsyā and 14th tithi. There is a famous verse of the Rāmāyana 938 which shows that pratipad also was a holiday. Gaut. says that there was no holiday on the full moon days of the twelve months, but only on the full moon days of Āśādha, Kārtika and Phālguna. The Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 42–43 quotes a verse 939 ‘(Vedic study on) the eighth tithi kills the teacher, 14th kills the pupil, 15th kills learning’. Manu (IV. 114) has a similar verse. Aparārka 940 (p. 189) quotes from the Nṛsimhapurāṇa verses to the effect that there is to be no teaching (of the Veda) on Mahānavami (9th of Āsvina, bright half), on Bhaṇḍi (i.e. the tithi when the moon is in Bhaṇḍi nakṣatra after Bhadrapada full moon), Aṅgātṛtiyā (3rd of Vaiśākhā, bright half) and Ratnasaptami (7th of Māgha, bright half). Similarly there is to be anadhyāya on what are called Yugaṛdi and Manvantarāḍi tithis. Yugaṛdi tithis according to Viṣṇupurāṇa 941 and Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 425) are Vaiśākha-
sukla triyā, Kārtika sukla navami, Bhadrapada kṛṣṇa trayodaśī and Māgha Pūrṇimā (they are respectively the beginnings of the four yugas, kṛta, tretā, dvāpara and kali). The Sm. C. (I. p. 58) quotes the Nāradīyapurāṇa ‘on the day when uttaraśāṇa and daksīṇāyana first take place, on Viṣṇuva (the two

938. सा मन्नतीश्वर तन्त्री तिथियोगाय करिता। प्रतिपदां मम नाम मात्रै ।

939. अप्रार्कारति। हर्षपदी मामापरे हस्तिं सिंहं चतुरस्रीं। हस्तिं पदार्की

940. सुनिवासवा त। मन्नत्रद्वार भव्यमानी चरितमिते।

941. The verses on सुनिवासवा are निवासवा III. 14. 13. ff. The सव्यस्य

942. These occur in the Śukīṇī I. p. 59 for these verses.

According to some Māgha Amāvāsyā is करितमिते तिथिचि.
days in the year when the day and night are equal), on the
tithis when Viṣṇu sleeps and awakes from sleep (i.e. Āṣādha-
sukla-ekādaśi and Kārtika-sukla-ekādaśi), on Yugādi and
Manvādi tithis there is anadhyāya. The tithis on which the
fourteen manvantaras are supposed to begin are quoted
below. According to a purāṇa passage quoted in the Sm. C.
(I. p. 58) there is anadhyāya on Sopapadā tithis (viz.
Jyeṣṭha sukla 2, Āśvina sukla 10, and Māgha sukla 4 and 12).
Sometimes on the same day there are two tithis; hence the rule
laid down is that if on any day a particular tithi (which is
declared to be anadhyāya) is shown in the calendar as
extending for three muhūrtas at sunrise or at sunset, then the
whole of that day is anadhyāya.

Yāj. (I. 148–151) speaks of 37 tātakālika anadhyāyas (i.e.
where Veda study is suspended only as long as the occasion or
disturbance stated lasts). They are: when there is noise
created by a dog, jackal, ass, owl, singing of sūman, playing on
a flute and the cries of the distressed (these are 7); in the
vicinity or presence of impure things, of a corpse, or a śūdra or
antya (i.e. one of the untouchables), cemetery, a patita (one
guilty of mahāpātaka); when the place (of study) has become
impure or when the man himself is impure; when there is
continuous flashing of lightning or continuous peals of
thunder; while one’s hands are wet after taking one’s meals;
in the midst of water; at midnight; when a violent wind is
blowing; when there is a rainfall of dust, when the quarters
are lit up by sudden (and strange) lights; at the two twilights;
when there is fog; when there is a fright (caused by robbers &c.);
when one is running; when the smell of something rotten or
impure spreads; when a distinguished visitor comes to the
house; when one rides an ass, a camel, a conveyance (like a
chariot), an elephant, a horse, a boat, or climbs a tree or is in
a desert (or barren) place. A few explanatory words may

942. अध्यात्मकुञ्जलबन्धी कार्तिकेया दृष्टस्तिता । दृष्टिः ब्रजनासर्य तथा भागवदपूर्वच
च ज्ञातुत्नेष त्वाध्यायवेष जुयपंक्रतंपुष्टो सिताः । अध्यात्मपायदृश्मिया मोगालसर्य सम्बन्धी
गणेशावनतियुज्रा ज्ञात्यवाहवै हृदय । अश्वस्वयम्वरं पौरिणाः । कार्तिकी काश्यपी जागरी जागरी
सिता । दृष्टिः ब्रजनासर्य तथा भागवदपूर्वच । मन्त्रपाक्यं 17 । 6–8 quoted in the
सुरसितः I. p. 58; vide also सुरसेविन्यास p. 9.

943. ज्ञेष्टिः अन्वित तत्त्वं तद्यत्स्तिताः दृष्टिः । वृक्षिः दृष्टस्तितां तद्यत्स्तिताः सार्वपदः
पदवं यथा सुयथं । सुषुक्तं 8 quoted in सुरसेविन्यास p. 8; सार्वपदः पद्मात्मक मूर्तिमात्रां इत्यादि.

944. अध्यात्मकुञ्जलबन्धी कार्तिकेयायंगमरं भावमीयं यथा । तत्त्वं तद्यत्स्तितां नध्यायाबिनाः बिंतुः ।
सुरसेविन्यास p. 8.
be added. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 19 when wolves howl, or when there is the sound of any musical instrument, or of weeping, singing or of the recitation of a Sāman there is anadhyāya. Gaut. 16. 7 mentions the sound of bāṇa (a kind of viṇā), bherī (a drum), mṛdāṅga, garta (a chariot) and the distressed. Manu (IV. 123-124) explains that when a sāman is heard, one should not study any portion of the Ṛgveda or Yajurveda, because the gods are the devatās of Ṛgveda, the Yajurveda deals with men (it enjoins actions to be done by men), Sāmaveda has the pīṭhas as its deities; hence its sound has something of the impure or uncanny about it. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 27 prescribes that there should be no Vedic study as long as there are clouds when it is not the season for clouds, when there is a halo round the sun or moon, when there is a rainbow, or when there is parhelion or a star with a tail (like a fish). Gaut. 16. 19, Āp. Dh. I. 3. 9. 14-15, Vas. 13. 11 say that there is anadhyāya as long as a corpse or a cāndāla is in the village or town. Gaut. 16. 45 states the view of some that the Veda can never be studied in a city; there is no Veda study as long as there is an assembly of people (Manu IV. 108) or while the student is lying down or has stretched his feet or placed them on a cot or stool, or while he sits on his haunches winding round his knees and hips a piece of cloth (Manu IV. 112., Vas. Dh. S. 13. 23, Viśṇu Dh. S. 30. 17). There is to be anadhyāya when one is answering the calls of nature (Manu IV. 109), or when one has not yet sipped water (ācamana) after taking food, or after partaking of meat (Manu IV. 112), when there is wordy argument or there is an affray or a fight or when one is wounded or when blood flows from the body (Manu IV. 122) or when one suffers from indigestion or vomits or has sour eructations (Manu IV. 121).

In certain cases anadhyāya lasts only for a portion of the day. When the wind blows by day strong enough to carry off clouds of dust (Gaut. 16. 5) there is anadhyāya during the day (but not at night even if the wind is still strong) or when on a festive occasion like upanayana there is anadhyāya after dinner that day (Gaut. 16. 43; when in the morning twilight fire has been kindled for homa and there are

945. अस्त्र नापति सुर्यवर्षनसोऽस्त्रीनि नम्बर: परिशिष्ट दर्विषवः मर्याधवस्वस्तः पत्रे पुनिङ्के नीहरे न्यायेनुसृतः नाशीवास्त्री। आप. प. ३. १. २७; पौयनेन्द्रद्विजादिपु। अस्त्रुमेव चापनात। शै. १६. ९-१०; ‘परिशिष्टस्वस्तः’ is explained by न्यायुः as दर्विषवर्षनसोऽस्त्री। नापति नित्यपरिशिष्ट:।
flashes of lightning and thunder (not accompanied by rain) there is anadhyāya till the sun sets. Gaut. (16.32) prescribes anadhyāya for the rest of the day when the king in whose country a man dwells dies; when a strong wind that was blowing stops, there is anadhyāya for a muhūrta i.e. two ghaṭikās (Ap. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 28) or when there is the howling of šālavṛka (hyaena?) or a jackal moving about alone there is anadhyāya till one gets up from sleep (ibid I. 3. 11. 29).

In some cases there is anadhyāya for the whole day and night. According to Yāj. I. 145-147 there is such an anadhyāya when there is thunder at the twilight time, there is a fall of the thunderbolt or earth-quake or the fall of a meteor, when one finishes Samhītā or Brāhmaṇa (of the śākhā one is studying) or when one finishes the study of the Āraṇyaka portion of one's Veda; when there is an eclipse of the sun or moon, or when it is the first day after the season changes or when a person partakes of śraiddha food or accepts a gift on śraiddha (except in Ekaḍdiṣṭa śraiddha); when a beast, frog, mongoose, dog, snake, cat or mouse passes between the teacher and pupil (Manu IV. 126 also) or when the banner of Indra is raised or taken down. Manu IV. 110 lays down anadhyāya for three days when one accepts invitation for an Ekaḍdiṣṭa śraiddha or when the king dies or when there is an eclipse. This last refers to an eclipse where the sun or the moon sets while still eclipsed. Gaut. I.60 prescribes cessation for three days when dogs and others come between. This is explained as referring to the first lesson in Veda, while the words of Manu and Yāj. are held to refer to repetition. Raising the banner in honour of Indra was a festival prescribed for kings in the Kaṇśika sūtra 140 and other works. The banner was raised usually in Bhādapada (or sometimes in Aśvina) on the 12th of the bright half when the moon was in conjunction with uttarāśādha, śravaṇa or dishiṃṭha constellation and it was taken down in the same month on the bhurant constellation (vide Sm. C. I. p. 59). According to the Bṛhat-Samhītā (chap. 43) of Varāha this festival lasted from the 8th to the 12th day of Bhārapada sukla. Manu (IV. 119) prescribes anadhyāya for a day and night on the Aṣṭakā days and on the last day of each of the six ētus (seasons).

946. The Aṣṭakā homa was performed on the 8th of the dark half of the four months from Mārgaśīrṣa (according to Aśv. gr. II. 4. 1) or (according to others) of three months of Pauṣa, Māgha and Phālguṇa. Gaut. 16. 38-39 prescribed three days' anadhyāya on each of the three Aṣṭakās or according to some only on the last Aṣṭakā.
In a few cases the anadhyāya was ākālika\textsuperscript{947} \textit{i.e.} lasted for one day (60 ghaṭikās) from the time when the cause began to operate up to the same hour next day. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 3. 11. 25–26) lays down this kind of anadhyāya if out of three viz. flashing of lightning, thunder and rain, one or two occur at a time when it is no season for rain; there is this anadhyāya for all vidyās at all times, when there is an eclipse of the sun or the moon or there is an earthquake or a whirlwind or fall of meteors. Manu IV. 103–105 and Gautama 16. 22–23 are similar to Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 25–26 and Manu IV. 118 prescribes ākālika anadhyāya when a village is thrown into confusion by thieves or there is a commotion due to a conflagration and in the case of all portentous phenomena (such as rain of blood or stones; vide Vas. 13. 35). Gaut. (16. 47–48) adds that the performer of a śrāddha (whether he actually serves cooked food to brāhmaṇas or only makes gifts of money and corn &c.) has to observe this anadhyāya (vide Manu IV. 117 also).

Anadhyāya for three days was prescribed in a few cases. If lightning, thunder and rain all appear together when it is not the proper season for them, there is anadhyāya for three days (Āp. Dh. I. 3. 11. 23). Vide note 937 above. In the utsarga and upākaraṇa of the Vedas, on the death of gurus (persons worthy of respect like the father-in-law), on the Aṣṭākās and on the death of near agnates (like brother, nephew &c.) there is anadhyāya for three days\textsuperscript{948} (Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 2–3). Gaut. (6. 38–41) is similar to Āp. The Hārīta dharmāṣṭṭhāna\textsuperscript{949} prescribes anadhyāya for three days on the death of one's upādhyāya, or of the king or of a śrotiya or fellow pupil, on eclipses of the sun and the moon, on the taking down of the banner of Indra and on the death of one's ācārya.

\textsuperscript{947} The \\textit{śāstra} on \textit{ya} I. 147 derives the word as follows ‘\\textit{सिनिजनकालाकारायमिश्रितयुगोत्सरमुक्तयुगगतीन्तुहिन्दुयमद्}’.\n
\textsuperscript{948} वैगीते गृहजातम अविकारम हति ज्ञाताः। तथा संबंधिते ज्ञातिनू। आय. ध. I. 3. 10. 2–3. यथायति (अयमान्त्र्यं) तथा संबंधित (वैगीत) will be explained later. The \textit{सृत्रा} नम्......ज्ञातिस्य \textit{अनन्ते} applies to a ज्ञाति since others have to observe अनन्ते on the death of agnates till कान्तिका lasts. In this last case \textit{अनन्ते} begins on the day of death. In \textit{यमान्त्र्यं} or \textit{वैगीत} the three days are the day previous to them, the day following them and the one on which that rite is performed.

\textsuperscript{949} अत एव दर्शित । दिनवाये समाधि व हृदि अविनये सद्रा वारिणि व वर्णवा

tे गृहजातीयम्। हृदि। \textit{सृत्रा} p. 190. The अविनय, as \textit{ya} I. 144 says, must be one who has studied the same \textit{साधना}.\n

Manu (IV. 110 and 119) prescribes anadhyāya for three days on accepting invitation for ekoddīṣṭa śrīddha, on the death of the king, on eclipses and on upākarma or utsarga. Yaj. I. 144 contains similar rules.

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 3. 10. 4) prescribes 12 days' anadhyāya on the death of one's parents and ācārya. Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 32 prescribes\textsuperscript{950} three days' anadhyāya on the death of one's father. This rule must be taken as referring only to a brahmacārī. Vas. (13. 39–40) prescribes three days' anadhyāya on the death of one's ācārya and one day's on the death of the son or wife of the ācārya.

The Smṛtyarthaśāra (p. 10) mentions some occasions when anadhyāya may extend to a month, to six months, or a year. Āp. D. S. I. 3. 9. 1. prescribes that, when upākarma is performed on the full moon day of Śrāvana, for a month thereafter one should not study Veda in the first part of the night (he may do so after that at night or in the day).

Aparārka (p. 192) quotes a verse from Yama\textsuperscript{951} that there can be no Vedic study under the shade of certain trees like Śleṣmataka, Sālmali (silk-cotton), Madhuka, Kovidāra and Kapitthaka.

Both Gaut. (16. 49) and Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 34 state that besides the anadhyāyas expressly mentioned by them there are others which may be learnt from the several smṛtis and from the assemblies of learned men.\textsuperscript{952}

It would be noticed how the number of anadhyāyas is rather too numerous for rapid and effective study. Therefore certain rules are laid down to explain what is that is forbidden on those days.

In the first place anadhyāya may be vācika (concerned with the loud utterance of Vedic words), mānasā (revolving

\textsuperscript{950} विद्विषिते षिषिये। शै. व. I. 11. 3–2; आपाचार्यचित्रनुष्ठिण कालभूषण। विधित्व 13. 39–40.

\textsuperscript{951} नवनामि नाचयसां शालाम्बं बालम। कुष्ठविपि नाचयं कालिकां वाचिकपूर्व विधिरात्। वम वै वाचिक विधियात्। अपारार्के p. 192. In the वर्षा. सि. I. 1. p. 158 this is quoted as from the सुवेश्वरगस्त.

\textsuperscript{952} नवनामि नाचयसां शालाम्बं। शै. 16. 49; वर्षाकालमेष्यं परिवर्तकम्। बाहु. प. 3. 11. 34.
the Veda in the mind). Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 40-41 says that the rule about anadhyāya on portentous happenings for a day and night does not apply to mānasa study; but even mānasa study is forbidden when there is impurity due to birth or death. Gaut. 16. 46 says the same. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 20 allows (in general) mental study (not vocal) on anadhyāya days. Vide also Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 12-13.

The Āp. Śrautasūtra (24. 1. 37) says that the rules about anadhyāya apply only to the learning of Vedic mantras, but have no application to their employment in various rites. Jaimini (XII. 3. 18-19) establishes the proposition that the rules about anadhyāya being prescribed for acquisition of the Vedic mantras have no application to their employment in sacrifices. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 12. 9 has a sūtra which shows remarkable agreement with the words of Jaimini.

We saw above that according to the Tai. Ār. the rules of anadhyāya do not apply to the daily performance of Brahmayajña (i.e. to the repetition of the Vedic texts already learnt). Manu II. 105 says that there is no concern about anadhyāya as to the lores (the angas like grammar, Nirukta &c.) helpful to (understanding of) the Veda, the obligatory svādhīya (i.e. brahmayajña) and the mantras to be used in homa. Saunaka quoted in the Sm. C. says there is no anadhyāya as to repeating the Vedic texts in the obligatory rites and in japa nor in kārṣṇa rites, in sacrifices or in the pārāyāpa (repeating the Veda already learnt); the anadhyāya rules apply only to the first learning of Vedic mantras and to their teaching. The Śrīmṛtyarthasāra (p. 10) says that those who have a slippery memory or those who have to commit to memory extensive Vedic texts

953. अन्येषु चालुक्तकलेषु आदिरानन्तयाकरोधशुष्ण नानासाद द्वीपी जनन- सर्वमोहसृष्टेः। वै हि. चु. I. 11. 40-41; सातससत्पाच्यः। मृ. 16. 46; सत्य जानंदाप्रये आप. चु. I. 3. 11. 20.

954. रश्मयाज्ञवधिवसंस्त्रेच न कर्मयोगितादिभिः। आप. वै. 24. 1. 37.

955. सातसाभोक्तोस्मृतयं शुष्णं रश्मयाज्ञवधिवसंस्त्रेच न कर्मयोगितादिभिः। आप. वै. XII. 3. 18-19. The first sūtra contains the prānta view; compare विचारस्मानसा भूयते न कर्मयोगिते मनुसः। आप. वै. 1. 4. 12. 9.

956. नित्ये जये च काले च कन्ते पापायोपिच। जनन्यापिते नेराना शापाणे श्रुये वृहत:। सौनिक समूतिष्ठा 1. p. 61; vide similar verses in स्युद्धदेवसार p. 11.

957. तथा विस्मृतिस्तिं भव्येववमाहिना। जातिर्भवमाहिनीप्यक्तिज्ञैरेतहसु। वेदार्थामाहिनीपरामार्थायायि जानायैतु। स्युद्धदेवसार p. 10

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should study the Vedāṅgas, nyāya (logic), mīmāṁsā and dharmāstāstras on all anadhyāyas except on 1st, 8th, 14th and full moon and new moon days. Some digests quote a verse from the Kūrmapurāṇa\textsuperscript{958} that there is no anadhyāya for the study of Vedāṅgas, of itihāsa, purāṇas, dharmaśāstras and other śāstras; but on parva days the study of even these should be dropped. This shows that these tīthīs were the only close holidays on which there was complete cessation of all study, whether Vedic or non-Vedic. That is, these were what are called nitya holidays while the rest are nāmittiṅka anadhyāyas. Even now these nitya anadhyāyas are observed by vaidikas and by Pandits in their Sanskrit schools (particularly amāväśya).

It will be seen that though some of the occasions for anadhyāya are somewhat strange and bizarre, underlying most of them there are reasonable and understandable principles. Vedic study depended in the first place on memorizing. Committing sacred texts to memory (without in most cases understanding their meaning) required close attention and concentration. Therefore, all occasions which caused disturbance or distraction of mind were held to be anadhyāyas. But the same concentration was not necessary for reciting in sacrifices or japa or brahma-yajña what had already been committed to memory. Hence such occasions were not anadhyāyas for those purposes.

It was believed that\textsuperscript{959} if a person taught the Vedic lore or studied it on anadhyāya days, he incurred loss as to (long) life, offspring, cattle, intelligence and the merit accumulated by him.

Keśāṇta or godāna:—This samskāra consists in shaving the head and also the hair on the other parts of the body (such as arm-pits, chin). Pār. gr., Yāj. (I. 36) and Manu (II. 65) employ the word keśāṇta, while Āśv. gr., Śān. gr., Gobhila and other grhyasūtras employ the word godāna. In the Śat.\textsuperscript{960} Br. while speaking of the dikṣā (consecration of the performer

\textsuperscript{958} अनवधात नाईतीन नेतिर्लवपर्यायाय:। स धर्माविशेषाय परशुक्तिनि कर्म- यतेऽ। quoted from कुमारिन्याय by निर्याचीन्तिन्तु। This is कुमारिन्याय (उत्तर्माय) 14. 82-83 and अक्षयवाचसपति (Jiv. ed. I. p. 517)

\textsuperscript{959} काली। अनुस: मनो सयुः सन्तानं कुर्ते वह कुर्ते च यथा। अनवधात एवविशेषस्तो मनो नित्यसंस्कारं। स्वास्तिको I. p. 61. Vide two similar verses quoted in स्तूविष्यस्त संस्कारो p. 8.

\textsuperscript{960} स बुभिष्मिनस्नि नोदानस्तुम्निः। श्रावण III. 1. 2. 4.
of a sacrifice) the word godāna is used in the sense of a portion of the hair (on the head) near the top of the ear. Most smṛtikārasya say that this samskāra was performed in the 16th year. According to Śān. gr. (I. 28. 20, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 57) it may be performed in the 16th or 18th year. According to Manu II. 65 keśānta is performed in the 16th, 22nd or 24th year respectively for a brāhmaṇa, ksatriya or vaiśya. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana smṛti XIV. 1 says that Godāna may be performed in the 16th year or at the time of marriage. This last view seems to have been known to Bhavabhūti who in his Uttararāmacarita (Act. I) makes the heroine Sitā say that Rāma and his three brothers had the godāna ceremony performed immediately before their marriage. It is somewhat strange that according to the Kauśika sūtra (54. 15) godāna precedes cūḍākarma and the commentator Keśava remarks that godāna takes place at the end of the first or 2nd year (from birth).

There is great divergence of views about the starting point from which 16 years are to be calculated. The Baud. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7) has stated the rule in general terms that the number of years is to be calculated from the time of conception. Following this rule the Mit. on Yāj. I. 36 and Kullūka on Man II. 65 say that godāna should be performed in the 16th year from conception in the case of brāhmaṇas, while Aparārka says that it is to be performed in the 16th year from birth. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 36 says that whatever the period of brahmacarya that a student was going to observe (whether 12, 24, 36, 48 &c.) keśānta must be performed in the 16th year and if any one had his upanayana performed later than the 16th year, then keśānta will not take place at all. Nārāyana on Āśv. gr. I. 22, 3 notes that according to some godāna takes

961. एवेको सबूत सर्वशास्त्रायिनिः सभावृतत्वो निवादिकिता शून्यः।

962. चूर्द्धनां च गोदानिन्वायक्तवात्। चोषिकपूर्त ।

963. गर्भविलिङ्कम वर्षाणां तदुपस्थः बालाक्षानांविनीत योः। च। ध। स। I. 2.7।

964. केशान्तम: जुल्लादानः कम्बं गर्भविलिङ्कम बोल्ले कर्ष्य बालक्षानस्य कार्यं। एवं द्वारकामाधिक च रुत्स्यों बोल्लेसम। दररुक्षिताः कथानं गर्भस्य बालकासः। राजायान्तीर्भुविश्वेतुन्नलकासूं द्वीपिको चातुर्वीर्यो नदेवात। न्यत्सत्। On या। I. 36।

965. On केशान्तम: बतोऽले ‘केशान्तम: जुल्लादानः पोलश्च वद्यनां चाकुम्भवः। जरायमगुः

शाश्वानम्। एवाकार्येऽवक्तः।’।। चतुः इम्। चालं कार्यार्थायिष्ठामिगुष्यमितस्वातः। कार्य

गर्भविलिङ्कम: सूक्ष्मः। निविष्कार्यां। On या। I. 36।
place in the 16th year from upanayana, while others celebrate it in the 16th year from birth.

All sūtrakāras are agreed that godāna or keśanta follows the procedure of cūdākarana with a few differences. The Āsv. gr. (I. 18. 1–9) points these out. Caula is performed in the 3rd year, while godāna is performed in the 16th. Āsv. gr. further says "wherever the word keśa occurs (in the mantras or procedure of caula) he should employ the word śmaśra (beard). He moistens the beard here. (The mantra is) 'purify his head and face, but do not deprive him of life'. He gives orders (to the barber) 'arrange his beard, the hair of his body and his nails, ending in the north'. Having bathed and stood up silently during the rest of the day, he should break his silence in the presence of his teacher (saying to the teacher) 'I give a gift'. The fee is a pair of cows. Let the teacher instruct him to keep the observances for a year". Nārāyana notes that being grown up he should not sit on his mother's lap as in caula (but sit to her right) and that the instruction is to be on the next day. Nārāyana says that the instruction referred to is the one mentioned in Āsv. gr. I. 22. 20 from 'cutting the hair' to 'giving in charge' i.e. from Āsv. gr. I. 19. 8. to I. 20. 7. It is better to hold as Pār. and Bhār. gr. ordain that the instruction is as to brahmacaryavrata (mentioned in Āsv. gr. I. 22. 17) or that he is not to shave himself for a year, 15 days, 6 days or at least 3 days. Pār. gr., Śāṅkhāyana and several others allowed the fee of only one cow. Gobhila (III. 1. 5) and Khādira (II. 5. 3) allowed optionally the gift of a pair of horses or a pair of sheep for ksatriyas or vaishyas respectively. According to

966. In आभ. य. I. 17. 7 the mantra in चोत is आदिविन केशान्न । विनाँ; instead of it the mantra in godāna is 'आदिविन हस्खलित विनाँ'. In चोत आभ. (I. 17. 8) prescribes the laying of kuśa bunches on to the right side of the hair; in चोत the kuśa is laid on the beard (before it is cut). In चोत the edge of the razor is wiped with the mantra 'यहुराः नर्मध्यता 

967. आभ. य. I. 22. 17.

968. मां केशान्ते सेवस्तं नर्मध्यत्वनं व केशान्ते न्यायवर्तनं व निर्माणं न्यायतना: पान्क्ष्य य. II. 1; संवर्तनं जागरोक्तयो न्यायचरी चतुर्विंशति। माधवज्ञानोदय य. I. 10.
Gobhila and Khādira shaving the beard precedes a vrata called godānika for one year and both state at length the observances of that vrata (Gobhila III. 1. 11–29, Khādira II. 5. 7–16).

Śān. gr. (I. 28. 22) expressly says that the keśānta ceremony is performed for girls but silently. Āp. gr. 16. 15, Hir. gr. 6. 16, Bhāradvāja gr. I. 10, Baud. gr. III. 2. 55 prescribe in godāna the removal of all the hair on the head (including the śikhā top-knot), while in caula it is not so.

This saṃskāra gradually went out of vogue, so much so that most of the medieval digests like the Sm.C., the Saṃskāraaparakaśa, and the Nirnayasindhu contain hardly anything about it.

Snāna or Samāvartana:—(Taking the ceremonial bath after finishing Vedic study and returning from the teacher’s house). Some sūtrakāras such as Gaut. (VIII. 16), Āp. gr. XII. 1, Hir. gr. 9. 1 and Yāj. I. 51 employ the word ‘snāna’ for this saṃskāra, while Āsv. gr. III. 8. 1, Baud. gr. (II. 6. 1), Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 15 and 31, Bhār. gr. II. 18 employ the word samāvartana. The Khādira gr. (I. 3. 2–3, III. 1. 1) and Gobhila III. 4. 7 use the word ‘āplavana’ (which means snāna). Manu (III. 4) uses both ‘snāna’ and ‘samāvartana’ in “a dvija being permitted by his teacher, may take the ceremonial bath and return from his teacher according to the rules laid down (in his own gṛhyasūtra) and then marry a girl &c’”. Aparārka (p. 76) explains this verse by saying that it makes a distinction between snāna and samāvartana. The distinction consists in this: snāna or ceremonial bath indicates the completion of the period of student-hood. A man who wants to remain a brahmaśārin all his life need not undergo this saṃskāra. Samāvartana literally means ‘return from the teacher’s house to one’s home’. If a boy learns under his own father, then literally speaking there will be no return in his case from a teacher’s house. Medhātithi 969 (on Manu III. 4) puts this position forcibly. Samāvartana is not a necessary aṅga (adjunct) of marriage and therefore he who learnt the Veda in his father’s house may, though there is no return (to the father’s house from the teacher’s house), enter on matrimony. Some hold that Samāvartana is an aṅga of marriage and consists

969. न तु समावर्त्तनेन विवाहार्य। तेष या विवाहार्य एवादीनः प्रस्तुतात्तथासमावर्त्तनेन संबंधेन विवाहार्य। कोज्ञसमावर्तनेन विवाहार्य स्वाभा सवपोते। विवाहा वेदाधिकारितनितिः चेतं तस्मि समावर्तनेन विवाहार्य स्थानस्यार्थे कथयते। ⋯⋯ अथवा समाबिवाहार्याश्चायनं समावर्त्तनेन च। मेघ. on मनु III. 4.
in the ceremonial bath. If it be said that the gerundial termination ('tvā in snātvā in Manu III. 4) conveys distinction between snāna and samāvartana, the reply is that Manu will later on speak of samāvartana as the sanśkāra of snāna.

Āp. gr. 12. 1 begins its treatment with the words 'vedam adhitya snāsyan' (after learning the Veda and when about to undergo the ceremonial bath). Having these words in mind Baud. gr. 970 (II 6. 1) remarks that in the words 'vedam adhitya snāsyan' it is samāvartana that has been described. Hence the essence of samāvartana is the ceremonial bath and return to the parental home is a subsidiary matter (which may or may not occur in the case of a student). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 384) says that a person after he has studied the Veda and taken the ceremonial bath with the permission of the teacher should begin to use a cot (for sleeping on).

In the Vedic Literature both words are used. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad 971 IV. 10. 1 we read that Upakosala Kāmalāyana became a student of Satyakāma Jābāla and tended his teacher's fires for twelve years; the teacher while making his other pupils return (to their parental home) did not make Upakosala return. Here it is clear that the Upaniṣad knew the term 'samāvartana'. Similarly in Chāndogya VIII. 15 it is stated that 'having studied the Veda according to the rules in the time that was left after doing work for the teacher and having returned from the teacher's house to his own family'. On the other hand the Śat. Br. (XI. 3. 3. 7) says 'that one 972 should not beg after taking the ceremonial bath'. The Śat. Br. (XII. 1. 1. 10) distinguishes 973 a snātaka from a brahmačārin (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 137). Similarly the Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 13 quotes a Brahmaṇa passage 'therefore the face of the snātaka is as if resplendent with fire'. The Ait. Ār. V. 974 3. 3. remarks that 'one who

970. नेदवर्धिः सन्नास्तिनां समायोग...ची. यु. II. 6. 1. अधिराय...महाभाष्य वोि. I. p. 384.
971. सह समाययुनिस्त्रतः समायोगस्तत् हमेशा न समायोगस्तत्। चादोवृण IV. 10. 1; आयान्तावृणाधिकृतां विविधस्तरं क्रोट: कामिनिष्वेनादिनासादां खुदना। चान्दोवृण VIII. 15. 1.
972. नह देवं वेदमित्रत। शास्त्रम्। XI. 3. 3. 7. This is quoted by the ची. यु. II. 2. 53 (along with other passages of the same शास्त्रम्)
973. The गोपालम. (बुधे रे IV. 6) also distinguishes between सन्नास्त and नामचारी 'अथ दसराच्यठको वा नामचारी वा दीर्घकालीन वृद्धः परमेविद्वेषाः'.
974. नेदवर्धिः सन्नास्तिनां समायोगस्तरं वर्तिष्वर्यवस्तर्थां। ई. आ. V. 3. 3; अथवे युर्वी सन्नास्तिनां समायोगस्तरं विगमते। आयान्त यु. III. 9. 8.
has not studied this (mahāvrata) does not become a (true) snātaka, even though he may have learnt a good deal else.' The Āṣv. gr. III. 9. 8 summarises a Brāhmaṇa passage to the effect that a snātaka is indeed a great being.

Snāna (the ceremonial bath) was ordained by the sūtrakāras after a student finished his Vedic study. The Āṣv. gr. (III.9.4) remarks ‘after having finished (the task of learning) vidyā, they should invite his teacher to name the gift (of wealth or otherwise) he desired or when the pupil has been permitted by the teacher, the pupil may take a ceremonial bath.’\(^{975}\) This shows that one may perform snāna either when he had finished his Vedic and other studies or he may do so even without finishing his intended studies, if the teacher permitted him to do so. The Pār. gr. II. 6 is more explicit ‘The student should take the ceremonial bath after finishing (the study of) the Veda or when he has gone through the period of student-hood for 48 years, or for 12 years according to some (teachers); (he should) take the bath when permitted by the teacher.’ A person who has taken the ceremonial bath is called a snātaka. A snātaka is said by the Pār. gr. (II. 5),\(^{976}\) Gābhila (III. 5. 21–22), Baud. gr. pariḥāsā sūtra I. 15, Hārīta and others to be of three kinds, viz vidyāsnātaka (or Veda-snātaka as Baud. gr. pariḥāsā has it), vratasnātaka and vidyā-vratasnātaka (or veda-vrata-snātaka as in Baud). One who has finished Veda study, but has not gone through the vrata (described above) is called vidyā-snātaka; one who has finished the vrata, but has not finished his Veda study is styled vrata-snātaka; while one who has finished both is named vidyā-vrata-snātaka. Yaj. I. 51 in saying that a student ‘after finishing Veda (study) or the vrata (observances of brahmacarya) or both, and after giving to the teacher what the latter chooses to ask should take the ceremonial bath with the teacher’s permission’ impliedly refers to the three-fold division of snātakas. These three alternatives are due to the fact that a student may not have the ability or the time to go through the full Vedic curriculum and the

\(^{975}\) विद्यात युक्तमेव निम्नवर्ग ज्ञातसनातकव्य वा स्नानम्। आयुः गुः। III. 9. 4।।
\(^{976}\) यद् सनातकम् संविधितं विद्यासनातको अस्तसनात्को विद्यासनात्के हस्ति। सामाज्यम् वेदनसात्तान्तरत्वम् वा समालग्नेऽस्मि विद्यासनात्कं सामाज्यम् सतासनात्तान्तरत्वम् वेदेऽऽस्मि स सतासनात्त उपमेय सामाज्यम् वा समालग्नेऽस्त्रिविद्यासनात्तान्तरत्वम् हस्ति। पारस्तर्यूतः II. 5।।

\(^{976}\) वर्तमानम् अस्तित्व विद्यासनातको अस्तसनात्को विद्यासनात्तान्तरत्वम् हस्ति। सामाज्यम् वेदनसात्तान्तरत्वम् वा समालग्नेऽस्मि विद्यासनात्कं सामाज्यम् सतासनात्तान्तरत्वम् वेदेऽऽस्मि स सतासनात्त उपमेय सामाज्यम् वा समालग्नेऽस्त्रिविद्यासनात्तान्तरत्वम् हस्ति। पारस्तर्यूतः II. 5।।

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vratas. Medhatithi on Manu IV. 31 notices that according to some vrata-snātakas are those who without finishing Veda study take the ceremonial bath three years after upanayana. Gobhila (III. 5. 23) says that of these, vidyā-vrata-snātaka is the best, the other two being equal to each other. Ap. Dh. S. (I. 11. 30. 1-5) refers to this three-fold division and adds that all three are to be honoured as snātakas, but that great reward follows by honouring vidyā-vrata-snātakas.

A good deal of time may conceivably elapse between a man's taking the ceremonial bath and actually marrying a woman. During that period he is called a snātaka; while after marriage he comes to be called a grhastra. As long as a person is not married after he takes the bath, he has to follow the observances prescribed for snātakas and grhastras as far as applicable to his position but not those of a student. Gaut. (IX. 1-2) makes the position quite clear by prescribing the same rules of conduct for grhastras and for snātakas. He also states (in III. 9) that whatever rules laid down for brahma-cāritis are not opposed to the special rules for other āśramas are to be observed by all. The latter means that the special observances of a brahma-cāra are not applicable to him (such as avoiding honey and flesh, living on alms, offering fuel-sticks to fire).

The most elaborate procedure of samāvartana is found in Hir. gr. I. 9-13, Baud. gr. paribhāṣa I. 11, Pār. gr. II. 6 and Gobhila gr. III. 4-5. A concise statement is given below from Āsv. gr. (III. 8 and 9.). The student who is about to return home from his teacher should get ready (eleven) things, viz. a jewel (to be suspended round his neck), two ear-rings, a pair of garments, an umbrella, a pair of shoes, a staff, a wreath, (powder) for rubbing his body with, ointment, eye-salve, a turban, (all these) being meant for the teacher and for himself. If he cannot afford to have these materials for both of them, then he

977. आ जानिवानांमात्रानाका महात्मन उच्च गुरुः। श्रै. य. परिभाषा
I. 15. 10.

978. Vide ह्रदय on गोलम IX. 2 (सनातक) , ज्ञानमय निःशृङ्खलास्य-स्वतिरिक्षणमात्रानांमात्राय मात्रविशेषः वृक्षधारकम्प। सनातक। तु भाविन्यानमात्रेः साधवः गुरूर्यस्यम् एवाद्वादयत। इति युज्ञस्तरम् I. ह्रदय on आप. ध.
I. 11. 30. 6 (अथ नाताक) says that some of the सनातक rules are common to गुरुस्थ. According to ह्रदय on आप. ध. I. 11. 30. 3 तत्तानि वस्त्रादितानात्तत्तक does not stand for the special तत्त्त्व like महानामी, but for the general observances such अवृत्तेन, भैयांधरा.
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should prepare them only for the teacher. He should procure a fuel-stick from the north-east side of a sacrificial tree (like palāśa); the fuel-stick may be undried if he wishes for the enjoyment of food or for prosperity or for splendour; it may be dry if he wishes for spiritual lustre; or both dry (in part) and undried in the remaining part if he desires both. Having placed the fuel-stick on high (not on the ground) and having made gifts of food and of a cow to brāhmaṇas, he should perform the actions prescribed in godāna ceremony (and not the observances like remaining silent). He should alter the mantras (of godāna) so that they refer to himself. (He should rub himself) with the powder of Ekakīlītaka. Having bathed himself in lukewarm water and having put on two garments which have not yet been washed (or used) with the mantra 'You two (Mitra and Varuṇa) put on garments with fat splendour' (Ṛg. I. 152. 1); he should apply eye-salve to his eyes with the words 'thou art the lustre of stone, protect my eye.' He should fasten the two ear-rings with the words 'thou art the lustre of stone; protect my ear.' After having smeared his two hands with ointment (saffron paste &c.) a brāhmaṇa should first anoint his face with it (and then the limbs), a Rājanya his two arms first, a vaśīya his belly first, a woman her private parts, persons, who maintain themselves by running, their thighs. With the words 'free from distress art thou, may I become free from distress' he should put on the wreath, but not such a wreath as would be called a mālā (garland). If some call it mālā (through ignorance of what to say) he should cause them to speak of it as srīja (wreath). He steps into the shoes with the words 'you two are the supports of the gods, protect me from all sides' and with the

979. This means:—instead of 'अधर्मनार्के नामवन्ते स्वप्निते मैरे विस्ति:' (आद्व. श्र. I. 17. 8-9) repeated in चौङ and मोदन (by the आचार्य) the student should himself repeat the mantra as 'अधर्मनार्के नामवन्ते स्वप्निते मैरे मा मा विस्ति'—Instead of the mantra 'अधिविशिष्टं शुभं भाषिषा प्रमोदी:;' repeated by the आचार्य in मोदन, the student should himself say 'अधिविशिष्टं शुभं मा मा मे आद्या अन्वेषी:'

980. कर्तव्यरत्वं प्रका च सिद्धा नवकर्मितम्। तन्मेय्रात्मा नागोमन्वर्ण कार्येद ।

981. The mantra सुवर्ण तदनं is to be repeated with each garment. The eye-salve is to be applied to the left eye first and then to the right, says Nārāyaṇa quoting a smṛti. The ear-ring is first to be fastened on the right ear and then on the left.

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words ‘heaven’s covering art thou’ he takes the umbrella. He takes the bamboo staff with the words ‘bamboo art thou, thou art the child of a tree, protect me from all sides.’ Having tied round his neck the jewel with the hymn beginning with ‘Āyuṣyam’, and having arranged the turban (on his head) he should in a standing posture put a fuel-stick (on the fire), and should say at that time ‘memory and reproach, knowledge, faith, wisdom as the fifth, what is sacrificed, what is given (as gift), what is studied and what is done, truth, learning, observances. O Agni, the vow (of thee) together with Indra, with Prajāpati, with the sages, with the sages that are kṣatriyas, with the Fathers, with the kings among Fathers, with men and with the kings among men, with the glow, with the super-glow, with the after-glow, with the counter-glow, with gods and men, with Gandharvas and Apsarases, with wild and domestic animals, the vow belonging to my own self, dwelling in my own self, that is my entire vow. O Agni! I shall on all sides become this vow, svāhā’. With the hymn ‘mine, O Agni, be the glory’ (Rg. X. 128. 1) he should put fuel-sticks on fire one for each verse. He should stay for the night at a place where the people will do honour to him (by offering Madhuparka). Madhuparka will be dealt with under marriage.

The Baud. gr. paribhāṣā says (I. 14. 1) that the samāvartana rite for him who is only a vratasātaka (and has not studied the Veda) is performed silently (i.e., without the mantras prescribed). The other grhaṇa sūtras have a similar procedure in samāvartana, only the mantras sometimes differ and a few details are added.

982. Nārāyaṇa on Āsv. gr. I. 8. 16 says that the ‘mani’ is ‘suvarṇamaya (made of gold). Āp. gr. 12. 8 speaks of ‘maṇiṁ sauvarṇam saptadhānam’ (a golden bead with two precious stones on two sides).

983. This sūkta is a khila sūkta in the Rgveda. It occurs in the Ṛg. III. II. 8. It is in praise of gold.

984. Nārāyaṇa adds on Āsv. gr. III. 8. 16 that he should keep aside his shoes and then offer the fuel-stick. Stenzler conjectures ṛṣi, for ṛṣi in Ṛg. III. 9. 1, which is unwarranted and unnecessary. The sūkta Rg. X. 128 has nine verses. Nārāyaṇa says that there is to be homa with ten samidhs; the tenth verse, therefore, is the verse ‘Āyuṣyam’ which is the first verse of the Khilaśūkta after Rg. X. 128. The erstwhile student is to offer samidhs sitting and not standing and end the rite with the offering to Śrītiḥakṛt Agni.
For example, Śāṅ. gr. (III. 1. 2) makes the student sit on bull’s hide. Pār. gr. (II. 6) prescribes that eight jars full of water are to be placed on kuśa grass and water therefrom is to be poured over the head and the body of the student with certain mantras, that he is to worship the rising sun, to partake of curds or sesame seeds, to cleanse his teeth with an udumbara twig, he sees himself in a mirror (after adorning himself). Both Pār. and Gobhila (III. 4. 23) say that in this rite the girdle is taken off. Gobhila (III. 4. 31–34) says that at the end of the rite the student should mount a chariot drawn by oxen, drive some distance in an eastern or northern direction, should then come back to the teacher who honours him with madhuparka. Hir. gr. (I. 9. 10) says that the girdle, the staff and the black antelope skin that he wore as brahma-cārīn are to be thrown into water. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti (14th section) appears to suggest that gōdāna and samāvartana take place on the same day and that at the end of the homa in samāvartana a student of the Rgveda should unloosen the girdle of muṇja grass with the mantra ‘ud uttamam mumugḍhi’ (Rg. I. 25. 21). It is for this reason that in the Maratha country samāvartana is called ‘sodmuṇja’ (rite in which the muṇja girdle is taken away).

The sūtras more or less prescribe expressly or impliedly the same materials that are required by Āśvalāyana. Vide Bhār. gr. II. 18 (which enumerates them in one place), Baud. gr. parībhāṣā śūtra I. 13. 1.

Some of the sūtras specify the auspicious times when this rite is to be performed. Hir. gr. I. 9. 3 lays down that the proper time for snāna is during the northern course of the sun, in the bright half of a month when the moon is in conjunction with Rohini, Mrgaśiras, Tisya (Puṣya), Uttarā Phalguna, Hasta, Citrā, or Viśākhā. The Baud. gr. parībhāṣā (I. 13. 3–9) omits Mrgaśiras out of these, while Bhār. gr. (II. 18) omits Rohini and Mrgaśiras and adds Svāti. Medieval and modern digests add elaborate rules about the astrological details for the proper day of samāvartana, which are passed over here. Vide Śaṃskāraprakāśa pp. 576–578 for some of these details.

Numerous rules are laid down in the smṛtis and digests about snātakas (snātakadharmāḥ). Many of these rules are applicable to grhastras also (i.e. snātakas who have married). Those rules are too numerous to enumerate. But some idea may be conveyed by quoting in full the rules in Āśv. gr,
(III. 9. 6-7) which has the shortest treatment and adding a few interesting items from other works. Áśv. gr. (III. 9. 6-7) says 'He (the snātaka) should not bathe at night, nor bathe naked, nor lie down naked, he should not look at a naked woman except during intercourse, he shall not run when it rains, he should not climb up a tree, nor descend into a well, should not cross a river (by swimming) with his arms, he should not expose himself to a danger. A great being indeed is a snātaka—so it is known (from the śrutis)'. Æp. Dh. S. (I. 11, 30. 6–I. 11. 32. 29), Vas. XII. 1-47, Gaut. IX. Yāj. I. 129-166, Manu IV. 13ff, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71, Pār. gr. II. 1 contain an exhaustive treatment of snātaka vratas. Some of these are concerned with the rules about anadhyāyas, about answering calls of nature, about persons whose food should not be taken, about sexual intercourse, about ācamana, about daily observances like the five mahāyajñas, about upākarma and utsarjana. These have been or will be dealt with in the appropriate places. A few of the other important rules of conduct are: a snātaka should always be pure (in body), should daily bathe and should apply fragrant unguents (like sandal-wood paste) to his body, should be always patient, persistent in his undertakings, self-restrained, generous and not disposed to cause injury to others (Gaut. 9. 7 and 73); he should speak the truth and also speak what is agreeable, but should not tell disagreeable truths, nor should he tell agreeable lies (Manu IV. 138 and Gaut. IX. 68); he should according to his ability try to make his day fruitful as regards the performance of meritorious acts, satisfaction of (legitimate) desires and acquisition of wealth, but he should look upon dharma as the principal of the three puruṣārthas (Gaut. IX. 46-47, Manu IV. 176, Yāj. I. 156), though he should avoid even what is allowed by the sāstras if it is hateful to the people; he should not beg (for his livelihood) of anybody except the king or his pupils, but when oppressed by hunger he may beg a little such as a cultivated or uncultivated field, a cow, goats and sheep, or gold, corn, food (Vas. XII. 2-3, Gaut. IX. 63-64, Manu IV. 33-34, Yāj. I. 130); but he should not beg of a king who is not of ksatriya descent or of a brahman; he should not talk with the dictates of the sāstras (Manu IV. 84, 87) nor should he stay in the kingdom of a śūdra king (Manu IV. 61); he should not talk with the mlecchas, impure persons and irreligious persons (Gaut. IX. 17); he should not dwell in contact with sinners, cāndālas and other untouchables, with fools or persons puffed up with the pride of wealth &c. (Manu IV. 79); he should
not be restless in his sexual desires or with his hands and feet, speech and eyes (Gaut. IX. 50, Manu IV. 177, Vas. VI. 42); he should go round (perform pradaksinā), when he meets on his way a cow, images of gods, a brāhmaṇa, ghee, honey, a square, well-known trees (Manu IV. 39, Gaut. IX. 66); he should not engage in wordy quarrels with his parents, guests, brothers, sisters, persons connected by marriage, maternal uncles, dependents, relations, sacrificial and family priests, children, wife, slaves (Manu IV. 179–180=Sāntiparva 244, 14–16, Yāj. I. 157–158); he should carry a bamboo stick, a water jar, kuśa grass, wear two yajnopavītas, two garments (upper and lower) and two golden ear-rings (Manu IV. 36, Yāj. I. 133, Vas. XII. 14, 37–38); if he has money enough he should not wear old and dirty clothes, his garments should be white, he should not wear garments that are dyed and black cloth even when that is its natural colour (Āp. Dḥ. S. I. 11, 30, 10–13, Manu IV. 34–35, Yāj. I. 131, Gaut. IX. 4–5) nor should he wear the clothes, shoes, and garland of another and if he wears these of another owing to poverty, he should thoroughly clean them (Gaut. IX. 6–7, Manu IV. 66); he should not allow his beard to grow unless there is some good ground to do so and should pare his nails (Gaut. IX. 8, Manu V. 35, Yāj. I. 131); while his shoes are in his hand he should not sit on a seat nor should he salute a person or bow to a deity (Gaut. IX. 45); he should not blow with his mouth to kindle fire (Manu IV. 53, Vas. XII. 27, Gaut. IX. 32); he should not hold simultaneously in his hands fire and water nor should he come between the fire and a brāhmaṇa nor between two brāhmaṇas without their permission (Āp. Dḥ. S. II. 5, 12, 6–8, Vas. XII. 28–30); he should not eat food in the same plate with his wife, nor should he see his wife while she is eating or applying eye-salve or when she is yawning or sneezing (Manu IV. 43–44, Vas. XII. 31, Gaut. IX. 32); he should not use a seat or pādukā or tooth-brush made of palāsa (Vas. XII. 34, Gaut. IX. 44, Āp. Dḥ. S. I. 11, 32, 9); he should wear a wreath (of flowers) and ointment so as not to be easily noticed (Āp. Dḥ. S. I. 11, 32, 5, Manu IV. 72, Vas. 12. 39, Gaut. IX. 32); he should not see the sun rising or setting (Vas. 12. 10, Manu IV. 39, Āp. Dḥ. S. I. 11, 31, 20); he should not be kulamukula and should not

985. ॥ is variously explained. सूत्र on ॥ explains it as 'stay at home' and gives another's explanation as 'one' who leaves his family and goes to another i.e. studies another's sūtra &c.
go over a rope by which a calf is tied (Vas. XII. 8-9, Gaut. IX. 52-53, Manu IV. 38); he is not to point out the rainbow to another when he sees it in the sky (Manu IV. 59) nor is he to employ the word 'Indra-dhanuḥ' for it, but the word 'maṇi-dhanuḥ' (Vas. XII. 32-33. Gaut. IX. 23, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 18); he is to employ certain euphemisms e.g. he should not speak of a cow that yields no milk as 'adhenu' but as 'dhenu-bhavyā' (who would become dhenu later on), he is not to employ the word 'bhadra' for a thing that is auspicious, but he should employ the words 'pūnya or prāṣasta'; what is not 'bhadra' he should speak of as 'bhadra' and should not use the word 'kapāla', but the word 'bhagāla' for it (Gaut. IX. 20-22, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 11-14); he should not inform a person when a cow does some damage or allows her calf to have milk without the owner knowing it (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 9-10, Gaut. IX. 24-25); he should enter or leave his village from the east or north (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 7) and should not enter a village or a guarded house by a by-path (Manu IV. 73, Yāj. I. 140, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 23); at the two twilights he should be seated outside the village and should be silent (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8); he should not wander about by day with the head covered, but he may do so at night or when answering calls of nature (Gaut. IX. 35-37; Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 14); he should avoid finding fault with a cow, a fee given or a maiden (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 8); he should not resort886 to inferior men or to countries in which such persons abound nor should he frequent gambling houses or meetings of clubs (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 18-20, Vas. XII. 40); he should try to dwell in a place that abounds in fuel, water and grass, kuśas, flowers, that has a court-yard, and is mostly peopled by Āryas, that has industrious and religious people (Gaut. IX. 65); he should take his food, answer calls of nature,

886. खुदा खुदात्सितं देशान न सेवेत। समाज समाजस्वतं आप. प. I. 11. 32. 18-19. Compare Āp. घ. घ. I. 1. 3. 12 समाज समाजस्वतं (मक्खाय). समाज is defined in the काश्यप I. 4. 27 as 'पतझ समाजस्वतं दीर्घान्त्व बनने नियुक्तानि निर्धारणामृ समाज। कुकीवरे मान्य वेश्य याकानेको कुकी पुल नियो &c.' In the Bock Edict No. 1 at Girnar (C. I. I. vol.1) Devānām Priya orders that no samaj be held as he saw grave faults in it 'न च समाजो बहुतो नायक वि वो समाजस्वतं मति देशानि मित्रो &c.' In the Nasik cave Inscription No. 2 Gotamiputra is described as समाजवृक्षं (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 60). समाज may mean 'festival'. Vide Yāj. I. 84.
engage in dalliance with his wife, engage\textsuperscript{987} in yoga practices in a place screened from public view and he should guard his speech, intellect and strength and should keep his wealth and age very secret; but he should make public the repayment of a debt, a gift, mortgage or sale, the gift of his daughter in marriage, the letting loose of a bull (in śrāddha) and a sin done in secret.

Manu (XI. 203) says that the praśaścita for not observing the rules of conduct laid down for snātakas is fasting for a day. Haradatta on Gautama IX. 2 says that the rules for snātakas are meant for brāhmaṇa and ksatriya snātakas only, that the praśaścita for non-observance is also to be undergone by them and that the vaiśya snātakas are not obliged to observe these rules.

In modern times samāvartana often takes place a short time after upanayana and sometimes on the 4th day thereafter or even the next day. As many brāhmaṇas do not learn any part of the Veda, samāvartana has become a mere matter of form in their case. Even the Samsārakaustubba (p. 607) prescribes a very brief procedure for samāvartana when the brahmācārī is ill. It consists in the brahmācārī giving up his girdle &c., in shaving the boy silently, in silently bathing at a holy place, putting on another garment, then sipping water twice, bringing fire from the house of a śrotiśya and placing it on some place according to the rules, then contemplating on Prajāpati and putting the samidh (fuel-stick) on fire.

As a brahmācārī is not affected by the mourning due to the death of relatives (except his parents), on samāvartana he has to observe impurity for three days (if there have been deaths of relatives in the interval, but not for births). (Vide Manu V. 88=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22, 87).

\textsuperscript{987} अधर्मिनित्रिविश्वास्तः सुसंवृतः धर्मस्व तु कार्यः। वामवृजिपालिन सप- सत्वीय धनालिनि प्राप्ते तु कृताः॥ वर्णी VI. 9; अधर्मिनित्रिविश्वास्तः गुरूं नेतृयुपेक्षिणि। पापकामागन्धात धनालिनि प्राप्ते॥ अवोक्त्वसुपुष्डुक्षिण वृत्तां चक्रोपितेऽपि। कार्यायन उपेक्षानां चः पाण्य अद्वितीयः॥ कृत्स III. 15-16. All are quoted in the सूत्रस्त्रलाखक pp. 484-85.
CHAPTER VIII

ĀŚRAMAS

In the preceding pages several questions connected with brahmacarya have been dealt with. Brahmacarya is, according to the theory of the dharmasūtras and smṛtis, the first of the four āśramas. Therefore, before proceeding to the next samākāra, viz. vivāha (marriage) which is the starting point of the second āśrama, it is necessary to discuss the origin and development of the idea of āśramas.

From the times of the most ancient dharmasūtras the number of āśramas has been four, though there are slight differences in the nomenclature and in their sequence. 888 Ap. Dh. S. II. 9.21.1 says 'there are four āśramas, viz. the stage of householder, (staying in) the teacher's house, stage of being a munī, the stage of being a forest dweller.' That here mauna stands for the āśrama of saṁnyāsa is clear from Āpastamba's own words in II.9.21.7 (atha pari vrājaḥ) where he employs the word 'pari vrāj' to indicate 'mauna.' Ap. places the householder first among the āśramas, probably on account of the importance of that stage to all other āśramas. Why should he mention the stage of forest hermit last is not clear. Gaut. also (III.2) enumerates the four āśramas as brahmacārī, grhaśtha, bhikṣu and vaikkhānasā. Here also Gaut. speaks of bhikṣu before vaikkhānasā and Haradatta 889 explains this departure from the usual sequence of āśramas as due to the words in Gaut. 28.47 where we read 'prāg-uttamād trayā āśramināḥ' (persons belonging to the three āśramas except the last may constitute a pariṣad), i.e. to exclude vaikkhānasā from the pariṣad he is mentioned last. Why the vānaprastha is called vaikkhānasā will be discussed later on under the former word. Vas. Dh. S. (VII.1-2) names the four āśramas as brahmacārī, grhaśtha, vānaprastha and pari vrājaka.

888. Vide above p. 3 where āśramadharmā is said to be one of the six-fold divisions of dharma. अनात् आस्मान पारिवर्तन्या सत्तायाः परिवर्तन्या यथात् अपि. ध. सु. II. 9.21.1. This is quoted by हकव in his आश्रमवाचन III. 4.47.

889. सार्वगोदयकृ विषयवस्तुपरिवर्त निष्ठुक-वृत्तां आस्मान: इति वं काकन्द: माधवाचार्य आधारित इतिः बैलानसपत्ययः ज्ञानबोधनम् नाभिम् III. 2.
Vas. Dh. S. (in XI. 34) employs the word yāti to denote a person in the fourth āṣramas. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 6. 17) names the four āṣramas in the same way as Vasiṣṭha and vouchsafes the interesting information that it was the asura Kapila, son of Prahlāda, who in his rivalry with the gods, made these distinctions to which a wise man should pay no heed. What Baud. means appears to be that there is really one āṣrama viz. that of the householder, that Kapila devised the scheme of four āṣramas, so that those who became vānaprasthas and parivrājakaś would perform no yajñas and thereby the gods would lose the offerings they received from men and become less powerful. Manu VI. 87 speaks of the four āṣramas, the last being called yāti by him and also ‘samnyāsa’ (in VI. 96). It would thus be seen that a person who belongs to the last āṣrama is variously called parivrāt or parivrājakā (one who does not stay in one place but wanders from place to place), bhikṣu (one who begs for his livelihood), muni (one who ponders over the mysteries of life and death), yāti (one who controls his senses). These words suggest the various characteristics of the man who undertakes the fourth āṣrama.

The theory of Manu about these āṣramas is as follows. The span of human life is one hundred years (satāyur vai puṣṭaḥ). All do not live to that age, but that is the maximum age one can expect to reach. This should be divided into four parts. As one cannot know beforehand what age one is going to reach, it is not to be supposed that these four parts are each of 25 years. They may be more or less. As stated in Manu IV. 1 the first part of man’s life is brahmacarya in which he learns at his teacher’s house and after he has finished his study, in the second part of his life he marries and becomes an householder, discharges his debts to his ancestors by begetting sons and to the gods by performing yajñas (Manu V. 169). When he sees that his head has grey hair and that there are wrinkles on his body he resorts to the forest i.e. becomes a vānaprastha (Manu VI. 1–2). After spending the third part of his life in the forest for some time he spends the rest of his life as a samnyāsin (Manu VI. 33). Similar rules are found

990. एकादशयं द्वादशं अन्धनंतरवादवर्तेषु द्वादशहस्तिः। वाहायुप्रेषो वाहायुप्रेषो नासितेः। वै. घ. ख. II. 6. 29–31.

991. शस्त्रलेितम as quoted by दर्शक on Manu VI. 33 say ‘वनवासदृवी काल्पनिक परिष्ठत्वः परिष्ठत्वाद्।’ अधारण p. 947. reads ‘परिष्ठत्वादत: काल्पनः शास्त्राः।’

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in many other smṛtis. 992 Baud. (Dh. S. II. 10. 5) 993 states as his own opinion that the sages prescribe saṁnyāsa after the 70th year.

The word āśrama does not occur in the Samhitās or Brāhmaṇas. But this cannot be stretched to mean that the stages of life denoted by this word in the sūtras were unknown throughout the Vedic period. It has been shown above (p. 268) that the word brahmacārī occurs in the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda and that brahmacarya is mentioned in the Tai. S., the Śat. Br. and other ancient Vedic works. So the stage of brahmacarya was well-known in the remotest past. The fact that Agni is said to be ‘the gṛhapati in our house’ (Rg. II. 1. 2) 994 and the fact that in the famous verse (Rg. X. 85. 36) which is employed even today in the marriage ceremony the husband says to the bride when taking hold of her hand that the gods gave her to him for gṛhapatyā (for attaining the position of a house-owner or householder) establish that the second stage of the householder was well-known to the Rgveda. There is nothing in the Vedic Literature expressly corresponding to the vānaprastha. It may however be stated that the Tāndya Mahābrāhmaṇa 14. 4. 7 says that vaikhānasas sages were the favourites of Indra and that one Rahasya Devamalimluc killed them in a place called Munimaraṇa. Vaikhānasas means ‘vānaprastha’ in the sūtras and it is possible that this is the germ of the idea of vānaprastha. ‘Yati’ used in the sūtras and smṛtis to indicate the fourth āśrama of saṁnyāsa does occur in the oldest Vedic texts. But there the meaning appears to be different. In the Rg, the word ‘yati’ occurs several times. But the sense is doubtful. Rg. VIII. 3. 9 runs ‘whereby 995 when wealth was bestowed on Bhṛgu and on yatis (or ‘on Bhṛgu from yatis’) you protected Praskanva’. Rg. VIII. 6. 18 reads ‘O Indra, the yatis and those who were Bhṛgus praised thee’; Rg. X. 72. 7 says ‘O gods,

992. E. g. vide अतिधिक p. 910 quoting two verses of Yama that are very similar to Manu V. 169 and VI. 2.
993. सप्तवा अवध कं दर्शकमवन्धिष्ट ॥ को. र्ग. ब्र. II. 10. 5.
994. ततो देवो हृतमिति प्रवृत्ता वाचं पुनिः प्रवृत्ता ॥ क्र. II. 1. 2.
995. वेदव यज्ञपाते वृन्दे विनं वेद अयत्वानायदिव ऋक्व. VIII. 3. 9. Prof. Keith takes यज्ञ as connected with the Bhṛgus. It would be better to take यज्ञवाता as in the ablative. यज्ञवातम विनं वेद अयत्वानायदिव ॥ क्र. VIII. 6. 18; साधव एकः यज्ञवाता यज्ञवाता कमलमन्वं ॥ क्र. X. 72. 7; here साधव renders यज्ञवाता एकः एवेचा.
when you filled the worlds as the yatis (did) you brought the sun hidden in the sea'. In the Tai.\textsuperscript{996} S. VI. 2. 7. 5 we read 'Indra threw yatis to the sālāvrkas (hyaenas or wolves), they devoured them to the south of the Uttaravedi.' The same words and story occur in the Kāthaka smāhīta VIII. 5, the Ait. Br. 35. 2 (prādāt) and the Kauṣitaki Up. III. 1; in the last Indra said to Pratardana 'do know me only; I regard this as the most beneficial thing to man that he should know me. I killed the three-headed Tvāṣṭra, I gave to the sālāvrkas the Arunmukha yatis.' In the Kāthaka smāhīta (IV. 10) and the Tai. S. II. 4. 9. 2 it is stated that the heads of the yatis when they were being devoured fell aside and they (the heads) became the kharjūras (date palms). Atharvaveda II. 5. 3. says 'Indra, who is quick in his attack, who is Mitra and who killed Vṛtra as he did the yatis.' In the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa VIII. 1. 4 Brhadgiri is said to be one of the three yatis who escaped from slaughter and who were then taken under his protection by Indra. All these passages taken together suggest that the yatis were people who had incurred the hostility of Indra, the patron of the Āryas, that they were slaughtered by the Āryas with the help of Indra and their bodies were thrown to the wolves and that they seem to have something to do with a country where the date-palm grew and that a few of them who escaped slaughter subsequently were won over and became the worshippers of Indra (and therefore in Rg. VIII. 6. 18 they are described as praising Indra). So originally they were probably beyond the pale of the Vedic Āryans. If there is any connection between yati and yātu (sorcery) which seems possible, the yatis were probably non-vedic sorcerers.

In the Rg. X. 136. 2, there is a reference\textsuperscript{997} to munis, who are wind-girt and who put on brownish dirt (dirty garments). In Rg. VIII. 17. 14 Indra is said to be the friend of munis (Indro munināṁ sakā) and in Rg. X. 136. 4 muni is said to be the friend of all gods. So it appears that even in the times of the Rgveda persons

\textsuperscript{996} Sūnāya Vārīcā śrāvīcā keśaṇā: maṇḍarāḥ. Tā. S. VI. 2. 7. 5. Śaṅkara Śāntināthaśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya hūntam saha yuṣmā śaṅkaraśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya maṇḍarāḥ. Kṛṣṇa. Ma. U. P. III. 1. 12. 125 explained by Sūnāya as śaṅkaraśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya maṇḍarāḥ. The words śuṣṭo vāyati ... maṇḍarāḥ are quoted by Ms. XII. 48 and he gives the gloss of some as 'śaṅkaraśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya maṇḍarāḥ'. śaṅkaraśīrṣaya śaṅkaraśīrṣaya maṇḍarāḥ. Mahāt. XXI. 4. 9. 2.

\textsuperscript{997} Sūnāya Vārīcā keśaṇā: maṇḍarāḥ. Tā. X. 136. 2.
who led a life of poverty, contemplation and mortification were known, and were honoured and called munis, while persons corresponding to them among non-vedic people were probably called yatis. But in both these words there is no idea of a certain stage in a well-knit scheme of life. Perhaps the earliest reference to the four āśramas, though somewhat obscure, occurs in the Ait. Br. 33. 11 'what (use is there) of dirt, what use of antelope skin, what use of (growing) the beard, what is the use of tapas? O! brāhmaṇa! desire a son, he is a world that is to be highly praised.' Here it is clear that ajīna refers to brahmacarya, śāmśāṇa to vānaprastha (since according to Manu VI. 6 and Gaut. III. 33 the vānaprastha had to grow his hair, beard and nails). Therefore 'mālam' and 'tapas' must be taken respectively as indicating the householder and the saṁnyāśin. A much clearer reference to three āśramas occurs in the Chāndogya. Up. II. 23. 1 'there are three branches of dharma, the first (is constituted by) sacrifice, study and charity (i.e. by the stage of householder), the second is (constituted by the performance of) tapas (i.e. the vānaprastha), the third is the brahmacāri staying in the house of his teacher and wearing himself out till death in the teacher's house; all these attain to the worlds of the meritorious; but one who (has correctly understood brahma) and abides in it attains immortality'. Tapas is a characteristic of both vānaprastha and parivṛţājaka. Therefore in this passage it is possible to hold that the third āśramas (of student, householder and vānaprastha) are mentioned. The last clause about 'brahmaśamstha' differentiates the three āśramas from him who has knowledge

998. किं ह मलं निपर्विता निष्प्रस्थुच्यं किं किंतु। पु瞢 महापव कस्मवधेस कौ होको बहुवर्तु। ते. मां. 33. 11. मलं probably refers to sexual intercourse. किं may indicate the कालस्थर (भौति III. 25 कृत्वा सुधाकरं स्वर्गली तपस्ययेषु) or सत्वस्यस्य (Manu VI. 75 requires a सत्वस्यस्य to undergo severe tapas).

999. तपो धार्मिकद्विपथानुसार जस्मति अवस्था एव चिन्तायां धार्मिकद्विपथायां जस्मतैवै लीलायां स्वर्गली तपस्ययम् वा न जस्मतं धार्मिकद्विपथायां जस्मतं लीलायां स्वर्गली तपस्ययम्। चालोमय II. 23. 1. It is worthy of note that Shankara explains तपः as 'सब दृढः ज्ञानार्थानुसार न कृत्यास्तां परित्याग्वा य न जस्मतं धार्मिकद्विपथायां जस्मतं लीलायां स्वर्गली तपस्ययम्' while on Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 20 be disapproves of the view that by the word 'tapas' the parivṛţājaka also is meant. This passage of the Chān. Up. is the basis of Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 18-20. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 55 quotes this passage of the Chāndogya and remarks that it is the parivṛţājaka who is brahmaśamstha that is referred to in the last part of the passage 'पारिव्रत्तपियानुभवायं च ज्ञातं लीलायां स्वर्गली तपस्ययम्।'
of brahma and holds fast by it. That portion says that the consequence of the knowledge of brahma is immortality; but it does not say expressly or impliedly that the stage of parivrājaka is a means of attaining the knowledge of brahma. So one may doubt whether sanātana as an āśrama is spoken of here, but there can be no doubt that the other three are clearly indicated here. Probably in the time of the Chāndogya there was no clear line of demarcation between the āśramas of vānaprastha and sanātana and they rather coalesced into each other. Chān. Up. V. 10. 1 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 15 support this conclusion. In the Br. Up. III. 5. 1 there is a reference to brahmāṇas who on apprehending correctly the Supreme Spirit turn away from the desires of progeny, wealth and of securing holy worlds and practise begging. Begging is a characteristic of sanātana in the sūtras. Yājñavalkya in the Br. Up. IV. 5. 2, tells his wife Maitreyī that he was going into a life of prarājyā from being a householder. Mundaka Up. I. 2. 11 refers to begging for him who has knowledge of brahma and Mundaka III. 2. 6 mentions ‘sanātana’. In the Jābālopaniṣad (4) it is said that Janaka asked Yājñavalkya to expound sanātana and then the four āśramas are distinctly set out after finishing the stage of student-hood, one should become a householder; after becoming a householder one should become a forest-dweller, after being a forest-dweller, one should renounce the world; or he may do otherwise viz. he may renounce the world after the stage of student-hood itself or after being an householder or from the forest. The very day on which he becomes desireless, he should renounce the world (become a sanātana)”. Probably this passage was not

1000. तद्धृत्वं विद्वृत्तेत् चेतसंशये अश्च! तप स्त्रुपालते वेदविषयामिस्वतायितः
संस्कृत्वाद्य सर्व नातपमयेन देवस्थान: पुरायां। छाः। उप. V. 10. 1. संक्षर विज्ञाप्ने ‘वे वैदिकः
पालते’ कस्य ‘वे वारणविद्वातिस्रिवासाः पौराणिकाः।’ एवं वे तथावस्त मनयितवा
मन्नवाण्या: वर्णविद्वातो विद्वातिस्रिवासाः वारणविद्वातिस्रिवासाः तुष्टवायाः मन्यितवते चर्चित। वृह. उप. III. 5. 1.

1001. मन्नवायण परिवजाल्यं यही मन्नवायण मन्नवायण मन्नवायण मन्नवायण मन्नवायण। विविध
वेदधात्र्य मन्नवायणः सर्वेऽप्रकृतां विशापथाण्यां। वदहस्व विविधथातुर्वर्व विशापथाण्यां। जयासिदी 4.
Vide धृ. प्र. II. 10. 2 and 18 सीतार्था एव मन्नवायणः सर्वाभिसेच्छाद्यां। अस्मानावला
अन्यायायेऽः मन्नवायणः मन्नवायणः मन्नवायणः मन्नवायणः। अन्यायावला
निर्मितियो निर्मितियो निर्मितियो निर्मितियो निर्मितियो। ते सूत्राः प्रायो वेदां विनिर्मितियो निर्मितियो निर्मितियो। आस्थामानिक मन्नवायणः मन्नवायणः मन्नवायणः मन्नवायणः मन्नवायणः।

1002. जाहर विद्वाः वेदांतीसोऽविद्वाः जाहर विद्वाः वेदांतीसोऽविद्वाः जाहर विद्वाः वेदांतीसोऽविद्वाः जाहर विद्वाः वेदांतीसोऽविद्वाः जाहर विद्वाः वेदांतीसोऽविद्वाः जाहर विद्वाः वेदांतीसोऽविद्वाः

The meaning of अन्यायावला: is doubtful. संक्षर विज्ञाप्ने explains अन्यायावला पुष्पवायणादिप्राचे। नारायण in the स्रोतिकाः reads अन्यायावला।
before the author of the Vedāntasūtra or he did not regard the Jābālpasūtra as very authoritative; otherwise there would hardly have been any need for the Vedāntasūtrakāra (in the Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 18-20) to hold a discussion on Chāndogya II. 23. 1.

It is clear that in the times of the earliest Upaniṣads at least three (if not four) āśramas were known and that all four were known by their specific names to the Jābālpasūtra. In the Śvetāśvatara upaniṣad (VI. 21) we have the word ‘ātyāśramibhyah’. It is said there that the sage Śvetāśvatara, who acquired knowledge of Brahma, proclaimed the knowledge to those who had risen above the mere observances of āśramas.

No scholar Eastern or Western places Pāṇini later than 300 B.C. He knew Bhikṣu-sūtras composed by Pāraśarya and Karmanda and he tells us that the word ‘maskarī’ means parivrājaka. As sūtra works about ‘bhikṣus’ were composed before Pāṇini, this āśrama of bhikṣus must have been an established institution centuries before Pāṇini. Buddhism took over this mode of life (pabbajjā as the Pāli works say) from the brahmanical system.

It has been already stated at p. 8 that the goals of existence were deemed to be four, viz., dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa. The highest goal was mokṣa. All ancient Indian philosophy (whether Vedānta, Sāṁkhya or Nyāya) held that liberation from the never-ending cycle of births and deaths, and escape from the three kinds of duḥkha were the highest good. The summum bonum consisted in non-return (anāvṛttiḥ) to the world of pleasures and sorrows. The Chāṇ. Up. VIII. 15. 1 winds up with the words ‘and he does not return’. The Br. Up. VI. 2. 15, Praśna Up. I. 10 and others say the same. This supreme goal had fascinated all noble minds in whatever sphere of life they might have been working. The greatest poet and dramatist of classical Sanskrit ends his most famous drama (the Śākuntala) with the prayer ‘may self-existent God Śīva destroy for me rebirth’. This state of liberation or release is variously called mokṣa or mukti, amṛtatva, nihilaya,...

1006. Saṁyukta kā� pānas tākmāryaḥ. Śaṅkara Pāṇiniśāstraḥ: Śaṅkara VII.
kaivalya (by the Sāmkhya or apavarga (Nyāyaśutra I. 1. 2). For attaining this state man must know and realize that there is only one Reality underlying all existence (and no plurality) and become disgusted with the passions and temptations of the world i.e. he must have nirveda and vairāgya (as stated in the Br. Up. III. 5. 1 or Mundaka I. 2. 12). Merely reading from the books that desirelessness is necessary for release and immediately giving up the world would not serve the purpose. The man would be hankering, as the Bhagavadgītā says, after pleasures he has renounced. Therefore the ancient Indian writers devised according to their lights a scheme which is embodied in the theory and practice of the āśramas. In brahma-cāra the individual goes through the discipline of the will and the emotions, makes himself acquainted with the literary treasures of the past and learns obedience, respect, plain living and high thinking. Then he marries, becomes a householder, tastes the pleasures of the world, enjoys life, has sons, discharges his duties to his children, to his friends, relatives and neighbours and becomes a useful, industrious and worthy citizen, the founder of a family. It is supposed that by the time he is fifty years or so he has become convinced of the futility of human appetites and the pleasures of the world and is, therefore, called upon to resort to a forest life for pondering over the great problem of the life hereafter and to accustom himself to self-abnegation, austerities and a harmless life. This would lead on to the last stage, viz. saṁnyāsa. He may succeed in this very life in realizing the supreme goal of mokṣa or he may have to continue to rise in spiritual height until after several births and deaths the goal is in view. The theory of varṇa dealt with man as a member of the Aryan society and laid down what his rights, functions, privileges, responsibilities and duties were as a member of that society. It was addressed to man in the mass. The theory of āśramas addressed itself to the individual. It tells him what his spiritual goal is, how he is to order his life and what preparations are required to attain that goal. The theory of āśramas was truly a sublime conception and if owing to the exigencies of the times, the conflicts of interests and distractions of life, the scheme could not even in ancient times be carried out fully by every individual and seems to have failed in modern times, the fault does not lie with the originators of this conception, Deussen was constrained to say (in E. R. E. under āśrama) 'how far the practice corresponded to this theory given in
Manu and other law books, we do not know; but we are free to confess that in our opinion the whole history of mankind has not much that equals the grandeur of this thought' and again in 'The Philosophy of the Upaniṣada' (tr. by Geden, 1906) p. 367 'the entire history of mankind does not produce much that approaches in grandeur to this thought'.

The three āśramas of householder, forest hermit and sain-nyāśa will be dealt with in detail hereafter. Only one question about āśramas in general remains to be discussed. With reference to the four āśramas, there are three different points of view (paksas) viz. samuccaya (orderly co-ordination), vikalpa (option) and bāḍha (annulment or contradiction). Those who hold the first view (samuccaya) say that a person can resort to the four āśramas one after another in order and that he cannot drop any one or more and pass on to the next nor can he resort to the householder’s life after becoming a sainnyāśin (vide Dakṣa I. 8-9, Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 40) e. g. a man cannot take sainnyāśa immediately after brahmacarya. Manu (IV. 1, VI. 1. 33–37, 87–88) is the prime supporter of this view. The first part of the Jābālopaniṣad quoted above refers to this view. This view does not regard marriage and sexual life as impure or inferior to asceticism and on the contrary places it on a higher plane than asceticism. On the whole the tendency of most of the dharmāśāstra works is to glorify the status of an house-holder and push into the background the two āśramas of vānapraṣtha and sainnyāśa, so much so that certain works say that these are forbidden in the Kali age. The second view is that there is an option after brahmacarya i. e. a man may become a pariyājaka immediately after he finishes his study or immediately after the householder’s way of life. This view is put forward by the Jābālopaniṣad as an alternative to the first view of samuccaya. This is the view also of Vasistha VII. 3, Laghu Viṣṇu III. 1, and Yaj. III. 56. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 9. 21. 7–8 and II. 9. 22. 7–8) seems to favour this view. The third view of bāḍha is held by the ancient dharmaśūtras of Gautama 1007 and Baudhāyana. They hold that there is really one āśrama viz. that of the householder (brahmacarya being only preparatory to it) and that the other āśramas are inferior to that of the householder. Vide Gautama (III. 1 and 35) where he first

1007. तथाप्रमाणिकरंवते बुधेन । ऐश्वास्यम व्यासायः परमक्रमितानादिर्भद्रव्यः ।
भू. III. 1 and 35.
refers to the view about vikalpa (option) and emphatically says that there is only one āśrama. Manu VI. 89-90, III. 77-80, Vas. Dh. S. VIII. 14-17, Daksā II. 57-60, Vṛṣṇi Dh. S. 59. 29 and many others praise the āśrama of householder as the highest. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 6. 29 ff) says the same as Gautama and it relies upon the fact that the āśramas other than that of householder do not beget offspring and quotes Vedic passages viz. ‘may we, O Agni, attain immortality through progeny’ (Ṛg V. 4. 10 = Tai. S. I. 4. 46. 1) and ‘a brāhmaṇa when born is born involved in three debts, viz. he owes brahmacarya to the sages, sacrifice to the gods, and progeny to pitṛs’ (Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5). According to Brahmāsūtra III. 4. 18 Jaimini held this view, while Bādarāyaṇa seems to have been of the opinion that all āśramas are enjoined (ibid. III. 4. 19-20). Those who hold this view (bādha) rely on such Vedic passages as ‘one should offer agnīhotra as long as life lasts’ or ‘indeed Agnīhotra is a sāstra (sacrificial session) that lasts till one dies by old age’ (Ṛṣṭra. XII. 4. 1. 1), ‘one should desire to live a hundred years performing religious acts’ (Vāj. S. 40. 2), ‘after bringing to the teacher wealth desired by him, do not cut off the thread of progeny’ (Tai. Up. I. 11. 1). The Mit. on Vāj. III. 56 sets out these three views and says that each is supported by Vedic texts and one may follow any one of the three three. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 9. 21. 2) held the view that whatever āśrama out of the four one followed, one attained happiness if one performed its duties according to the śāstra and after a lengthy discussion Āp. arrives at the conclusion that there is no distinction due to superiority among the four āśramas. There were some who thought that the householder’s life was the rule and the other āśramas were for the blind and other incapable persons. The Mit. on Vāj. III. 56 refutes this view.

The word āśrama is derived from ‘śram’ to exert, to labour and etymologically means ‘a stage in which one exerts oneself’.

1008. एकाः अर्न्तम् त्वावाहणे अवतिर्भुवनाति। इत्याचार्ये अत्यत्तरस्वयम्। । जास्माते व विभुर्मिस्त्रिक्षणम् जाप्ते व विभुर्मिस्त्रिक्षणम् यक्ष देविः अवतिर्भुवनाति इति। एव। घ। II. 6. 22, 42-43.

1009. एवत अर्न्तम् तरं पवित्रितेः राजस्य। सत्यया XII. 4. 1. 1। कुष्ठेष्वर कामिनि। जीविनिवेश्चन्त समां। इति। एव। घ। II. 9. 21. 2.

1010. तेषु तत्वेऽत्र पुरुषसाध्वं वेदविष्णु: भवामन:। केस्मचन्दो इति। न तत्वेऽत्र वेदविष्णुः। भवामन:। एव। घ। II. 9. 24. 14.

1011. आश्रयते अश्रयम् इति आश्रय:। From this sense arose the meaning of ‘hermitage’.

H. D. 54
Commentators like Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa on Manu VI. 35 endeavour to bring about reconciliation between the three views set out above as follows: the view that a man may pass on to saṁnyāsa immediately after the period of student-hood (without being a householder) applies only to those men who are, owing to the impressions and effects of restrained conduct in past lives, entirely free from desires and whose tongue, sexual appetites, belly and words are thoroughly under control; the prescriptions of Manu enjoining on men not to resort to saṁnyāsa without paying off the three debts are concerned with men whose appetites have not yet thoroughly been brought under control and the words of Gautama that there is only one āśrama (that of the house-holder) relate only to those whose appetites for worldly pleasures and pursuits are quite keen.
CHAPTER IX

MARRIAGE

This is the most important of all śāmskāras. Throughout the ages for which literary tradition is available in India marriage has been highly thought of. The several words that are employed to denote the idea of marriage indicate one or more of the elements of the śāmskāra of marriage. Such words are udvāha (taking the girl out of her parental home), vivāha (taking the girl away in a special way or for a special purpose i.e. for making her one's wife), parināya or parinayana (going round i.e. making a pradaksina to fire), upayama (to bring near and make one's own), and pāṇigrahaṇa (taking the hand of the girl). Though these words express only one component element of the rite of marriage they are all used in the śāstras to indicate the totality of the several acts that go to make up the ceremony of marriage. The word 'vivāha' occurs in the Tai. S. VII. 2. 87 and Ait. Br. (27. 5). In the Tāṇḍya Mahābhārata VII. 10. 1 it is said that "heaven and earth were once together but they became separate"; then they said 'let us bring about a marriage, let there be a co-operation between us.'

Before dwelling upon the various aspects of marriage, the question, whether our authorities point to a state of society when there was no institution of marriage, but there was only promiscuity, requires to be considered. The Vedic works contain no indications about a society in which the relations of the sexes were promiscuous and unregulated. In the Mahābhārata, however, Pāṇḍu is made to state to his queen Kunti that women in former ages were under no control, indulged themselves as they liked and that they left off one man and

1012. एवं धार्मिक ज्ञान राष्ट्रस्वलयमस्वरूप धर्मविद्या विवाहसमारूढविवाहसमारूढ साश्रयविवाहसमारूढ श्रीमती राजा भारती. अन्वेषण प. 91.
1013. इनी व लोकी सहायता ती सिद्धापूर्ण विवाह विवाहविवाह सह नागरिकविवाह तत्त्वादि. विवाह VII. 10. 1.
1014. Vide आदिकृत्रिम chap. 122 (chap. 113 of cr. ed. Poona). Some of the verses may be quoted 'अनान्तं भिठित दुःख लिखि अवरं वर्णने। कामचार निर्दाहिता स्वविद्यायबंधिति ॥ ४।।' अंतर्ग्रह, रंगमय सन्निज्ज्ञानी ॥ ७; संस्कृत ॥ ३१. ३७-३८ 'बर्तं विनिमित्तं विषयवस्तुं जिति। एवमिन्तं मात्रातिर लोकान्तिरलमित्।'
went after another, that this state of things continued to his (Pându’s) day in the country of Uttara Kuru, that it was Svétaketu, son of Uddálaka, who for the first time stopped all this license and laid down the rule that if a woman proved false to her husband or if a husband was false to a chaste wife, very grave sin would be incurred. In the Sabhāparva (31. 37–38) it is said that through the favour of Agni women in Māhismat did what they liked and could not be restrained. These passages cannot be relied upon for proving promiscuity of intercourse. In the first place, the country of Uttara Kuru is more or less mythical. This passage rather gives expression to what the poet imagined about remotest ages and not what he knew was the real state of society thousands of years before him. The theory of an original state of promiscuity once advanced by several sociologists has now ceased to be respectable (vide Mrs. M. Cole in ‘Marriage, past and present’ p. 10.

The purpose of marriage, even according to the Rgveda, was to enable a man, by becoming a householder, to perform sacrifices to the gods and to procreate sons. The verse in Rg. X. 85. 36 shows that the husband took a woman as a wife for ‘gārhapatya’. Rg. V. 3. 2., V. 28. 3 speak of the co-operation of husband and wife in the worship of gods. Rg. III. 53. 4 contains the emphatic assertion ‘the wife herself is the home’ (jāyed-astam). In later literature also the same statement occurs. A wife was called ‘jāyā’, because the husband was born in the wife as a son (Ait. Br. 33. 1). The Śat. Br. V. 2. 1. 10 says ‘the wife’¹⁰¹⁵ is indeed half of one’s self; therefore as long as a man does not secure a wife so long he does not beget a son and so he is till then not complete (or whole); but when he secures a wife he gets progeny and then he becomes complete’. The Ait. Ār. (I. 2. 4) says ‘therefore a man, after securing a wife, regards himself as more complete’. When Ṛp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 12 forbids taking a second wife if the first is endowed with progeny and the performance of religious rites, it indicates

¹⁰¹⁵. अर्थां हि वा एव आस्मानो च ज्ञानां तत्सामिक्षणां च न विनिवृत्ते चैव तांविष्नुपादने अस्तमपि हि तांविष्नुपादितः । अर्थं पद्मव जापितं विनिवृत्तेऽविष्नुपादितं तांविष्नुपादितं अन्यं श्रवणं भवति । भवायः भवायः भवायः V. 2. 1. 10. Vide भवायः VIII. 7. 2. 3. also. The words अर्थां हि एव आस्मानो व्यवस्थां occur in सं. VI. 1. 8. 5. तत्सामि मुखं जापितं विनिवृत्तेऽविष्नुपादितं व्यवस्थांम्. रू. आ. I. 2. 5. न दूषितं विनिवृत्तं विष्नुपादितं दूषितं । भवायं 144. 66; अर्थां भवायं मुखं जापितं भवायं संविदतं सर्वं। भवायं मुखं विनिवृत्तं भवायं मुखं तत्सामिक्षणं आदित्यं 74. 40; आदित्यं स्तुतित्वे च तोकामार्यं च त्वमिष्टं । भवायं स्तुतित्वे भवायं भवायं स्तुतित्वे । समां ग्रहस्तिः विहृते विहृतदेवं विहृते विहृतदेवं विहृतदेवं विहृतदेवं विहृतदेवं विहृतदेवं विहृतदेवं विहृतदेवं ॥ ग्रहस्तिः विहृतदेभं विहृतदेभं ॥

The words ‘the wife’ quoted by अवतारं p. 740.
that the main purposes of marriage are two, viz. the wife enables a man to perform religious rites and is the mother of a son or sons who were supposed to save a man from hell. Manu (IX. 23) states that on the wife depend the procreation of sons, the performance of religious rites, service, highest pleasure, heaven for oneself and for one's ancestors. So these three viz. dharma-sampatti, prajā (and consequent freedom from falling into hell) and rati (sexual and other pleasures) are the principal purposes of marriage according to the smṛtis and nibandhas. Yaj. I. 78 is to the same effect. Jaimini (VI. 1. 17 ff) establishes that husband and wife have to perform sacrifices together and not separately and Āp. Dh. S. 1017 II. 6. 13. 16-17 emphatically says that there can be no separation between husband and wife, for since marriage they have to perform religious acts jointly.

Marriage is a composite rite comprising several subordinate elements which have to be done in a certain order and the last of which is seeing the constellation of the seven sages; it (rite) brings about the status of a woman as a person's wife. 1018

The first consideration is: how to choose a bridegroom and what qualifications make a person a very desirable bridegroom. Āśv. gr. (I. 5. 2) says 'one should give a maiden (in marriage) to a man endowed with intelligence'. The Āp. gr. (3. 20) remarks 'the accomplishments of a bridegroom are that he must be endowed with good family, a good character, auspicious characteristics, learning and good health'. Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 12 states 'a maiden should be given in marriage to one who is endowed with good qualities and who is a celibate (till then)'. Even the Śākuntala (IV) echoes the words of

1016. धर्मसांपत्तिक कारणं नाना प्रकारं कुर्वित। आय. ध. II. 5. 11. 12; the विशेष on वा. I. 78 quotes this and remarks 'तथा आपातनन्तरं धर्मसांपत्तिकं मयं नाना ध्यातं सदासवेच्छ धर्मं कुर्वितं पदम। भिन्नमतेऽव नोक्तिकेन'।

1017. जागरणादेव विस्मितं वियतते। पाणिग्राहणिः सहवंग कर्तव्य। आय. ध. तृतीया II. 6. 13. 16-17.

1018. कुपीर्धं विचारो नाना। वापातः मधुकरः कर्तव्यं ध्यातं सच्चतः: सनातनं विचारं। सनातनं विचारं। नेवा on मधु III. 20; तेन आयां धार्मिकमात्रेन अर्थं विवध। खन्ननुषय इन अध्यायः।

1019. धर्मसांपत्तिक कारणं नाना। आय. ध. I. 5. 2; द्वाराचार्यसंग्रह सनातनं मित्रसंग्रह। ध. तृतीया IV. 1. 20; चन्द्रगुप्तविद्याध्याय च तत्तत्त्वान्तरं नाथमय उपाधि। आय. ध. I. 3. 20; अनौपातिक यस्तः सनातनं संस्करणं। अनौपातिक IV (said by अनुपात्य); कृष्ण च द्राक्षसंग्रह च क्यों तथं ये सनातनं च। एतत्तत्त्वान्तरं परीक्षा कथम् रसायन संस्करणं यम in सनातनं I. p. 78.
Baudhāyana 'the best idea is to give one's daughter to a man endowed with good qualities'. Yama quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 78) says 'one should seek for seven qualities in a bridegroom viz. good family, good character, bodily appearance, fame, learning, wealth and support (of relatives and friends); the other matters need not be considered'. Brhat-parāśara (p. 118 Jiv. ed.) enumerates eight qualities in a bridegroom viz. caste, learning, youth, strength, health, support of many (friends &c.), ambitions (arthisvak), and possession of wealth. Āsv. gr. (I. 5. 1) and others place kula (a good family) in the forefront in the case of both the bride and the bridegroom.1020 'One should first examine the family (of the intended bride or bridegroom) as it has been said above (in the Āsv. Śrauta sūtra IX. 3).'

The Āsv. Śrauta reads 'those who on their mother's as well as their father's side through ten generations are endowed with learning, austerity and meritorious works or whose pure brāhmaṇa lineage can be traced on both sides (for ten generations) or according to some on the father's side.' Manu regarded a good family as the most important from the eugenic point of view. In IV. 244 he says 'one who desires to raise his family to excellence and eminence should always enter into marriage alliances with the best and avoid alliance with the low'; and adds (III. 6–7) that ten kinds of families even though richly endowed with cattle, wealth &c. should be avoided in marriage viz. in which the samskāras are not performed, in which there is no male progeny, which are devoid of Veda (study), which have hairy members, that suffer from piles or consumption or indigestion or epilepsy, white or black leprous. Manu (III. 63–65) explains under what circumstances good families are reduced to a bad state. Hārīta states that the offspring is in accordance with the (qualities of the) family of the parents. The Hārṣācarita (IV) gives expression to the view that generally the wise look to good family first even though there may be other qualities in the bridegroom. Manu II. 238, however, allows a man to marry a girl even from an inferior or bad family provided she is a jewel among women.

1020. कुतंभे परिषिद्द ना मातुरि: विदुन्तवेति यथोरं नुसामानुः। आयु: शु: ष 1. 5. 1;
आयु: शु: ष 9. 3. is 'वै च भाग्यं विदुन्तवं चमत्कृतं। विद्यावीर्यमयिः पुरुषीकं
कर्ममिष्ठपरंभवो द भाग्यं निन्देनां।' विदुन्तवैनं। These qualifications were
laid down for those who were to partake of the camasa offering in Rājasiyā. कुतंभसव: सा संबंधित। संबंधित quoted in संस्कृतसंस्करण p. 589;
पार्थिव च भाग्यं नुसामानु:। वैद्यावीर्यमयिः पुरुषीकं सभीतं। हर्षप. IV.
Yaj. (I, 54-55) emphasizes the importance of a good family famed for ten generations and freedom from diseases that are hereditarily transmitted and adds that the bridegroom must be young, intelligent, a favourite among the people and his virility must be carefully tested. The Mit. on Yaj. 1, 55 quotes Nārada (stripumāsa) who mentions some characteristics of the virile man and enumerates fourteen varieties of impotent persons (verses 11-13). Kātyāyana mentions what defective bridegrooms are to be avoided viz. the lunatic, one guilty of grave sins, leprous, impotent, one of the same gotra, one bereft of eyesight or hearing, an epileptic and adds that these defects are to be avoided even among brides. The Mahābhārata observes ‘friendship and marriage should take place between those alone whose wealth is similar and whose learning (i.e. the learning in whose families) is of equal status, not between opulent (well-off) and the poverty-stricken’.

Though Manu and Yaj. indicate that impotent persons are not eligible for marriage, yet such persons rarely married. Their marriages were held valid by Manu, Yaj. and others and their sons (by niyoga) took property as if they were aurasa sons. Vide Manu IX, 203 and Yaj. II, 141-142.

The Saṁskāraprakāśa (pp. 752-754) contains a long discussion on the question how from bodily characteristics one can find whether a man will live long or what his prospects would be. These are passed over for want of space.

Rules for the selection of the bride are far more elaborate than those for selecting a bridegroom, though in some respects they are the same (such as about the necessity of good family, about the absence of diseases &c.). Vide Vas I, 38, Viśnu Dh. S. 24, 11, Kāmasūtra III, 1, 2. Even the Śat. Br. (I, 2, 5, 16)

1021. जन्मत: पतिति: कुर्चि तथा प्राणा: प्रविष्टर्य: । बलक्षे:कल्मस्वस्थयात्स्वास्थ्य तथापर- ।

1022. पारेन सर्व विद्यादेह सर्वं क्षुद्रं । कखमान्य विवाहदेह न तु पुरुषविवाहोऽति अद्विष्टे 131, 10; compare वधोपययः 33, 117 सामान्यतः कुद्रेन न होमे समेत: सांवय स्वस्थ्यादेह कार्यं जा ।

1023. सामस्यापि नियंत्रणं रूपाः मान्यादीः किंतु निर्विवेकस्वते स्वरूपादिने धुरस्वरूप भक्ति पद्धतिः । सूचिकृतस्वते स्वरूपादिने प्रसन्ननिश्चित । सत्ता संवज्ञानात्मिकता कल्याण- समाजस्वत्तानात्मिकता। संविधानपूर्वक्षेत्राय: निरुक्ताय: अभिव्यक्ताय: तथापि एव श्वस्ताय: क्रियायेत। वामसुत्र III, 1, 2.
gives expression to the then view that broad hips and slender waists make women attractive. Āśv. gr. I. 5. 3 says\textsuperscript{1024} ‘one should marry a girl who is endowed with intelligence, beauty, a good character and auspicious characteristics and who is healthy’. Śān. gr. I. 5. 6 and Manu III. 4 and Yāj. I. 52 also require that the girl should be possessed of auspicious characteristics (or indications). These (laksānas) are of two kinds, bāhya (visible or bodily characteristics) and abhyantara (invisible). Āp. gr.\textsuperscript{1025} (III. 21) states a commonsense rule: ‘a girl on whom his mind and eyes are riveted will bring him happiness (or prosperity), he should pay no heed to other things; this is the view of some’. The Kāmasūtra quotes the view of Ghoṭakamukha ‘he should proceed to marry a girl on taking whom as his wife he would regard himself as blessed and would not be blamed by his friends (or persons in a similar station in life)’\textsuperscript{1026}. Manu III. 8 and 10, Viśnu Dh. S. 24. 12–16 say that one should not marry a girl having tawny hair or having an excessive limb (such as a sixth finger) or a deficient limb, who is hairless or very hairy, who is talkative and has yellowish eyes; but should marry a girl who has limbs void of any defect, whose gait is like that of a swan or an elephant, the hair on whose head or body is of slight growth and whose teeth are small, whose body is delicate. The Viśnu-purāṇa (III. 10. 18–22) adds that the girl must not have a marked growth of hair on her chin or lip, her voice must not be hoarse or like that of a crow; her legs and ankles must not be very hairy, there should be no dimples on her cheeks when she laughs, she should not be very dwarfish or very tall &c. Manu III. 9 and Āp. gr. (III. 13) say that the girl to be married must not bear names of the lunar mansions (such as Revati, Ārdrā &c.), trees or rivers, she must not bear a mleccha name or that

\textsuperscript{1024} भुजाकल्याणसृजनाय भृगुरायी भृजे । आर्यः सू. 1. 5. 3 । वसामुखितम् ।

\textsuperscript{1025} भृजे संवर्धनः बलत्वादुर्विवेद्याः प्रत्ययत्वादिनेतरेऽकं । आर्यः चू. III. 21.

\textsuperscript{1026} यथा धृतिकृतिर्मात्रायन वृष्ण न च सामान्यिनेन तथा प्रचीरापिति वृहस्पतिः । कामशृणु III. 1. 3.
of a mountain, of a bird, of a snake or of a slave or a name that is terrific. Āpastamba (III. 14) and Kāmasūtra III. 1. 13 mention that a girl should not be chosen, the penultimate letter of whose name is r or l (such as Gaurī, Śāli, Kamalū). Nārada 1027 (stri-puimāsayoga 36) says that defects of girls are as follows:—when they suffer from long-standing or disgusting diseases, when they are devoid of a limb or have already had connection with another man, when they are wicked or have their minds fixed on another; and Āpastamba (III. 11–12) states other defects of girls viz. one should not choose a girl who is asleep or weeps or has left the house when persons come to see whether she can be chosen. Vide Mārkandeya-purāṇa 3. 76–77 for guṇas and defects of girls as ‘brides’.

Bṛhma-gr. I. 11 says that there are four inducing reasons1028 for marrying a particular girl viz. wealth, beauty, intelligence and family. If all four cannot be secured, wealth may be neglected (as the least important of all); then beauty may be neglected if there is intelligence and good family, but there is a difference of view as to the latter two, some preferring intelligence to family and others family to intelligence. Māṇava-gr. (I. 7. 6–7) adds a fifth inducement for marriage, viz. vidyā (learning) after beauty and before prajñā. Vide also Vārāha-gr. 10.

Some of the grhyasūtras propose a peculiar mystical method of selecting a bride. The Āśvamedha-gr. (I. 5. 3) after stating that one should select a girl endowed with good characteristics (lakṣaṇas) proceeds ‘lakṣaṇas are very difficult to discern’ and therefore prescribes (I. 5. 5–6) that eight lumps of different kinds of earth should be taken respectively from a field that yields two crops a year, from a cow-stable, from a vedī (sacrificial altar, after sacrifice is performed), from a pool of water that does not dry up, from a gambling place, from a place where four roads meet, from a barren spot, and from a burial ground; then he should recite over the lumps the formula ‘ra (right) has been born first in the beginning; truth is founded (or fixed) in ra; may this girl attain here that for which she is born; may what is true be visible;’ then he says to the girl

1027.  
1028.  
H. D. 55
take one of these. According as she chooses the lump, it may respectively be deemed that she will have offspring rich in food (if she chooses the lump of the earth taken from the field of two crops a year &c.), or rich in cattle, or rich in spiritual lustre or rich in everything, or addicted to gambling, or wandering in different directions or poor, or that she will bring death to her husband (if she takes the lump of the earth from the burial ground). The Gobbila gr. II. 1, 4–9 speaks of these lumps and adds that a ninth lump may be formed by mixing up the earths of all eight varieties and that if she takes up any one of the four lumps of earth from an altar, furrow, a pool or a cow-stable or (according to some) the ninth lump, she may be selected. The Laugāksī gr. 14. 4–7 contains the same rules as in Gobbila. Āp. gr. 1029 (III. 15–18) prescribes a somewhat different method. If both sides agree, the bridegroom (or his friends) should place in one lump of earth several kinds of seeds (such as rice, barley &c.); he should take (a lump having in it) the dust from an altar, a third having a clod from a ploughed field, a lump having cowdung inside and (a fifth having) a clod of earth from a cemetery and keeping them before the girl ask her to touch one of them (the five). If she touches any one of the first four, that is an indication of future prosperity (of the nature of the object touched), but the last (viz., clod of earth from cemetery) is objectionable. The Vārāha gr. 10 and Bhār. gr. I. 11 speak of only four lumps of earth viz., from a field, from an altar, from a cow-stable, and from a cemetery and say that one should not marry a girl who takes up the lump of cemetery earth. Mānava gr. (I. 7, 9–10) speaks of eight lumps but substitutes a lump of earth where dūrva grows and a lump from under a tree filled with fruit for earth from a pool of water and one from a gambling place and adds that the eight lumps should be placed in a temple and if the girl takes up the lump from a cemetery or from a barren spot or from where four roads meet she should not be married. Many digests like the Gr. R. (pp. 13–22) contain long quotations which dilate upon the indications about the auspiciousness or otherwise of girls from their several physical features.

Gaut. IV. 1, Vas. 8. 1, Mānava gr. I. 7. 8, Yāj. I. 52 and several others say that the girl must be younger (yavīyast)
than the bridegroom and the Kāmasūtra (III. 1. 2) recommends that she must be younger than the bridegroom by at least three years. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 52 explains ‘yaviyasti’ as meaning ‘younger in age and smaller in stature’ (than the bridegroom). What the age of marriage was will be discussed a little below.

Gaut. IV. 1, 1030 Vas. 8. 1, Yāj. I. 52, Manu (III. 4 and 12) and others say that one should marry only a girl who is a virgin and of the same caste. How far widow-marriages and intercaste marriages were allowed would be discussed later on.

The Māṇava gr. I. 7. 8, Manu III. 11 and Yāj. I. 53 require that the girl to be chosen must not be brotherless. This requirement which has been not in force for centuries has a long history behind it. In Rāg. I. 124. 7 it is said 1021 ‘as a brotherless maiden comes back towards her male relations (her father’s family)...so the dawn reveals objects (or her beauty).’ In the Atharvaveda I. 17, 1 we read ‘like brotherless women let them sit still with their splendour gone’. Both these passages are quoted and explained in the Nirukta III. 4-5. In ancient times when a man had no son, he could make his daughter do for a son (i.e. she herself became putrikā) and stipulate with the person marrying her that the son born of her would be his (i.e. the girl’s father’s) son and would offer pīṇḍas as a son to his maternal grandfather. The result would be that the son of such a girl would not offer pīṇḍas to his father and would not continue the line of his father. Rāg. III. 31. 1 (a very obscure and difficult verse) has been explained by the Nirukta (III. 4) as referring to the practice of declaring a daughter to be one’s son 1032. Therefore, brotherless maidens were not chosen as brides and the Rāg. speaks of spinsters growing old in their parental home (Rāg. II. 17. 7). Vas. Dā. S. 17. 16 refers 1033 to

1030. नृहस्तः सूक्ति मार्गी विनिवेदनानन्यपूर्वः परियपराथ। नी. IV. 1; शृवध्वी विनीतकोषास्ताः......अनुपमेयनुभावपर्वस्ती सूक्तिभय मार्गी विनिवेदः। वसिष्ठ VIII. 1.

1031. अयोध्यं धरास्वरूपी मलिनी तत्त्विशिष्टस्य समवे घन्तानि। अयोध्यं परं परं चुकां तदन्तः। स्र. I. 124. 7. The Sāgasāstra on P. 747 quotes this Vedic verse, Yaska’s Nirukta thereon and Vas. also. अयोध्यं धरास्वरूपी मलिनी तत्त्विशिष्टस्य समवे घन्तानि। अयोध्यं। नी. I. 17. 1. The nikiṣṭ (III. 4) reads अयोध्यं धरास्वरूपी मलिनी तत्त्विशिष्टस्य समवे घन्तानि and explains अयोध्यं धरास्वरूपी मलिनी तत्त्विशिष्टस्य समवे घन्तानि तस्मादानि। अयोध्यं।

1032. यस्मात्स्वरूपी शरिक प्रत्यक्षानि। नी. IV. 3.

1033. दूरध्वा द्विगुता। निवासान्तः। अन्तर्द्वारं दूरध्वा। द्विङ्गमयेऽपि। द्विपयेऽपि। द्विपयेऽपि। अन्तर्द्वारं द्विङ्गमयेऽपि। द्विपयेऽपि। १५-१७। तृतीय विषयाति। नी. III. 15-17. The sūtra निवासान्तः is an echo of the explanation of the Nirukta III. 5 and the verse quoted also occurs in the विशुद्धमयेऽपि 15. 5.
Rg. I. 124. 7 and quotes a verse about a brotherless girl. Such a daughter at whose marriage the father made the stipulation stated above was called putrikā and according to Gaut. 28. 17 some teachers went so far as to say that a daughter became a putrikā by the mental resolve of the father alone (without there being an express agreement with the bridegroom). It is therefore that Manu (3. 11) ordains that one should not marry a girl that has no brother, as there is the danger of her being a putrikā. The Nirukta (III. 5) quotes another Vedic passage ‘one should not marry a brotherless woman, for she becomes the son of him (her father)’ and remarks that in this passage there is a direct prohibition against marrying a brotherless maiden (while in the passage of the Atharvaveda it is indirect, being involved in a simile) and it is also expressly said that she becomes the son of her father. In medieval times this prohibition against marrying a brotherless girl gradually was ignored and in modern times the pendulum has swung the other way, a brotherless girl being a coveted prize if her father be rich. In course of time popular feeling changed and no girl could remain unmarried if she wanted heavenly worlds. There is an interesting story in the Šalyaparva chap. 52 of the daughter of Kunigarga who, when told by Nārada that an unmarried woman could not secure heaven, married for one day Śrīgavat and then went to heaven.

There are further restrictions about choosing a girl for marriage. The rule was that a man should marry a girl of the same caste. So far there is what is called endogamy (i.e. rule requiring marriage within a certain large community). But within this large community there were certain groups which were prohibited for marriage to a person belonging to another group of the same caste or community (i.e. the principle of exogamy operated within the large community itself). The Hir. gr. I. 19. 2, Gobhiḷa gr. III. 4. 4, Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 15 require that the bride to be chosen must not belong to the same gotra as that of the bridegroom. They are all silent about the sameness of pravara. Gaut. IV. 2., Vas. Dh. S. VIII. 1, Mānava

1034. अतिनिमिन्नमेत्यनिकतेवेदेवताः। मा. 28. 17.

1035. नागरिकारुपंवितं तेजः क्षर्य तन्नेत्र तत्त्र अनुपुक्तस्य उपर्यायनगिरिष्ठिः मेघकः विद्युत्तमपुराणाः निविष्टः III. 5. Prof. Rajade in his translation of the Nirukta in Marathi regards this passage (Nir. III. 5) as interpolated, but his reasons are quite unconvincing. विष्णवं वा I. 53 quotes नागरिकारुपं as a text of the Bhāllavins.
gr. I. 7. 8, Vārāha gr. 9, Śaṅkha\textsuperscript{1036} Dh. S. forbid marriage with a girl whose pravara (or ārṣeya) is the same as that of the bridegroom; but they say nothing about the prohibition against the sameness of gotra. It is somewhat remarkable that some of the grhyasūtras like Āśv. and Pār. say not a word about sameness of gotra and pravara. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 9, Vaik. III. 2, Yāj. I. 53, Nārāda (strīpuṇja, verse 7), Vedavyāsa II. 2 and many others prohibit sameness of gotra as well as of pravara. Gobhila gr. III. 4. 5, Manu III. 5, Vaik. III. 2 and Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16 require that the bride must not be a sapinda or blood relation of the mother of the bridegroom; while Gaut.-IV. 2, Vas. VIII. 2, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 10, Vārāha gr. 9, Śaṅkha Dh. (quoted above), Yāj. I. 53 and others restrict the prohibition against marrying a sapinda girl to seven degrees on the father’s side and five degrees on the mother’s side. There were others like the Vedavyāsa-smṛti which not only prohibited marriage with a girl who had the same gotra as the bridegroom’s, but prohibited marriage with a girl whose mother’s gotra was the same as the bridegroom’s.

All these prohibitions against marrying a sagoṭra, sapavara or sapinda girl are extremely important, as the following considerations will show. It is a canon of the Pūrvamāṁśa that if there is a seen (dṛṣṭa) or easily perceptible reason for a rule stated in the sacred texts, it is only recommendatory and a breach of such a rule does not nullify the principal act. But if there is an unseen (adṛṣṭa) reason for a rule and there is a breach of such rule, the principal act itself is rendered invalid and nugatory thereby. The rule about not marrying a woman who is diseased or who has superfluous or deficient limbs has a seen reason viz. marriage with such a girl causes unhappiness (if she is diseased) or comment (if she has deficient limbs). Therefore, if a person marries such a girl the marriage is perfectly valid. But there is no seen or easily perceptible reason for the prohibition against marrying a sagoṭra or sapavara girl. Therefore, such rules go to the root of the matter and are obligatory and, if there is a breach of them, the marriage is no marriage, it is null and void. So even if a person goes through a ceremony of marriage with a girl who

\textsuperscript{1036} सर्वथा on आय. घ. घ. II. 5. 11–16 quotes अस्त्र ‘(उपनिषदोद्वितीयद्वितीय-ग्रहणालक्षणानुरुपंसामध्येनिर्मितोद्वितीय)’. The words ārṣeya, ārṣa and pravara mean the same thing. Manu is silent about the prohibition against marrying a sapavara girl.
is a sagotra or sapravara or sapinda (within prohibited degrees) she does not in law become his wife at all. These principles are very lucidly set forth by Medhātithī on Manu III. 11, by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 53, the Madanapārījāta and other works. Therefore, these questions of sagotra, sapravara and sapinda will be dealt with at some length later on.

The question of the age of marriage for men and women will now be considered. This is a very interesting and instructive study. The age of marriage for both sexes has varied considerably from age to age, from province to province and also from caste to caste even at the same time.1028 As regards men there is no special rule as to the age before which a man was obliged to marry. A man could remain celibate all his life, while at least in medieval and modern times marriage has been absolutely necessary for every girl. A man was to marry after he had finished his Vedic studies; but the period of Vedic study was fluctuating (i.e. it could be 12, 24, 36, 48 years or as much time as was necessary to master one Veda or a portion of it). Usually twelve years were devoted to brahmacarya in ancient times and as upanayana ordinarily took place in the 8th year (for brāhmaṇas) a man would ordinarily be 20 years old or more at the time of marriage. It is therefore that Manu (IX. 94) remarks that a man of thirty may marry a girl of twelve years or a man of 24 who is in a hurry to become a householder may marry a girl of eight. Basing on this the Viṣṇupurāṇa1029 (III. 10.16) says that the ages of the bride and bridegroom should be in the ratio of 1 to 3. Aṅgiras says that the bride should be two, three, five or more years younger. In

1037. अस्मिन्न प्रकरणे यज्ञो नातिः हस्तमतः महतेष्ठि; वत्स ‘अस्मिन्न च’ कर्णभ स्मृतिके, वदुलस्मे बिनासदस्युर्मितिर्परं । अतः सद्यावनतिविवाहः कविविषयं एव । ......

1038. In Z. D. M. G. vol. 46 pp. 413-426 (Dr. Jolly) and vol. 47 pp. 143-154 (Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar’s reply) there is an interesting discussion about the marriageable age of girls in ancient India.

1039. विष्णुपुराण महाभारतं रिुरितः। ब्रह्मचर्यम् III. 10.16; वणोदिताः

लेखनश्रेय दोषो वान्यो कर्मो संबोधिताः। स्रवणश्रोत्र हिन्दुप्राचीनम् पण्य संस्कृतेऽ आचार्य वि० १२५.
the Mahābhārata Gautama is prepared to give his daughter in marriage to Uttanka if he could be a youth of 16 years. In another place the Mahābhārata (Sabhā 64. 14 and Vanaparva 5. 15) uses the simile of a maiden not liking a husband of 60 years. That shows that girls were sometimes married to even old men of 60 in those days as rarely in modern times also. In the Mahābhārata (Anusāsana 44. 14) the respective ages of the bridegroom and bride are recommended as 30 and 10 or 21 and 7; while the Udvāhatattva (p. 123) and S. Pr. p. 766 quote a verse from the Mahābhārata that a man of 30 should marry a girl of 16 (but from the metre and context it appears that 'śoḍaśa-varṣām' as printed should be 'daśa-varṣām').

In the Rgveda there are no clear statements about the exact age when girls were married. But there are indications that many girls were married at a sufficiently mature age (at least they were not married at the tender age of eight). We have already seen (p. 435) that brotherless girls often remained unmarried till old age. One of the benevolent deeds of the Āśvins is that they bestowed a husband on Ghoṣa who was growing old in her father's house. Vide also Rg. I. 124. 7, II. 17. 7, and Atharva-veda I. 17. 1. In Rg. X. 27. 13 it is said 'when a bride is fine looking and well adorned, she by herself seeks her friend from among men'. That shows that girls were grown-up enough to select their husbands. Some of the verses in the marriage hymn (such as Rg. X. 85. 26–27, 46) indicate that married girls could not have been child-wives, but must have been grown-up. On the other hand in Rg. I. 116. 1 it is said that the Nāṣatyas (Āśvins) bestowed a wife on Vimada who was an arbhaga (of tender age). But all that is meant seems to be that Vimada was a mere boy as compared with his rival kings who had come as suitors. The two verses Rg. I. 126. 6–7 (which are rather too naive) indicate that girls were married before they had attained puberty. In Rg. I. 51. 13 Indra is said to have given to old Kakśivat a wife named Vṛcayā who is styled 'arbhā' (young). But that word is only used in contradistinction to the word 'mahate' (grown old) applied to Kakśivat

1040. शुचि नीरांवर्जी स्वधार भक्तिम नवमानि । शुचिनिः मद्विखं द्वितीयं च स्वा से ुस्मितिः
1041. धोभाये नदीत्वर्जने दूररोधे पाति पुर्वत्वम् अभिस्वयायान्त्वम् तथा ॥ वा. I. 117. 7.
1042. समाधी अवज्जरे भव समाधि भवानं भव । नन्दपुरियम् दशास्त्रीदात्रि साक्षात् भव सदायां अथि
1043. श्रीरमणम् विनावयाय जात्रान्तरित प्रमोदम् ध्येयम् ॥ वा. I. 116. 1.
and conveys no idea of her exact age. On the whole one may conclude that in the period of the Rgveda girls were probably married at any age (either before puberty or after puberty) and sometimes remained spinsters all their life. The other Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas do not shed much light on the question of the age of marriage for girls. In the Chān. Up. Uṣasti Cākṛayāṇa is described as dwelling in the Kuru country with his wife, who is said to have been ‘āṭikī’ which Śaṅkara explains as ‘a mere undeveloped girl’.

Coming to the ancient grhya and dharma sūtras, it will be seen from several considerations that girls were married just before the time of puberty or immediately after it. Among the several requirements of the bride to be chosen several grhya sūtras lay down that she must be a ‘nagnikā’. Vide Hir. gr. I. 19. 2, Gobhila gr. III. 4. 6, Mānava gr. I. 7. 8, Vaik. VI. 12. The word nagnikā is variously explained by the commentators. Mātridatta on Hir. gr. explains that nagnikā means ‘one whose menstrual period is near’ i.e. one who is fit for intercourse. Aśṭāvakra, the commentator of the Mānava gr., explains nagnikā as ‘one who has not yet experienced the impulses and emotions of youth’ or ‘one who looks pretty even without clothes’ (taking the word along with ‘śreṣṭhām’ that follows). The Gṛhyāstamātra (which is much later than the Gobhila gr.) explains ‘nagnikā’ as one who has not yet reached puberty. These varying explanations of the word ‘nagnikā’ are due to the fact that when some smṛtis and commentators wrote child marriages were not in vogue, while they were in vogue when and where others flourished. Vas. Dh. S. 17. 70 says ‘the father

1044. अद्वृत अभिः सहस्र मन्त्र वेषामुपयोगैत्य सुभविलान्तिः पञ्चमं खण्डम् । च. I. 51. 13.

1045. नववीहनेकु भृद्धचारित्राय सह जनार्दनबलिः आकाशम हस्यमाणे मधुराणे जयमाणे । द्राक्षरूप: I. 10. 1. संकर explains 'आदिवाला अनुवादजातयोगदित्वीय- वंजनम्'.

1046. ग्रामान्तवर्त्तो आशिर्यावज्जैत्यं सजळा निमिता मधुराष्टिमिश्रितसन्धिरूया। दिर्घोऽग्र. I. 19. 2, ‘निमित्तासां सारस्यावं ...तंसर्गाचित्तेष्चात्तां निमिता मेघनाभिः! जयमाणे: ‘नहुततीं करणामस्मथैत्यायुर्वयम् ...वयोपासिः निमिता श्रेष्ठम्.’ मानवाल. I. 7. 8. Dr. Bhandarkar shows that in many Mss. of the Hir. gr. and as handed down by oral tradition among the vaidikas of the Hir. संकाह्य the reading is सजळानिमिता (i.e. the girl should be of the same caste and not a nagnikā). Vide ZDMG vol. 47. pp. 143-46.

1047. निमिता नु वेषामुपयो वेषामुपयो जयमाणे। नामदेवी वेषामुनादित्याय अनुवादमन्त्रे नामिती नामिती नामिती। अनुविकारं नववीह: जयमाणे ब्रह्मण।
should give away his daughter while she is still nagnikā through fear of her attaining puberty (while unmarried)._ This shows that according to Vas. nagnikā must have been a girl of tender years or one that had not attained puberty.

There is another very important indication. Most of the gṛhyaśūtras prescribe that the married couple should be celibate for at least three nights after marriage (if not for a longer period). For example, the Pār. gr. (I. 8) says\(^\text{1048}\) 'the married pair should (after marriage) not partake of kṣūra and lavana for three nights, should sleep on the ground (and not on a cot, for the same period) and should not have intercourse for a year, twelve nights, six nights, three nights in the last resort'. Vide for a similar rule Āśv. gr. I. 8, 10, Āp. gr. 8, 8–9, Śān. gr. I. 17, 5, Mānava gr. I. 14, 14, Kāṭhaka gr. 30, 1, Khādira gr. I. 4, 9 and others. Such an injunction against intercourse for three nights after marriage would have been uncalled for and extremely inappropriate if girls had been usually married when they were only eight to ten years old. Such injunctions by so many authors presuppose that girls must have generally been very near puberty or past puberty at the time of marriage. Haradatta who belongs to about the 12th century A. D. expressly says\(^\text{1049}\) that (in his days) in certain countries intercourse was commenced immediately after marriage and that such a usage being opposed to Āśv. gr. I. 8, 10 should not be followed (but continence should be observed at least for three days after marriage). This shows that so late as 1200 A. D. in several countries the marriageable age of girls must have been at least about 14.

In most of the gṛhyaśūtras there is a rite called 'caturthikarma' (rite on 4th day after marriage). Vide Gobhila II, 5, Śān. gr. I. 18–19, Khādira gr. I. 4, 12–16, Pār. gr. I. 11, Āp. gr. 8, 10–11, Hir. gr. I. 23–24 &c. This rite has been described above (pp. 203–204) and corresponds to the garbhādhāna of later writers (e. g. Yāj. I. 11). As cohabitation is expressly mentioned in connection with this rite performed on the fourth day after

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1048. विरामकालावधीयालिनी न्यायामिनी: अर्थातः संसारं न निष्कामवेदिता वानुस्मायं निष्कामसम्पन्नस्सर्जिता। परस्परवत् 1. 8.

1049. केन्द्रितितिः यथा: नास्ते यथा अवधिस्वरूपं नित्यधिकारिनी नान्यमार्थ्यं नापन्ने। इति अवधि वयस्य यु. I. 7, 2, on which नास्ते also says 'विकसिता सत्य तद्यथा वेदिता '। केन्द्रिती लक्षणालिनी नित्यधिकारिनी नान्यमार्थ्यं नित्यधिकारिनी सिद्धि यथा।

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marriage it follows that girls must have generally been quite grown-up at the time of marriage.

In some of the grhyasūtras and smṛtis a slight prāyaścitta (purificatory ceremony) is prescribed if the bride has menstruation during the progress of the marriage ceremonies. Vide Baud. gr. IV. 1. 10, Kauśika sūtra 79. 16, Vaik. VI. 13, Atri (ed. by Jiv. part I. p. 11).

Gaut. 1050 (18. 20–23) says 'a girl should be given in marriage before she attains the age of puberty. He who neglects it commits sin. Some declare that she should be given in marriage before she begins to wear clothes. A marriageable girl (who is not given in marriage by her father &c.) should allow three monthly periods to pass and afterwards unite herself to a blameless man of her own will and give up the ornaments received from her father (or her family)'. This passage establishes that even before Gautama (i.e. 500 or 600 B. C.) there were people who advocated marriages of infant girls that did not care to put on clothes (i.e. who had no sense of shame if they went about without clothes), that Gautama disapproved of this view, that he only prescribed that the marriage of girls should take place before puberty and he was not horrified if girls got themselves married sometime after puberty. But it is clear that no blame attached to the girl married after puberty or to the husband; the idea, however, had arisen even then that the father or guardian incurred blame or sin by not getting a girl married before puberty. Manu (IX. 89–90) goes so far as to say 'A maiden may rather stay in her father's house even till her death, though she may have attained puberty; but the father should never give her to one who is devoid of good qualities. A maiden after attaining puberty may wait for three years (to see if she is given away by her father or brother &c.) but after this period she should seek a husband who is similar to her.' Anuśāsanaparva 44. 16 is to the same effect. Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 14 and Vas. V. Dh. S. 17. 67–68 give the same rule as in Manu IX. 90. But both add (Vas. 17. 70–71 and Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 12) that the father or guardian incurs the sin of destroying an embryo at each appearance of menses as long as the girl is

1050. वीर्युद्धलालद परम श्रव्यतालिनिश्चुर्यवस्यंवित्तकारकानां। प्रद्युन्महावलिः।
अभ्यन्तरवर्ती सिद्धविशेषः॥ महावलिः। अनुसारविषयः। यत्र। 18. 20–23.
unmarried. Yāj. I. 64 and Nārada (stripumsa, verses 25-27) state the same rule.

On account of this change in popular beliefs and sentiments it came to be recommended that a girl must be married early and may be given even to one¹⁰⁵¹ who is devoid of qualities (in spite of Manu IX 89). Vide Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 12 and 15.

So we see that from about 600 B.C. to about the beginning of the Christian Era it did not matter at all if a girl was married a few months or few years after puberty. But by about 200 A.D. (when the Yāj. smṛti was composed) popular feeling had become insistent on pre-puberty marriages. The reasons for this change are not quite clear. But it is possible to hold that it was due to the following circumstances. Buddhism had spread far and wide during these centuries with its encouragement of the institution of monks and nuns. There was laxity of morals among nuns. A further reason may be adduced viz. that girls had generally ceased to study anything, though some of them certainly did study in the times of Pāṇini and Patañjali, and so society did not like girls to remain doing nothing. From the times of the Rgveda (X. 85. 40-41) there was a mystical belief that Soma, Gandharva and Agni were the divine guardians of a girl and the Grhyāṣṭra-graha (quoted in the com. on Gobhila gr. III. 4. 6) says that Soma enjoys a girl first, then Gandharva enjoys her when her breasts develop and fire when she menstruates. Therefore, a feeling arose that a girl must be married even before she develops any distinct signs of femininity. Sarīvarta¹⁰⁵² (verses 64 and 67) gives expression to this idea. Further, since marriage came to be looked upon as the upanayana in the case of women, naturally the age for upanayana (3rd year) came to be looked upon as the proper age for marriage. Vide Sāṃskāra-kāustubha quoted below. It came to be believed that there was no hope of heaven for a woman who died unmarried.

¹⁰⁵¹ या यज्ञवार्ते कर्भन्ति नास्मिकं श्रवणार्थायोऽहि। अविद्व श्रवणात्मको निर्याप्तसहस्रं अन्वयते॥ चित्रं। षु। IV. 1. 12 and 15.

¹⁰⁵² तरसातां दु: सामान्य सामी कार्तवायं श्रवणार्थम्। (निस्ते।)। दु: वर्णविषयं श्रवणार्थाय। ...तस्तः श्रवणेऽवर्तमानं राजाः सर्वात्। श्रवणेऽवर्तमानं कर्तव्यसंधि अवस्ये॥ संसारं। वर्णं श्रवणेऽवर्तमानं। श्रवणार्था। वर्णयोगमीलम्। तस्तः। ब्रह्माणि। छात्र भगवान। जीवनं च विषयसंधियते। विषयसंधियते। संसारं। च। प. 699; विषयसंधियते। जीवनं च विषयसंधियते। जीवनं च विषयसंधियते। जीवनं च; विषयसंधियते। जीवनं च विषयसंधियते। जीवनं च विषयसंधियते। जीवनं च विषयसंधियते। जीवनं च। वर्ण छात्र। वर्ण वर्ण दो घरों। तस्तः। ब्रह्माणि। छात्र भगवान। जीवनं च विषयसंधियते। जीवनं च विषयसंधियते। जीवनं च। प. 138.
In the Śalyaparva\(^{1032}\) chap. 52 we have the story of a girl, daughter of Kuṇi Garga, who practised severe penance till she reached old age and yet was told by Nārada that if she died unmarried she would not go to heaven. The woman induced Śṛṅgavat of the Gālava family for a day previous to her death to marry her by the promise of giving him half of her merit (puṇya). The Vaik.

\(^{1034}\) (V. 9), while describing the ceremony of funeral rites in cases of distress, mentions the curious practice of finding out a male of the same caste for a girl, who dies unmarried though of the age of puberty, with whom a sort of marriage is gone through and the girl is then cremated. Whatever the reasons may be, this tendency to bring down the age of marriage for girls was accentuated in the first five or six centuries of the Christian era. The Laugākṣi\(^{1035}\) gr. (19. 2) says ‘brahmaçarya for girls lasts till the 10th or 12th year’. The Vaik. (VI. 12) says that a brāhmaṇa should marry a brāhmaṇa girl who is a nagnikā or gaurī and defines nagnikā as a girl over eight years but less than ten and gaurī as one who is between ten and twelve and has not had menstruation. Aparārka (p. 85) quotes the Bhavisyapurāṇa to the effect that nagnikā is one who is ten years old. Vide Sm. C. quoting Samgraha. Parāśara, Yāj. and Saṁvarta go even beyond this. Parāśara\(^{1036}\) (VII. 6-9) says ‘a girl of eight is called gaurī, but one who is nine years old is a rohīṇī; one who is ten years old is a kanyā; beyond this (i.e. after 10 years) she is a rajasvalā. If a person does not give away a maiden when she has reached her 12th year, his pitṛ have to drink every month her menstrual discharge. The parents and also the eldest brother go to hell on seeing (an unmarried) girl reaching the state of a rajasvalā’. Parāśara adds that the brāhmaṇa who marries such a girl should not be spoken to or admitted to dinner in the same row (as other

1033. असंविधायः कर्तव्यं कुन्तो लोकाकालविवेचः। भव्यपरं 52. 12.
1034. नवविस कयों पद नास्य भक्तिविनाय दुःखेन निः। समुद्रवं न दृश्येत। वैश्यससम्बन्धः। भव्यपरं 9.
1035. दृवस्वाभिः बालविः कुष्ठीयों ग्राहार्थविः। लोमाम्बिकः 19. 2. नाग्नको नाग्नको गतिको मित्यो कार्यो ...। वैश्यससम्बन्धः। भव्यपरं 9.
1036. वैवेक कथितं नेक्ष्ये वैष्णवं प्रथमं सैव च। नवविवः सन्धीयो भक्तियो स निः। ब्रववेशसम्बन्धः। वैश्यससम्बन्धः। भव्यपरं 80.
brāhmaṇas) and that he becomes the husband of a vṛṣali. On the other hand the Vāyupurāṇa (83.44) extols the marriage of a gaurī by remarking that her son purifies 21 ancestors on his father's side and 6 male ancestors on his mother's side. Saṅvarta (verse 65–66) has the same two verses as Parāśara (VII. 6 and 8) and winds up (verse 67) by saying that the marriage of a girl of eight is highly commended. The same four verses (Parāśara VII. 6–9) occur in Bṛhad-Yama (Ānan. ed.) chap. 3. 19–22, but the order is different. Aṅgiras (vv. 126–128, Ānan. ed.) has the same verses. Kaśyapa as quoted in the Gr. R. (p. 46) says that a girl is called gaurī when she is seven, a kanyākā when she is ten and kumārī when she is twelve. It will be noticed that the smṛtis of Vaikhanasa and Kaśyapa differed from Parāśara as to the definition of gaurī. Further the three smṛtis make marriage of a girl after puberty an extremely sinful act and condemn not only the parents but also the husband, while Baudh. prescribed only a slight praṇayacitta for the father alone even if there was menstruation during the marriage rites. Martoli (quoted in Par. M. I. 2, p. 177) said that choosing a bride who was five years old was best. Even Manu (9.88) recommended an early marriage if a very desirable bridegroom was available. Rāma and Sītā are said to have been respectively 13 and 6 at the time of marriage (Arṇyakāṇḍa 47. 10–11). But this passage appears to be an interpolation. In the Bālakāṇḍa it is expressly stated that Sītā and her sisters enjoyed in private dalliance with their respective husbands immediately after marriage. If this is true then Sītā could not have been only 6 at the time of marriage.

The rule that brāhmaṇa girls were to be married between 8 to 10 years became general from about the 6th or 7th century and continued down to modern times. During the last two or three decades the marriageable age of girls owing to several causes, particularly the ravages of plague and the economic condition of the middle classes, has risen very high and marriages of girls even of poor brāhmaṇas hardly ever take place before 16 and have to be postponed to the age of 20 and beyond. Besides the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929, as amended

1057. अनिलो गर्भधारिण: पक्षाध्याचारः सुप्राय: कुमारिनः दृष्टं वैस्तुरवते सस्त्रिः। श्रीनिवासकेशवरावः प्रबंधक।

1058. अनिलाध्याय स्त्रिया सच्च: राजनि तत्र अतृप्त: सर्वं अभिधी: सतिः।

"in 3 vol. with भोजपुराण's com."
by Act 19 of 1938) has fixed the minimum age limit for girls at 14 and persons getting their daughters married before the completion of 14 years are liable to be punished in a criminal court under the Act. There is no reason to laugh at ancient Indian writers for the low age of marriage they advocated. Child marriages were common in all countries of Europe. Even in England the age limits for boys and girls were recognised by the law only at 14 and 12 respectively until 1929, when the lowest marriageable age for both was fixed at 16 (19 and 20 Geo. V. Chap. 36). Besides it must be remembered that when marriages of girls of tender years took place they were purely a sacrament. There was no question of consummation which took place only after puberty. Sages condemned intercourse even with one's wife before she attained puberty. Winternitz in 'Die Frau.' p. 135 refers to a work of F. J. Furnivall on ‘Child Marriages, Divorces &c’ between 1560–66 A. D. in England from which it is clear that marriages of children of 9 or 10 (and rarely of even 2 or 3 years) took place in England only about 300 years ago.

These rules about the proper age for the marriage of girls affected only brāhmanās. Sanskrit poets and dramatists always depict that the heroines in their works are grown-up at the time of marriage and even Bhavabhūti imagines that Mālātī, the heroine of his romantic drama of Mālatimādhava, was so grown-up that it was practically a case of love at first sight. Vaik. (VI. 12) requires a brāhmaṇa bride to be a nāgukā or gauri, but does not prescribe the same qualification for a ksatriya or vaiśya bride. In the Hārpurāṣa princess Rājyaśri is described as quite grown-up at the time of her marriage which was consummated on the very day of marriage (vide the last para. of the 4th Ucchvāṣa). The Sāṃskāra-prakāśa expressly says that there is no prohibition against marrying a girl who has passed the age of puberty for ksatriyas and others. Even in Pauranic times grown-up unmarried girls must not have been unheard of. The Gr. R. p. 83 quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa where the injunction to observe complete celi-
bacy for one year, 12 days, 6 days or 3 days is construed as respectively referring to girls whose ages were 8, 12, 16 or 20 at the time of marriage. 1061

Another important question is inter-caste marriages. It has already been shown (pp. 50-58) how anuloma marriages were allowed, while pratiloma unions were condemned and how it was supposed that numerous sub-castes arose from such mixed marriages.

It is the contention of several eminent scholars (e.g. Senart in his 'Caste in India' translated by Ross p. 124) that caste as implied in modern usage and in its strict sense did not exist in the times of the Rgveda and the other Vedic Samhitas. We have seen, however, that the four varnas had been recognised in the times of the Samhitas and that ideas of superiority and inferiority due to being of a particular varna had become quite prevalent. But the practices as to marrying outside one's varna and taking food had not become as rigid and cast-iron as they became in medieval times. A few clear examples of inter-caste marriages may be cited from the Vedic Literature. The Sat. Br. (IV. 1. 5, S. B. E. vol. 26, pp. 272-275) narrates the story of the old and decrepit sage Cyavana who was a Bhargava (descendant of Bhrgu) or Ängirasa to Sukanyä, the daughter of king Saryäta, a descendant of Manu. The Sat. Br. (XIII. 2. 9. 8, 1082 S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 326) quotes a half verse from the Väj. S. (26. 30.) and then remarks 'therefore he does not anoint (as king) the son of the vaisya woman.' This suggests that a king might marry a vaisya girl, but her son would not have the Vedic coronation ceremony performed on him. Verses 17-19 of the Rgveda V. 61 are interpreted by the Brhad-devata (V. 50) as referring to the marriage of the brähmana sage Śyāvāsya to the daughter of king Rathaviti Därbyya. The story of Kavasa Ailüsa who was styled 'dasyāḥ putra' (either meaning 'the son of a dāśi or used as a term of abuse) by the sages has been mentioned above' (at p. 36).

1061. कुर्ल निवासे वर्षे तु धर्मं सम्पन्न स्वस्वभाविना । वर्षादी जयं वधानस्य तथा तन्त्रिकः।

1082. खुरा घुर्णस्त्रयं न पोषेऽधर्मस्य भनाधिकृतं स्वस्विभावित। भवान्य ग्रहणे वस्त्रं संस्केतेन दैवितया धृतेऽवयं संस्कृतम् तत्ष्वं संस्कृतम्। अति द्रास्त्रशुल्कं स्वस्विभावित संस्कारं नात्तु धर्माने

quoted in रूप r. p. 83.

1082. खुरा पहुँच, तत्र न पोषेऽधर्मस्य भनाधिकृतं स्वस्विभावित। शतकं XIII. 2. 9. 8. This verse has been quoted above in note 83.
Turning to the dharma and grhya sūtras, the matter stands thus. Some of the grhya sūtras (like Āsv., Āp.) do not expressly say anything about the varpa of the bride. The Āp. Dh. S.1063 (II. 6. 13. 1 and 3) requires that one should marry a girl of the same varna, who was not given before to another and marriage with whom is in accordance with śāstra and says that by contravening these rules sin is incurred. So he condemns mixed marriages. The Mānava gr. I. 7. 8 and Gaut. IV. 1 require that one should marry a girl of the same varna and are silent about marriages with a bride of another varpa. But Gautama knew of such marriages and enumerates the names of several sub-castes due to mixed marriages (IV. 14–17) and he includes among those who are unfit to be invited at a śrāddha dinner a brāhmaṇa who is the husband of a woman of the sūdra caste (15. 18). Manu (III. 12), Śaṅkha and Nārada1064 (stīrputrīsa, v. 4) say that the best course is to marry a girl of one's own caste. This is said to be pūraṇa kalpa (the foremost or the best procedure). Many also speak of a less advisable course (anukalpa, as it is called) viz. that a brāhmaṇa may take as wife a woman of any caste, a kṣatriya may marry a woman of his own caste or a vaiśya or a sūdra woman, a vaiśya may marry a vaiśya or sūdra woman and a sūdra only a sūdra woman. This is stated by Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 2, Śaṅkha, Manu III. 13, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 1–4. Pār. gr. I. 4 and Vas. Dh. S.1065 I. 25 inform us that some teachers allowed a dvija to marry a sūdra woman but without Vedic mantras. But Vasiṣṭha himself condemns it severely by saying 'one should not do so (i. e. marry a sūdra girl), for by doing so the degradation of the family is certain and loss of heaven after death'. Though the Viṣṇu Dh. S. and Manusmṛti state that a dvijāti may marry a sūdra girl, that is not their own view, but they simply voice practices and sentiments prevalent in their time, since both denounce the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a sūdra girl in the most un-measured terms. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 26. 5–6 (S. B. E. vol. 7 p. 112) says that the union of a dvijāti with a sūdra woman can never produce religious

1063. सूतराणां वाचानिन्औतापि गुर्णीं देव्येन कस्मिनः संस्कर्यः। पुरवत्स्माः संस्कारायं वर्षाननि वेलवते ते मैत्रेयी देवता। अभिः भृ. II. 6. 13. 1 and 3.

1064. वासुदेववाचानिक्षम: शुद्धीम स्याधिवः। सधनाः अपरांसि भार्या सतानीव विकल्पस्तिः। विपश्ची भागमानान्त्रेति हस्तरकृत्यावलिसद्य हु॥ नान्दुः। (अनुवाद वर्गीय 4–5).

1065. निःसत्र वासुदेवानि भार्याः वाग्यमासुर्णिहै राजनन्दग्रास्वा वैविवेच्यं न। श्रुताः। नवेतेष्वे नतयेव तत्त्वं। तथा न नुवर्तन। अति दो हृद दुःवर्णवर्ष्णि: वेदेन दानवः। वासुद. I. 24–27.
merits; it is from carnal desire alone that he marries her being blinded by lust; and that dvijāti men who thus marry śūdra women quickly degrade their families and progeny to the status of śūdras. The ancient editor of the Manusmr̥ti did not tolerate such marriages (though he gave expression to the common trend of view in III. 12-13) and condemns a dvijāti's marriage with a śūdra woman in the strongest language (III. 15-19, Manu III. 15 being the same as Viṣṇu Dh. S. 26. 5) ‘a brāhmaṇa by having intercourse with a śūdra woman goes to hell and by procreating a son on her he loses his status as a brāhmaṇa’. Yāj. I. 57 allowed a brāhmaṇa or ksatriya to marry a girl of his own varṇa or of the varṇas next in order, but laid it down as his emphatic opinion that ‘a dvijāti should not marry a śūdra girl’. It appears however that prevailing public opinion and practice was too much for both Manu and Yāj.; for, both declare (Yāj. II. 125 and Manu IX. 152-153) that when a brāhmaṇa has sons from wives of the four varṇas, the son of a brāhmaṇa wife takes four shares (out of 10 in which his wealth is to be divided), the son of a ksatriya wife takes three, of a vaiśya wife two and of a śūdra wife one. Yāj. (I. 91-92) recognises the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra and says that the son of such a union is a pāraśava’. Manu III. 44 also recognises the marriage of a śūdra girl with one of a higher class by saying that she holds the hem of the garment of a bridegroom of a higher class.

This shows that the ancient smṛtis ungrudgingly recognised marriages between a brāhmaṇa and a ksatriya or a vaiśya girl. But opinion was not unanimous about the marriage of a dvijāti with a śūdra woman. Such marriages took place, but were looked upon with disfavour and often condemned with severity. Anuloma marriages were frequent enough till the 9th or 10th century A. D., but became rare later and for the last several hundred years they hardly ever took place or they were not at all recognised as valid by the communities concerned. The epigraphic records furnish well authenticated instances of inter-caste marriages. The Vākāṭakas were brāhmaṇas (their gotra being Viṃsvavṛddha). The Poona plates of Prabhāvatigupta (E. I. vol. 15 p. 39) establish that she was a daughter of Candragupta II. (first quarter of 5th century A. D.) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty and became the chief queen of the king Rudrasena II of the Vākāṭaka line. The Tālangāḍa pillar inscription of the Kadamba king Kaukūsthavārman (E. I. vol. 8 p. 24) recites that
the founder of the Kadamba family was Mayūraśarman, a brāhmaṇa, who being exasperated with the Pallavas of Kāṇci took up the sword. His descendants have names ending in varman (as kṣatriyas should have, according to Manu II. 32). The inscription mentions that Kakushhavaran (who was 4th in descent from Mayūraśarman) got his daughters married to Gupta and other kings. In the Ghaṭotkaca Inscription of Yāśodharman and Viśnuyudhāna (A. S. W. I. vol. 4, p. 140) we are told that Soma, a brāhmaṇa and ancestor of Hastibhoja, minister of the Vakāta king Devasena, gave his heart to wives born in brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya families. The Tipporah copper-plate grant of a chief called Lokanātha (E. I. vol. 15, p. 301 ff) dated in the 44th year (probably of the Hārṣa era i. e. about 650 A. D.) says that Lokanātha’s ancestors belonged to the Bharadvāja gotra (p. 306) and that the maternal grand-father of Lokanātha was Keśava who is said to have been a pāraśava (p. 307), while Keśava’s father Vīra was a brāhmaṇa (dvijastama). Virūpādevi, a daughter of the famous Vijayanagar king Bukka I (1268–1298 A. D.), was married to a brāhmaṇa named Brahma or Bomanna Wodeya, who was the Governor of the Ārama province (E. I. vol. 15, p. 12). Vide also E. I. vol. 18, p. 87 (dated 894 of the Vikrama era) for Pratihāra kings being descended from a brāhmaṇa Hari-candra and the latter’s kṣatriya wife; the Ātpur Inscription of Saktikumāra dated in samvat 1034 (977 A. D.) which states that the founder of the Guhila dynasty was a brāhmaṇa Guhadatta, whose descendant Bhartṛpāṭṭa married a Rāṣṭramāta princess.

Classical Sanskrit Literature also yields certain well-known instances of inter-caste marriages. The Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa shows that Agnimitra, a son of Senāpati Pusya-mitra of the Śuṅga dynasty and a brāhmaṇa, married Mālavikā who was a kṣatriya princess. In the Harsacarita of Bāṇa (Ucchvāsa I towards end) we are told by Bāṇa himself that among the friends and companions of his wanderings there were his two pāraśava brothers Candrasena and Mātrṣena (i.e. step-brothers from a śudra wife of his father). Rājaśekhara, teacher of king Mahendrapāla of Kanoj, says in his Karpūra-mañjari (I. 11) that his accomplished wife Avantisunderl was descended from the Cāhuṇa (modern Chavan) family (i.e. from a kṣatriya family).

It is extremely difficult to say when exactly inter-caste marriages even between dvijatis came to be prohibited by the
smṛtis and writers of digests. Viśvarūpa¹⁰⁶⁶ on Yāj. III. 283 (not later than first half of 9th century) clearly suggests that in his day a brahmaṇa could marry a kṣatriya girl. Medhātithi on Manu III. 14 suggests that about 900 A. D. at the latest marriages of brahmaṇas with kṣatriya and vālsya girls took place rarely in his day, but not with śūdra women; and the Mit. on Yāj. does not at all say that though marriages among dvijātis (anuloma ones) were allowed by Manu and Yāj. they had entirely ceased to be regarded as valid by its time. Many of the medieval digests and writers like the Sm. C. and Hemādri quote verses stated to be from the Aditya-purāṇa or Brahma-purāṇa on matters forbidden in the Kali age (and so called Kalivarjya) among which inter-caste marriages are included.

The Āpastamba¹⁰⁶⁷ smṛti (in verse ed. by Jīvānanda I, p. 549, chap. IX) says that by marrying a girl of another caste a man incurred the sin of maheśātaka and had to undergo the penance of 24 kṛcohras. The Mārkandeya-purāṇa (113. 34–36) narrates the story of king Nābhāga who married a vālsya girl by the rākṣasa form of marriage and who consequently incurred sin.

The state of the law as to inter-caste marriages in British Indian courts may be briefly indicated here. By the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872 as amended by Act XXX of 1923) both anuloma and pratiloma marriages are validated if they are registered and solemnized according to the procedure prescribed by the Act. But if a marriage is not so solemnized under that Act, but under the general rules of Hindu Law, then all pratiloma marriages are invalid throughout British India.

¹⁰⁶⁶ भारावास च भारावासपर्वी सार्वतिर ममवेच। विषाल्लो यथा III. 283;
' न के विलिरनोय भारावास भारावास वतिरावासिंहियाद। सत्भस। क्रमरोपयिता तु भारावास विषाल्लो यथार्थसिद्धां।' विषाल्लो यथा II. 129;
ब्रम्हवासिंहियाद विशिष्ठसिद्धां जाताद। दुः क्रमरोपयिता। विषाल्लो यथार्थसिद्धां;
असिद्धां ब्रम्हवासिंहियाद विशिष्ठसिद्धां जाताद। दुः क्रमरोपयिता। विषाल्लो यथार्थसिद्धां।' विषाल्लो यथा III. 14.

¹⁰⁶⁷ The Sūrañjun of Śṛhṣṭiṣṭa (ed. by Jīvānanda vol. II, p. 112) quotes the verse विषाल्लो यथार्थसिद्धां जाताद। दुः क्रमरोपयिता। विषाल्लो यथार्थसिद्धां; from the Śṛhṣṭiṣṭa and Kāñcana-sūgandhaṇa, विषाल्लो यथार्थसिद्धां; from the Adbhūtadhyāna. The latter is quoted in the Veda. ma. (vol. I. part 1 p. 134) and in the Caturvarga- cintāmaṇi (vol. III. part 2 p. 667). The first quotation (विषाल्लो &c) occurs in the Nārāyanadvogram, पूर्वमम, chap. 24. 13.
But anuloma marriages have been recognised as valid by some High Courts in India; the Allahabad High Court, however, regards all anuloma marriages even as invalid.

The next restriction that the girl to be married must not be a sapinda of the bride-groom has now to be considered. Sapinda relationship is of special importance in three matters, viz., marriage, inheritance and asauca (impurity on birth and death). The prohibition against marriage with a sapinda girl applies to all varnas including the sudra. There are two schools about the meaning of sapinda, one represented by the Mitaksara and the other by Jimitavahana (author of the Dayabhaga). Both are agreed that a sapinda girl cannot be married, but they differ as to the meaning of the word. We shall first understand one interpretation of sapinda. The locus classicus is the commentary of Vijanesvara on Yaj. I. 52-53 a substantial portion of which is translated here: ‘asapinda’ (in Yaj. I. 52) means a woman who is not a sapinda and sapinda means one who has the same pinda i.e. body (or particles of the body). Sapinda relationship (between two persons) arises from (their) being connected by having particles of the same body. Thus, the son has sapinda relationship with his father by reason of the (fact that) particles of the father’s body continue in him (the son). Similarly (there is sapinda relationship) with the paternal grandfather and the like (of the


1069. तेन निदर्शये आशाये धनवदने च तिथा धारिणां सिद्धिः। निदर्शनिद्धेः पृष्ठ 284.

1070. पत्राधिकारिणां भासूद्। पितुः। कमतू। अधिष्ठिता। लिखितेः मधिमां श्रवण्येव निधिः। नामां न्यूनतत्त्वम्। उद्दीतान 2 पृष्ठ 108. The printed नामां (अधिकारिणां भासूद् पितुः कमतू) reads आ श्रवण्येव अधिष्ठिता। पितुः। नामां न्यूनतत्त्वम्। उद्दीतान 2 पृष्ठ 108. The word अधिष्ठिता in the Mitra means ‘connection or continuity.’
grandson and the like) because through his (the grandson's) father particles of the body of the grandfather continue in (or are connected with) him (the grandson). Similarly (the son has sapinda relationship) with his mother because particles of the mother's body continue in him. Thus (a person has sapinda relationship) with his mother's father through his mother; so (one has sapindatā) with one's mother's sister or mother's brother also by reason of the connection with (or continuity of) particles of the same body (viz. the body of the maternal grandfather). So also (a person has sapindatā) with the paternal uncle, the paternal aunt and the like. Similarly the wife has sapinda relationship with the husband because she produces (with the husband) one body (viz. their son).\(^\text{1071}\) In the same way brother's wives (are sapindas) of each other, because they produce one body (viz. their respective sons) with their respective husbands who are produced from one body (viz. their husbands' father). In this manner wherever the word sapinda occurs, there one has to understand connection with (or continuity of)

1071. The words 'तथा पत्ना सह पतिः पुनबिःपतिःपतिः' are translated differently by Golap Chandra Sarkar in his 'Hindu Law' (7th ed. of 1936) pp. 81-82 as 'similarly arises the sapinda relationship of the husband with the lawfully wedded wife by reason of (their together) forming one body' (i.e. one person, hence the wife is called half the body of the husband). The learned author thinks that his translation is the correct one and others went wrong in translating as in the passage above. His translation cannot be accepted for several reasons. In the first place, it is opposed to the explanation of the Bājambhaṭṭī बाजमभाट्य अन्वेषणमिति समवेतरे गृहरिति स्वाभववाचतुर्य (i.e. particles of the bodies of the husband and wife continue in or are concerned with one body, the son, that is produced by them both). That husband and wife are one is a pleasant fiction but here Viśnūdeva is stressing the physical continuity of particles. The husband and wife though said to be one are still two bodies. No one says that their bodies become physically one. Besides the objection that if they do not beget a son, the husband and wife will not be sapindas is not sound. Rules and principles are laid down for generality of cases and regard is to be had to their capacity to produce a son. The नियमस्य (III. विद्या p. 280) shows that G. C. Sarkar is wrong 'एकस्य विविभागान्य स्निविष्णुवः इवविनयितुः समस्याः परमस्थियाः स भूतविभागान्यविष्णुवः। परमस्थियाः परमस्थियाः स भूतविभागान्यां च भूतविभागान्यां च भूतविभागान्यां च भूतविभागान्यां च' A woman's husband's brother's wife is the receptacle (adhrā) for a son who is procreated by the husband's brother and his wife; the former of whom has particles of his father whose particles continue in the husband of the woman.
particles of the same body either directly or mediatelv. On the word ‘asapinda’ it was explained that sapinda relationship arises immediately or mediatelv by reason of the connection with particles of the same body; this may prove to be too wide a statement, since in this beginningless saussara, such a relationship might exist in some way or other between all men; therefore (the sage Yajnavalkya) states ‘after the fifth on the mother’s side and after the 7th on the father’s side’. After the fifth on the mother’s side i.e. in the mother’s line and after the 7th on the father’s side i.e. in the father’s line sapinda relationship ceases. These words (viz. sapinda...ceases) are to be taken as understood (in the text of Yaj.). Therefore the word ‘sapinda’ though it applies everywhere (i.e. to a very wide circle of persons) by the expressive (i.e. literal) power of its component parts, is restricted to a certain definite sphere, like the words ‘nirmanthya’ and ‘paanka’. And so the six (ascendants) beginning with the father and the six descendants beginning with the son and the man himself as the seventh (in each case) are sapindas; wherever there is a divergence of the line, the counting shall be made until the seventh in descent is reached including him (i.e. the ancestor) from whom the line diverges; in this way the computation is to be made everywhere. And so the fifth (if a girl), who stands in the fifth generation when a computation is made beginning with the mother and going up to her (mother’s) father, mother’s paternal grandfather &c., is styled in an indirect way ‘fifth

1072. There is direct continuity of particles of the bodies of the parents in the son and there is mediate connection of particles between grandparents and grandchildren and so on.

1073. As the world proceeded from the Creator every one has in his body parts of the Creator. In the Tai, Up. II. 6 we have ‘सोकालिकत नुक्ष द्वानवं...इब्न सर्वसंस्कृत’ and also in वर्धेन्द्र व. I, 2, 3. This is relied upon for limiting sapinda in Par. M. I. 2, p. 59. The words नाग्न: and नाग्न: of Yaj. are repeated in the Mit. and explained as नाग: स्वते and नाग्न: स्वते respectively and the Mit. adds that in Yaj. I. 53 (latter half) we have to understand the words सापिङ्ग्न: निवर्द्ने (sapinda relationship ceases).

1074. The word ‘paanka’ literally means ‘springing from mud’ and may apply to every water plant, but it is restricted by usage (rudihi) to a lotus plant i.e. the wide literal or etymological (yauagika) meaning of the two parts ‘paanka (mud) and ‘ja’ (springing from) is restricted by popular usage to a single plant springing from mud. ‘Nirmanthya’ is the word used for producing fire by friction. Literally the word means ‘what is to be churned’.
from the mother's side' (by Yāj.), In the same way 'the seventh from the father's side' (in Yāj.), is she who is the seventh in degree (from an ancestor) when computation is made beginning from the father and proceeding up to the father's father and so on'.

According to this explanation of the Mitāksara the following rules about prohibition based on sāpindya follow: (1) In computing degrees the common ancestor is to be included; (2) regard is to be had to the father and mother of the bride and bridegroom both; (3) if computation is made from the mother's side of either the proposed bride or bridegroom, they must be beyond the fifth degree (i.e., they must be 6th or further on) from the common ancestor and if it is made through the father of either, they must be beyond the seventh from the common ancestor (i.e., they must be eighth &c.). This last postulates four different classes of cases, viz. descent from a common ancestor may be traced through the fathers of both bride and bridegroom or through the mother of both, or through the mother of the bridegroom or through the father of the bridegroom and the mother of the bride. The method of computing degrees is entirely different from the English method as is made clear by the remarks of the Mit., translated above. The rules require that both must be beyond sāpindha relationship as defined and limited above. For example, tracing descent through the fathers of both bride and bridegroom, if the bride is 8th from the common ancestor (called kūṭastha in dharmaśāstra works) and the bridegroom is 6th, there can be no marriage, as though the bride is beyond the limits of sāpindha relationship to the common ancestor, the bridegroom being 6th from the kūṭastha has sāpindha relationship with the kūṭastha. These rules apply according to the Mit. only where the ancestors married women of their own varna. But if an ancestor married a brāhmaṇa girl and also a kṣatriya girl and a question arose about the eligibility of marriage among descendants of these two wives, then prohibition based on sāpindha relationship extends up to only three degrees (and not seven or five).

1075. Vide extract (text) from the निदर्शन in appendix.
1075a. तत्त्व समानवर्तितमि सब्दपृच्छिनव मित्तेश्वरि तु. निदर्शनम् साविकतामिनि। निदर्शना च ल. 13; the उद्दालनम् p. 109 explains differently the statement of Paśūthini. समानवर्तितमि सब्दपृच्छिनव मित्तेश्वरि तु. निदर्शनम् साविकतामिनि। निदर्शना च ल. 13; the उद्दालनम् p. 109 explains differently the statement of Paśūthini. निदर्शना च ल. 13; the उद्दालनम् p. 109 explains differently the statement of Paśūthini.
It should not be supposed that these rules of the Mit. are universally observed. The texts themselves are in conflict. Further, the customs and usages as to prohibited degrees for marriage are so divergent in the various parts of India and among the hundreds of castes and sub-castes that it is impossible to state any rule as universally or even generally applicable. A few examples of conflict among the smṛtis are cited by the Mit. itself. Vas. Dh. S. (8.2) says '(he may marry) the fifth on the mother's side and 7th on the father's side', while Yāj. as interpreted by the Mit. makes it necessary that the girl to be eligible must be 6th from the common ancestor traced through the mother and 8th when traced through the father. Paitihinasi says 'the girl must be beyond three degrees on the mother's side and five degrees on the father's side'. These two are explained away by the Mit. by saying that these texts do not authorise a marriage with a girl who is distant from the common ancestor by a lesser number of degrees than those propounded by Yāj. but they only prohibit marriage with girls who are nearer in degrees than those stated in those texts. But this reconciliation of the conflict among the smṛtis is not at all satisfactory.

The following diagrams illustrate the application of the rules of sapinda relationship according to the Mitākṣarā. In all of them A represents the common ancestor and the letters S and D represent respectively sons and daughters. According to the Mit., computation has to be made from (and inclusive of) the common ancestor in all cases and both the bride and bridegroom have to be beyond the prohibited degrees.

1076. यदृचि वसिदेनोकु र पत्रिका सत्मयं चैव महृदुः: बिनूसतवेशति, त्रिज्ञातिः महृदुः। वनातोर्वय च पिवन हृति च वैद्विनिष्ठा तदुपाड़िष्ठिनिविष्ठाः न बुललाभायत्वेशति सर्वेश्विनिविष्ठाः। सिद्ध या. 1.53; the words पत्रिका महृदुःकः सत्मयं बिनूसतवेशति are वसिदेनोकु र 8.2 (the preceding तुम् being कु रलय चैव महृदुःकः त्रिज्ञातिः). The निदर्शिष्ठ (111. वृद्धि. pp. 284-285) collects together more such passages, holds that they are not to be construed as allowing an option, but as referring to descendants one of whose ancestors had been adopted or where the descendants of one ancestor trace descent through a brāhmaṇa wife and a kṣatriya wife. सं. को. (pp. 612-613) also quotes passages similar to those in the निदर्शिष्ठ, but seems to hold that there is an option due to family or local usages. Vide सं. प. pp. 707-718.

1077. The निदर्शिष्ठ quoted in the चद्दात्तर (p. 116) is quite explicit 'संवादस विनाय वर्तन्तौ जातु जाताः संवादस विनायितविष्ठाः पाथयाः नागाकालिः'.
### Ch. IX | Marriage-Sapiṇḍa relationship

<table>
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<th>No. 1</th>
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<td>A</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>D (2)</td>
<td>D (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>S (3)</td>
<td>S (3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>S (4)</td>
<td>S (4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>S (6)</td>
<td>S (6)</td>
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<td>S (7)</td>
<td>S (7)</td>
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<tr>
<td>D (8)</td>
<td>S (8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here a valid marriage might take place between S(8) and D(8) because sapiṇḍa relationship for both is traced through their fathers and both are removed from the common ancestor A by more than seven degrees or generations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 3</th>
<th>No. 4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
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<td>S (2)</td>
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<td>S (6)</td>
<td>D (6)</td>
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<tr>
<td>S (7)</td>
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</table>

Here a valid marriage may take place between S (6) and D (6) because sapiṇḍa relationship of both is in this case traced through their mothers and they are both removed from the common ancestor by more than five degrees.

### No. 3

| S (2) | S (2) | S (2) | S (2) |
| S (3) | S (3) | S (3) | S (3) |
| S (4) | S (4) | S (4) | S (4) |
| S (6) | D (6) | S (6) | S (6) |
| S (7) |       |       |       |

Here a marriage may take place between S (6) and D (6) because their sapiṇḍa relationship is to be traced through their mothers and both are removed from the common ancestors by more than five degrees. But a marriage cannot take place between S (7) and D (7) as the sapiṇḍa relationship of D (7) is to be traced through her father and she is not more than 7 degrees from the common ancestor.

### No. 4

| S (2) | S (2) | S (6) |
| S (3) | S (3) | S (6) |
| S (4) | S (4) | S (6) |
| D (5) | D (5) | S (6) |
| S (6) | D (6) | S (6) |
| S (7) |       |       |

Here a marriage cannot take place between D (6) and S (6) as the sapiṇḍa relationship in the latter's case is to be traced through his father and he is not more than seven degrees removed from the common ancestor, though D (6) whose sapiṇḍa relationship is to be traced through her mother is more than five degrees from the common ancestor. According to Bālaṁbhaṭṭa and some others marriage will take place as D(6) is beyond five degrees (tracing through his mother), though S(6) is within 7 degrees (tracing descent through his father) and so is not outside sapiṇḍa limits.

All these four examples are taken from the Dharmasindhu (III Purvārdha p. 226-227). No. 3 illustrates what is called

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sāpindā relationship by ‘frog’s leap’. Just as a frog leaps from one spot to another leaving intervening objects untouched, so in this example No. 3, there is sāpindya between D(5) and D(5), but S(6) and D(6) are left unaffected by sāpindya (as relationship is traced through the mothers of both), while sāpindya reverts to affect D(7) and S(7). The maxim of ‘frog’s leap’ is a very ancient one, being exemplified by the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

The rules about prohibition of marriage on the ground of sāpindā relationship, particularly where cognates (persons connected through females) were concerned, have not been observed in numerous instances over wide areas from very ancient times. One striking illustration is the question whether a man can marry his maternal uncle’s or his paternal aunt’s daughter, particularly the former. On this point opinion has been sharply divided from ancient times. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8 includes among pathāya actions (mortal sins) sexual intercourse with the uterine relations (mothers and sisters) of one’s parents and their children. This would prohibit marriage with one’s maternal uncle’s or paternal aunt’s daughter. Baudh. Dh. S. I. 1080 1. 19-26 notes that there were five practices peculiar to the south viz. eating in the company of one whose upanayana has not been performed, to eat in the company of one’s wife, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of the maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt and there were five practices peculiar to the north. Then he proceeds to state the argument that those who follow the practices mentioned by him in countries other than those where they prevail incur sin, that Gautama (XI. 20) holds this last argument to be wrong and then Baudh. states his own

1078. कुटुंबायत्रापूर्व: कर्ययोग: संततै सापिदाकारादातः सापिदासासापिदावनि निसारिः; पर्यायोऽर्थम्: कर्ययोगः दृष्ट्वा तथा: संतती पितृवंशानासापिदासासापिदावनि सापिदावनि सातासापिदावनि सातासापिदावनि।

1079. मनुस्मृतिप्रका: ब्रह्मविद्याभुतस्य संसारी वा वा वा मनुकाविद्या वा वा वा मनुस्मृतिप्रका: वा

1080. एवद्वाऽकामविगीतिर्युक्तिः सपास्य: प्रस्तुतोऽर्थम्: विपिनस्य विद्यायाम्बिताः सपास्य: प्रस्तुतोऽर्थम्: विपिनस्य विद्यायाम्बिताः।

The above references are cited as follows:

The text is a translation of Sanskrit to English.
view that one should pay no heed to either set of practices, as both are opposed to smritis and the views of śiṣṭas. From this it is clear that a marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter was in vogue in the south (below the Narmadā probably) long before the Baud. Dh. S. (i.e., several centuries before the Christian era) and that North India did not go in for such marriages and that orthodox śūtra writers like Gautama and Baudhāyana reproved such practices. Manu (XI, 172-173) forbids such marriages "on approaching (for carnal intercourse) the daughter of one's father's sister or of one's mother's sister or of mother's full brother, a man must undergo the penance called 'cāndrāyana'. A wise man should not take as his wife (any one of) these; they are not fit to be wedded because they are (sāpīḍa) relatives, for by wedding them one sinks low (i.e., falls into hell or loses caste)." Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. II, 5. 11. 16 quotes a verse from Śatātapa\(^{1081}\) prescribing the penance of cāndrāyana for marrying one's maternal uncle's daughter or a girl having the same gotra as one's mother's gotra (i.e., maternal grandfather's gotra) or a sapravara girl and a text of Sunantu forbidding marriage with the daughter of the brother of one's mother or step-mother. It would be seen that all these relatives are third from the common ancestor and so are very much within the prohibition against marrying a sāpīḍa, whatever be the number of prohibited degrees for marriage that are accepted. Kumārila in his Tantravārtika while discussing the scope and validity of sadācāra (on Jaimini I, 3. 7) enumerates many lapses from good conduct attributed to great men and heroes of the past and tries to explain away those violations of good conduct. The charge brought against Vāsudeva (Krṣṇa) and Arjuna, the central heroes of the Mahābhārata, is that they respectively married Rukminī and Subhadra who were their maternal uncle's daughters (this being forbidden). Kumārila makes very scathing remarks against this practice\(^{1082}\) prevalent among southerners and then refutes this charge by saying that although in the Mahābhārata (Ādiparva 219, 17-18) Subhadra is described as the daughter of

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\(^{1081}\) Śatātapa: मातोद्रस्य हितायुष्मार्थो मानवोऽत्वसं तथेव ज। सामान्यमयुः सौः हितहित्व | अन्तर्यान: सिन्धुमधायतर्कः सापिळ्ळकर्त्ता सोधस्त्रलातः | स्थानोऽर्जपन्त्यमेव हृति। हरद्वा। अप. ः, II. 5. 11. 16.

\(^{1082}\) वासुदेवस्य प्रथम द्वितीयांवर्तेः तुष्टि। अभ्ये न सप्तसायन सनस्य संप्रदायिकः प. 204.
Vasudeva and sister 1082 of Kṛṣṇa, she was really not so, but that she was Vasudeva's mother's sister's daughter or was the daughter's daughter of the sister of the father of Vasudeva's mother (or step-mother Rohini). 1084 Kumārila argues that such female cousins one degree or several degrees removed are often spoken of as sisters. Vide my notes to the Vyavahāramāyukha pp. 200-202 where this matter is fully explained. This reply of Kumārila well illustrates the method of dealing with inconvenient texts adopted by Māṁśisakas like Kumārila when the texts run counter to their cherished views. Viṣvarūpa on Yaj. III. 254 quotes Manu XI. 172 and verses of Sārṅgara in prescribing the penance of Parāka for carnal intercourse with one's maternal uncle's daughter. 1085 Medhātithi on Manu II. 18 refers to this practice as prevalent in some countries, and says it is opposed to the rule of Gautama (IV. 3) about prohibition on the ground of sāpindya and explains how such practices might have arisen. Persons making love to the handsome daughters of their maternal uncles married them for fear that they might otherwise be punished by the king; it may be that others literally following the words of Manu IV. 178 held by the practice which their forefathers resorted to for fear of punishment. 1086 Among medieval writers, some condemn this practice, others justify it. Aparākṣa (pp. 82-84) after a lengthy discussion condemns marriage with maternal uncle's daughter. The Nīrṇayasindhu also does the same (p. 286).

Among those who support marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter the most prominent are the Sm. C. (I. pp. 70-74) and the Par. M. (I. 2. pp. 63-68). They both admit that there are

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1083. शुरु had a son वशुद्वेद and a daughter पुत्री (who being given in adoption to कुमारिता was called कुमारिता). Vide आदिवेच II. 1-3. The son of पुत्री (कुमारिता) was अल्म. हमंड्र is described in the आदिवेच as the daughter of वशुद्वेद and sister of पुत्री (कुमारिता). If these words are literally understood हमंड्र would be Arjuna's maternal uncle's daughter.

1084. वशुद्वेद वशुद्वेदकृतिति समुदयांत्यतं तथा वशुद्वेदकृतिति वशुद्वेदार्थै काल्याणा काल्याणास्रवणुभाराजात्राणा सुमंड्रता तथा साधुगुणद्विभाराजात्राणा साधुगुणद्विभाराजात्राणा सूक्तकेसि परिपुर्णावस्तुः सज्जनान्विते। तन्त्रानुसारं II. 210.

1085. आदिवेच II. 3 शुरु मद्या इति। आदिवेच II. 3 शुरु मद्या इति। आदिवेच II. 3 शुरु मद्या इति। आदिवेच II. 3 शुरु मद्या इति।

1086. किम् च वशुद्वेदार्थै काल्याणास्रवणुभाराजात्राणा स्वतंत्र काल्याणा स्वतंत्र काल्याणा स्वतंत्र काल्याणा स्वतंत्र काल्याणा स्वतंत्र काल्याणा एव। आदिवेच II. 3 शुरु मद्या इति। आदिवेच II. 3 शुरु मद्या इति। आदिवेच II. 3 शुरु मद्या इति। आदिवेच II. 3 शुरु मद्या इति।

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passages of Manu, Śatātapa, Sumantu (all quoted above) and others condemning marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter, yet they say that there are passages of the Veda and some smṛtis in support of it and śīstās (learned and respectable persons) observe this practice and so such marriages are sadācāra and not forbidden. They rely upon two Vedic passages; one is from the Śat. Br. I. 8. 3. 6 (S. B. E. vol. XII. p. 238) "thus the separation (of the eater and the eaten) is effected in one and the same act; hence from one and the same man spring both the enjoyer (the husband) and the enjoyed (the wife); for now kinsfolk live sporting and rejoicing together saying 'in the fourth or third man (generation) we shall unite'. And this is so in accordance with that (separation of the spoons)."

1087 The mention of the union in the third generation is understood by the Sm. C as referring to the marriage of a person with his maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. Viśvarūpa also refers to this passage (on Yāj. I. 53), but he does not draw the inference that such marriages are authorized by the Veda. Another Vedic verse is relied upon by the Sm. C and Par. M and other works. It is a verse from a Khila sūkta 'Come, O Indra, by commended paths to this our sacrifice and partake of your portion. They (the priests) have offered the fat seasoned with ghee that is thy portion, as the maternal uncle's daughter or the paternal aunt's daughter (is one's lot in marriage').

1088 This verse is referred to by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (I. 53) but his explanation of it is different viz. that it really indicates one out of four different alternatives.

1089 Vide Aufrecht's Rgveda vol. II. p. 672. The verse is अयाक्‌पित्रादितिः पित्रविधिरितिसिद्धान्ता

2. Aufrecht reads दुधा ज्ञतः for दुधि ज्ञतः: This occurs also in the निष्कारसिद्ध (XIV. 31 ed. by Roth, though some Mss omit it), where the reading is ज्ञतः for ज्ञतः: Aufrecht reads 'दुधा ज्ञतः' as meaning दस्तग़तः and adds यथा पौननवेशी निष्कारसिद्धान्तविद्वानि र्षयति &c. (P. 83).
as regards prohibited degrees for marriage.\textsuperscript{1089} Aparārka (p. 83) on Yāj. I. 53 reads the latter half somewhat differently and so interprets it as to spell out of it a prohibition against marrying a maternal uncle's daughter. This text is quoted in I. L. R. 7 Mad. 548 at p. 550. The Śrūtīcandrikā relies upon a passage of the Caturvīmāṇastimāta that allows a marriage of persons who are third or fourth in descent from a common ancestor on both sides (on the mother's or father's side). There is also a text of Brhaspati which prescribes that the practices of the countries, castes and families should be guarded (or enforced) by the king as they have been in vogue from past times, otherwise the subjects become inflamed and among such practices he instances 'Brāhmaṇas in the south marry the maternal uncle's daughter'.\textsuperscript{1090} So there is Śrūti authority for such marriages. Besides southern śiṣṭas deeply read in the Vedas and acting according to the meaning of the Veda practice marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter. Here both Sm. C. and Par. M. are on very firm ground. The Śrūtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha says 'among the Andhras śiṣṭas deeply read in the Vedas follow the practice of mātulasūtā-parinayana and among the Dravidas respectable people allow marriage of a person with a girl who is fourth in descent from the common ancestor'.\textsuperscript{1091} Among several castes in the Deccan and the Madras Presidency, not only is marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter allowed, but it is highly commended. Even certain brāhmaṇa castes like the Deśastha brāhmaṇas of the Karpāṭaka and Karhāda brāhmaṇas observe this practice in modern times. The Saṃskārakustubha (pp. 616–620) and the Dharmasindhu support mātulasūtā-parinayana.

Both the Sm. C. and Par. M. say that though the Vedic passage from the Ātāpatha is a mere arthavāda (a laudatory statement) in praise of a Vedic act, yet on the analogy of the words 'he holds (the samidh) above (the sruc) for gods', which

\textsuperscript{1089} Te Ātā-piśācī śrīnivāsī mahābhāṣīya: kalpa: \textsuperscript{1} \udabhi śatamāt śucāḥ śrīnivāsīyas: \textsuperscript{1} pahāra mahañcī śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucā

\textsuperscript{1090} Te Ātā-piśācī śrīnivāsī mahābhāṣīya: kalpa: \textsuperscript{1} \udabhi śatamāt śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucā

\textsuperscript{1091} Te Ātā-piśācī śrīnivāsī mahābhāṣīya: kalpa: \textsuperscript{1} \udabhi śatamāt śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucā

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\textsuperscript{1089} Te Ātā-piśācī śrīnivāsī mahābhāṣīya: kalpa: \textsuperscript{1} \udabhi śatamāt śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucā

\textsuperscript{1090} Te Ātā-piśācī śrīnivāsī mahābhāṣīya: kalpa: \textsuperscript{1} \udabhi śatamāt śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucāḥ śucā

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are construed by Jaimini (III. 4. 15) as a vidhi (as a positive rule) on account of their apūrvatva (not being known from any other source), these words of the Satapatha are also to be construed as a vidhi (of the marriage with maternal uncles daughter). The Sm. C. also presses into service the Vedic verse (Rg. X. 16. 5) addressed by Yami to Yama. But that mantra does not clearly refer to cross-cousin marriages.

The smṛti passages that condemn cross-cousin marriages are explained in a peculiar manner by the Sm. C. and the Par. M. When a woman is married in one of the four forms, brāhma &c., she passes into the gotra of her husband, becomes a sapinda in the husband's family and so she is severed from her father's family (as to gotra and sapinda relationship); but when a woman is married in the āsura, gāndharva and other forms, she does not pass over into the gotra of her husband, but remains in the gotra of the father and her sapinda relationship with her father and brother continues. Therefore the son of such a woman, if he marries the daughter of his mother’s brother, would be marrying a girl who is a sagotra and sapinda of his mother. The Sm. C. and the Par. M. and other works say that the smṛti texts forbidding marriage with maternal uncle's daughter refer to a person whose mother was married in the gāndharva, āsura and the other two forms, but not to a person whose mother was married in the brāhma and the three other approved forms. This is the reasoning of the Sm. C. and the Par. M.

1092. Jaimini's sutra is विधिः प्रकृतिकालोऽस् III.4.15. This is not commented upon by Śabara; but the Tantravārtika, which notices this fact, assigns several reasons for this omission and explains it as follows: in the मन्त्रिपुस्तक there is a passage अस्तलसाः पित्रसंहेत्येति which विधिः translates गार- 

hex. In the homa for pītra the samidh is held below the śruci in which the havis has been placed; in this passage it is said that when the oblation is to be offered to the gods the samidh is to be held over the śruci (in which the oblation is placed before being thrown into the fire). Here though the particle ‘hi’ (showing reason) is employed and though the present ‘dharayati’ is used (and not the potential as is usual in vidhis), it is not a mere arthavāda but a vidhi. So also in the Sat. Br. there is a vidhi about ‘मातुला-सत्तुपारीणयात्रा’ साधिते न युक्तपरिवर्तितम्। तत्रन्तरात् p. 899.

1093. मन्त्रिपुस्तकाद्विषेकः कवादमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा कल्याणक्षेत्रादिकृत्य नामस्य। श्रावणेऽ-विवाहेऽ विवाहाः कर्तव्यः कः नामस्य प्रत्येकः तथा। दिव्योऽविषेकः नामस्य निधिः। अविषेकः नामस्य निधिः। दिव्याविषेकः नामस्य निधिः। अविषेकः नामस्य निधिः। तथा साधिते दिव्याविषेकः नामस्य निधिः। परं माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। दिव्याविषेकः नामस्य निधिः। परं माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुविधि-करक्षितचिन्तनोऽस्य। तथा। माया दैत्यमात्राः विदितवादरसुvिधि-c
These rules about prohibition on the ground of sapinda relationship cause great difficulties in modern times, when owing to the rapid spread of co-education and the rise in the marriageable age of girls, love marriages have become somewhat frequent. Lovers do not stop to consider such (to them) trivial matters as sapinda relationship, but the law is often inexorable. The narrowing of the limits of sapinda relationship is permitted by the authors of commentaries and digests only on the ground of immemorial family, caste or local usage. For example, the same authors, who hold that marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter is sanctioned by Vedic texts and custom, condemn and forbid marriage with one's paternal aunt's daughter or with one's maternal aunt's daughter (vide below). There are a few verses cited from the smritis which favour the narrowing down of sapinda relationship. For example, the Caturvihanastimata\(^{1092a}\) states 'According to Śākaṭāyana there is no blame in marrying a girl who is 7th or 6th or 5th (from the common ancestor); similarly Manu, Pārāśarya, Yama and Aṅgiras say that one may marry a girl who is third or fourth (from the common ancestor) on both sides (i.e. from her father's side or mother's side). Whoever enters into such marriage alliances by relying on the usage of his country or of his family is always entitled to associate with people and this is seen from the Veda'. Parāśara (as quoted in the Nīrṇayasindhu and other works) says 'a man who is himself fourth or fifth (from the common ancestor) may according to Parāśara's view marry a girl who is 4th or 6th (from the common ancestor), but one who is himself fifth cannot marry a girl who is also fifth (from the common ancestor).' The Saṁskārākaustubha, the Sāpindyaśripikā and a few digests hold these verses authoritative and allow such marriages provided they are in accordance with local or family usage. As against this the following facts have to be remembered. One of the maxims of interpretation is that where there is conflict between smrti texts, the preferable rule is to follow the opinion of the majority.\(^{1092b}\) Gaut., Manu,
Yāj, Manu and numerous other smṛtikāras are opposed to these dicta. The second rule is that Manu has the highest authority among smṛtis and that smṛti which is opposed to the dicta of Manu is not commended. The above passages are opposed to the words of Manu on sapinda relationship and about marrying a maternal uncle’s daughter (Manu V. 60, III. 5, XI. 171–172). A third point about the above texts is that several eminent works like the Nirṇayasindhu and the Dharmasindhu hold that some of these verses are baseless and not genuine and that they really refer to persons adopted or persons descended from wives of different castes of the same common ancestor; and lastly even those works that support such narrowing of sapinda relationship for marriage do not advocate it for all and sundry, but only where there is a local or family usage to that effect. Therefore, marriages among persons who are 3rd or 4th or 5th from the common ancestor cannot be regarded as valid in general, but only on the ground of usage. The following diagram will furnish some examples of the narrowing down of sapinda relationship.

A (common male ancestor)

| D (2) | D (2) |
| S (3) | D (3) |
| D (4) | S (4) |
| | S (5) |

Here ordinarily there can be no valid marriage between D (4) and S (4) or S (5) because they are both not beyond even the fifth degree from the common ancestor; but if the verses of the Caturvimsatimatā and Parāśara be followed the marriages are valid. It should be noted that even under the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) marriage between D (4) and S (4) or S (5)

1093 c. वेदवैचिनिकनन्दकायामतं तु मद्यप्रत्याः। मन्त्रर्विविरोधताः यदि ४व । सायं सायं भगवते ग्राहयते। इदम् क्रिययते।

1093 d. धार्मिक इति हमारो चतुर्विंशतिमताः। तुततिः परमानं हस्त। इति। विज्ञानार्थानां वेदांचार्यिकमेत्यतां वाक्यविवेचनां, साहित्यविवेचनां, वाक्यविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां या वेदांविवेचनां विज्ञानविवेचनां

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will not be valid according to the 2nd proviso to sec. 2.

The Nirnayasindhu was not prepared to concede that such marriages, though not the best, were at least allowable as inferior (anukalpa). The Dharmasindhu stated that only in calamities when one is unable to secure a girl one may enter into a marriage where sapinda relationship is narrowed down, but that those who can secure another girl should not go in for it, as the sin of incest would be incurred. Such marriages did not take place except during the last few years and so the courts have not yet pronounced on their validity. The preceding remarks are made by way of caution only and it is quite possible that courts may find out some way to uphold the marriages when they come before them many years after their celebration. But it is well to remember that the validity of such marriages in castes that have no usage to that effect is, to say the least, doubtful.

There is a great deal of discussion in the smritis and nibandhas on the gotra of a woman. Asv. gr. S. I. 8. 12 is interpreted by some as laying down that husband and wife become of one gotra one year after marriage. Laghu Harita appears to refer to this and also proposes an option that she takes up the husband’s gotra immediately after marriage. Yama 86 and Likhita 25 say that after marriage on the 4th night a bride becomes one with her husband as to gotra, pinda and asauna; while Yama 78 and Likhita 26 state that she loses her father’s gotra on taking the seventh step. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 254 has a long note on this subject, states that there are two views and finally reaches the conclusion that a woman retains her father’s gotra even after marriage for pindadana, if she was a putrikā or was married in the āsura and the following forms; but if she was married in the brāhma and other approved

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1093 e. न च वद्वृद्ध दिति त्रि मित्रधम्म निन्दिनस्मित्व निषेधास्मित् III पुषार्ण प. 285.
1093 f. अर्थ साधितान गृहोमयन्त विवाहः सुखोवधर्मेन कार्यो कङ्गाणेन राधेन कार्यम् उपस्तिद्विवेशदुर्वेशिते। साधितान्गृहो चार्यनामानमधुचितपत्य सवद्वारादृ पतिमिनि III पुषार्ण प. 229.
1094. संबद्धै वै नव निवाचिते। आस्था. सु. I. 8. 12; नानावधि notes अन्ये सन्दुः मनावर एक नष्टे समयाय विनयभिषते पालितावर चन्द्रम इत्यर्थः। संबद्धे वै वै वै वै तज्जातं निकृष्टं हुस्तं। चिनिताप्रतिवादर्तकत्वं प्रमाणाय च। सत्तामीना नायकविष्णुविनुद्विना वुधाक्षपा लाल्याते र. 62-63; निन्दातै बैल निन्दातै चार्यसिद्धि दार्षातै। एकादश सा गता अर्थैं विनिता गौते च च। सप्ताहण अर्थयक्ता नारी विनिश्चाय सत्तेन पदति। नदविना नायकवी दार्षातै सन्धिस्करणाबलिताः। चिनिते 25-26 एवम 86, 78. The words एकादश…पदुर्त को are quoted by विनिश्चेत् on पा I. 254 and the verse सत्तामिन्त्व is quoted by the निन्दातै. on पा I. 254.
forms, there was an option viz. pinda may be offered to one's mother by one's father's gotra or by her father's gotra according to family usage. Vide also Aparartha pp. 432, 542, Sm. C. I. p. 69.

Both of them allow a person's marriage with his paternal aunt's daughter. Certain inscriptions at Nagarpunjikonda (of about the 3rd century A. D.) establish that the king Sri Virapurnisadatta, son of Sri Chantamula who had performed the Vajapeya, Asvamedha and other sacrifices, married a daughter of his paternal aunt (E. I. vol. 20 at p. 4). There are other authors, however, who, while allowing marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter, disallow it with a paternal aunt's daughter. For example, the Nirnayasindhu says that, though it follows from the same Vedic passages that one's paternal aunt's daughter may be married, yet such a marriage should not be contracted as it is hateful to the people, as there are no other passages laying down the advisability of such marriages. Similarly the Sm. C. (I. p. 71) and Par. M. (I. 2. p. 65) say that though marriage with one's mother's sister or mother's sister's daughter also should be allowed on the same grounds as those urged in favour of the marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter, yet it is forbidden since it is condemned by Sitas and is hateful to the people and both again rely on Yaj. I. 156.

Another and a very striking instance of the limits of sapinda relationship not being observed is the practice among certain sections of even brahmanas (such as some Desasthas in Karnataka and Mysore) marrying their own sister's daughter (i.e. their own niece). Vide Mandlik's Hindu Law p. 425. In Ramangavda v. Shivaji, the Bombay High Court held that marriage with one's sister's daughter was invalid among brahmanas; but in that case no custom as to the validity of

1095. वेदविविधव्यथाविषयकौपती भाषासाधरण सन्तोषाय लोकविविधम वर्णमालाश्रेष्ठ हृ दूरी मनुष्यविषयताय तमीलानाथविषयः न चार्यः। निर्यशास्त्रिन्ध्र भुव्यिर्मिः पृ. 286. The half verse agreed is ... चेतो तु is ya. I. 156.

1096. नवं च चाचि भाषासाधरणसन्तोषाय लोकानाथाय परिदेशात्वात्तव्यविषयः मातृव्यवस्था तत्री- विवधातितिः च बितितिः न परिशेषः । सत्याचैः न ज्ञातुः ज्ञातो न परिशेषः किं तु त्योऽन्वितः च विवधातितिः च। पुनः प्रथमाय लोकानाथाय तस्यात्वात्तविषयः । वदुः महुः । अतिशये लोकानाथाय वर्णविवस्था चेतो तु॥ सुप्राचरेः I. p. 71; vide सुप्राचरेः (भाषाविन च 131) for almost the same words.
such marriages was alleged. In Vellanki Ramakrishna v. Kotagiri Subbamma 43 Mad. 830 at p. 834 it is stated that in the Velama caste a man may marry his sister's daughter.

On account of these divergences about the limits of prohibited degrees for marriage it appears that the remarks of the Saṃskārakaustubha (p. 620) and of the Dharmasindhu (p. 228) are most sensible and practical. They say that even in the Kali age those, in whose families or countries the limits of sapinda relationship are narrowed down and marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter has been in vogue for ages, may do so, that they incur no blame by such marriages, that others (among whom there is no such custom) may without blame invite such persons for śrāddhas and may take girls from their families in marriage and that the passages quoted by Hemādri forbidding their being invited at śrāddhas only apply to those who marry a maternal uncle's daughter even though they have no such family or local usage.

Another question is how far sapinda relationship holds good in the case of girls belonging to the family from which one's step-mother comes. The Udvāhātattva (p. 118), the Nirṇayasindhu (p. 289), the Sam., Pr. (pp. 695–699), Saṃskārakaustubha (pp. 621–630) and the Dharmasindhu (p. 230) deal with this matter. They all rely on a text of Sumantu ‘all the wives of one's father are mothers, the brothers of these are one's maternal uncles, their sisters are one's mother's sisters, the daughters of these are one's sisters and the children of these

1097. Vide Printed Judgments (of the Bombay High Court) for 1876 p. 73.

1098. The Bhūtavāc I. p. 12 and the Nirmāṇabodha (p. 367) include अन्तःसंवारिष्टव्य among किलिंगान्य.

1099. अत: सिद्धान्तात् कलाविष येः कुले दृवेदिकल्पविवेच समिविकसतोऽऽध्याय: परंत्वविप्लवो ज्ञातपद्योऽव्याक्तः सूत्रः सामसंस्कृतांस्कृतोऽव्याक्तः सूत्रः अध्यायः अर्थात् सन्तान्यायाः येः सन्तानेन नैव दृष्टः। अतत् नैव पुरुषसिद्धान्तानां समिविकसतोऽव्याक्तः सूत्रः अध्यायः अर्थात् सन्तानिनात्निनात्नायाः परंत्वविप्लवा ज्ञातपद्योऽव्याक्तः। अर्थात् समाजसंस्कृतांस्कृतोऽव्याक्तः सूत्रः अध्यायः अर्थात् सन्तानेन नैव दृष्टः। सन्तानिनात्निनात्नायाः परंत्वविप्लवा ज्ञातपद्योऽव्याक्तः।

1100. निविंत्य: सर्वं मातास्वातंत्रेऽगुणावसंशायो गृहसमानसारसमस्यायां संवित्ति-स्तुतुपार्श्वस्य मात्रेनादिहि। अथवा दृवेदिकल्पविवेच सूत्व: पुष्करः। There are various readings in this passage in all works. Vide note 1091 where भृजः is somewhat differently quoted by हस्तम.
latter are one's sister's children; otherwise there would be sanākara (confusion). Two interpretations are placed on this, one view (and that is held by most) is that this lays down sāpinda only with the persons specifically mentioned,¹¹⁰¹ while another view (this is held by the Sam. Pr.) is that there is sāpinda for four generations from the father of one's stepmother. According to the first view a man cannot marry the daughter or grand-daughter of his stepmother's brother or sister, but his own daughter can marry the son of his stepmother's brother; while according to the second view the latter marriage also would contravene the rule about this extension (atideśa) of sāpinda.

Marriages with certain girls were forbidden by certain writers on the ground of what is called 'viruddhasambandha', although there is no question of sāpinda relationship in such cases. The Gṛhya-pariṣiṣṭa¹¹⁰² (quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu p. 289) prescribes 'one should marry a girl with whom there is no viruddhasambandha, e.g. the daughter of one's wife's sister or the sister of one's paternal uncle's wife (these should not be married). Viruddhasambandha (incompatible relation) occurs where the standing of the proposed bridegroom and the bride would resemble that of father or mother to the other (or of brother and sister). In modern times such marriages take place as a matter of course and no court would declare them to be invalid. Vide I. L. R. 20 Mad. 283 and I. L. R. 43 Mad. 830 where marriage with one's wife's sister's daughter was held to be valid, among brāhmaṇas as well as sūdras in the Telugu and Tamil districts, relying on Mandlik's Hindu Law pp. 484-485 and other authorities. In Ramchandra v. Gopal 32 Bom. 619 at pp. 630-631 the court approves of the decision in 20 Mad. 283 and holds that the dicta as to viruddha-sambandha are only recommendatory.

¹¹⁰¹. अन वायदज्ञन वाचलनिकामिति ना वायदज्ञनान ज न सा भनि 
विशेषतमिति महावर्तमानसह सहन। स. कौ. p. 624. For the maxim वायदज्ञन वाचलनिकामिति ना वायदज्ञनान ज न सा भनि vide Sabara's मात्र pp. 1324 (on जै. V. 3. 12) 'पावज्ञन वाचलनिकामिति ना वायदज्ञनान ज न सा भनि' and p. 1339 (on जै. V. 4. 11) 'पावज्ञन वाचलनिकामिति ना वायदज्ञनान ज न सा भनि'.

¹¹⁰². वहि  
विशेषतमिति ना वायदज्ञनान ज न सा भनि:
विशेषतमिति ना वायदज्ञनान ज न सा भनि:
विशेषतमिति ना वायदज्ञनान ज न सा भनि:
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विशेषतमिति ना वायद�्ञनान ज न सा भनि:
विशेषतमिति ना वायदज्ञनान ज न सा भनि:
विशेषतमिति ना वायदज्ञनान ज न सा भनि:
About the sapinda relationship of the adopted son as regards marriage, āśauca and śrāddha a good deal is said in many works such as Saṁ. K. (pp. 182–186), Nīrṇayasanthu (pp. 290–291), the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Saṁ. Pr. (pp. 688–694), Saṁ. R. M. (pp. 453–456). Sāṃśṣa for āśauca and śrāddha will be dealt with later on. As to sāṃśṣa for marriage in the case of adoption there is great divergence of views. The Saṁ. Pr. (p. 690) says that the son given in adoption has sāṃśṣa for seven generations with his genitive father and for three generations with the adoptive father (pp. 693–694). The Saṁ. K. appears to hold, after quoting several views, that if the upanayana of the adopted boy was performed in the family of birth, then he has sāṃśṣa with the genitive family for seven generations. But if the ceremonies from jātakarma to upanayana are performed in the adoptive family then he has sāṃśṣa in the adoptive family for seven generations, but only for five generations if only upanayana is performed in the family of adoption. The Nīrṇayasanthu gives its own view that there is sāṃśṣa in both families for seven generations. The Vyavahāramayūkha holds (following Gautama IV. 3) that in the case of kevāla dattaka (the ordinary adopted son) sapinda relationship extends to seven degrees in the adoptive father’s family and five degrees in the adoptive mother’s family. The Dharmaśindhu follows the Saṁ. K. generally but it makes one significant remark. It says that several writers hold that in the case of dattaka, sāṃśṣa is to be observed for a lesser number of degrees (than seven or five) in both families. The Saṁ. R. M. (p. 454) says that the limits of sāṃśṣa spoken of as applying to an adopted person extend to his children also. As the limits of sāṃśṣa for marriage are very much narrowed down when marriage with one’s maternal uncle’s daughter or one’s niece is allowed, on the other hand certain communities extend such limits too much. The Deśastha brāhmaṇas of the Mādhyanāma śākhā in the Deccan do not

1103. तस्मादेको दुर्योगानिष्टवता निपीडित्वमक्तिः विदृष्टम्। अस्य निर्देशेन निष्क्रियानि सार्वज्ञता पारिवर्त्तन्त तयानशेषस्त्रयोऽपि दुर्योगा प्रतिभाः यदि तत्वावधानप्रियः। अत्यधिकदशापश्राहायेऽगम्य। सं. प. प. 693–694.

1104. अह च केवलस्वस्य पार्वतपिपुलः सामायिक भारुस्तु क वाक्योऽच्छिन्दी सामायिकः। अपवेषणाविशेषं। सं. प. 119, my edition.

1105. केवलुप दुर्योगानाय कुलदैवणि वर्षा। नूलक्षेत्र सामायिकविशेषः। संस्कृतम्। प. 161.

1106. नाकुनको वेपकाशोऽथ। सामायिकः। मनुस्मृतिः। नाखांत्रा। नाखांत्रा। प. 454.
marry a girl whose father's gotra is the same as the gotra of the bridegroom's maternal grandfather. Manu III. 5 lays down 'that girl who is not a sāpindā of the mother (of the bridegroom) and who is not a sāgotra of the father (of the bridegroom) is commended in the case of twice-born classes'. Many commentators and digests like Kullūka, the Madana-pārijāta (p. 132), the Dipakalikā, the Udāhastattva (p. 107) understand the word asagotra (in Manu III. 5) after 'mātuh' also, and thus forbid marriage with a girl whose gotra is the same as that of one's mother (i.e. of one's maternal grandfather). Medhātithi on Manu III. 5 quotes a text of Vasiṣṭha which prescribes the penance of cāndrayapa for marrying a girl who has the same gotra as the bridegroom's mother (i.e. his mother's father) and abandonment of her. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16 quotes a similar verse from Śatātapa. Kullūka, the Sm. C. (I. p. 69), Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16, the Gr. R. (p. 10), Udāhastattva p. 107 and other digests quote a verse of Vṛṣāsa 'some do not desire for marriage a girl who has the same gotra as one's mother; but one may marry without question (or fear) a girl when her birth and name (as connected with one's mother's original gotra) are unknown'. A woman on marriage loses her original gotra and passes over into the gotra of her husband; so the words 'sagotra' of the mother simply mean 'having the same gotra as one's mother once had in her maiden state'. The Sm. C. (I. p. 69) takes this verse to refer only to a woman who was made an appointed daughter (putrikā) by her father. Halāyudha also held the same view. But other writers do not approve of this (vide the Gr. R., p. 10). The Nirnayasindhu (III. pārvārdha p. 302) forbids marriage with a girl who is sagotra of one's mother, but the Sam. K. (p. 693) and the Dharmasindhu both say, after quoting a text of Saṭyāśāda, that this restriction applies only to those who study the Mādhyan-dina śākha.

1107. परिषिद्धि समानां हि समानमनस्तत्तथा। छल्ला तत्तः सहस्त्रवर्ष विषजन्यापरापराय चरसित। मातृकत्य सुहृत्वा चैव मातृशक्तिः हलायुधः। वसिद्धिं विदेहिण्ये। Manu III. 5 presents various readings, viz. 'दूरतकामिनी मेलुः', 'दूरतकामिनी मेलुः', 'दूरतकामिनी मेलुः', Vide मेलुः thereon.

1108. मायावित्साधसाधारानां संवभां मानुषोऽवं न वष्टोऽवं, किं तद्धात्याविनाविन-नामेन। मायावित्साधारानाविनात्मित्वं सत्यावारोऽवं। सं. की. p. 693; 'इदं मायावित्साधारानां मायावित्साधारानामाध्यान्तितं सत्यावारोऽवं। कथितानिर्वाहिताम्।' निम्पर्यसिद्धि III, पुष्पां p. 302.
The Bengal school represented by the Dāyabhāga and Raghunandana differ from the Mitākṣara in the interpretation of the word ‘sapinda’. In this system the word ‘pinda’ is taken to mean ‘the ball of rice’ that is offered in śrāddhas to deceased ancestors &c. (while under the Mit. interpretation ‘pinda’ means body or particles of body). Sapinda means ‘one who is connected with another through oblations of food’. The author of the Dāyabhāga propounds his theory with reference to inheritance and he himself says that with reference to āśauca 1109 sapinda relationship is to be differently understood. Further Jīmutāvāhana does not set forth his theory of sapinda relationship with reference to marriage. His theory is that in matters of inheritance the guiding principle is the spiritual benefit (upakārakatva) conferred on the deceased through oblations of food, and he relies on Manu (IX. 106) for this proposition. For his sapinda theory he principally relies on two passages, Baud. 1110 Dh. S. I. 5. 113–115 and Manu IX. 186–187. Baudhāyana’s words are ‘the paternal great-grand-father, the paternal grand-father, the father, the man himself, his full brothers, his son, grandson and son’s son from a woman of the same varṇa: all these participating in undivided dāya (heritage) are called sapindas. Those who participate in divided dāya are called sakulyas. Thus issue of the body existing, wealth goes to them; on failure of sapindas, the sakulyas’. The text of Manu (IX. 186–187) is ‘To three, libations of water must be given; towards three pinda proceeds; the fourth is the giver of these (of water and pindas), there is no fifth properly (concerned in this). Whoever is the nearest among sapindas, his becomes the wealth of him (who dies). After him the sakulya becomes (the heir) &c’. Jīmutāvāhana’s explanation of this text is as follows: ‘A man when living offers pindas to his three male ancestors; but when he himself dies, his son performs

1109. मथेन्द्रासांतवेन ठानसपिंदयः दुर्गमण्ड्रा chap. 11. sec. 32; हुनुधारप्रतिनिधिके पारितत्त्वं सुकुमारोऽपि दुर्गमण्ड्रा। अतिरिक्तं दुर्गमण्ड्रांविषेण तत्त्वकुमारसपिंदांमयां मार्गशीर्षांके तिथियुपद्धतिस्वयं विनिःसङ्कोचसपिंदांमयां विनिःसङ्कोचसपिंदां। कथा: कथा: कथा: कथा:। मथेन्द्रारूपायस्य सपिंदाकर्त्तव्यस्य सन्तोषयोगिनि: संयुक्तं सपिंदाकर्त्तव्यस्य सन्तोषयोगिनि:। असफलम्युपद्धतिः। दुर्गमण्ड्रा chap. 11 sections 39–41 (Jitendrananda’s ed.). The passage occurs in आधुनिकसूचना 28. 3–4 and also in आधुनिकसूचना 112.17–18.

1110. अतिरिक्तं विनिःसङ्कोचितस्य संरक्षणस्य संरक्षणस्य दुर्गमण्ड्राः। पवित्रसत्वपरिश्रमायां पवित्रसत्वपरिश्रमायां। विनिःसङ्कोचसपिंदांभिन्नसयं। सत्त्वकत्वात्। दुर्गमण्ड्रां परिश्रमायां। पवित्रसत्वात्। सत्त्वकत्वात्। सत्त्वकत्वात्। पवित्रसत्वात्। तत्साधनसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधनोऽसाधन0
the sapinda for him, he is made one with the pitras and he then begins to participate along with his father and grandfather in the three pindas offered by his son to the latter's three ancestors. Thus those to whom he offers pindas and those who offer pindas to him are called, since they share in undivided oblations, avibhaktadāyāda sapindas. Several objections can be raised against the theory of Jimūtavahana. In the first place he assigns the meaning of pinda to the word dāya in Baudhāyana's passage for which there is no warrant. Baudhāyana really means that those enumerated by him are called sapindas who take undivided wealth i.e. who constitute an undivided family. In the next place on his interpretation the word sapinda has to be interpreted in entirely different ways for āśuca and marriage. Besides he himself is not sure of his ground, since he says that although learned men may not approve of his theory that spiritual benefit is the guiding principle in taking property by inheritance they must admit that the order of heirs as stated by him relying on Manu IX. 186-187 is the proper one. 1112

The following table illustrates the sapindas expressly so stated by the Dāyabhāga where P stands for the propositus, S for son and F for father:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GGF12</th>
<th>S13</th>
<th>S14</th>
<th>S15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GF8</td>
<td>S9</td>
<td>S10</td>
<td>S11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>S5</td>
<td>S6</td>
<td>S7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>S3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1111. In the Sapindikaraṇa rite four pindas are made, one for the deceased person whose sapindikaraṇa is to be effected and three for that person's three paternal ancestors and the pindas are mixed up, thereby indicating that from being a mere preta (one belonging to the region of the unredeemed dead) he becomes one of the pitrs and dwells in pitrlokas. 1112. अनापिनिकारण बिन्दुवा बाचकिक वृत्तयुगवर्षं, तथापि यथाक एव वषन्योथ्यों अथ ऊपरस्तु विनिशत्रे। द्राक्षमय XI. 6. para 38.

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Śrīkrṣṇa, a commentator of the Dāyabhaṅga and author of Dāyakramasamgraha, and Raghunandana, author of Smṛtitattva, and others elaborate these rules. The Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court in Guru Govind Shaha Mandal v. Anand Lal Ghose Mazumdar gives an elaborate statement of the several sapindas. But as those rules have reference only to succession, they are passed over here. Raghunandana in his work on marriage called Udāvhatattva quotes the famous verse of the Matsyapurāṇa, 'the fourth and (two beyond him) among ascendants are partakers of lepa (the leavings of the boiled rice that become attached to the hand of him who offers pinda), the father and the rest (i.e. two more beyond him) are partakers of the pinda; he who offers the pinda to them is the seventh; sāpindya extends to seven generations' and refers the readers to his Sudhītattva for elucidation. Raghunandana does not give any definition of sapindas for marriage, but discusses the conflict about the several texts such as '7th on the father's side and 5th on the mother's side'. He expressly says (p. 110 of Udāvhatattva) that the words 'who is not a sapinda of one's mother' are still applicable even if several females intervene between the common ancestor and the girl proposed to be married. He then adds a special rule that descendants of what are called pitrbandhus and mātrbandhus also are forbidden if they are within 7 degrees and 5 degrees respectively from these bandhus. The pitrbandhus of a person are his paternal grand-father's sister's sons, his paternal grandmother's sister's sons and his father's maternal uncle's sons; while mātrbandhus are a person's mother's father's sister's sons, mother's mother's sister's sons, mother's maternal uncle's sons. These two latter may be illustrated by two diagrams.

1113. 5 Bengal Law Reports p. 15.

1114. Vide pp. 117–118 of the Udāvhatattva for a summary of the rules about sāpindya; about sāpindya and mātravāchu he says 'एवं सापिण्ड्यां विद्यितमाहं संयुक्तं रक्ष्य्यं सत्यतिः सत्यस्य यतः सत्यस्य प्राप्तां गोऽहासा ।…… एवं सापिण्ड्यां कालिकं संयुक्तं प्राप्तां गोऽहासा ।…… एवं क्षार्यव्रतं संयुक्तं प्राप्तां गोऽहासा ।…… एवं क्षार्यव्रतं संयुक्तं प्राप्तां गोऽहासा ।…… एवं क्षार्यव्रतं संयुक्तं प्राप्तां गोऽहासा ।…… एवं क्षार्यव्रतं संयुक्तं प्राप्तां गोऽहासा ।…' । Udāvhatattva p. 110.

1115. विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कुशाम; विद्यितमाहं सापिण्ड्यां सापिण्ड्यां कु
No. I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paternal line</th>
<th>Father's maternal line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>father's paternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Grandfather =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>father's grand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mother's uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S (1)</td>
<td>(1) father</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A (bridegroom)

N. B.—Here S1, S2 and S3 are the three pitbandhus of A, the bridegroom, and they are the starting points for calculating prohibited degrees among paternal cognates. In the ascending line only the descendants of the common ancestors are excluded. For example, S1 is a pitbandhu and his descendants up to 7 degrees are excluded; but S1's father is not a bandhu of the bridegroom; therefore S1's father's sister may be married by the bridegroom. Under this rule the 6th descendant (a girl) of S1 will be ineligible for marriage with A: but she will be 9th from A's grandfather's father who is the common ancestor. So it will be seen that this goes far beyond the limits of sapindya generally prescribed and there is no valid reason assigned for this.

No. II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother's paternal line</th>
<th>Mother's maternal line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 maternal great</td>
<td>mother's maternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grand-father</td>
<td>grand-father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's paternal</td>
<td>mother's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aunt</td>
<td>mother's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) maternal = maternal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grand-father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grand-father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>S3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A (bridegroom).
N. B.—Here S₁, S₂ and S₃ are mātrbandhus of the bridegroom. The maternal great-grandfather is the starting point in calculating prohibited degrees in the mother’s paternal line. In the mother’s maternal line the starting points are S₂ and S₃. In the ascending lines of the mātrbandhus the descendants of only the common ancestor are excluded. For example, the girl descended from S₃’s maternal ancestors may be married by the bridegroom and so also a girl descended from the paternal ancestor of S₂ or S₁.

Another rule propounded by Raghunandana is that even within prohibited degrees a valid marriage may be contracted if three gotrās intervene. In the case of girls descended from pīrbandhus and mātrbandhus the computation of gotra must be made from them. For want of space it is not thought advisable to illustrate this by citing several examples. But one example is given to illustrate this rule.

A (common ancestor)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D (1)</td>
<td>S (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D (2)</td>
<td>S (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>S (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D (3)</td>
<td>S (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here according to the Bengal school S (4) can marry D (4) because three gotrās intervene between her and the common ancestor, although S₄ is only 5th in descent from the common ancestor; for according to the Bengal school it is not necessary that both the bridegroom and the bride be beyond the limits of sapindaship, but only the bride need be so; while according to many writers of the Mitakṣara school both must be beyond the limits of sapindaship from the common ancestor.¹¹¹⁶

¹¹¹⁶. The निर्देशितायुल summarises the views of Gauda writers: अयुल विखरणखान एवं निर्देशितायुल, निर्देशितायुल: रक्षक्यामुनि प्राकृतिक साहसोम, निर्देशितायुल, प्राकृतिक साहस. निर्देशितायुल नवनीच्चरण, तदानिः प्राकृतिक साहस। निर्देशितायुल नवनीच्चरण, तदानिः प्राकृतिक साहस। निर्देशितायुल नवनीच्चरण, तदानिः प्राकृतिक साहस। निर्देशितायुल नवनीच्चरण, तदानिः प्राकृतिक साहस। निर्देशितायुल नवनीच्चरण, तदानिः प्राकृतिक साहस। निर्देशितायुल नवनीच्चरण, तदानिः प्राकृतिक साहस। निर्देशितायुल नवनीच्चरण, तदानिः प्राकृतिक साहस। निर्देशितायुल नवनीच्चरण, तदानिः प्राकृतिक साहस। निर्देशितायुल नवनीच्चरण, तदानिः प्राकृतिक साहस। निर्देशितायुल नवनीच्चरण, तदानिः प्राकृतिक साहस।। pp. 283–284, where a passage of निर्देशितायुल is quoted

(Continued on next page)
The Dayabhāga does not rely upon any Vedic passages for its theory of sapinda relationship. The Mit. (on Yaj. I. 52) relies upon three Vedic passages only in propounding the theory of sapinda relationship viz. 'indeed the man himself is born from himself (as son, Ait. Br. 33. 1)'; 'thou art born again (or reproduced) in the offspring' (Tait. Br. I. 5, 5) and 'this body is made of six koṣas (sheaths); three are derived from the father, three from the mother; bones, muscles and marrow from the mother' (Garbhopanisad). These passages at the most say that particles of the bodies of the parents continue in their offspring; but they do not say anything about the meaning of sapinda or the limits of the sapinda relationship for marriage or inheritance. Even in the Rg. the words jñāti and bandhu which occur in the dharmasūtras (e.g. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 3. I. 5. 11 17. and Gaut. II. 44, IV. 3 and 5. VI. 3) frequently occur (vide Rg. VII. 55. 5 and X. 85. 28 for jñāti and Rg. I. 113. 2. V. 73. 4. VII. 72. 2. VII. 67. 9 for bandhu). All that we can say is that both meanings of sapinda were implicit in the word pinda from the earliest times and that the sūtra writers were conscious of both meanings.

As to the grounds on which marriages between near sapindas were prohibited various theories have been advanced by anthropologists. Vide Westermarck in his 'History of Human marriage' (ed. of 1921, vol. II. pp. 71–81) and Rivers on 'Marriage of cousins in India' in J. R. A. S. for 1907 pp. 611–640. Some think that the prohibition was due to the abhorrence which men in the primitive times felt for incest. To me it appears more probable that in India at least the prohibition was due to two causes; first, the observed fact that, if near relatives marry, their defects are transmitted with aggravation to their offspring and secondly the fear that, if marriages between near relatives by blood were allowed, there may be clandestine love affairs and consequent loss of morals and it would be difficult to secure husbands for girls who would

(Continued from last page)
be living under the same roof with several near or distant cousins.

The Par. M. I. part 2, p. 59 expressly says that only such a girl who is not a sapinda of the bridegroom within the prohibited degrees on any of the two theories of sapinda (viz. by connection with particles of the body or with the balls of rice) is eligible for marriage.

The question what support Vedic Literature lends to the two interpretations of the word sapinda may now be briefly discussed here.

The word pinda occurs in the Rigveda (I. 162. 19) and the Tai. S. IV. 6. 3. 3 where it seems to mean 'a part of the body of the sacrificial animal thrown into fire as an offering'. Here it is clear that the word pinda is not used in the sense of 'ball of rice'. But in the Tai. S. II. 3. 8. 2 and in the Sat. Br. II. 4. 2. 24 the word pinda means 'ball of rice' offered to the Manes. The Nirukta III. 4 and 5 twice employs the words 'pindadana' (for offering balls of rice). But the word sapinda hardly ever occurs in the Vedic literature and we have no means of judging in what sense it was used in the Vedic literature. In the dharmasutras the word sapinda occurs frequently and the dharmasutras show a close connection between offering pinda and the taking of inheritance (vide Gaut. 14. 13, 28. 21, Ap. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 2, Vasiṣṭha IV. 16-18, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15. 40).

It was shown above (pp. 436-37) that some sages prohibit marriage with a sagotra girl while others prohibit it with a sapravara girl. A number of sages and works like Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 9, Yaj. I. 53, Nārada (stripumṣa, verse 7) require that the girl to be married must not be a sagotra nor a sapravara. Therefore it is necessary to understand the meaning of gotra and pravara. A detailed treatment of the topics of gotra and pravara would extend to a large treatise. Only a few salient points can be gone into here. The subject of gotra and pravara in the Vedic Literature has been treated at length by me in the J. B. B. R. A. S. (New series vol. II. for 1935). Only the conclusions there drawn will be set out here.

1117. एतस्यनुविर्यायाय विभक्ता द्वा पठंता भवतिस्मृत ज्ञात: । या ते महान्यणापद्धा
प्रायोगिक तत्ता विज्ञानं युद्धेऽपि व ॥ ऋ. I. 162. 19 = ते. स. IV. 6. 9. 3. The word
sagotra is equal to samāna-gotra as stated by Pāṇini VI. 3.85 and
sapinda and sapravara are similarly formed.
The word gotra in the Rg. means ‘cow-stable’ or ‘herd of cows’ in a few passages (I. 51. 3, II. 17. 1, III. 39. 4, III. 43. 7, IX. 86. 23, X. 48. 2, X. 120. 8). By a natural metaphor ‘gotra’ was applied to a cloud (in which waters are pent up as cows in a cow-stable) or to a cloud demon and also to a mountain range or peak which conceals water-yielding clouds. Vide Rg. II. 23. 3 (where Brhaspati’s car is styled ‘gotrabhid’), Rg. X. 103. 7 (=Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 2, Atharva-veda V. 2. 8. and Vaj. S. 17. 39), Rg. VI. 17. 2, X. 103. 6. In some of these verses it is possible to take ‘gotra’ in the sense of ‘fort’. In some cases ‘gotra’ probably means only ‘assemblage’ (samüha) e.g. Rg. II. 23. 18, VI. 65. 5. From this last sense of ‘assemblage’ the transition to the meaning of ‘a group of persons’ is both easy and quick. There is no positive instance of the word ‘gotra’ being unchallengeably used in the sense ‘descendants of a common patriarchal ancestor’ in the Rigveda; but the conception underlying the idea of gotra was, it is plain, quite familiar even in the age of the Rigveda. In the Atharvaveda V. 21. 3 the word ‘viśvagotryah’ (belonging to all families) occurs. Here the word ‘gotra’ clearly means ‘a group of men connected together’ (by blood). The Kauśika sūtra IV. 2 quotes a mantra in which gotra undoubtedly means ‘a group of persons’.

Several passages of the Tai. S. show that descendants of great sages were called after those sages. In Tai. S. I. 8. 18. 1 it is said ‘the Hotr is a Bhārgava’ (descendant of Bhṛgu). The commentator explains that this is so only in the Rājasūya. It is quite possible that in those days descent was traced through teacher and pupil as well as through father and son. But there being a very few occupations only it is most probable that the son generally learnt from his father the lore of the latter. In Tai. S. VII. I. 9. 1 we read ‘therefore one does not find (or know) two Jāmadagniyas (in succession) who are poor (or grey-haired)’. From this it is clear that in the times of the Tai. S. Jāmadagni was regarded as a very ancient sage, that several generations of Jāmadagni’s descendants had passed away by that time, that they were all known as Jāmadagnyas (or-gniyas) and that no two descendants were found to be poor (or grey-haired) in succession.

1118. वानस्यंच विवेयतो भद्रायणिनिप्रावितिः। विनास्यानमिनीषो वहाणिनिप्रावितिः॥ अवविख्यः V. 21. 3.
In numerous mantras of the Rgveda the descendants of well-known sages are denoted by the plural form of the names of those sages. In Rg. X. 66. 14 we read 'the Vasiṣṭhas have raised their voices like their father'. In Rg. VI. 35. 5 the Bharadvājas are referred to as Āṅgirases. According to Āsv. Śrautasūtra Bharadvāja is a gotra falling under the Āṅgirogana. In the Brāhmaṇa Literature there are ample indications that priestly families had come to be formed into several groups named after their (real or supposed) founders and that such families differed in details of worship according to the group they belonged to. The Tai. Br. (I. 1. 4) prescribes that the consecration (ādāhāna) of the sacred Vedic fires is to be performed for Bhrigu or Āṅgirases with the mantra 'bhṛgūṇām (or āṅgir-rasām) tvādevānām vrata-pate vrata-nā-dadhāmi', that for other brāhmaṇas with the words 'ādityānām tvā devānām vrata-pate' &c. The Tai. Br. II. 2. 3 speaks of the 'Āṅgirasi prajā' (people of the Āṅgiras group). The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa 1119 prescribes that the camasa (cup) made of udumbara was to be given as dakṣinā to a sagotra brāhmaṇa.' The Kausitaki Br. 1120 (25. 15) says that one who has performed the Viśvajit sacrifice (in which everything that the sacrificer owned was gifted away) should stay for a year with a brāhmaṇa of the same gotra. The Ait. Br. (30. 7) contains the story of Aitāśa and his son Abhyagni and it is stated that the Aitāśya-yanas Abhyagnis are the most sinful of the Auruvas. In the Kausitaki Br. where the same story occurs it is said that the Aitāśya-yanas became lowest among Bhrigu, as they were cursed by their father. According to Baudhāyanaśrauta-sūtra the Aitāśya-yanas are a sub-section of Bhrigugana. Śunahṣepa, when he was accepted as a son by Viśvāmitra, came to be called Devarāta and the Ait. Br. (33. 5) says that the Kāpilyas and Bābhrawas were affiliated to Devarāta. According to Baud. śrauta-sūtra Devarāta and Babhru are sub-sections of Viśvāmitra gotra. Śunahṣepa is said to have been an Āṅgirasa by birth (Ait. Br. 33. 5). 1121 So this makes it clear that gotra relationship was by birth in the times of the Ait. Br. (and not from teacher to pupil). In the Upaniṣads the sages when expounding the knowledge of brahma

1119. सन्निवात नामाणि ग्रन्थं सोमभाष्यवाचनिवृद्धयां तत्तथा. 18. 2. 12.

1120. नामाणि समानात्मकः पदेश्वरामात् श्रीशास्त्राय तत्त्वोपयोगाय संवादं परदुपयोगं। नेवृद्धिः। पौर्णिविक्ष वर. 25. 15.

1121. आविश्वसः ज्ञानार्थाशीतात्मकं श्रीव. कस्त: इ. कस्य पैतृकात्मत्तथोपपत्तिः पुनरर्वहि मायेत इ. वर.
addressed their pupils by the gotra names e.g. by the Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Āśvalāyana, Bhārgava and Kātyāyana gotras in Praśna I. 1, Vaiyāghrapadaya and Gautama in Chāndogya V. 14. 1 and V. 16. 1; Gautama and Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa in Br. Up. II. 2. 4. All this shows that the system of gotras with several sub-sections was well established in the times of the Brāhmaṇas and the ancient Upaniṣads. But the gotras are in these works referred to in connection with sacrifices or education. There is hardly any distinct reference in these to gotra or sagotra in relation to marriage. In the Lātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra VIII. 2. 8 and 10 it is prescribed that one who has given away everything in the Viśvajit sacrifice should stay three nights with niśādas and may partake of their jungle diet and then again three nights with ‘jana’ and then the sūtra gives several views about the meaning of ‘jana’ one of which, that of Dhānañjapya, is that ‘jana’ means a person with whom (i.e. with whose daughter) marriage is possible while one who is sagotra is called ‘ samāna-

jana’. This clearly proves that long before the Lātyāyana-śrautasūtra marriage with a sagotra had been forbidden. Besides several of the grhyas and dharma sūtras prohibit marriage with a sagotra girl. It is impossible to hold that this was a new conception that arose only about the time of these sūtras. Therefore, it must be supposed that prohibition as to sameness of gotra in marriage had its origin long before the period of the sūtras in the times of the Brāhmaṇa works (if not earlier).

Gotra was of supreme importance in several fundamental matters and it largely entered into several practices of the ancient Aryans. A few examples may be given here. (1) In marriage sagotra girls were forbidden, vide above pp. 436-37. In the Lājahoma at marriage two offerings were to be made by all except Jāmadagnyas, who had to make three (Āśv. gr. I. 7. 8-9).

(2) In matters of inheritance the wealth of one dying without issue went to his near sagotras (Gaut. 23. 19).

(3) In śrāddha the brāhmaṇas to be invited should not belong as far as possible to the same gotra as the person inviting (Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 4, Gaut. 15. 20).

1122. विश्वात्रो जन: समेतं: समानम: इति धानंतप्प: । वाञ्चत्रायंश्रैल

VIII. 2. 11.

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(4) In \textit{pūrvaṇa sthālipāka} and other \textit{pākyajñās}, all were to cut off oblations from the middle and fore-half of the \textit{havis}, but for Jāmadagnyas (who are \textit{pañcāvالتين}) they were to be cut off from the middle, the fore-part and the hind part (vide \textit{Āsv. gr. I. 10. 18–19}). \textsuperscript{1123}

(5) In offering water to a \textit{preta} (a person recently dead) his gotra and name were to be repeated (\textit{Āsv. gr. IV. 4. 10}).

(6) In the \textit{caula} ceremony tufts of hair were to be left in accordance with the gotra and practice of the family (\textit{Khādīra gr. II. 3. 30}).

(7) At the time of performing one's daily \textit{saṁdhyā} prayer, one has to repeat even in modern times one's gotra and \textit{pravara}, the \textit{Vedaśākhā} and \textit{sūtra} which one studies.

As regards śrauta sacrifices a few interesting examples may be given. Jaimini establishes that \textit{satras} (sacrificial sessions extending over 12 days and more) could be performed only by brāhmaṇas and that among brāhmaṇas the Bṛghus, Śunakas and Vasiṣṭhas are not entitled to perform them (VI. 6. 24–26). Those of the Atri, Vadhryaśva, Vasiṣṭha, Vaiśya (Vainya?), Śaunaka, Kaṇva, Kaśyapa and Saṅkṛti gotras took Nārāśaṁsa as the second \textit{prayāja}, while others took Tanūnapāt as the second (vide \textit{Śabara} on Jaimini VI. 6. 1).

The conception of \textit{pravara} is closely interwoven with that of gotra from very ancient times. The two have to be studied together. 'Pravara' literally means 'choosing' or 'invoking' (\textit{prārthanā}). \textsuperscript{1124} As Agni was invoked to carry the offerings of a sacrificer to the gods by taking the names of the illustrious \textit{ṛṣis} (his remote ancestors) who in former times had invoked Agni, the word \textit{pravara} came to denote one or more illustrious \textit{ṛṣis}, ancestors of a sacrificer. A synonym of \textit{pravara} is \textit{ārṣeya} or \textit{ārṣa} (as in Yāj. I. 52). Pravara entered into several domestic ceremonies and practices according to the \textit{gṛhya} and dharma \textit{sūtras}. For example:

(1) A bride was to be chosen whose father's \textit{pravara} was not the same as that of the bridegroom's father. Vide above p. 437.

\textsuperscript{1123} \textit{Svādhyāya} I. 10. 18–19.

\textsuperscript{1124} \textit{Svādhyāya} I. 10. 18–19.
In upanayana the girdle (mekhalā) was to have one, three or five knots according to the number of āśvins constituting the boy's pravara (vide Śān. gr. II. 2).

In Cauḍa the tufts of hair to be left on the head depended on the number of sages constituting the pravara of the boy's family (Āp. gr. 16. 6).

The mass of material on gotra and pravara in the sūtras, the purāṇas and digests is so vast and so full of contradictions that it is almost an impossible task to reduce it to order and coherence. The learned author of the Pravara-mañjari (which is the leading work on the subject) wrote in despair 'Here, in the parts of sūtras that have been quoted there is a great divergence in the order (of the names of pravaras) of the texts of the several sūtrakārās, this being specially so in the text of Aśvalāyana (śrauta)-sūtra. Thus, though divergence is clearly established, yet following the order of the texts of the majority of writers such as Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Kātyāyana we shall declare (the rules) about marriage or no marriage'.

We have first to understand what gotra in the sūtras and digests means and how it is inter-related to pravara. Among the sūtras that treat of gotra and pravara the śrauta sūtras of Aśvalāyana (Uttaraśatka VI, khaṇḍas 10-15), Āpastamba (24th praṇa) and Baudhāyana (B. I. ed. vol. III pravaraśhyāya at end) are the most important. The Pravaramañjari (p. 5) has a verse to the effect that Baudhāyana's pravaraśhyāya is the best on the subject.

The Śrautasūtra of Satyāśādha Hiranyakeśi (21st praṇa) has a section on this subject, which is the same as Āpastambaśrauta with a few omissions and variations. The Baudhāyanaśrauta-sūtra says 'Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasishtha and Kaśyapa are the seven sages and Agastya is the eighth; the progeny of these eight sages is declared to be gotra'. These seven sages are probably derived from what is stated in the Br. Up. II. 2. 3-4 (=Śat. Br. 72 (ed. by Chennalrao).

1125. आवर्ज्ञि जुधराजो शुक्लकाराणि पारसमान्येः। समानविविधमानसि विभाषेनक्षि-प्राणपतापयोः। 

1126. विन्दुर्मिना जमुनेर्मिब्धागृहीष्म गीतम्। अर्धविःसाय: कारणेन जौज्यते सत्त्वना। 

XIV. 5. 2. 6) where these very seven sages are enumerated as those intended in the śloka ‘ārvāg-bilaścamaśa’ &c., quoted there. The same work (Baud. śrauta) states that there are thousands, tens of thousands and arbudas (millions of millions) of gotras, but the pravaras are only 49. Besides the sūtra works, some purāṇas like the Matsya (chap. 195–202), the Vāyu (chap. 88 and 99, Ānan. ed.), Skanda III. 2 (Dharmāraṇya kānda) contain elaborate enumerations of gotras and pravaras. The Mahābhārata sets out at length the subdivisions (such as Madhucchandās, Devarātā) of Viśvāmitragotra in Anuśānanaparva 4, 49–59. Digests like the Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 14–17), the Sām. Pr. (pp. 591–680), the Sām. K. (pp. 637–692), the Nīrṇaya-sindhu, the Dharmasindhu, the Bālambhāṭṭi contain a vast material on this topic. There are also special works like the Pravaramaṇjarī on this topic. The general conception about gotra is that it denotes all persons who trace descent in an unbroken male line from a common male ancestor. When a person says ‘I am Jamadagni-gotra’, he means that he traces his descent from the ancient sage Jamadagni by unbroken male descent. As stated by Baud. cited above, from very ancient times these male founders were supposed to be eight. This enumeration of eight primary gotras seems to have been known to Pāṇini. Patañjali says ‘there were eighty thousand sages who observed celibacy. The accepted opinion is that the spread of progeny was due to eight sages including Agastya. The offspring (apatya) of these eight are gotras and others than these are called gotrāvayāvā’. Pāṇini

1127. Vide Nirukta XII. 38 for another interpretation of the verse अन्नात्मःसत्कस्म &c. In the Nirukta ‘the seven sages’ are explained either as ‘seven rays of the Sun’, or as ‘the seven indriyas’. The Br. Up. explains the ‘seven sages’ as the प्रश्नयो (the two ears, eyes, the two holes of the nose and the tongue) and identifies them with the seven sages, Viśvāmitra and others. The Atharva-veda X. 8. 9 reads the verse as ‘निधिपतिः समसया &c.’.

1128. अहा हौसलि सहस्राणि कुर्मेप्त्याश्रयन्त्या विश्वामित्रशर्यास्तर्यास्तर्यासः त्रिपंज्ञ तदनि गृहाणि अल्पोद शीतलावनम्. सहस्राणि वोल. II. p. 233 on the sūtra शान्तावनक (प्र. IV. 1. 78). The अप्र. घ. घ. (II. 9, 23, 3–5) quotes passages from a purāṇa about two sorts of 80000 sages (one group desiring offspring and the other not so desiring). पाण्ड. III. 186–187, समसय II. 11. 54 contain somewhat similar verses. समसय III. 11. 54 is ‘अहा हौसलि सहस्राणि कुर्मेप्त्याश्रयन्त्या विश्वामित्रशर्यास्तर्यासः पञ्जातिः च पञ्जातिः समसयाणि पञ्जातिः’. The reference to fifty sages having progeny is probably to the pravara sages, just as Baud. speaks of 49 pravara groups.
defines gotra for grammatical purposes as ‘apatyam pautraprabhrî gotram’ (IV. 1. 162), which means ‘the word gotra denotes (in my work on grammar) the progeny (of a sage) beginning with the son’s son’. For example, the son of Garga would be called Gârgi, but the grandson would be called Gârgyâh and the plural Gargâh would denote all descendants of Garga (downwards from Garga’s grand-son). But this definition is a technical one in grammar and is meant to indicate how derived (taddhita) words are to be formed by means of terminations. Even Pâñini makes use of this technical sense only in the apatyâdhikâra, but elsewhere in his work he uses the word gotra in the popular sense as comprehending all descendants of a common male ancestor. Vide the Kâśikâ on Pâñini II. 4. 63, IV. 2. 39 and IV. 3. 80. The Sam. Pr. (pp. 591–592) lucidly explains 1129 this. That a man belongs to a particular gotra is known by him only from tradition, from his father and other elders or from people about him, just as he knows that he is a brâhmaṇa from the same source 1130. Medhâtithi on Manu III. 5. 194 has a very lucid and interesting discussion on this topic. His argument is: just as, though all persons are men, some are called brâhmaṇas, so among brâhmaṇas certain persons are known by immemorial usage (or convention) as belonging to certain gotras like Vasiṣṭha and the sūtra-kâras lay down that a certain gotra has certain pravaras; so the word gotra is applied to Vasiṣṭha and other sages by rûḍhi (by convention or long-standing usage). It cannot be supposed that a person called Parâśara was born at a certain time and then his descendants came to be called Parâśaras. In that case the Veda would not be anâdi (beginningless), as it is supposed to be, since it mentions Parâśara, Vasiṣṭha &c. So gotra is anâdi like the brâhmaṇa caste and the Veda. The word is also secondarily used to denote a person, who is very illustrious on account of his learning, wealth, valour or generosity.

1129. अर योगमधुनिमदीपनतंब्राशि न तु परिवर्तिता पारिवर्तिका पूर्वसुचितः।
1130. वर्मवष समानं तुष्करं वायुकत्याधिकिरीक्रः। एवं समानं, वायुक्ते विद्याक्षरं भावेपदं प्रतिगोष्ठं श समांततब्राशि।
who thereby gives a name to his descendants and then becomes the founder of the family. This is laukika gotra. But this is not the meaning of gotras which brāhmaṇas have. The secondary meaning may apply to the word gotra when used in the case of ksatriyas. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 53 says 'gotra is that which is known from tradition handed down in the family.' Each gotra is associated with one, two, three or five sages (but never four or more than five) that constitute the pravara of that gotra. The gotras are arranged in groups, e.g. there are according to the Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra four subdivisions of the Vasiṣṭha gāṇa, viz. Upamanyu, Parāśara, Kuṇḍina and Vasiṣṭha (other than the first three). Each of these four again has numerous sub-sections, each being called gotra. So the arrangement is first into gānas, then into pākṣas, then into individual gotras. The first has survived in the Bhrigu and Āṅgira-gāṇa. According to Baud. the principal eight gotras were divided into pākṣas. The pravara of Upamanyu is Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvasu, Indrapramada; the pravara of the Parāśara gotra is Vasiṣṭha, Śāktya, Parāśarya; the pravara of the Kuṇḍina gotra is Vasiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruna, Kuṇḍinya and the pravara of Vasiṣṭhas other than these three is simply Vasiṣṭha. It is therefore that some define pravara as 'the group of sages that distinguishes the founder (lit. the starter) of one gotra from another'.

Though the word pravara does not occur in the Rgveda, the word 'ārṣeya' occurs therein and the system of pravara goes back almost to the Rgveda. Rg. IX. 97. 51 has 'thereby may we acquire wealth and ārṣeya resembling Jamadagni's.' Sometimes the idea of invoking Agni is conveyed without using

1131. नाम वा आदिकुछ संज्ञाकारी विभावितताविपूनाविविधतत्वोत्पन्नप्रारंभी चेतन कुल व्याधिवृद्धि च …… माध्यागर्भानि च तैबं (माध्यागर्भानि तैबं) स्थलप्रदेश्यो यथा। नारिहि कृत्तियणि गोगाणि अदिकथणि तद्य नारिहयं न भवति। न हि तथा। मीरण स्थलप्रदेशसमर्थ आदिकुछ संज्ञाकारी मोराणि। अदिकथणि विविधत्वाणि माध्यागर्भानि द्विजप्रवणि। न हि हस्तार्जुनानि स्ववेतियं वर्णितार्जुनानि संत्वसंसारसऽितेमा। केषां विविध्याणामाणि। एवं सार्वं आदिकथणि तत्तथस्य नास्ते च नास्ते। ……. नास्ते तथा माध्यागर्भानि नवां गोगाणि स्वर्णि एवं स्वर्णार्याः। तस्मातेन तस्मिनेन गोगाणि। आदिकुछ संज्ञाकारी स्थलप्रमाण इति। नतेन 0 घ। महामहा. III. 194.

1132. गोगाण स्थलप्रदेशतिथिः। नतेन 0 घ। महामहा. I. 53; गोगाण स्थलप्रदेशसमर्थमेव पे पुराणोपलिततिथिः। मेव च धनादेविरुद्धो गोगाणानां तत्तथ विविध्याणानांकेशि। श्च। पु. 592.

1133. एवं दुष्नेति हि दुष्नेति न दुष्नेति। दुष्नेति न च दुष्नेति। न पञ्चार्थ दुष्नेति कालिवाऴस्य एव। अम्ब। श्री। च। 24. 6. 7.

1134. नतेन: नवाणेर्ध्वरपरर्तिकी वनाथर्यकोलक्षणं द्विचर्यं। परा. महा. I. part 2 p. 70. This is quoted in the अजयसार p. 111.
the word pravara or ārṣeya. In Rg. VIII. 102. 4 it is said ‘I invoke Agni just as Aurva, Bṛghu and Apnavāna did.’ It is remarkable that these are three of the five pravara sages of the Vatsa-Bṛghus according to Baud. (3). Rg. I. 45. 3 has ‘O Jātavedas (Agni), give heed to the summons of Praskanva, as in the case of Priyamedha, Atri, Virūpa and Angiras.’ In Rg. VII. 18. 21 it is said ‘they who from house to house gladdened thee, being desirous of thee, viz. Parāśara, Śatayātu and Vasiṣṭha, will not forget the friendship of a liberal patron (like thee)’. It deserves to be noted that this mantra mentions Parāśara (who in later mythology is the grandson of Vasiṣṭha and son of Śakti), Śatayātu (who is Śakti according to Śāyana), and Vasiṣṭha. Parāśara, Śakti and Vasiṣṭha constitute the pravara of Parāśara gotra (according to Āśv. and Baud). In the Atharvaveda (XI. 1. 16, XI. 1. 25, 26, 32, 33, 35, XII. 4. 2 and 12, XVI. 8. 12–13) ārṣeya means ‘descendants of sages or those who are related to sages’. In the Tai. S. both ārṣeya and pravara occur in the sense of the sūtras. In the Tai. S. II. 5. 8. 7 (which refers to the recitation of the Śāmilheni verses) we read ‘he says ‘choose (or invoke) ye the fire called havyavahana’; he chooses him (the fire) of the gods; he chooses the ārṣeya; in so doing he does not depart from the relationship (by blood) and doing so serves for continuity. He chooses the later ones beginning from the remoter ones’. In this passage ‘ārṣeyam’ appears to be used in the sense of ‘one or more illustrious ancestors of the sacrificer’ and reference is made to one of the two modes of mentioning the sages constituting the pravara. ‘Ārṣeya’ may also be taken here as an adjective (qualifying Agni), the meaning being ‘he invokes Agni by the names of the illustrious ancestor sages of the yajamāna’. In one mode the remotest ancestor is named first in a taddhita (derivative) formation, then his descendant and so on, the sage nearest the sacrificer being mentioned last. For example, the pravara of Bṛghu Vatsa is ‘Bhārgava-cyavana-apnavānaurva-jāmadagnyeta’. This method is employed by the Hotṛ priest when he invokes fire as the divine Hotṛ with the pravara-mantra ‘Agni mahān-asi brahmaṇa bhārata devedhā

1135. अर्धयुधयुधस्थितनन्वनावम सूक्ति. अर्धि सदनवाससृष्टि स वर्ष. VIII. 102. 4. According to the Advaṇīs this is a sūkta of a sāṁhitā named ।

1136. निवेदनविवेदिताविवेदितां विवेदितां। अविवेदितांमित्रत महावपश्च अधिकृत- । सृष्टि

1137. स यद्रहुवानापन्नर्वा पवंगा वास्तविरुद्धिः। सृष्टि VII. 18. 21. सतवद्ध may literally mean ‘one who is master of a hundred magic tricks,’ or ‘on whom a hundred magic tricks were practised’.
manvidha pāṣistuta &c.' (vide Tai. S. II. 5. 9, and Sat. Br. I. 4. 2, Aśv. Śr. I. 2, 27–L 3. 6). In the other mode the affix ‘vat’ is used after the name of each pravara sage and the remotest one is mentioned last (e.g. Jamadagnivat, Įrvaṅvat, Apnavānavat, Cyavanavat, Bṛhgava). This mode is employed by the ādīvaṁya when he chooses the Hotṛ priest. The Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 9 appears to refer to one (i.e. 2nd) mode. The Kauśitaki brāhmaṇa explains the purpose of taking the names of ancestors ‘as the gods do not partake of the offering of him who has no list of (illustrious) ancestors, therefore he pronounces the āryaṇa of the sacrificer.’ The Ait. Br. (34. 7) has an interesting passage on pravara. When a brāhmaṇa is initiated for a sacrifice, that fact is announced in these words ‘a brāhmaṇa has been initiated for a sacrifice.’ How is the initiation of the ksatriya to be announced? The reply of the Ait. Br. is ‘even in the case of the ksatriya the announcement is to be in the same form (viz. a brāhmaṇa has been initiated); but with the pravara of the family priest. Therefore they should proclaim the ksatriya’s initiation as a sacrificer with the āryaṇa of his family priest and should invoke Agni with the pravara of his family priest.’ The Aśv. Śr. (Uttara śatka VI. 15. 4–5) and Baud. Śr. (pravarapraśaṇa 54) say that in the case of ksatriyas and vaiśyas the pravara of their purohita was to be employed or the pravara ‘Mānava-Ailā-Paurūravaṇa’ or simply ‘Manuva.’ The origin of that rule is to be found in the above passage of the Ait. Br. There is another similar passage in the Ait. Br. (35. 5). The Sat. Br.

1138. This rule is stated in Ap. Śrāuta (24. 5. 8) and Baud. Śrāuta (pravaraḥdyēyā 2) ‘अत दईवणमये गरुम मविलासात् देवविवर्तनि गुरुविवर्तनि पुरुषोपाध्याये मविलासात्.’

1139. अय वशमनस्ववर्तनाह न ह वा अनावणेष देवविवर्तनि देवविवर्तनि गुरुविवर्तनि। कौशीकके इत भ. III. 2. After the words अस्त्र्य हाव अतिष्ठता आयत are recited, the invoking of the āryaṇa of the sacrificer by the Hotṛ priest takes place and then the remaining words of the formula देवविवर्तनि गुरुविवर्तनि &c. are uttered. This is shown by the Tai. S. itself (II. 5. 7. 8) and by the Sat. Br. I. 4. 2. 2–5. Agni is styled by rṣi names such as Bhārgava, Cyavana &c. because fire was kindled by these ancient sages and oblations were thrown into it by them. The Adhvaryu recites the mantra अनुदेवःदेवता देवविवर्तित्वमनस्ववर्तनात्रत व आभिक्रियात्मकानां अतिष्ठतात् and then recites the pravara of the ājgāmīna with ‘cat’ added to each name and then proceeds मविलासात् च पदविष्ठ आयता अतिष्ठतात् मविलासात्: (vide Sat. Br. I. 5, 1. 5–13, Ap. Śr. II. 16. 5–11). It is on account of this that the Śatādhikāraṇamadhyāya (p. 416) explains pravara as देवविवर्ति आभिक्रियात्मकानां अतिष्ठतात् मविलासात्. The names of the ancient illustrious sages become the attributes of Fire that is invoked by the hotṛ.
I. 4. 2. 3-4 shows that the illustrious ancestors to be invoked were supposed to be related as father and son and not by apostolic succession.

The Mahābhārata says that the original gotras were only four viz. Āngiras, Kāśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu. The verses are rather abruptly introduced in the epic and there is nothing to show on what this statement was based and it appears that it is due to the imagination of the writer. Baud., as shown above, states that the original gotras are eight. But it is remarkable that Bhṛgu and Āngiras (whose divisions and sub-divisions are many) are not included by him in these eight. Therefore, it appears that even Baudhāyana is not correctly stating the number of original gotras. Gautama and Bharadvāja are stated to be two out of the original eight, but both of them instead of being separately dealt with are grouped under the comprehensive Āngirasagaṇa. So even Baud, is not to be implicitly followed. The Bālambhaṭṭi mentions eighteen principal gotras (eight as in Baud, plus ten more some of which are names of mythical kings). Baud, himself says that there are millions of gotras and in the Baud. Pravaraḍhyāya there are over 500 names of gotra and pravara sages; while the Pravaramaṇijīrī quotes a verse that ‘there are three creos of them and so the gotra system is difficult to comprehend’, and it mentions about 5000 gotras. Therefore, as the Śrutyaṛhasāra says the nibandhas endeavour to place the innumerable gotras under groups and distribute them among 49 pravaras (mentioned by Baud.). Some idea of these

1140. अस्याचित् मुनि न || परत्तुच्या भुवनोऽपि परमत्तुच्या भुवना: महात्मा सवा-कनो। जयानासवान उ चेवति निदुवै। हृदि नि मित्याधिवधु सुनो मौर्यास्वद्वालत्तुच्या भुवनोऽपि। शतपथ I. 4. 2. 3-4; compare कामसनाथारत III. 2. 7-11 अथ मुनितेरि- श्रीयो देवी हलति बुधमक्षिणिकायिता-नुमक्षिणिकायिता परत्तुच्या भुवनोऽपि नागस्यो वा भवस्य:। दुर्दीशीवेष्य वा। कृत्यवेष्योऽध्विष्य निदुवै। मेघवर्तिति वा सवालस।

1141. मुनिनामि कल्याणि सत्तुच्या नागस्यो पारिवर्त्य। आदित्य: कामस्याव मवशतो शुचिष्व च न कर्मानानि गोपाली सदगुरु: पारिवर्त्य। नास्वर्ध्याणि तत्सा: तानिः च महर्षि सत्तु:। शाखावर्त 297. 17-18.

1142. अथ संस्कृतद्रव्यसंख्येऽवस्ं चत्वयते। जानयंति: वीरस्यो वेदुप्य वृद्धमानाय:। वाचयं कामस्याद्वियो भवस्य नागस्याव मवसाय:। दवसुप्याव मवशतो विश्वसुप्य:। अविचारीवातः च वस्तका कामस्याव:। अस्भवर्धस्ति छान्यो भवस्याव:। नृत्ताः। लक्ष्मीं नेत्रावन नित्यो वा वा. I. 53 (p. 176, ed. by Gharpure).

1143. "तार्कश्च कौशिकसंीतानविनितिभिः कुरंद्ववैदो वनस्य। मवस्तन्त्रिः प. 2।

1144. कृत्यवेष्यानविनितायानि वनस्य:। अनात्मान्यस्य मोक्षाणि आशिताविनिति- भवते। श्रुत्वाकृवाय प. 15.

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gotras and their distribution among the pravaras is given below. The appendix under note No. 1144 collects together the 49 pravara groups.

The Bhruguna and the Aṅgiraga are very extensive. The Bhrugus are of two sorts, Jāmadagnya and non-Jāmadagnya. The Jāmadagnya Bhrugus are again towfold, Vatsas and Bidas (or Vidas); the non-Jāmadagnya Bhrugus are fivefold viz. Ārṣīṣeṇas, Yāskas, Mitrayus, Vainyas and Sunakas (these latter five are called kevala Bhrugus). Under each of these sub-divisions there are many gotras, on the names and number of which the sūtrakāras are not agreed. The pravara of Jāmadagnya Vatsas is constituted by five sages according to Baud. and by three according to Kātyāyana. The pravara of the Bidas and the Ārṣīṣeṇas also has five sages. These three (viz. Vatsas, Bidas and Ārṣīṣeṇas) are styled paṅcāvattin (Baud, 5) and they cannot inter-marry (the reason will be explained below). The five non-Jāmadagnya Bhrugus have each of them numerous sub-divisions. These divisions of Bhrugus are given here according to Baud. Āp. has only six of them (and not seven as he excludes Bidas from this group). According to Kātyāyana, Bhrugus have twelve sub-divisions (vide Sām. Pr. p. 625).

The Aṅgiraga has three divisions, Gautamas, Bharadvajas and kevalāṅgirases; out of whom Gautamas have seven sub-divisions, Bharadvajas have four (Rauksāyaṇas, Gargas, Kapis and Kevala-Bharadvajas), and Kevala-Aṅgirases have six sub-divisions and each of these again is sub-divided into numerous gotras. This is according to Baud. Other sūtrakāras differ as to the sub-divisions. Atri (one of the eight primary gotras) is subdivided into four (Atris proper, Vādbhūtakas, Gaviṣṭhiras, Mudgalas). Viśvāmitra is sub-divided into ten, which are further sub-divided into 72 gotras. Kaśyapas are subdivided into Kaśyapas, Nidhruvas, Rebhas, and Śandilas. Vāsiṣṭha has four sub-divisions (Vāsiṣṭhas with one pravara only, Kūndinas, Upananyus and Parāsaras) which are further subdivided into 105 gotras. Agastya has three sub-divisions (Agastyas, Somavāhas and Yajñavāhas), the first of which is further subdivided into twenty gotras.

1145. इसपि पल्लवः। तेषां पञ्चत्वं ततो भागांग्नातर्नासौ सद्भिषेढः। जामदग्निवर्गुणसन्तानजनवकारणसूक्तिः। च । (3); इति निवासं पञ्चत्वं; ततो सद्भिषेढः। जामदग्निवर्गुणसन्तानजनवकारणसूक्तिः। च । (4); आदिकालानां सभांग्रामानमालिकायामृतिः। अन्ना (also च । 5.)
When it is said that marriage with a sagotra or a sapravara girl is forbidden, each of these is separately an obstacle to marriage. Therefore, a girl, though not sapravara, may be yet sagotra and so ineligible for marriage or though not sagotra may yet be sapravara and not eligible. For example, the gotras of Yaska, Vādhūla, Mauna, Mauka are different, yet a marriage between persons belonging to these gotras is not possible, because the pravara of all these is the same, viz. ‘Bhārgava-Vātahavya-Sāvetasa-iti’.1146 So also though the gotras Sāmkṛti, Pūtimāśa, Tanḍi, Śambu and Śaṅgava are different, there can be no marriage between them as the pravara is the same, viz. ‘Āṅgirasa, Gaurivita, Sāmkṛtya’ (acc. to Āsv. Śrauta). When it is said that samānapravaras cannot marry, sameness may be due to only one sage being the same in the pravaras of two gotras or there may be two or three or more sages that are common. The general rule is that if even one sage is the same1147 in the pravaras of two different gotras, then they are sapravara, except in the case of the Bhrigu group and the group of Āṅgiras. In these two latter unless there are at least three sages common (when the pravara is constituted by five sages) or at least two sages are common (when pravara consists of only three sages), there is no sapravaratva and no bar to marriage. It will be noticed that among the five pravara sages of the Vatsas, Bidads and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas quoted above there are three sages that are common and so they cannot inter-marry.

Though the vast majority of gotras have three pravara sages, a few have only one pravara sage or two sages or five. Those who have only one sage are Mitrayus (pravara Vādhryaśva according to Āsv.), the Vasisṭhīs (other than Kuṇḍina, Parāśara and Upamanyu) have only one pravara Vāsiṣṭha, the Śunakas have one pravara Gṛtsamada (according to Āsv.) or Śaunaka or Gārtsamada (according to Baud. 9); the Agastis have one pravara Āgastyas (according to Āp. Sr. 24. 10. 9); Āsv. optionally allows three pravaras to Mitrayus (Bhārgava-Daivodāsa-Vādhryaśva) and to Śunakas (viz. Bhārgava-

1146. अन्नमेघसिंधियाँ गुप्त 'पार्शदसुभुमीनाट्यांशाकाशाकाशांस्यास्मिनकाखा- न्यान्यज्ञानिनिदृश्यवाणीनमार्गवैदिकवैदिकसति'; vide also सूत्रित्य प. 68, नदवपालिनादि प. 138.
1147. वजस्यसनिपत्तिज्ञानकार्यायां द्विपार्शदसुभुमिनास्य: पार्थरवाणाम्। अस्मान्यस्मिरिवसमानः। एक एवार्थि काणिर्वर्तवन व विद्याञ्जलित। सान्तसमानीववलम्बयेन। मूर्तिभवित्तान्। प्राप्तिः। पर्यायांकितुः सामान्यवृद्धिवादिकृष्ण द्वेषदेव- काप काणिते। वै। (पदरसंहि 2)
Saunahotra-Gārtsamada) and Āp. also allows to Agastis three pravaras (Viz. Āgastyā-Dārdhacyuta-Aidnavāha-itī). According to Āp. and the purāṇas, Dhāpayantas have two pravaras (Vaiśvāmitra-Paurāṇa-itī), Aṣṭakas Lohitas have two (Vaiśvāmitra-Aṣṭaka itī), and Śaṇḍīlas also have two (Daivala-Asita itī). But he says that according to some the latter have three pravaras also (Kāṣyapa-Daivala-Asita-itī), while Baudhāyana gives four optional groups of three sages each for Śaṇḍīlas (Baud. 43). For Vārī-Dhāpayantas Āṣv. prescribes three only (Vaiśvāmitra-Devarāṭa-Paurāṇa) and also for the Aṣṭakas. According to Baud. the Vatsas, Bīdās and Arśṭiṣṭonas (among the Bhrgus) have five pravara sages; so also among Aṅgirases, the Kaumāndas, Dirghatamasas, Rauksāyanas and Gargas have five pravara sages, though the last have optionally three also.

The Āp. śr. 1148 (24. 5 6) says ‘the sages to be invoked were to be three and they were to be seers of mantras’. It is therefore that the number of pravara sages is limited; there was no such requirement for a gotra and so gotras multiplied to an unlimited extent.

There are certain families that are dvigotras (i.e., have two gotras). Āṣv. uses the word ‘dvipravācanāḥ’ for them1149. They are principally three viz. Śauṅga-śaśīsirīs, Saṁkritis and Laugāksīs. From a Śauṅga, a sub-division of Bharadvāja gotra, was born a son to the wife of a Śaśīsiri, a sub-division of Viśvāmitra (by niyoga); the son, therefore, came to be called Śauṅga-Śaśīsiri. Therefore Śauṅga-Śaśīsiri cannot marry in both Bharadvāja and Viśvāmitra gotras. Their pravaras are given below1150. They have to select one pravara sage from one gotra and two from the other gotra or two from the first and three from the other. A pravara of four sages is not allowed nor of one beyond five. For the other dvigotras, the Sam. K. (pp. 682–688), Nirpayasindhu p. 300 ff. may be consulted. In the case of the adopted son also, on the analogy of the Śauṅga-śaśīsirīs,

1148. सानुपूर्वेन सहवज्ञ दुधि दुधि सहवज्ञ दुधि दुधि नियत (विनामि नियते)। आप. यो. 24. 5–5.

1149. अर्थ यह एवं सत्तावकाः पुराणसारसिद्धां । दुधि दुधि दुधि दुधि दुधि दुधि दुधि दुधि दुधि दुधि दुधि

1150. According to Āram. the name of Śaśīsiri is Aśvīrīrṣabhah-वृक्षादनागामिकेतिः। According to others it is Aśvīrīrṣabhah-माधवामिकेतिः। and they are only विनामि, अश्वीर्षकामिकेतिः। vide सं. प. 642 and सं. कृ. p. 682.
both gotras and the pravaras of both gotras have to be considered and the dictum of Manu (IX. 142) that "the son given does not share the gotra and inheritance of the genitive father and the śraiddha (śrāddhas etc.) of the giver cases", is restricted only to matters of inheritance, śrāddha and the like and does not apply to marriage. 1151

A few words must be said about the gotra and pravara of kings and other ksatriyas. It appears from the Ait. Br. quoted above (p. 488) that in the case of ksatriyas the pravara of their purohita was employed in religious acts where pravara had to be recited. This leads to the inference that most ksatriyas had forgotten their gotras and pravaras by that time. The Śrāuta sūtras allow 1152 an option to ksatriyas (to kings according to Āśv.) that they may employ the pravara of their purohitas or all ksatriyas may employ the same pravara viz. Mānava-Ailā-Paurūravasa-īti. Medhātithi on Manu III. 5 states that the distinctions of gotras and pravaras concern primarily brāhmaṇas alone and not ksatriyas and vaiśyas and quotes Āśv. Śr. (I. 3) in support. The Mit. and other nibandhakāras rely on the first alternative mentioned in the sūtras and say that in marriages of ksatriyas and vaiśyas the gotras and pravaras of their purohitas should be considered, as they have no specific gotras of their own 1153. This is carrying the doctrine of atideśa (extension) too far or with a vengeance. The Śam. K. (pp. 689-690) assigns reasons for this attitude of the Mit. but they are not satisfactory. Ancient literature and epigraphic records show that kings had gotras of their own. In the Mahābhārata it is said that when Yudhiṣṭhira

1151. ॥ विज्ञ च पारिते सपीद्रत्वाद्वायुपयोगः से च बृत्तकालिकायः ॥ मोहस्ये-वर्तमानः मूलः मात्रिकिं तथा ॥ तथा नात्सहायतां ॥ इति तत्त्वहि तस्य अनकालिकाकोमिनिष्ठयु वैदिकम् तथा ब्राह्मणम् मद्व्यासः साध्यं ॥ सं. कौ. प. 688 ॥ चित्वहे तु मद्व्याश्च च चित्वहे वैदिकम् ॥ पिनामाहातमवेधकायः कत्वां ॥ सं. कौ. प. 182 ॥ compare सं. प. pp. 656-657, क्रिकरवारसानात pp. 451-456 (where the rules about marriage, aśāca and offering of pīṇḍa as to adopted sons are considered ).

1152. ॥ पुरुषेनिर्वाचनं नासाः ॥ अन्य घाती च साधृ मद्व्यासाः मानवेतेनविशिष्टवः ॥ आदि. आदि. ॥ अन्य कद्विक्षणम् ॥ वधां साधृ मद्व्यासाः एवंत्रिक्षणम् मद्व्यासो नामवेतेनविशिष्टवः ॥ पुरुषोव-विधानविशिष्टवः ॥ आदि. आदि. 24. 10. 11-12; शान्तिवाचनं वाक्यमयं: वधां मद्व्यासां मानवेतेनविशिष्टवः होता पुरुषोव-विधानविशिष्टवाः ॥ आदि. आदि. 52-54).

1153. ॥ धार्मिक च जीवितनिबित्तं प्रकाष्टविवरणम् जामाभििबध्यमानव्यथापि ज्ञातिमात्रोपयोगः बृहत्तत्त्वं तथा। तथा च च वामाभििबध्यमानव्यथापि हृद्दुःक्तस्त वैप्रकाष्टविवरणम् ज्ञातिमात्रोपयोगः वामाभििबध्यमानव्यथापि। भिन्नसंग्रहे या. I. 52. The quotation is from आदि. आदि. I. 3. The भिन्नसंग्रहे passage is quoted in the वर्तनिकाय p. 111.
went to the court of Vīrāṭa in the guise of a brāhmaṇa and was asked by the king to state his gotra he said that he was of the Vaiyāgrapadāya gotra (Vīrāṭa-parva 7.8-12). That this was the gotra of the Pāṇḍavas also follows from the fact that in the Bhīṣmataparṇa that is performed on the eighth day of the bright half of Māgha, Bhīṣma’s gotra is given as Vaiyāgrapāda or-pāda and pravara as Sāmkrīti. Jaimini (VI. 6. 12-15) establishes that the Kulāyayajña was to be performed jointly by a king and his purohit (and so they could use different pravaras it appears). The Pallavas of Kāñci had Bāravāja as their gotra (vide E. I. vol. 1 p. 5). The Cālukyas are often described as ‘mānavy-gotra’ (vide E. I. vol. VI. p. 337). In a copper-plate grant of Jayacandra-deva (dated saṅvat 1233 i.e. 1176 A. D.) the donee was a kṣatriya described as Rāuta-śrī-Rājyadharavarmān of the Vatsa gotra and of five pravaras viz. Bhārgava-Cyavana-Apnavāna-Aurva-Jāmadagnya. In the Garra (Bundelkhand) plate of the Candella king Traḷokāyavarmā of Kāḷapāatra village is granted to Rāuta Śamanta of the Bāravāja gotra in recognition of his father’s death in battle with the Turuṣkas (E. I. vol. 16, p. 274).

In many inscriptions and copper-plate grants hundreds of donees with their gotras and pravaras occur and it would be an interesting study to compare the latter with the material derived from the sūtras and nibandhas. For example, vide E. I. vol. 19, pp. 115-117 and 248-250 for about 205 donees and their gotras in the plates of Bhāskaravarmā, E. I. vol. 14, p. 202ff (500 donees with gotras in the time of Candradeva Gāhādāvāla, saṅvat 1150), E. I. vol. 13 p. 237, E. I. vol. 8 pp. 316-317 (sāke 1346), E. I. vol. 9 p. 103 (32 donees with gotras, pravaras, sākhās &c.), E. I. vol. 12 pp. 163-167 (120 donees with gotras, sāke 1508), Gupta Ins. No. 55 Chammak plate of Pravarasena &c. Even the Buddhists kept the system of gotras (vide E. I. vol. 10, Lüder’s list, No. 158).

According to Āp. Śr. the vaiśyas had a single pravara ‘Vātsapra,’ while according to Baud. they had three, viz.

1154. The वात्सप्राय in the श्रीधरावलियन is वैभाषार्कयात् सांकुलितवस्थाय ये गव्यायाय मिश्रतप्राये विट्ठलवस्थाय. अनुवाद वृत्तिविवरणाय संस्कृतनि। प्रचार इ. I. p. 198; vide also ज्ञानवल्लभाय pp. 509-10.


1156. रूपाणि रिवा। स्वात्पन्निः होता। संस्कृतविवरणाय। आप. 24. 10. 16; वैवर्ताय अभ्यस्य अवर्त अवर्ति संहार्युक्तविवरणसाध्यस्य अवर्तिः होता। मार्मिकसाध्यविवरणवर्ग- रत्नसुंदरबच्चनविवरणाय। सौ (मार्मिकविवरण 53).
Bhālandana-Vātsapra-Māṅkti. They could also employ the pravara of their purohitas. The Sām. Pr. (p. 659) says that Bhālandana is the gotra of vaiśyas.

If a person does not know his own gotra and pravara he should take those of his ācārya (teacher of Veda), according to Āp.\textsuperscript{1157} Though he takes his teacher’s gotra, it is only the teacher’s daughter that is forbidden to him in marriage and not other girls of the same gotra as the ācārya’s. Both Sām. K. and Sām. Pr. (p. 650) quote a verse that when one does not know one’s gotra one should call oneself of Kāśyapa gotra. This is so when he does not know even his teacher’s gotra. The Śm. C. (ṣrāddha section p. 481) says that this is so even when one does not know the gotra of one’s maternal grand-father (i.e. he should offer pīṇḍa with Kāśyapa gotra to his maternal grand-father).

The word gotra also came to mean any family name (surname). In the inscriptions we find this usage very often. For example, in the Bannahallī plate of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarma II (E. I. vol. VI, p. 18) a śreṣṭhin (a merchant) is said to have been of the Tuthiyalla gotra and pravara. The Reddi king (a śūdra) Allaya Vema of Rajahmundry was said to have been of the Polvola gotra (E. I. vol. XIII. p. 237, of śēke 1356).

A few interesting matters about pravaras are noted below. It is noteworthy that even as to the same gotra, there is great divergence among the sūtrakārās about the sages constituting the pravara e. g. as to Śāḍilyagotra. Āsv. gives two groups of the sages ‘Śāḍila-Asita-Daivala-iti’ or ‘Kāśyapa-Asita-Daivala-iti’, but Āp. states his own view that there are only two sages in the pravara viz. ‘Daivala-Asita-iti’ and that some say they are three, Kāśyapa-Daivala-Asita-iti; while Baud. states four groups, ‘Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Daivala-iti, Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Asita-iti; Śāḍila-Asita-Daivala-iti; Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Śāḍila-iti.’ No adequate reasons can be given why even at so early an age as the sūtras, not only the order of the names in the pravara, but the very names in the pravara and their number should have varied so much. Baud.\textsuperscript{1158} (pravarādhyāya sec. 44) notes that

\textsuperscript{1157} अथवासमाजवस्त्रयावर्षस्वयंपापसिद्धिविवाहवर्षमेषप्रसूलितं आप. अोऽ-\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{1158} दूष्टवेदोऽहोक्त्यौरविविकिति नर्म कारणपारं अथवां: दृश्ये अवति कारण- पापसिद्धिविवाहवर्षमेषप्रसूलिती वा। श्लोऽ (भारस्यायण 44). पालिकैः कारणपारं शैवसूक्ष्मानुभावसिद्धिं। अनूठविशिष्टित्योऽन्तरांण्यविद्धिः। स्वप्नविवाह मित्रोऽभिन्नित्यादीति... अथ दृश्ये: पापित: दृश्ये अथवां। मार्गसिद्धिविवाहवर्षमेषप्रसूलिती। आप. अोऽ: 24. 6. 1-2 and 7-8.
the Lauṅkaśis (or Lauṅkaśis) are Vasiṣṭhas by day and Kaśyapas by night and their pravaras also show this double relationship. The Sūryarthaśāra says that this picturesque description of them has reference to the pratyājas and the like i.e. by day they follow the procedure of prayājas peculiar to Vasiṣṭhas and by night that peculiar to the Kaśyapas.

Among the gotras there are names of mythical kṣatriyas and kings like Vītahavya and Vainya and among the names of pravara sages many legendary kings like Māndhātṛ, Ambariṣa, Yuvaṇāśva, Divodāsa appear. Vītahavya figures even in the Rgveda as closely connected with the Bhrigu (Ṛg. VI. 15. 2–3). In the Mahābhārata it is narrated that Vītahavya, being a king, attacked Divodāsa, whose son Pratardana pursued Vītahavya, whereupon Vītahavya took shelter with Bhrigu and that when Pratardana asked Bhrigu whether there was any kṣatriya in the hermitage, Bhrigu replied that there were all brāhmaṇas and that by this Vītahavya became a brāhmaṇa (Anuśāsana chap. 30).

Similarly the pravara of the Hārītas is either Āṅgirasa-Ambariṣa-Yauvaṇāśva-iti or Māndhātṛ-Ambariṣa-Yauvaṇāśva-iti. These are mythical royal sages. Among the Bhrigu is a sub-division called Vainya which is further subdivided into Pārthas and Bāskalas. The story of Pṛthu who milked the earth is well-known (Drona-parva 69); he is called ‘ādirāja’ in Anuśāsana 166. 55. The Vāyu purāṇa in several places narrates that some kṣatriyas became the pravaras of brāhmaṇas. Vide chap. 88. 72–79, (about Viṣṇuvrīḍha, who was descended from Purukuta, whose son was Trasaṭasyu), chap. 88. 6–7, 92. 6, 99. 158–161, 99. 169–170 (Ānan, ed.) for other examples. How and why kṣatriya names were adopted as brahmanical pravaras is obscure and difficult to understand. If one may hazard a guess, it is probably due to the fact that the purūṇas retain very ancient traditions of times when there were no water-tight varṇas and that ancient kings were learned in the

1159. नायक पार्श्वाणिता सार्ज्जयेन्ति सवीप: प्रवर: वर्तिः सार्वदर्पणाश्यातिः होता।

1160. The pravara of viṣṇuvṛtidha is ādīsāpātikāśva śravah (vīdo Baud. sec. 20).

1161. अन्नदेवेश्वरो नार्त्तिकिनिपित्रश्च चातंतः। प्रवरस्य विन्धुप्रवत तत्र शुनो देविः। वास्तुसमृद्धा वै विन्धुप्रवस्ती शेषति। रूक्तरक्षा प्रवर: कारापिता हिन्दास्य श्रीत्व श्रृंगी 88. 6–7.
Vedic lore and maintained śrauta fires also, became famous as sages in whose name fire was to be invoked to carry offerings to Gods even by brāhmaṇas who came ages after them.

The connection of gotra and pravara may be stated thus: Gotra is the latest ancestor or one of the latest ancestors of a person by whose name his family has been known for generations; while pravara is constituted by the sage or sages who lived in the remotest past, who were most illustrious and who are generally the ancestors of the gotra sages or in some cases the remotest ancestor alone.

It has been seen (pp.437-38) that marriage between parties that are sagotra or sapravara is no marriage and the woman does not become the man’s wife. What were the consequences of such a void union? Baud,1163 (pravṛādyāya 54) says that if a man has intercourse with a sagotra girl he should undergo the penance of cāndrāyanā, after that he should not abandon the woman, but should only maintain her as if she were a mother or a sister; if a child is born it does not incur sin and it should take the gotra of Kaśyapa. Aparārka quotes (p. 80) Sumantu and another smṛti to the effect that if a person inadvertently marries a sagotra or samāna-pravara woman he should give up intercourse with her, should maintain her and undergo cāndrāyanā.1164 But if he knowingly marries a sagotra or sapravara girl the penance was heavier (viz. that for incest) and if he has intercourse with her or begets a child from her he loses his caste and the child will be a cāndāla.1165 The rule of Baud. that there would be no blemish and the child will be of Kaśyapa gotra is restricted to inadvertently marryng such a girl.1166 The Sām. Pr. quotes a verse of Kātyāyana to the effect that if a marriage is gone

1162. समानो गोत्र चान्द्रायणं चरेरु बते परिवर्तिते माथवरीनं न तथा गोमुदान्तापि मूर्त्तयति करतव दूति विवाहयते। (सन्तवाच 54).

1163. परार्क बोधिष्ठिन्ध कथावर्तमान तथा। तथा गोत्र समानदुपं चतुष्ठपश्चिम। बोधिष्ठिन्ध कथावर्तमान। वर्तमान वशुम्भु च। समानदुपेऽपि मूर्त्तयति। परिवर्तितानौ च। (सन्तवाच 54).

1164. The verse परिवर्तिता is ascribed to सन्तवाच by सण. प. 680 and other writers; सुनृत्त is quoted in वदनायक प. 111.

1165. समानो गोत्र चान्द्रायणं च। चन्द्रायणाय चक्रवर्ती। (सन्तवाच 54) वर्तमान वशुम्भु च। (सन्तवाच 54) वर्तमान वशुम्भु च। (सन्तवाच 54).

1166. परार्क बोधिष्ठिन्ध कथावर्तमान तथा। तथा गोत्र समानदुपं। समानदुपुरुषों दृष्टिने। (सन्तवाच 54) वर्तमान वशुम्भु च। (सन्तवाच 54) वर्तमान वशुम्भु च। (सन्तवाच 54).

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through with a sagostra, the girl may be again given in marriage to another. But the Sam. Pr. gets rid of that inconvenient text by saying that it does not apply to the present age. So the poor girl for no fault of hers had to pass her whole life in enforced celibacy, being neither an unmarried woman nor a widow.\textsuperscript{1165}

Questions about the validity of sagostra or sapravara marriages have not yet come before the courts; but it is likely that in the near future courts will have to deal with such cases. If a marriage takes place under the Special Marriage Act of 1872 (as amended in 1923) no difficulty will arise; but recently several marriages have been celebrated under the old \textit{s\'astric} procedure between persons who are sagostra or sapravara. Upon the strict letter of the \textit{dharma\'\textit{stra}} texts such marriages are absolutely void. But it seems that the legislature should intervene and declare sagostra and sapravara marriages valid. Whatever may have been the case thousands of years ago when there were no means of communication and when there were small communities, the prohibition of sagostra relationship had some plausibility and real feeling of close kinship about it; but now the prohibition has become meaningless. A man from Kashmir may marry a girl from Madras and the parents of both may have the same gotra. Granting for argument that the gotra sage was a common ancestor, one does not know how many generations have intervened between that remote ancestor and the intending spouses and particles of the ancestor's body, if they have survived at all in the intending spouses of the same gotra, must be in the present generation in the most attenuated state. The prohibitions based upon gotra and pravara are said by orthodox people to be prescribed upon unseen (\textit{adr\'\textit{stra}}) grounds and so they argue that they must be held to be absolute and not admitting of any evasion by any one calling himself a Vedic Hindu. One may be permitted to reply to these people that when almost everybody has given up the ancient cult of the \textit{brahmanda} and \textit{grhya} fires and when hundreds of other innovations in ancient practices have been accepted without demur, there is hardly any justification for sticking to this one remnant of ancient practices. As a matter of fact many br\'hmanas now do not remember their pravara themselves but have to be told by the priests what their pravara is. Certain prohibitions against

\textsuperscript{1165} विकारसः समेतो च प्रायो दीर्घमोहोति या अभावः ्तेषा सामायणम् समाभिधारणं। इति कार्याधीनीं समृतोदयाय गुणनिःश्चारणं व्यक्तमांतरविवरणं। सं. पृ. 681.
marriage between near sapinda relations may be respected on account of their universal acceptance. Even the Special Marriage Act of 1872 prescribes that there can be no marriage between parties when they trace descent to a common ancestor who is the great-grandfather or great-grandmother (or who is nearer even than these) of any one of them.

Sagotra relationship is in one direction wider than sapinda relationship and narrower than it in another so far as marriage is concerned. A man cannot marry the daughter of any sagotra, however distant the sagotra may be. Similarly even an adopted man cannot marry the daughter of a sagotra of his genitive father for two reasons, firstly because, though on adoption he becomes severed from his natural family for inheritance and offering of pindas (vide Manu IX. 142), his other relationships with the natural family remain intact; and secondly because Manu (III. 5) says that the girl must not be a sagotra of the bridegroom’s father (and so even if by adoption a man goes into another gotra, it is the father’s gotra that is to be considered). Sapinda relationship prohibiting marriage extends only to seven or five generations, but prohibitions on the ground of sagotra relationship extend to any number of generations. On the other hand sapindas may be either of the same gotra (i.e. sagotra) or of a different gotra (i.e. bhinnagotra). Thus up to a certain limit sapindas include both sagotras and bhinnagotras. The latter are called bandhus by the Mit.; they are all cognate relations and have an important place in inheritance. We have seen (p. 436-37) that sagotra marriages were totally forbidden in the sūtras (in the śrauta sūtras like Lātyāyana śrauta and in grhyas and dharma sūtras). A passage of the Śat. Br. (quoted above at p. 461) is relied upon by Professors Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index vol. I. p. 236) for holding that marriages within the third and fourth degrees on both maternal and paternal sides were allowed in the days of the Śatapatha and that therefore a man could marry in those days his paternal uncle’s daughter. This latter is a startling proposition. The passage in the Śat. Br. is no doubt expressed in general words (‘one may be united in the third or fourth generation’). But that passage is generally applicable even if only a marriage with a maternal uncle’s daughter or paternal aunt’s daughter is meant. The passage does not expressly allow paternal cousins’ marriages. The dharma-sūtras prohibit sagotra marriages. Both the learned Professors, as most western scholars do, probably hold that
the Śatapatha is not separated from the sūtras by more than a few centuries. If a paternal uncle's daughter had been eligible for marriage in the times of the Śatapatha, but became forbidden in the times of the sūtras we shall have to suppose that an usage died out from one end of the country to another and an opposite usage became prevalent throughout within a few centuries. The smṛtis are not afraid of stating ancient practices which they themselves do not accept (i.e. nīyoga). The smṛtis do not say that marriages with paternal uncle's daughters were ever allowed anywhere. So it appears that the Śatapatha is not referring to marriage with paternal uncle's daughter, but to marriage with maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. It must however be pointed out that Aparārka (pp. 15, 63), the Sm. C. (I. p. 12), Par. M. I. part 1 p. 133 and other digests quote a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa 1167 that saṅgrātra and saṁśindra marriages are forbidden in the Kali age. It may be argued with some force that this implies that saṅgrātra marriages once took place. But there are various ways of explaining this. It is possible that in the purāṇa the word gotra is not used in the technical sense, but only in the sense of family or surname. Among śūdras there is no gotra in the strict sense, but they also do not marry a girl who is believed to be of the same family, though the exact relationships or generations are not known. Besides it has been shown above that if a woman was a putrīkā or married in the Gāndharva or Āsura form she retained the gotra of her father and the son of the putrīkā would have the gotra of his maternal grand-father and yet being of a different family his marriage with the daughter of a saṅgrātra of the maternal grand-father might have taken place in ancient times and was forbidden in the Kali age by the purāṇa. Similarly the implied reference to marriages of saṁśindas as taking place in former ages has probably marriage with maternal uncle's daughter in view. When in the kalīverja texts it is said 'these dharmas are declared to be prohibited by the sages in the Kali age' (vide Vyavahāra-mayūkha p. 242), it is not proper to argue that everyone of the practices forbidden in the kali age was valid in former ages. All that is meant seems to be that most of them were allowed in former ages and these along with others enumerated are not to be practised in the Kali age, just

1167. सपोभार सपिष्टाभिनि बिसर्गो गोविधलवा। परार्कोऽपि मार्यः च काली वर्षि
विनयलिनि। अस्तुराणिष्ठ विभिन्न विषयम्। प्रोक्तम् वीर्यविश्वारम्।
as when in a crowd many have umbrellas and a few have not, a speaker still says with reference to the whole crowd ‘chatira scopacchanti’ (here go persons with umbrellas).

There are certain other prohibitions about marriage. The Smrtimuktaphala\textsuperscript{1168} quotes a verse of Hārlta that one should not give one’s daughter in exchange to another’s son and receive that other’s daughter in marriage for one’s son, one should not give two daughters to the same man (at the same time), nor should one give one’s two daughters to two persons who are brothers. But these dicta will now certainly be held as merely recommendatory. Besides there is no objection in India in modern times to marrying the deceased wife’s sister, though even in England the deceased wife’s sister could not be married until 1907 (when the Deceased Wife’s Sister’s Marriage Act, 1907, Edw. 7 chap. 47 legalised such marriages).

The next question is as to who have power to arrange for the marriage of a girl and to give her away. The Viśṇu Dh. S. (24. 38–39) specifies the order of persons who are entitled to exercise this right of guardianship in marriage ‘the father, the paternal grand-father, a brother, a kinsman, a maternal grand-father and the mother are the persons, by whom the girl may be given away in marriage. In the absence of the preceding one (the right) devolves upon the next in order, in case he is able’. Yāj. (I. 63–64) gives a slightly different order viz. he omits the maternal grand-father and adds that the right can be exercised only when the guardian is not affected by lunacy and similar defects and that in the absence of these the girl should perform svayamvara (i.e. choose a husband herself). Nārada\textsuperscript{1169}

\textsuperscript{1168} अध्यापरी नैव कालो नैवसे दुष्कृम्भस्य। न जैसः जाताये दुसोः जम्बोलदुखिनि दशैष। (भगवासर्वस्य पृ. 148); vide also सं. पृ. 725–26 quoting मोनमुनि सारस्वत for similar verses; सं. कौ. पृ. 694 quotes almost the same verse as नारदस्य । We know from the Mahābhārata Adiparva that Bhīṣma carried off the three daughters of the king of Kāśi for his protégé Viśitrāpa and got two of them married to him. Similarly the Sinda chief Cāvunḍa appears to have married Lakaṇḍādevi and Siriyādevi, the two daughters of Kalacurrya Bījjan, at the same time (E. I. vol. 20 pp. 109, 111, dated Śaka 1109).

\textsuperscript{1169} चिता बुत्थक्यां यथावत् ब्रााः ब्राह्मणसभे पिते। चितानामहि ब्राह्मणसोः संतुहिष्च। ब्राह्मणसभे तत्रतः स्थविना अक्षुं ब्राह्मणसभे। संतुहिष्च तत्रतः सर्वां शासीष्मि । तत्रतः तत्रतः सर्वां शासीष्मि । अनुप्रयोग तत्रतः तत्रतः सर्वां शासीष्मि । अनुप्रयोग तत्रतः तत्रतः सर्वां शासीष्मि । (ब्राह्मण 20–22).
(stipuriśa verses 20–22) gives the order as father, brother (with father's consent), paternal grand-father, maternal uncle, agnates, cognates, mother (if sound in mind and body), then distant relations, then the maiden may perform svayaṁvara with the king's permission. To give away a girl in marriage was not only a right but was rather a heavy responsibility, as (Yāj. I. 64) and others declare that if a girl is not got married by the guardian at the proper time the latter incurs the sin of the murder of an embryo. The practice of svayaṁvara is well known from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, but it was confined mostly to the princely families. Manu (IX. 90–91) required a girl to wait for three years after she became marriageable before she could choose her husband herself. But Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 40 says that a girl should wait only for three monthly periods after she attains puberty and that after that period she has full power to dispose of herself in marriage as she thinks best.

There are no rules in the smṛtis as to who is to arrange the marriage of a male, since in ancient times they did not contemplate the marriages of minor males.

The mother has been put low in the order of guardians probably because of the dependent status assigned to women and because of the fact that in the ceremony of kanyādāna she cannot personally engage but has to get it done through a male relative. The courts in modern India, however, have held that the mother is entitled to select a husband for her daughter even when the girl's paternal grand-father is living, though the actual gift may be made by a male. Vide Bai Ramkore v. Jamnadas, I. L. R. 37 Bom. 18, where Yāj. I. 63 is interpreted as only laying down who are to make a gift of the girl and as not intended to take away altogether the mother's right of selecting a bridegroom in favour of even distant relations. Vide also Indi v. Ghania (I. L. R. 1 Lahore 146), Jawani v. Mula Ram (I. L. R. 3 Lahore 29, where it was held that, after the father, the mother of a girl has the preferential right to select a bridegroom for her and that she is under no obligation to consult the girl's paternal kindred such as a paternal uncle), Ranganaik v. Ramanuja I. L. R. 35 Mad. 728, (where all the authorities are examined). The Dharmasindhu states the important proposition that when the girl performs svayaṁvara or when the mother is to give away the girl in marriage, the girl or mother should perform the Nāndiśrāddha and the principal sinākalpa is to be pronounced by her and the rest of the
rite is to be performed through a brāhmaṇa. Nārada states the general rule that if anything is done by one who is afflicted with lunacy or similar defects, what he does is as if not done. So a marriage settled even by the father if he is a lunatic need not be performed. If an unauthorized person (like a maternal uncle) were to give away a girl in marriage though her father is alive and fit, what is the result? The digests state that if the marriage has been completed by the performance of saptapadi, it cannot be set aside merely on the ground of the want of authority in the giver, since marriage rites are the principal matter and the authority to give is a very subsidiary matter, the absence of which cannot affect the principal matter. But before the marriage takes place a person who wants to give away a girl, though persons better qualified exist, can be prevented from doing so. Courts in modern India have followed these rules, relying on the doctrine of ‘factum valet quod fieri non debuit’ (what ought not to be done when done is valid) and holding that when once a marriage is duly solemnized and is otherwise valid, it is not rendered invalid because it was brought about without the consent of the proper guardian for marriage or in contravention of an express order of the court. Vide Khushhalchand v. Bai Mani (I. L. R. 11 Bombay 247) and Bai Diwali v. Moti (I. L. R. 22 Bom. 509).

A few words must be said about the sale of girls in marriage. We read in the Maitrāyaṇīya S. I. 10. 11 ‘she indeed commits falsehood (or sin) who being purchased by her husband roams about with other males.’ There is another passage of the Veda relied upon along with the above by the pūrva-pāṇi (the plausible viewpoint) in Jaimini (VI. 1. 10-11) which denies that women have a right to

1170. कर्मायांचरे नातुपुत्रे च तान्त्रायेष्या नातु-शास्त्राचारी तेन तत्साठ। कर्मां या सवर्ण अविनाश्वयमानं जुता अट्ठन नातुशास्त्राआ कर्मं देत। पंचसिद्धान्ती III सूत्रां III २५१। These words are taken from the śrīprasyāṇi; vide nāgānāthāna III २५२। p. 806.

1171. नातुपुत्रं। सनवसेनिषि हि विकारं ख्यात्वमधुकाति गताः। तदवधिनन्दने सचास- दपतात्वमतेन हेतुमात। अधरमेऽ। p. 92 on श्र. I. 63.

1171 ए। कविद् तु निष्कृतो निष्कृतस्त्वम् मधुजनपम्वतपसर्वते विभवानाहितिकाँवैकृत्यात्कष्टम युक्ततमिति। अधरमेऽ। p. 127; कविद् तु सत्वसुविद्वादहिामाहिः अवान आत तुव्रु- ध्वसतेवलामाला नागार्जुनोपदेशमात।। श्रीप्रस्यावंताः। निष्कृतसत्वम् III सूत्रां। p. 307; vide also सं। r. मा। p. 497 to the same effect.

1172. अत्र वै सर्वं भागोद्यतं कृत्यं वा पुत्रं करोति वा फलं भीता सत्य- प्रवृत्तिः। वेदा। सं। I. 10. 11.
take part in Vedic sacrifices, viz. 'one should give to the daughter's father a hundred (cows) plus a chariot.' Jaimini replies (VI. 1. 15) that the giving of a hundred with a chariot is not for purchasing a bride, but it is only a duty and a hundred must be offered as a present (whether the girl is beautiful or not). This shows that, even if some girls were purchased for marriage in the times of the Maitrāyaniya S., there was a popular revulsion of sentiment about this practice and the sale of girls was severely condemned by the time of the sūtrakāra. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 10-11) also makes interesting remarks on this point "there is no gift and the incidents of purchase about one's children; in marriage the gift ordained by Veda to be made to the daughter's father in the words 'therefore one should give a hundred (cows) besides a chariot to the girl's father and that (gift) should be made to belong to the (married) couple' is due to the desire (of the father to give a status to the daughter and her sons) and is meant as a fulfilment of duty (and not as a sale transaction). The word 'purchase' applied to such a transaction is merely figurative, since the relationship (as husband and wife) arises (not from the so called purchase but) from dharma." Vas. Dh. S. (I. 36-37) quotes the two passages of the Veda (from Mait. S. and the other about the gift of one hundred cows) in support of the Mānusa (i.e. Āsura) form of marriage. The Nirukta VI. 9 while explaining Rg. I. 109. 2 ('O Indra and Agni, I have heard you to be greater donors than a partially fit son-in-law or a brother-in-law') remarks that "the word 'vijāmatā' means among the southerners the husband of a woman who is purchased; what is meant is that he is a

1173. शास्त्र on J. VI. 1. 10 puts the ध्वनिक view as 'कुस्मिक संस्कृतिः' वि 'विद्या विलापने सत्य कृपये :..... विकाले हि स्नेत 'सत्त्वातिरिपु विद्वेदाते दुध्रष्टा.' &c. and on J. VI. 1. 11 he says 'या पत्नी सत्य सत्त्वातिरिपु विद्वेदाते दुध्रष्टा.', रघुस रामायणलेखिता। J. VI. 1. 15; शाश्व 'यथूरुप हर्षे धर्म- ध त तत्त्वा नासी अथ हते।.... निलत सिंहु णुण्ड | सत्त्वातिरिपु हर्षावसायनम् यथाच मूर्ति। |

1174. द्रामन कर्मसंस्कृतसंस्कृतां न सिद्धेते। विकाले हि हितोद्वादि द्रामन कर्मसंस्कृतां न विद्वेदाते सत्त्वातिरिपु विद्वेदाते दुध्रष्टा। सत्त्वातिरिपु विद्वेदाते दुध्रष्टा। सत्त्वातिरिपु विद्वेदाते दुध्रष्टा। सत्त्वातिरिपु विद्वेदाते दुध्रष्टा। अर् वा षुण्ड । II. 6. 13. 10-11. The words तत्त्वातिरिपु विद्वेद are translated in S.B.E. II. p. 132 as 'that gift he should make bootless (by returning it to the giver).

1175. अन्तर्य दि अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। (क. I. 109. 2).... अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु। अन्तर्यात्मक - वि तत्त्वातिरिपु वि सत्त्वातिरिपु।
bridegroom who is deficient and not endowed with all good qualities." So Yāska implies that in the south girls were sold for substantial sums of money to persons who (either because they were old or wanting in some qualities desirable in a good bridegroom) were therefore really deficient as bridegrooms. In the Nirukta (III. 4) while discussing the several views about the obscure verse of the Rgveda III. 31, 1 (śāsad-vahni &c.) one of the reasons assigned for the view that women do not inherit is that gift, sale and abandonment in the case of women exist, but not in the case of men, to which some reply that these (gift, sale &c.) can be made of males also as is seen in the story of Sunahśeṣa (in the Ait. Br. 33, Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 3, Tai. Br. I. 7. 10.).

These passages lead to the inference that in ancient times girls were sometimes purchased for marriage, as was the case in many other countries. But gradually public feeling entirely changed and not only was the sale of daughters by the father or brother severely condemned, but even taking of presents by them was looked down upon. Ap. Dh. S. has already been quoted above (note 1174). The Baud. Dh. S. (I. 11. 20-21) 1176 quotes two verses 'that woman who is purchased with wealth is not declared to be a legally wedded wife (a patni); she is not (to be associated with the husband) in rites for the gods or manes and Kaśyapa declares that she is a dāśī (slave girl). Those, who, blinded by greed, give their daughters in marriage for a fee (śulka), are sinners, sellers of their own selves and perpetrators of great sin and they fall into hell &c.' In another place Baud. says 'he who gives his daughter (in marriage) by sale (as a chattel) sells his merit (punya)'. Manu (III. 51, 54-55) strikes 1177 a tender note about daughters when he says 'a father should not take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; if he takes a gratuity through greed he becomes the seller of his child; when relations do not take for themselves wealth given by the bridegroom as gratuity (but hand it over to the girl) there is no sale (of the girl); the wealth so taken is for

1176. अभाभुद्वाहिति। ते देवी न नारी सा न पतिः निरजिने। सा न हृदे न सा विद्ये दुसिः ती कथिपोषितस्। भस्केन मेघ अप्यात्ति नरछां लोभोहिताः। आद्विद्रपिनि पव्वन सहव्याविविधाकावः। पव्वचि नरवे भेद नन्ति नरसंह अभ्युतम्। वी. घ. सू. I. 11. 20-22; शुक्लासार्वस्य एव विकायिते या पव्वासोऽज्जितं निंदितं दृष्टां। वी. घ. सू. II. 1. 79.

1177. अध्यासन 46. 2-3 are the same as मन्त्र III. 54-55.

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honouring the maidens and is only taken from the bridegroom out of loving concern for them. Fathers, brothers, husbands and brothers-in-law desiring their own welfare should honour women and should give them ornaments'. Manu (IX. 98) further recommends that 'even a sūdra should not take a gratuity when giving his daughter (in marriage), since in taking a gratuity he clandestinely sells his daughter'. Yāj. III. 236, Manu XI. 61 include the sale of children among upapātikas. The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 93. 133 and 94. 3) condemns the taking of a gratuity for giving a girl and Anuśāsana (45. 18-19) speaks of gāthās of Yama contained in dharma-śāstras 'whoever sells his son for a price, or gives a daughter for the sake of his own livelihood in return for a gratuity, would fall into a most horrible hell called Kālasūtra'. Verse 23 of the same chapter says 'even a stranger cannot be sold, what of one's own children'. Verse 20 (= Manu III. 53) condemns even the ārṣa form of marriage as a sale because a pair of cattle is therein taken by the girl's father. In Kerala or Malabar it is believed that the great teacher Śaṅkara laid down 64 ācāras, among which are prohibition of the sale of girls, prohibition of satī &c. Vide I. A. vol. IV, pp. 255-256 and also Atrī v. 389 and Āp. (in verse) IX. 25 (ed. by Jīvānanda.). This practice, however, persisted till modern times. For example, in an inscription dated about 1425 A. D. from Paḍālī (North Arcot District) we find an agreement signed by the representatives of Kānṭa, Tamil, Telugu and Lāṭa (South Gujarat) brāhmaṇas that they would give up taking gold for their daughters and get them married by the simple kanyādāna (the Brāhma form) and that the father who accepted gold and the bridegroom who paid gold were to be punished by the king and were to be excommunicated from the brāhmaṇa caste. The Peshwa1179 issued orders (about 1800 A. D.) addressed to the brāhmaṇas of Wai (in the Satara District) forbidding them to take money for giving their daughters in marriage and prescribing fines for the father

1178. Vide South Indian Inscriptions (ed. by Hultsch, 1890) No. 56.

1179. Vide कान्तिकाव्यासान्यम्, पदेः पाठी No. 145, pp. 121-122 (of first edition) and No. 470 p 425 (of the 2nd edition of 1930). The most important portion is set out here 'भारत साही पाठी नामसम्पर्कति कान्तिका काव्ये यद्येक्ष पदेय अविष्कारित नमो ना, जो कान्तिका राजा रेणु रेणु ज्ञानारंभु भुवनद सूर्यामुः जो तत्त्वाय त्यां काव्ये नायक जयेण्ठे नस्ति अनुभवित तिथिका व नात्साली नीला पेता। पेता तस्मां ज्ञानारंभु भुवनद सूर्यामुः जो तत्त्वाय त्यां काव्ये नायक जयेण्ठे नस्ति अनुभवित तिथिका व नात्साली नीला पेता। पाठिका काव्यावाच नायक विनय उपासक जयेण्ठे पाठिका।'
who took money, for the giver and the intermediary who brought about the marriage. Among certain castes and among the śūdras even now money or money's worth is often taken when a daughter is married, but generally the money is meant as a provision for the girl and for defraying the expenses of the girl’s father.

The question of the sale of girls in marriage has been from the remotest ages bound up with the question of the father’s power over his children Rg. I. 116. 16\(^{1180}\) and I. 117. 17 refer to the story of Rṛṣāva who was deprived of his eye-sight by his father because the former gave a hundred rams to a she-wolf. The verses refer to some natural phenomena under a metaphorical garb and cannot be used for drawing the inference that a father could in law deprive his son of eye-sight at his will. The story of Śūnāhśepa (Ait. Br. 33) shows that in rare cases the father did sell his son. The passage of the Nirukta about the power to sell, to gift away or to abandon daughters has been already cited (p. 505). The Vas. Dh. S.\(^{1181}\) (XVII. 30–31) says ‘Śūnāhśepa is an example of the son bought’ (one of the twelve kinds of sons). The same sūtra (XVII. 36–37) defines the apaviddha kind of son as one, who being cast off by his parents, is accepted (as a son) by another. Manu IX. 171 also defines the ‘apaviddha’ in the same way. Vas. Dh. S. (XV. 1–3) propounds the absolute power of the parents over their children in the words ‘man produced from seed and uterine blood springs from the father and the mother; (therefore) the parents have power to give, to sell or to abandon him; but one should not give nor accept an only son’. Here Vas. states the right of patria potestas several centuries before Justinian, who makes the vain boast (Institutes, Lib. I. Tit. IX. 2) that ‘no other people have a power over their children such as we have over ours’. Manu (VIII. 416) and the Mahabharata\(^{1182}\) (Udyoga 33. 64) both state that the wife, the son and the slave are without wealth and that whatever they acquire belongs to him whose they are. Manu (in V. 152) says that ‘gift (by the father of the bride) is the source of (the husband’s) ownership (over her)’. But gradually the

\(^{1180}\) फली मेघानाथ्ये अक्कुशलता-राज्ये ते भित्रां बचार। क्र. I. 116. 16.

\(^{1181}\) कतिपयो देवताज्ञाने न कुस्मैने भाब्यालय। …… अय्यवः पवान। ये भाता विद्यार्थिनां तृतीयां। वसि दृष्टि XVII. 30–31 and 36–37.

\(^{1182}\) दबा त्रैदेवीय VI. 1. 12 quotes the verse भविः दातां दुःस्वय लक्ष्य
निर्धिन्तम्; सर्वं एव प्रेम, which is almost the same as Manu VIII. 416. Compare Nirada VIII. 41.
rigour of the father's power was lessened by other competing considerations such as the ideas that the son was the father himself born again, and that the son conferred great spiritual benefit on the souls of the father and his ancestors by the balls of rice offered in śrāddha. So gradually the father's power over the son became restricted. Kautilya (III. 13) gives the interesting information that mlecchas incur no blame by selling or pledging their children, but an ārya cannot be reduced to the state of slavery. Yāj. II. 175 and Nārada (dattāpradānika 4) both forbid the gift of one's son or wife. Kātyāyana says that though the father has powers of control over the wife and the son, he has not the power to sell or make a gift of his son. Yāj. (II. 118–119) modified the rule about the son's acquisitions also. Manu VIII. 389 prescribes a fine of 600 pápas for abandoning one's mother, father, wife or son when they are not sinners. Vide Yāj. II. 237, Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 113–114, Kautilya III. 20 (p. 199) for a similar provision. Manu (VIII. 299–300) restricted a man's power to award corporal punishment for misconduct to his wife, son or slave to striking with a rope or a thin piece of bamboo.

One question discussed by dharmaśāstra writers is whether one has ownership over one's wife and children. In Jaimini (VI. 7. 1–2) it is decided that in the Viṣvajit sacrifice where one is to give away all that one has, one cannot give away one's parents and other relatives as one can make a gift only of what one is master of. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 175 says 'though one cannot make a gift of one's wife or child to another, one is still owner of them.' The Viramitrodaya (vyavahāra p. 567) is of the same opinion. On the other hand the Tantraratna (of Pārthasārathimēṣa) says that the word gift with reference to the son and the like is used only in a secondary sense viz. that of passing to another the power of control over the son.

1183. शतसप्त शतदशाणां मणिविवाह तेजस्वाने। निमेषे चैव दुःखने च वहिले न चुले पितृः। कार्तिकेयने मुद्दितो (भ. p. 152) and दत्त. म. III. p. 219.

1184. स्वदेशे सत्तभविकरात्। यस्य वा प्रभु: स्वाविशेषप्राप्तस्वेतम्। जै. VI. 7. 1–2. सब्र महायद्विशेष: निशाचार: तेजस्वान निशाचार: तेजस्वान तेजस्वान तेजस्वान

1185. अति गुप्तेष्वतन्त्रायेत् न चुल: स्वत्वाधिकारिणेऽपि। अथ प्राप्तस्वेतम् गुप्तेष्वतन्त्रायेत्। प्रकृत प्रति यानी. II. 175; अतएव तथापतिविशेषोपिनोऽपि लक्षणाय न चुल: गुप्तेष्वतन्त्रायेत्। दत्त. म. p. 567 (Jīr. डयारे); स्वत्त्वाधिकाराय तस्थानायेत्। वैदिकोपदेशे p. 92 (my edition).
or the daughter. The Vyavahāramayūkha is also of the same opinion.

A few words may be said about infanticide. Westermarck in his 'Origin and Development of Moral Ideas' vol. I. (1906) pp. 393–413 furnishes an exhaustive account of this practice in ancient and modern times among barbarous and civilised communities from various countries, e. g. in Sparta (for the purpose of securing strong and healthy fighters), among the Rajputs (from family pride and fear of the crushing burden of expenses at marriage). He is wrong in saying that in the Vedic times infanticide or exposure of children was practised. Rg. II. 29.1 is of no use on this point; it says 'cast off from me sin as a woman who secretly gives birth to a child (casts it off).’ This is not a reference to infanticide of children born in wedlock, but refers to the exposure of a child by an unmarried woman which is clandestinely practised everywhere and as regards which even in England a very lenient attitude is shown as manifested by the passing of the Infanticide Act (12 and 13 Geo. V. Chap. 18). The most important passage on which some European scholars like Zimmer and Delbrück rely upon for this proposition is Tai. S. VI. 5. 10. 3 ‘They go to the avahṛtha (the final sacrificial bath); they keep aside the śhālīs (pots) and take up the vessels for vāyu: therefore they (the people) keep aside the girl when she is born and lift up (i. e. greet with pride and joy) the son’. This simply refers to the fact that a daughter was not greeted as much as the son. It has nothing to do with exposure or infanticide. That passage only expresses the sentiment contained in the Ait. Br. (33. 1)


1187. अरि मदध्ये विवळिनाचा। स्र. II. 29. 1.

1188. अवधारणेश्वरे न्याय स्त्रालौलिन वधारणा महार्कक्षी विशिष्ट तस्मात् लिब्द आतार पैदागतिक्ष पृवतां वसविन। सै. सं VI. 5. 10. 5. तीििी III. 4 quotes this last sentence. Vide Vedic Index, vol. I. p. 487 for references to the views of Zimmer and others.

1189. सबका ह आया सुषण तिः कुशीता ज्योतिषीय हुष्टा पनसे व्योमाय। वै. ब्र. 33. 1. आतन्त्रिका नृत्ता तक्षा बायं भुज्यु तिः कुश्येनवात। आदिपुर 159. 11. Compare वै IV. 184–185 ‘बायां भुज्येन रञ्जुः तक्षा भाया सजे पुनः व्योमाय कुशीता ज्योत्ति वत्सर्वः पशुः.’
'the wife is indeed a friend, the daughter is distress (or humiliation), the son is light in the highest heaven'. The Mahābhārata (Adi. 159. 11) in a similar vein says 'the son is one's self, the wife is one's friend, but the daughter is indeed a difficulty'. But all the same the Gṛhyasūtras like Āp. (15. 13) call upon the father to greet his daughter also with a mantra when he returned from a journey, the difference being that in the case of the son there is kissing of the son's head and muttering of certain mantras in his right ear. Manu (IX. 232) advises the king to award death sentence to him who kills a woman, a child or a brāhmana. Manu IX. 130 (= Anuśāsana 45. 11) expressly says that 'just as the son is one's own self, so is the daughter like the son; how can another person take the wealth (of the deceased) when his daughter who is his own self is there to take it?' Nārada1190 (dāyabhāga v. 50) reasons that both the son and the daughter continue the line of the father and therefore in the absence of the son the daughter succeeds as heir. Brhaspati exhales 'the daughter is born from the limbs of the parents as much as the son; when she is alive how can another take after her father's estate?' Bāna, who as a great poet had unparalleled sympathy with the emotions and feelings of the average man, makes even the king Prabhākara-vardhana say about his daughter what every Indian father has felt for thousands of years: this rule of law laid down by some one viz. that one's own children (daughters) sprung from one's body, fondled on one's knees and whom one would never forsake, are taken away all of a sudden by persons (husbands) who till then were quite unfamiliar. It is on account of this sorrow that although both (son and daughter) are one's own children the good feel sorrow when a daughter is born and who offer water in the form of tears to their daughters at the very time of their birth'. A daughter was not greeted at birth, not because the father had no love for her, but because

1190. छन्दमावेशी दुनिया दुनीयांवाणोपरागणात। इत्यतु मुहिष्ठ। चारणी पंची: संतानः पार्वती ॥ नूतन (ंचलनम् 50); अकारकाकृति नूतनकृत्या ध्यानम् ॥ सर्वं नित्यवेदने लघुपंक्ति कथयो वृद्धीमान: वृद्धिति quoted by अच्छोदन p. 743; केनापि वता पर्यं नामं सर्वं मैवतिरिस्तास्य पवित्रंसदुपाय श्रद्धालं विग्न्यं अवस्थासंपादिते ॥ ॥ ॥ दुनियानं समानतेः दुनियाः ततः ॥ एतत्तैः जनसाधन एव कथा-काव्यः परमसूचित सत्तिनामकुम्भ: साधनः ॥ वर्णितः 4th Ucchhyāsa. कथापितर्युक्तं कुस्मिन्हि समलिता मानसाद्विभिः ॥ ॥ ॥ न जरायते व काः कर्तवे कार्यं कर्तवे ॥ माग्य: कुलेन विद्विजयं वतस्त्र च वृद्धीः ॥ कन्यर्यं सदा जनः सर्वं स्मार्यातुः मनितिः ॥ दशमास्वामी (उपनिषदां 9. 10–11.). उद्भवश्य 97. 16 has महास्कुलं ॥ ॥ कन्यर्यं संस्कृतम् स्नेते कार्यम् सामाय।
he felt that a daughter meant a source of anxiety all her life to him. It was the great concern felt for a daughter's well-being in life and her character that made the parents anxious that no daughter be born to them. Society expected a very high moral rectitude from women and treated lapses of men with leniency. This is finely expressed in the Rāmāyaṇa (Uttara-kānda 9.10-11). Ancient literature did not everywhere treat women with scorn and contempt. It has already been shown how highly the wife was regarded even in the most ancient days as a man's half. Rg. III. 53. 4 speaks of the wife as a haven of rest (jāyed-astam). The Chān. Up.1191 looks upon the sight of a woman in a dream as very auspicious and as prognosticating success in religious rites already undertaken. Manu (III. 56 = Anuśāsana 46. 5), though he has said, as will be shown later on, some very hard things about women, was not unmindful of the honour due to them and says in a chivalrous spirit ‘where women are honoured there the gods love to reside; where they are not honoured, there all religious acts come to nought.’ Maidens were regarded as pure (vide p. 296 above) and auspicious. When the king passed through his capital it was customary to greet him with fried grain showered by maidens (Raghuvarṇa II.10). The Śaunaka-kārikā1192 (ms. in Bombay University Library folio 22 b) includes a maiden among the eight objects which were auspicious. The Dronaprava (82. 20-22) mentions numerous objects which Arjuna looked at and touched as auspicious when starting for battle, among which well-decked maidens are mentioned. Gobhila-smṛti II. 163 says that one that sees on rising from bed in the morning among others a woman whose husband is living is free from all difficulties. The Vāmana-purāṇa (14. 35-36) mentions several objects which are auspicious when one is about to leave home, among which figure brāhmaṇa maidens. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 168.

Some remarks must be made about the times auspicious for marriage. In the marriage hymn (Rgveda1193 X. 85. 13) the

1191. स पदि शिरं पवेष्यसु सुं कर्मचिति निवायत ।

1192. दुम्पृणा: पुरुणवान: फल्य च उपवसदोऽऽति ।

1193. अवहल्ल हरितने वाहों फल्यनों पर्य Labs ते ।
words occur 'the cows are killed on the Aghās and (the bride) is carried away (from her father's house) on the Phalgunī'. The cow was killed in Madhuparka which was offered to the bridegroom on the day of marriage. Or this may be a reference to the giving of cows by the bridegroom to the bride's father (as in the form later called āraṇa). So it appears probable that this is a reference to marriage being performed on the day when the moon was in conjunction with the constellation of Aghās (i.e. Maghā). The two Phalgunis follow immediately after the Maghā nakṣatras. There is an echo of this in the Āp. gr. III. 1-2 which says 'cows are accepted on the Maghās and (the bride) is carried (to the bridegroom's house) on the Phalgunīs'. This means that the marriage—probably in the āraṇa form—is celebrated on the Maghās and the bride goes from her father's house on the next day after marriage or after one day more. The Āśv. gr. (I. 4. 1) says that 'in the northward passage of the sun, in the bright half of a month and on an auspicious lunar mansion, caula, upanayana, godāna and marriage are to be performed and that according to some teachers marriage may be celebrated at all times' (not necessarily in northward passage &c.). The Āp. gr. (2. 12-13) prescribes that all seasons except the two months of Śīśira (i.e. Māgha and Phālguna) and the last of the two months of summer (viz. Āśādha) are fit for marriage and all nakṣatras which are declared to be auspicious (or holy). Āp. gr. further adds (3. 3) 'a father who desires that his daughter should be dear (to her husband) should give her in marriage on the Niṣṭyā (i.e. Śvāti constellation'); thus she becomes dear (to her husband), she does not return (to her parent's house); this is a procedure based upon the Brāhmaṇa passage.' The Brāhmaṇa passage is Tai. Br. I. 5, 2. The Baud. gr. (I. 1. 18-19) is the same as Āp. gr. about months and adds that the nakṣatras for marriage are Rohini, Mrgasirṣa, Uttarā Phalguni, Śvāti; while Punarvasu,
Tiṣya (Pusya), Hasta, Śravaṇa and Revati are suitable for other ceremonies of an auspicious character. The Mānava gr. (I. 7. 5) says that the nakṣatras Rohini, Mrugasīras, Śravaṇa, Śravīṣṭhā (Dhanisthā) and the Uttarās (i.e. Uttarāśadhā, Uttarā Phalguni and Uttarā Bhādrapadā) are fit for marriage and for taking the bride from her parent's house and whatever other (nakṣatra) is declared to be auspicious. Kāthaka gr. 14. 9–10 and Vārāha gr. 10 are similar. The Rāmāyana (Balakanda 72, 13 and 71. 24) speaks of marriage being performed on Uttarā Phalguni, of which Bhaga is the deity. The Mahābhārata also speaks of marriage on a nakṣatra presided over by Bhaga (Ādiparva 8, 16). The Kauśika sūtra (75. 2–4) makes an approach to modern practice when it prescribes that marriage should be celebrated after the full moon of Kartika and up to the full moon of Vaiśākha or one may do as one likes but should avoid the month or half month of Caitra.

Medieval digests introduce many detailed rules derived from astrology which it is not possible to set out here. A few only will be indicated. The Udvāhātattva (p. 124) quotes Rājamārtanda and Bhuja-balabhīma to the effect that all months are auspicious for marriage except Caitra and Pauṣa and that when a girl is very much grown-up one should not wait for auspicious seasons, but she should be given away on any day when the moon and the zodiacal sign rising at the moment of marriage are favourable, and that one should go into questions of auspicious ayana, month, day &c. up to only the tenth year of girls. The Sāṃskārāratnamālā (p. 460) says that as there is conflict among the dicta of sūtra and smṛti

1197. सप्त द्वार भद्राभो दुःशीये द्वितीये परषे। कल्याणाः परे सांस्कृतिक विवाहिनिः। कृष्ण उत्तम द्वितीये ना जिनकी।।

1198. ऊँचे कार्तिकologue आ वैशाखना। पाराकामी वा। विशावतुः हि वांचेन। कृोक्षिण मुनिः 75. 2–4.

1199. राजमार्गीयम्। राजस्वते तथा गुणे गिन्तृये अभावसंगमे। अविवाहिक च या.

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writers about months one should follow the usage of one’s country. One should not celebrate the marriage of the eldest son with the eldest daughter of a man in the month of Jyeṣṭha (or on Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatra) nor should one celebrate a marriage in the month of birth or on the day of birth or nakṣatra of birth (of the eldest son or daughter). Wednesday, Monday, Friday and Thursday are the best days of the week, but the Madanapārijāta says that any day is good if the marriage is celebrated at night. In marriage the moon must be in a strong position for girls. One should avoid Jupiter being the 4th, 8th or 12th from one’s rāsi (zodiacal sign in which the moon was at the time of birth). The Nimbaiyasinidhu quotes a verse that when the girl has reached puberty, then one should not wait till Jupiter is favourable, but marriage should be performed even when Jupiter is 8th from the zodiacal sign of birth, propitiatory rites however being performed for Jupiter. Upanayana and marriage cannot be performed when Jupiter is in the zodiacal sign called Leo (Simha), but this applies only to the tract between the river Godāvari and the Ganges. From the nakṣatra and zodiacal sign at the time of birth (in the case of both the girl and the bridegroom) certain astrological calculations were made in eight ways called kūtas. They were Varna, Vasya, Nakṣatra, Yoni, Graha (planets governing the twelve rāsis), Gaṇa, Rāsi, and Nādi, each later one of which was more powerful than each preceding one and marks (guna) from 1 to 8 were respectively assigned to each of these if the conditions laid down were satisfied. Two of these viz. gaṇa and nādi are attached great importance even now among brāhmaṇas and other classes also and so they may be illustrated here, though very briefly. The 27 nakṣatras are arranged in three groups of nine each, each group being assigned to Devagana, Manusya-gana and Rākṣasa-gana as follows:

1200. सं. र. मा. प. 464 न वार्त्तोऽ: प्रकटति राष्ट्री इति मद्वणार्थातेः।
1201. रतनवशाप: केर्णया हुःखाधि न चिन्तनेतु। अद्वेद्यं अकर्त्तवयो विभाष- शिल्पः कार्यात् || निःसर्गसिद्धः III पुरवंशः प. 304।
1202. तत: || गोविन्दानुः पाथाग्रिहीर्मोत्तरं यात्स्युः। तच विवाही नेतृः सिद्धवेषे वेदोपयोक्ते इत्यदि भाषायते। विवाहो अत्यन्ते स किंतु- शिखरं न भूष्ठिति। इति विषेष्येन मद्वणोविधानादातिरिक्तेऽद्वादशोऽद्वादशात्। सं. म. प. 806।
1203. See सं. म. प. 773 ff. and सं. र. मा. 519 ff. for हुःखः।
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Devagana</th>
<th>Manuṣyaṇagana</th>
<th>Rākṣasasagana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Āśvini</td>
<td>Bharani</td>
<td>Kṛttikā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mṛgasiras</td>
<td>Rohini</td>
<td>Āśleṣā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punarvasu</td>
<td>Ardā</td>
<td>Maghā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puṣya</td>
<td>Pūrvā</td>
<td>Citrā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hasta</td>
<td>Uttarā</td>
<td>Viśākhā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Svāti</td>
<td>Pūrvāśādha</td>
<td>Jyeṣṭhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anurādhā</td>
<td>Uttarāśādha</td>
<td>Mūla</td>
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<tr>
<td>Śravana</td>
<td>Pūrvābhādrapada</td>
<td>Dhanisṭhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revati</td>
<td>Uttarābhādrapada</td>
<td>Śatārakā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the bride and bridegroom are born on nakṣatras that belong to the same class out of these three groups it is the best thing but if their nakṣatras of birth belong to different groups, then the rules are: it is middling if their nakṣatras belong to the deva group or the human group respectively, or if the bridegroom’s nakṣatra being of the devagana or rākṣasasagana, the bride’s is of the manusyaṇagana, while if the nakṣatra of the bride is of the rākṣasa group and the bridegroom’s of the manusya type, then death would result. Similarly if the nakṣatras of the pair respectively belong to the deva and rākṣasa groups, there would be quarrels and enmity between the two.

For the purpose of nādi the nakṣatras are divided into three groups of nine each, ādyanaṇādi, madhyanāṇādi and antyanāṇādi, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ādyanaṇādi</th>
<th>Madhyanāṇādi</th>
<th>Antyanāṇādi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Āśvini</td>
<td>Bharani</td>
<td>Kṛttikā</td>
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<td>Ārdā</td>
<td>Mṛgasiras</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Punarvasu</td>
<td>Puṣya</td>
<td>Āśleṣā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Uttarā</td>
<td>Pūrvā</td>
<td>Maghā</td>
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<td>Pūrvāśādha</td>
<td>Uttarāśādha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Śatārakā</td>
<td>Dhanisṭhā</td>
<td>Śravana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūrvābhādrapada</td>
<td>Uttarābhādrapada</td>
<td>Revati</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the nakṣatras of the intended pair belong to the same nādi, then that portends death and so there is to be no marriage in such a case. The respective nakṣatras of birth in the case of the two should belong to different nādis.
The anxieties of the girls' father did not end here. If after the marriage was settled but before it actually took place any relative in any of the two families died, then the marriage agreement was to be broken off according to some writers, but Saunaka 1204 mercifully states a more sensible and reasonable rule viz. if the father or mother or paternal grand-father or paternal grand-mother or paternal uncle, brother or unmarried sister of the intended bride or bridgroom dies, or the bridegroom's first wife or his son from another wife dies, then only it is pratikūla and the marriage should not be performed, but the death of any one else presents no obstacle.

If before the rites of marriage begin (i.e. before the performance of nandīśrāddha), the mother of the bride or of the bride-groom has her monthly illness then the marriage has to be postponed till she becomes pure (till the fifth day after the illness).

Forms of marriage: From the times of the grhya sutras, dharmasūtras and smṛtis the forms of marriage are said to be eight, viz. Brāhma, Prājapatiya, Ārṣa, Daiva, Gāndharva, Āsura, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca (vide Āsv. gr. I. 6, Gaut. IV. 6–13, Baud. Dh. S. I. 11, Manu III. 21 = Ādi-parva 73. 8–9), Viśnū Dh. S. 24. 18–19, Yaj. I. 58, Nārada (strīpurūṣa, verses 38–39), Kauṭilya III. 1, 59th prakaraṇa, Ādi-parva 102. 12–15 (they are described but not named); some of these arrange the first four differently, e.g. Āsv. gr. arranges them as Brāhma, Daiva, Prājapatiya and Ārṣa, while Viśnū arranges them as Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa and Prājapatiya; Āsv. gr. I. 6 places Paiśāca before Rākṣasa. The Mānava gr. speaks of only two Brāhma and Saulka (i.e. Āsura), probably because these two were the forms most current. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 5. 11. 17–20—II. 5. 12. 1–2) speaks of only six, omitting Prājapatiya and Paiśāca; while Vas. Dh. S. I. 28–29 expressly says that there are only six forms of marriage viz. Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Gāndharva, Kṣātra and Mānuṣa (the last two being the same as Rākṣasa and Āsura). It is impossible for want of space to set out the various definitions of the several forms given by the several authors. There is general agreement on the special characteristics of each and it is sufficient to point out these as given in Manu III. 27–34.

1204. सौनक: । दित्र विवंदनस्य मातास्य चेत्र दित्रवाहि । दित्रवा: कृष्ण । माताविन चार्यसद्गिता । एविषेक विनिश्चयं अविलक्षणते बुद्धि: । सत्त्वः । अनेकपदिक विनिश्चयं निर्विनिश्चयं तदनं । निर्विवद्यान्यं III 311 पार्थैं p. 511.
The gift of a daughter, after deckling her (with valuable garments) and honouring her (with jewels &c.), to a man learned in the Vedas and of good conduct, whom the father of the girl himself invites, is called Brāhma. When the father gives away his daughter after deckling her (with ornaments &c.) to a priest, who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance, it is the Daiva form. When there is a gift of one's daughter, after taking one pair of cattle (a cow and a bull) or two pairs only as a matter of fulfilling the law (and not as a sale of the girl), that is named the ārṣa form. The gift of a daughter, after the father has addressed (the couple with the words 'may both of you perform your religious duties together') and after he has honoured the bride-groom (with Madhuparka &c.), is declared to constitute the Prājāpatya form. Yāj. I. 60 calls this 'kāya', because in the Brāhmaṇa works 'ka' means 'Prajāpati'. When the girl is given away at the father's will after the bride-groom gives as much wealth as he can afford to pay to the relatives of the girl and to the girl herself, that is called the Āsura form. The union of a girl and the bride-groom by their mutual consent is known as Gāndharva, which springs from the passion of love and has intercourse as its purpose. The forcible abduction of a maiden from her house, while she weeps and cries aloud, after her kinsmen have been slain (or beaten), wounded and (their houses or fortresses) are broken open, is called the Rāksasa form. When a man has intercourse with a girl stealthily while she is asleep or intoxicated or disordered in mind (or unconscious), that is the Paiśāca form, which is the basest and the most sinful of all forms.

In the first four forms there is the gift of the girl (kanyādāna) by the father or other guardian to the bride-groom. The word 'dāna' here is used in a secondary sense (as stated above on p. 504) viz. in the sense of transfer of the father's right of guardianship and control of the maiden to the husband. All gifts are to be made with water in the case of brāhmaṇas as stated by Manu.

1205. Bhād. Dh. I. 11. 5 द्विजमानां गृहजीविनायककर्त्तव्यः अतिषो न द्वैवः। According to him the girl becomes part of the daksīṇā (fee) for officiating. But in the Vedas and Sānta sūtras a bride is nowhere spoken of as daksīṇā. Medhātithi on Manu III. 23 is against the idea of the bride being part of the sacrificial fee. Viśvarūpa also says so; but Aparākṣa p. 89 holds that the girl is given as fee.
Similarly in all the four forms where there is kanyādāna the girl is to be well dressed and decked with ornaments. The essence of the brāhma form is that the girl is given without receiving anything from the bride-groom, who is invited and honoured by the girl's father. It is called brāhma either because brāhma means the holy Veda and this mode being sanctioned by the most ancient texts it is the holiest and best form, or brāhma means dharma and being the best of all forms it is called brāhma (vide Śrīmituk-tāphala part I, p. 140). In the ārṣa form a pair of cattle is received from the bride-groom and it is somewhat inferior to the brāhma form. But the pair is given not as a price (i.e. there is no purchase), but because that is one way of effecting a marriage laid down by the śāstras (vide the passage quoted above at p. 504 ‘therefore one should give a hundred cows &c’ and Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 11, which is opposed to Vas. Dh. S. I. 36) and the gift is made to show one’s regard for the girl (vide Manu III. 53-54). The daiva form is only appropriate to brāhmaṇas as only brāhmaṇa could officiate at a sacrifice. It is so called because the bridegroom is engaged at the time in rites for the gods and it is inferior to the brāhma inasmuch as in it there is some trace of benefit to the father (that the priest may do his best in the rite for the gods). Govindasvāmin on Baud. Dh. S. says ‘the bride is in this form part of the sacrificial fee’. In all forms of marriage the husband and wife have to perform all religious acts together, as forcibly put by Āp. Dh. S. (there is no separation between husband and wife, since from the time of taking the hand of the wife there is joint performance of all religious actions). But in the Prājāpāya the words used indicate according to the commentators (vide Saim.

1206. स्वास्तिकाय सिष्टा वृन्दनस्वरूपम्। दुःस्वानिती शेषे धर्मस्थितं। पापम् V. 16-17. Strabo (XV. 1. 54) refers to purchase of a wife in exchange for two oxen.

1207. द्रेष्य मानुषिकेन एवतस्त्वति देवं। दुःशिवातिनिः कृतवेत् वृषं कश्च- अवस्थयता। दुःशिवातिनिः कृतवेत् वृषं कश्च- अवस्थयता। दुःशिवातिनिः कृतवेत् वृ�्टं कश्च- अवस्थयता। मनोवाप्ययं श्रवसामाय- न्यायस्तत्तिः स्त्रोतोऽस्य एवतस्त्वति भाजायते। विश्वमुखृ on या I. 59-60.

1208. अवस्थयताः सुभाष्यन् विभाग्नि निवेदयते। भविष्यदायिन्यं सहत्वं कर्म्यत। तथा कृपकोशुं कठिन्यमेव नोपिकिर्मि च। आप. ध. II. 6. 13. 16-18. About Bhājāyana the s. कौ. (p. 732) quotes the pārāṣṭra “अत्र विवेकं परिवण्डले सम्बन्धं “अवस्थायते विवेके निपुञ्जायते गर्भनीतयं जन्म न सह। नापूर्णं तथापि शिष्यमिच्छिल्लिहि आश्रयति। आप. संस्कृतप्राचीनवर्णप्रत्येकतिः पुस्ते। स तां तत्त्वं जीवस्यं विवेकस्य परिवेक्ष। आव्रजतः साहित्य वा भ्रुतावर्णस्य मन्त्रवाच्य सैनिक दृश्यति। अपैये दुर्वृद्ध्वाजसयस्य साहित्यविश्वास्य वृद्धोऽस्य। सैनिकः। the s. प. 852 quotes the first two views as those of दृवस्यानविन्दा.
Pr. p. 852 and Haradatta on Gaut. IV. 5) one or more of several things, viz. that the husband will remain a house-holder all his life and will not become a recluse while the wife is living or that he will not marry another wife i.e. it will be a strictly monogamous marriage which is defined in *Hyde v. Hyde* (1866), P. and M. p. 130 as ‘the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others’ (p. 133), or that he will associate the wife with himself not only in sacrifices but also in works of charity (like building tanks, wells &c.). This form is inferior to brāhma in that the father, as it were, makes a special stipulation with the bride-groom, while in the brahma there is no such special stipulation, but the bride-groom promises that he will not break faith with his wife in the matter of the three puruṣārthas, dharma, artha, kāma. 1209

In the āsura form there is practically a sale of the girl for money or money’s worth and so it is not approved. The ārga is distinguished from āsura in this that in the latter there is no limit to what is taken from the bride-groom, while in the former a pair of cattle is offered as a matter of form. In the gandharva there is no gift by the father; on the contrary the father’s authority is set at naught by the girl for the time being. Marriage was a sacrament according to ancient sages, and its principal purposes as stated above (pp. 428–29) were the acquisition of merit by the performance of religious duty and of progeny. In the gandharva form the principal object was gratification of carnal desires and so it is held inferior to the first four forms and is disapproved. This kind of marriage is so called because it is prompted by mutual love and the Gandharvas were known to be libidinous, as the Tā. S. VI. 1. 6.5 (strīkāmā vai Gandharvāh) and Ait. Br. V. 1 state. In this form at least the girl’s feelings are consulted. In the rākṣasa and the paisāca, there is no gift by the father and both are or may be against the wish of the girl. The forcible carrying of the girl is the essence of the rākṣasa (even if there is no fight because the girl’s father takes no retaliatory steps in fear of the abductor’s strength). It is called rākṣasa because rākṣasas (demons) are known from legends to have been addicted to cruel and forceful methods. The paisāca is so called because in it there is action like that of pīśācas (goblins) that are supposed to act stealthily by night.

1209. ‘ये हि स्वार्तिः, यस्मेन च चार्यं च चार्यं च नातिचर्चितं थनि’ अवर्त on जीवनी VI. 1. 17. The स. म. (pp. 845 and 852) says that these words occur in the काव्यमभिषिष्ट on काव्यविष्णु.
It is not to be supposed that when ancient sages held that rākṣasa and paśčāca were forms of marriage, they legalized marriage by capture or stealth. What they meant was that these were the means of securing 1210 wives and that there are not really eight kinds of vivāhas, but rather there are eight ways in which wives may be secured. It is for this reason that Vatsa says that if a fine girl cannot be secured by any means she may be approached even in private by stealth and married. The sages condemned in no measured terms the paśčāca. From the fact that Āpastamba and Vāsiṣṭha both ignore the Paśčāca and Prājāpatya it may be inferred that these two had ceased to be recognised by their time and that the other sages enumerated them only because they appeared in ancient works and for the sake of completeness of treatment. Vāsiṣṭha (17. 73) expressly repudiates the idea that legal wifehood can arise by forcible seizure of a girl if a damsels 1211 has been abducted by force and not wedded with sacred texts she may lawfully be given to another man (in marriage); she is just as good as a maiden. The smṛtis out of regard for the future welfare of the girl preferred to blink at the wrong done, but insisted upon the abductor or stealthy seducer performing the rites of homa and saptapadi in order to confer on the girl wronged the status of a legally married wife. But if the wrong-doer was unwilling to do this they recommended that the girl may be given to another in marriage and pronounced very heavy punishments for the abductor or seducer of a girl (vide Manu VIII. 366 and Yāj. IL. 287-288). Sir Gooroodas Banerjee 1212 rightly expresses surprise at Macnaughten’s saying that fraud was legalised by the Hindu Law in the case of the paśčāca form. Manu VIII. 366 says that if a man has intercourse with a girl of his own caste with her consent, he will have to give a fee to the father if the latter so desires and

1210. न चेन्यासंयोगमांविवाहमविवाहवेदवेदीविवाहा व युज्विवाहामेेडवै। मेंको मनु VIII. 366; सचिवालायवस्त्र शास्त्रात्यथा मुखपद्धति। यो विवाहम विवाहान सा विवाहाः कांस्य। स्तवम् 3. 142; सं. म. p. 861; सं. कौ. p. 735; मार्ग साह गाज़वागाजायम कायम निकलते।

1211. मार्ग साह गाज़वागाजायम कायम निकलते। अन्याय विभिन्नम यथा कर्मा चवेच्यम हमीलात सर. 17. 73. यह भी वै. प. IV. 1. 17 और इन्होंने कहा और इन्होंने कहा और इन्होंने कहा और इन्होंने कहा और इन्होंने कहा और इन्होंने कहा।

Medhātithi adds that if the father does not desire money the lover will have to pay a fine to the king, that the girl may be given to him or if she has lost her love for him, she may be given to another and if the lover himself wants to discard her he should be forced to accept her (as a wife). Nārada (stripūrīsa, verse 72) similarly says that if a man has sexual intercourse with a maiden who is a consenting party, then there is no offence, but he must marry her after decking her (with ornaments) and treating her with honour.

The Sm. C. and other digests state that in the gāndharva, āsura, rākṣasa and paścāca homa and saptapadi are necessary and they quote Devala and the Gṛhyaparīṣṭa in support. The Mahābhārata (Ādi. 195. 7) expressly says that even after svayamvara religious rites had to be performed. Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa VII describes how after the svayamvara of Indumati the principal religious rites of madhuparka, homa, going round the fire, pāṅgrihaṇa took place. Since Āśvalāyana first speaks of eight forms and then prescribes the performance of homa and saptapadi, he implies that these are necessary in all forms.

The smṛtis contain several views about the suitability of these eight to various varṇas. All are agreed that the first four, brāhma, daiva, ārṣa and prājāpatya, are the approved forms (prasāsta or dharmaṇya). Vide Gaut. IV. 12, Āp. Dh. S II.5.12. 3, Manu III. 24, Nārada (stripūrīsa, verse 44) &c. Most say that each preceding one out of the first four is superior to each succeeding one and that thus brāhma is the best (vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 4, Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 11). Almost all are agreed that paścāca is the worst. Manu III. 23–26 refers to several views. One view is that the first four (brāhma &c.) are the proper forms for brāhmaṇas (Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 10, Manu III. 24). Another view was that the first six (out of the eight i.e. all except rākṣasa and paścāca) are allowed to brāhmaṇas and the last four to kṣatriyas, and the gāndharva, āsura and paścāca to vaśyans and śūdras (Manu III. 23). A third view was that prājāpatya, gāndharva and āsura may be resorted to

1213. अखया नधूरकषासाः यथा सार्धाः || सर्वथा ज्ञातः सेवनः सार्धाः। अखया कामाः
कः अविभाजितः || तस्मा एव देवः सूत्रवाचर्य कस्मिनस्य प्रकटः मन्त्रिष्ठानः।
सद्वेद्यो चित्वाच सार्धाः सार्धाः सार्धाः ||
1214. श्रद्धा विनायकार्मायायं विधिततः || अविभाजित 195. 7.
by all varṇas and pâśa and āśura should not be resorted to by any one of any varṇa (Manu III. 25 = Anuśāsana 44. 9-10), but in another verse (III. 24) Manu allows āśura to vaiśyas and śūdras. Manu mentions the view that the gāndharva and rākṣasa are proper (dharmya) for a kṣatriya or a mixture of these two viz. where the girl loves the bride-groom, but her parents or guardians disapprove or cause obstacles and the lover takes away the girl after a fight with her relations (Manu III. 26 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 13). Baud. Dh.S. 1275 (I. 11. 14-16) recommends āśura and pâśa to vaiśyas and śūdras and assigns the interesting reason 'for the vaiśyas and śūdras do not keep their wives under restraints, they having to do the work of ploughing and waiting upon (the other varṇas)'. Nārada (stripuṁśa, verse 40) says that gāndharva is common to all varṇas. The Kāmasūtra (III. 5. 28) first speaks of the brāhma as the best (following the view of the dharmaśāstra writers) and then, true to its own particular subject, gives its own opinion that gāndharva is the best (Kāmasūtra III. 5. 29-30).

The gāndharva form was very much in vogue among royal families. In the Sākuntala, 1216 Kālidāsa gives expression to this practice. In the Mahābhārata 1217 Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna who was in love with Subhadra that carrying away by force one's lady-love is commended in the case of valiant kṣatriyas. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa (dated sāke 793) it is stated that Indrarājā married the daughter of the Cālukya king at Kairā by the rākṣasa form of marriage (E. I. vol. 18, p. 235 at p. 243). Another and a very famous historic example of the rākṣasa form is the forcible abduction after a most dashing and valiant fight by Pṛthvirāja Cohan of the daughter of

1214 a. न च आप्रवादितस्तेषु सत्यप्रवादर्मादानां पवित्रवादिन्योपस्तेषु पवित्रवादिनिः सक्रूपपुष्पं तथापि स्वरूपादानां पवित्रवादिविद्यानुपथिताः।

1215. पखराभं सर्वशुचिताः। अष्टानितकर्तर्वा हि नेत्रवस्त्तः भाषित। कल्पना-शुचिप्रशियतवत्। वी. श. I. 11. 14-16.

1216. भक्तवर्ग निमित्तवन्त चहो निमित्तवन्तः। शुचितो भाजिलिङ्गो निमित्तवन्तः।

1217. भक्त्व पर्यं भाषा सर्वाश्रयालं भवन्ते। विशेषेतः। शुचिप्रशियत आदिविष्णु विद्वान्। आदिविष्णु 219. 22.
Jayacandra, the king of Kanoj.\textsuperscript{1218} It is said that the daughter of Jayacandra was a consenting party; in that case this would be a mixture of the two forms of gāndharva and rākṣasa (compare Manu III. 26).

The svayāṁvara very often spoken of in the dharmaśāstras was practically the gāndharva as stated by the commentary Viramitrodaya.\textsuperscript{1219} It had several varieties. The simplest form of svayāṁvara occurs when, as described by Vas. Dh. S. 17, 67–68, Manu IX. 90, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 13, a girl, who attains puberty and whose father does not find a proper husband for three years, herself seeks her husband (or after three months from puberty according to Gaut. 18. 20, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25. 40–41). Yāj. I. 64 also recommends svayāṁvara to every girl when there is no parent or other guardian who can find out a worthy husband for her. When a girl chose her own husband as above she had to return all ornaments given to her by her parents or brother and the husband who married her had to pay no sūlka (dowry) to the father as the latter lost his power over her by not giving her away in time (vide Gaut. 18. 20 and Manu IX. 92). This simple svayāṁvara was applicable to girls of all castes. Sāvitrī indulged in this kind of svayāṁvara, when she went about in a chariot to find out a suitable husband for herself. But the svayāṁvaras described in the two great epics are often most elaborate and spectacular affairs and were confined to royal families. The Ādiparva says that kṣatriyas commend svayāṁvara and resort to it, but they prefer a girl who is carried off after subduing her relatives. Bhīṣma carried off the three daughters of the king of Kāši and got two of them (Ambikā and Ambālikā) married to his ward Vicitravirya.\textsuperscript{1220} The svayāṁvara of Sitā or Draupadi did not depend upon the will of the bride, but the bride was to be given in marriage to whomsoever showed a certain skill as a warrior. In the case of Damayanti it was a real choice of her husband by her (Vanaparva 54 ff.) though she chose Nala in a vast and splendid assembly of royal suitors. Kālidāsa also

\textsuperscript{1218} Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. II. pp. 314–315 (in 1908); Tod’s Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. II. p. 834.

\textsuperscript{1219} सदृशवर्तन उपकुलवान्स: परस्फर्तिकामन्ति मन्त्रिः मन्त्रिः मन्त्रिः–

\textsuperscript{1220} सदृशवर्तन उपकुलवान्स: परस्फर्तिकामन्ति मन्त्रिः मन्त्रिः मन्त्रिः–
gives us a fine description of the svayamvara of Indumati in the Raghuvamśa. Bilhana in his Vikramāṅka-devacarita (canto IX) gives a description of the historic svayamvara of Candralekhā (or Candaladevi) daughter of the Sīlāhāra prince of Karahāta (modern Karad), when she chose Āhavamalla or Vikramāṅka, the Cālukya king of Kalyāna (latter half of 11th century). Such a svayamvara, it appears, was thought to be unsuitable to brāhmaṇas according to the Ādiparva.\textsuperscript{1221} In the Kādambarī (Pūrvabhāga, penultimate para) Pattralekha says that svayamvara is ordained in the Dharmaśāstras.\textsuperscript{1222}

The Āp. Dā. S. II. 5. 12. 4 makes a general statement that the progeny of a couple partakes of the character of the form in which they were married\textsuperscript{1223} (i.e., if the marriage is in the best or in an approved form the son is good; if the marriage is in a condemned form, the son bears a low character). Manu (III. 39-42) expands the same idea by stating that sons born of marriages in the brāhma and other three forms are full of spiritual eminence and are endowed with beauty, virtues, wealth, fame and very long life, while sons of marriages of the other four forms are cruel, are liars, haters of the Veda and of dharma. Some sūtras and smṛtis state how many generations are rendered holy by a son born in one of the first four forms. For example, Āśv. gr. (I. 6) says that a son born of parents married in the brāhma, daiva, prājapatyā or ārśa forms respectively brings purification to twelve descendants and twelve ancestors on both sides (i.e., his father’s and mother’s), to ten descendants and ten ancestors on both sides, to eight descendants and ascendants on both sides and to seven descendants and ascendants. Manu (III. 37-38) and Yāj. (I. 58-60) put the matter somewhat differently. According to them the son of a brāhma marriage brings purification to ten paternal ancestors, to ten male descendants and to himself (in all 21), of the daiva marriage to seven paternal ancestors and seven male descendants, of the prājapatyā marriage to six male ancestors, to six male descendants and to himself (in all 13), of the ārśa marriage to three male ancestors and three male descendants. Gaut.

\textsuperscript{1221} न युविन्दीयाकारी विवते वर्धम कहि। स्वयंवरः सक्रियामतिनं भावं। ज्ञातः। आदिपर्वं 189. 7.

\textsuperscript{1222} स्त्रियिन्द कर्मयाकारी से त्रिवं बुद्धिः। पति। सि वेषमनवं पव। तापि प्रभायाणिविद्व: वनवनिविद्व:। कादम्बरी, युवनागम, पार्स 225 (of my edition).

\textsuperscript{1223} प्रथार्यशो विवृततत्संहः प्रवास भवनि। आप. प. ल. II. 5. 12. 4.
(IV. 24–27) has similar provisions. Commentators like Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi explain that these verses are not to be taken literally. They merely praise the extreme desirability of the brāhma form. Viśvarūpa, however, alternatively proposes that one may accept the texts of the holy sages as literally true, following the dictum of Sābara that there is nothing too heavy (or impossible) for a holy text. One may laugh at these texts about the virtues of the several forms of marriage, but they are really intended to emphasize the high importance to the future of the race and to society of noble ideals of marriage, of morals and of a decent and peaceful mode of life.

The forms of marriage have their roots deep down in the Vedic Literature. Rg. X. 85 gives expression to a marriage in the brāhma form (there is kanyādāna and so forth). The āsura form (by payment of money) is referred to in Rg. I. 109. 2 and Nirukta VI.9 (quoted above in note 1175). The gandharva form or svayamvara is indicated by Rg. X. 27. 12 (quoted above p. 439) and Rg. I. 119. 5. The story of Śyāvāśva narrated in the Brhad-devatā (V. 50) in connection with Rg. V. 61 makes an approach to the daiva form. It is related in the Brhad-devatā that Ātreyā Arcaṇās who officiated as a priest at a sacrifice for king Rathaviti asked for his son Śyāvāśva the hand of the king’s daughter.

In modern times two forms are in vogue, the brāhma and āsura. In the brāhma form it is a gift of the girl pure and simple; in the āsura form it is like the sale of the bride for pecuniary consideration paid to the father or other guardian for his benefit. If this element of pecuniary consideration paid to the guardian exists, its effects cannot be undone by the form of a gift being gone through. The gandharva form is said to be obsolete now, yet in some cases before the courts it has been held that it is still in vogue. There can be no gandharva if the girl is a minor. Further if a widow remarries, that marriage

1224. साहिनाभीनाति। मूलमापनिर्विवाहिति। वपूर्वविवाहिति। रूपविवाहिति। न वपूर्वविवाहिताति।


1226. Vide 12 Mad. 72; 17 Patna 134, 141; but in A.I. R. 1930 Oudh p. 426 it is held that the gandharva form is obsolete.
will be ordinarily regarded as gandharva, because there will be no gift of a kanyā (as she is a widow) and because she herself will generally arrange such a marriage.

Before proceeding to set out in detail the ceremonies of marriage, it would be best to analyse the contents of Rgveda X. 85, which is a marriage hymn redolent of the highest ideal of marriage and conjugal felicity and several verses of which are recited even now in the marriage rites. The hymn refers to a mythical marriage of Sūryā, daughter of Savitr, with Soma and the important features of the marriage, though not arranged in a regular sequence in the hymn, are: the two Āśvins went to ask for Sūryā as a bride for Soma\(^{1227}\) (verses 8–9); Savitr agreed to give her (v. 9), the bride-groom was treated with honour, presents were made to him and cows were killed for (or presented to) him; Soma took hold of her hand with the verse (36)\(^{1228}\) I take thy hand for prosperity (or love) so that you may grow to old age with my husband; the gods, Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitr, the wise Pūsan have given thee to me for performing the duties of a house-holder; the bride is a gift by her father in the presence of gods and the fire (v. 40–41); the girl passes from the dominion and control of her father and becomes united with her husband (v. 24); the bride is blest as follows: ‘may you stay here together, may you not be separated, may you compass all life (long life), happy in your own house and playing with your sons and grandsons; O Indra! make her endowed with worthy sons and prosperity; bestow on her ten sons and make her husband the eleventh (male); may you be queen over your father-in-law, mother-in-law, over the husband’s brother and sister (vv. 42, 45–46)\(^{1229}\). Among subordinate items it is noteworthy that Raibhāya was sent along with Sūryā as her friend (anudēyih) to make her time not hang heavy on her hands.

1227. सोमाः वसूलवपति निविदं वदना। शुर्याः पञ्चवें संसर्गी नससा संविताः
1228. शुर्याः सोमि सोमि संविताः सविता संविता। शुर्याः वसूलवपति
1229. शुर्याः पञ्चवें संसर्गी नससा संविताः सविताः। वसूलवपति शुर्याः पञ्चवें संसर्गी

\(^{1227}\) The word वहे here and in some of the gṛhyasūtras also (e. g. Āp. gr. II. 16) means those who ask for the girl on behalf of the bride-groom.

\(^{1228}\) The reading is सुवनवल्लभ (for worthy progeny) instead of सोमवाल्लभ.

\(^{1229}\) शुर्याः पञ्चवें संसर्गी नससा संविताः सविताः। वसूलवपति शुर्याः पञ्चवें संसर्गी

X. 85. 9. The word वहे here and in some of the gṛhyasūtras also (e. g. Āp. gr. II. 16) means those who ask for the girl on behalf of the bride-groom.

The reading is सुवनवल्लभ (for worthy progeny) instead of सोमवाल्लभ.

\(\text{X. 85. 42, 45–46.}\)
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(v. 6) when she first went to her husband's family (just as in modern times in Western India some woman accompanies the bride for a few days as pātharākhiṇī 'one who guards'), that even a female servant accompanied Ṣūryā. 1230

In connection with the rites of marriage it is necessary to observe that the greatest divergence prevailed from very ancient times. Āśv. gr. (I. 7. 1-2) says 'various indeed are the observances of (different) countries and villages; one should follow those in marriages; what, however, is common (to all or most) that we shall declare'. Similarly Āp. gr. (2. 15) declares 'people should understand from women (and others) what procedure is (to be observed according to custom)' and the commentator Sudarśānācārya notes that certain rites like the worship of planets, ānkurāropaṇa and the tying of pratisara (the marriage string or ribbon round the wrist) are usual and are performed with Vedic mantras, while others like Nāgabali, Yakṣabali and the worship of Indrāṇī are performed without Vedic mantras. The Kāṭhakāgṛhya 25. 7: allows usages of countries and families to be observed in marriage and the commentators mention several such usages. As the gṛhya-sūtra of Āśvalāyana contains perhaps the shortest account of marriage rites and as that sūtra is probably the most ancient among the gṛhya sūtras I shall set out below the entire ceremony of marriage from that sūtra. Then a few important details from other gṛhya sūtras will be added and it will be pointed out how in modern times a marriage is celebrated, particularly among higher classes. It must be remembered that there is not only great divergence as to the number of separate ceremonies that constitute the sāṁskāra of marriage, but the sequence of even the most important ceremonies is different in the several sūtras and the mantras also are different (though some like Rg. X. 185. 36 are common to all). It is remarkable that out of the 47 verses of Rg. X. 85, the Āp. Mantrapāṭha employs as many as 29 (most of which are quoted in connection with marriage). The main outlines of the marriage sāṁskāras show a remarkable continuity for several thousand years from the times of the Rgveda down to modern times.

The Āśv. gr. (I. 7. 3-1. 8.) deals with all the marriage rites as follows: Having placed to the west of the fire (that is

1230. Ṣūryā means Śūrja, Śūrya. Nāgabali. Rg. X. 185. 6. Asvavedin means अस्ववेशि and आस्ववेशि means अस्ववेशि.
† Vide Appendix for text under note 1230.
kindled on the altar as described already) a mill-stone and to the north-east (of the fire) a water jar, he should offer sacrifice (with the sruta), while the bride takes hold of him (touches his right hand). Standing with his face turned to the west, while the bride is sitting and has her face turned to the east, he should seize only her thumb with the mantra ‘I take hold of thy hand for happiness’ (Rg. X. 85. 36 quoted in note 1228), if he desires that only male children be born to him; he may seize her other fingers if he is desirous of female children; he may seize her hand on the hair side together with the thumb if he be desirous of both (male and female children). Leading her thrice round the fire and the water jar so that their right sides are turned towards (the fire &c.) he murmurs 1231 ‘I am ama (this), thou art sā (she), thou art sā, I am ama; I am heaven, thou art the earth; I am the sāman, thou art the rā. Let us both marry here. Let us beget offspring. Dear to each other, bright, having well disposed minds, may we live for a hundred years!’ Each time he leads her round (the fire) he makes her tread on the stone with (the words) ‘tread on this stone; be firm like a stone; overcome the enemies; trample down the foes’ 1232. Having first poured clarified butter over her joined hands, the bride’s brother or some one who is in the place of brother pours fried grain twice over the bride’s joined hands, three times in the case of those whose gotra is Jamadagni (i.e. if the bridegroom is of that gotra). Then he pours clarified butter over what has been left of the havis (sacrificial material or offering) and over what has been cut off (separated from the aggregate). This is the rule about the portions to be cut off (in every case where there is avadāna). 1233 With the following verses (recited by the bridegroom)

1231. Vide the same passage with slight differences quoted on p. 202 in the Garbhadhāna ceremony from the Br. Up. VI. 4. 20; the Tai. Br. III. 7. 1 has the words ‘अमुकलोपि सा वेदाः। दृष्टं दृष्टां वेदाः। सामादसुधास्तिः। ततोष्य स्विष्ट्या। सह रेतो रुपायैं इति सुवर्णवन्याय।’

1232. In the Āra. M. 546 I. 5. 1. this mantra is अस्तितास़वानं नवमवसं नाम। अमुकलोपि सा वेदाः। दृष्टं दृष्टां वेदाः। सामादसुधास्तिः। ततोष्य स्विष्ट्या। सह रेतो रुपायैं इति सुवर्णवन्याय।’

1233. The two portions of lāja (fried grain) poured into the bride’s hands together with the first pouring of Ṛjya (called वेदाताव) and the subsequent pouring of Ṛjya (called संविष्ट्या) constitute the four avattas or portions cut off from the material for havis. The descendants of Jamadagni are वेदातावम् (vaid above p. 490); therefore three portions of lāja are to be poured out (in order to make with अवतार and संविष्ट्या, five avattas). For these terms (अवतार and संविष्ट्या) vaid Mahābh 1. 7. 2. 7-8.
viz. 'to god Aryaman the girls offered sacrifice; may he the god Aryaman loosen her from this (i.e. her father's) and not from that place (the bride-groom's), svāhā! to god Varuna the girls have offered sacrifice; may he, god Varuna &c. To god Pūṣan the girls have offered sacrifice, to Agni; may he, god Pūṣan &c.; with these (the bride) should sacrifice (the fried grain) without opening her joined hands, as if they were the spoon called śruc. Without going round the fire the bride sacrifices fried grain a fourth time silently with the neb of the śūrpa (winnowing basket) towards herself. Some lead the bride round each time after fried grain has been poured out, so that the two last oblations do not follow immediately after each other. Then he loosens her two locks of hair if they are made up (that is if her hair has been bound round on two sides with two tufts of wool), (the right one) with the mantra 'I release thee from the fetter of Varuṇa' (Ṛg. X. 85. 24) and the left one with the following mantra (Ṛg. X. 85. 25). Then he causes her to step forward in a north-eastern direction seven steps with the words 'may you take one step for sap, second step for juice (or vigour), third step for the thriving of wealth, fourth step for comfort, fifth step for offspring, sixth step for seasons, may you be my friend with your seventh step! May you be devoted to me; let us have many sons, may they reach old age'.

Bringing the heads of the two (bride and bride-groom) together, he (the ācārya) sprinkles

1234. The first view requires that leading the bride round the fire, making her tread on the stone and the offering of fried grain are each repeated thrice; so that when the offering prescribed here for the 4th time is made, it follows immediately on the third offering of lājas. Other teachers made the bride first offer lājas, then she was led round the fire. When this was done the 4th oblation of lājas would not come immediately after the third oblation of lājas, but after she went round the fire the third time. The Gobhila gr. II. 1. 14 prescribes that the fried grain to be offered into fire is mixed with tendrils of the śāmī plant and Kālidāsā (in Baghurāmá VII. 25-26) refers to śāmī and lājas.

1235. This (the सन्नवें-taking seven steps together) is the most important rite in the marriage sanāskāra. We have to understand 'सन्नवें after each sentence' द्वारे (द्वारा) भव के (द्वारा) भव. These words occur in all grhyasūtras, e.g. vide śr. M. P. I. 3. 7-14 and śr. gr. 4. 15-16, Śāh. gr. I. 14. 6, Pār. gr. I. 8, Gobhila gr. II. 2. 11, Hir. gr. I. 21. 1 &c. But there are slight variations as well. For example, प्रातिपदिक, सन्नवें, द्वारे and सन्नवें substitute द्वारे for मनस्वा, while the first three of these and द्वारे and वैष्णवस्मच्छ लोकम मम (or लोकम मम in मनस्वा) after each of the seven clauses, पारंपारिक reads सन्नवें सन्नवें for सन्नवें सन्नवें.

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their heads with water from the water jar. And the bride should dwell that night in the house of an old brāhmaṇa woman whose husband and children are alive.\footnote{1236} When she (the bride) has seen the Pole star, the star Arundhati and the seven sages (the constellation of Ursa Major), let her break her silence and say ‘may my husband live and may I secure offspring.’\footnote{1237} If (the newly married couple) have to make a journey (to their home in another village), let him cause the bride to mount a chariot with the verse ‘may Pūṣan lead thee from here holding thy hand’ (Rg. X. 85. 26); he should make her ascend into a boat with the hemistitch ‘carrying stones (or the river called Asmanvati) flows; get ready’ (Rg. X. 53. 8) and let him make her descend from the boat with the following hemistitch; if she weeps let him pronounce the verse ‘they weep for the living’ (Rg. X. 40. 10). They constantly carry the nuptial fire in front. At pleasing places, trees and cross roads, let him mutter ‘may no way-layers meet us’ (Rg. X. 85. 32). At every dwelling place (on the way) let him look at the onlookers with the mantra ‘this newly married bride brings good luck’ (Rg. X. 85. 33). He should make her enter his house with the verse ‘here may happiness increase unto you through offspring’ (Rg. X. 85. 27). Having kindled with fuel sticks the nuptial fire and having spread to the west of it a bull’s hide with the neck turned towards the east and the hair outside he makes oblations, while she (the bride) is sitting (on that hide) and takes hold of him, with the four verses (one oblation with each verse) ‘may Prajāpati create offspring to us’ (Rg. X. 85. 43–46); and then he partakes of curds with the verse ‘may all the gods unite our hearts’ (Rg. X. 85. 47) and gives (the remaining curds) to her or he besmears the heart (of both) with the rest of the ājya (with part of which he had already sacrificed). From that time they should not eat kṣāra\footnote{1238} and lavāra, should observe celibacy, wear ornaments and sleep on the ground (not on cots) for three nights or twelve nights or for a year according to some (teachers); thus (those

\footnote{1236} This rule has no application if the bride and the bride-groom belong to the same village. But if they belong to different villages and the newly married couple have to stay somewhere for the night on their journey then this rule applies.

\footnote{1237} This indicates that after the homa is finished, the bride is to observe silence till she sees the Pole star.

\footnote{1238} For the meaning of kṣāra and lavāra see note 723 above.
teachers say) a rṣi will be born as a son (to them). When he has fulfilled these observances he should give the bride’s shift to a brāhmaṇa who knows the Sūryā hymn (Ṛg. X. 85) and food to brāhmaṇas. Then he should cause the brāhmaṇas to pronounce auspicious words.

In this description of the saṃskāra of marriage there are three parts. There are certain rites that are preliminary, there are then a few rites that are of the essence of the saṃskāra viz. pāṇigrahaṇa, homa, going round the fire and the saptapadi, and there are certain rites like the seeing of the Pole star &c. that are subsequent to the central rites. The essential rites are mentioned by all sūtrakāras, but as to the preceding and subsequent rites there is a great divergence in the details. Even as regards the essential rites the sequence in which they take place differs. For example, the Āsv. gr. (I. 7. 7) describes going round the fire before saptapadi, while the Āp. gr. describes saptapadi (IV. 16) before the act of going round the fire (V. 1). The Gobhila grhya (II. 2. 16), the Khādira gr. (I. 3. 31), and Baud. gr. (I. 4. 10) describe pāṇigrahaṇa after saptapadi while many other sūtrakāras describe it before saptapadi. Then again there are many acts reference to which is altogether omitted in the Āsv. gr., e. g. there is no reference to madhuparka (which is mentioned in Āp. gr. III. 8, Baud. gr. I. 2. 1, Māṇava gr. I. 9) nor to kanyādāna (which is referred to in Pār. gr. I. 4 and described in detail in Māṇava gr. I. 8. 6–9). Āsv. probably omitted express mention of kanyādāna, because in defining the first forms he uses the word ‘dādyāt’ while in the last four there is no kanyādāna and Āsv. wanted to describe ceremonies that were common to all forms.

Taking as many grhya sūtras as I could read, the following is a fairly exhaustive list of the different matters described in the saṃskāra of marriage. A few notes are added against those that are deemed important.¹²³⁹

Vadhūvara-guṇaparikṣā: (examining the suitability of a girl or a bride-groom). This has been dealt with already (vide pp. 439–436 above).

Varapreṣana: (sending persons to negotiate for the hand of the girl). The ancient custom seems to have been to send

¹²³⁹. Among the principal ceremonies in marriage described by Kālidāsa in the Rāghuvaināśa VII are madhuparka, homa, going round the fire, pāṇigrahaṇa, lāja-homa and ārdrākṣata-ropāṇa.
some person or persons (Rg. X. 85. 8–9) to the father of the girl for asking her in marriage. The same was the practice in the sūtras. Vide Śāṅ. gr. I. 6. 1–4 (where Rg. X. 85. 23 is the mantra recited when sending them), Baud. gr. I. 1. 14–15, Āp. gr. II. 16 and IV. 1–2 and 7. Even in medieval times, particularly among kṣatriyas, the bride-groom was the first to seek for the hand of a girl. In the Harsacarita, prince Grāhavarmā of the Maukharī race sent messengers for the hand of princess Rājyaśri, sister of Hārṣa. In modern times among the brāhmaṇas and many other castes, the girl’s father has to seek a bride-groom, though among the śūdras and several other castes the old practice is retained.

Vāgdāna or Vāh-niścaya: (settling the marriage). This is described by Śāṅ. gr. I. 6. 5–6. Medieval works like the S. R. M. pp. 529–533 describe this ceremony at great length.

Māṇḍapa-karana: Erecting a pandal where the ceremonies are to be performed. Pār. gr. I. 4 says that marriage, caula, upanayana, keśānta and simanta are to be performed outside the house in a pandal. Vide Śāṅ. Pr. pp. 817–818.

Nāndi-śrāddha and Pujāyāhavācana: These are referred to by Baud. gr. I. 1. 24; most of the grhyasūtras are silent about these. Vide for these pp. 216, 218 above.

Vadhūgrhāgamana: (bride-groom’s going to the bride’s house). Vide Śāṅ. gr. I. 12. 1.

Madhuparka: (reception of the bride-groom at the bride’s house). Āp. gr. III. 8, Baud. gr. I. 2. 1, Māṇava gr. I. 9 and Kāṭhaka gr. 24. 1–3 prescribe this. Vide below chap. X for madhuparka. Śāṅ. gr. I. 12. 10 appears to refer to two madhuparkas, one before marriage and one after marriage (when the bride-groom returned to his own house). The commentator Adityadarśana on Kāṭhaka gr. 24. 1 refers to the opinion of some that madhuparka should be offered at the close of the marriage, but states his own view that in all countries it is offered before marriage.

Snāpana, Paridhāpana and Sammahana: (making the bride bathe, put on new clothes and girding her with a string or rope of darbha.) Vide Āp. gr. IV. 8 and Kāṭhaka gr. 25. 4. Pār. gr.

1240. होमने व दिवसे दशरथुमान करवा माध्यिमक प्रेमितम बहुविन्यासी प्रथमसंहार- करं करत ज्ञातानलसम्युक्तनामनां गुणविवाहमनिमन्त्रत । वर्षं चरित ५थें वर्षां।
I. 4 refers only to the putting on of two garments, Gobhila gr. (II. 1. 17-18) refers to bathing and putting on a garment, Mānava gr. (I. 11. 4-6) refers to paridhāpana and samānahana. Strangely enough Gobhila gr. II. 1. 10 speaks of the sprinkling of the girl’s head with the best of surā (wine), which the commentator explains as water.

Samañjana: (anointing the bride and bride-groom). Vide Sān. gr. I. 12. 5, Gobhila gr. II. 2. 15, Pār. gr. I. 4, in all of which Rg. X. 85. 47 is cited as the mantra with which anointing or sprinkling is done.

Pratisarabandha: (tying an amulet string on the bride’s hand). Vide Sān. gr. I. 12, 6-8; Kauśika sūtra 76. 8.

Vadhūvara-nilakramana: (the coming out into the pandal of the bride and bride-groom from the inner part of the house). Pār. gr. I. 4.

Parasparasamikṣaṇa: (looking at each other). Vide Pār. gr. I. 4, Āp. gr. IV. 4, Baud. gr. I. 1. 24-25. Pār. gr. I. 4 says that the bride-groom recites Rg. X. 85. 44, 40, 41 and 37 at this time. Āp. gr. IV. 4 and Baud. gr. say he recites Rg. X. 85. 44. The Āśv. gr. pariśiṣṭa I. 23 says that first of all a piece of cloth is held between the bride-groom and bride and that at the proper astrological moment it is removed and then the two see each other. Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti (15. 20) also says the same. This practice is observed even now. When the interposed cloth is held between the bride and bride-groom verses called māngalāśtakas are repeated by brāhmanas, the last of which verses is ‘tad-eva lagnām sudinām tad-eva’ &c.

Kanyādāna: (the gift of the bride). Vide Pār. gr. I. 4, Mānava gr. I. 8. 6-9, Vārāha gr. 13. The Āśv. gr. pariśiṣṭa sets out the procedure about the kanyādāna which is the same even now. The Sam. K. p. 779 notes about half a dozen different methods of uttering the formula in kanyādāna. It is in this rite that the father of the girl says that the bride-groom should not prove false to the bride in dharma, artha and kāma and he responds with the words ‘I shall not do so’ (nāticarāmi).

1241. अपि on मेधाविजी VI. 1. 14 says ‘एवं धारणायं संवर्धय जितष्टे-धर्म च गते च नाति चिनित्वादित्वानि’. Vide also note 1209 above. तत्तथां 15. 27 has ‘एवः धारणामयुः च एवार्थविन्दित्तम् हाता’. According to मेधाविजी on सन् IX. 101 the words धर्मः धार्मिकां च गते च नाति चिनित्वादित्वा occur in अपि.
Agnisthāpana and homa: (establishing the fire and offering of ājya oblations into fire). Here there is great divergence about the number of āhutis and the mantras to be recited. Vide Āśv. gr. I. 7. 3 and I. 4. 3–7, Āp. gr. V. 1 (16 āhutis with 16 mantras), Gobhila gr. II. 1. 24–26, Mānava gr. I. 8, Bhāradvāja I. 13 &c.

Pañigrahana: (Taking hold of the bride’s hand).

Lājahoma: (Offering of fried grain into fire by the bride). Vide Āśv. gr. I. 7. 7–13, Pār. gr. I. 6, Āp. gr. V. 3–5, Śān. gr. I. 13. 15–17, Gobhila gr. II. 2. 5, Mānava gr. I. 11. 11, Baud. gr. I. 4. 25. &c. Āśv. gr. says that the bride makes three offerings of fried grain when mantras are repeated by the bridegroom and a fourth is made of the remaining lājas by the bride silently. Some others speak of only three offerings by the bride.

Agniparīṣayana: (the bride-groom going in front takes the bride round the fire and water jar). It is while doing this that he utters the words ‘amohasmi’ &c. (vide Śān. gr. I. 13. 4, Hir. gr. I. 20. 2 &c).

Aṣmārohana: (making the bride tread on a mill-stone). These three are done thrice viz. lājahoma, then agniparīṣayana and aṣmārohana, one after another.

Saptapadi: (taking seven steps together). This is done to the north of the fire; there are seven small heaps of rice and the bride-groom makes the bride step on each of these seven with her right foot beginning from the west.

Mūrdhābhiseka: (sprinkling holy water on the head of the bride and of the bride-groom according to some and on the head of the bride only according to others). Āśv. gr. I. 7. 20, Pār. gr. I. 8, Gobhila gr. II. 2. 15–16 &c.

Śūryodikṣaṇa: (making the bride look towards the sun). Pār. gr. I. 8 speaks of this and employs the mantra ‘tac-caksur’ (Rg. VII. 63. 16 = Vāj. S. 36. 24).


Preśakānumantrāṇa: (addressing the spectators with reference to the newly married bride). Mānava gr. I. 12. 1 (which employs Rg. X. 85. 33). Pār. I. 8 employs that verse for reciting over the bride.

Dakṣinādāna: (gifts to the ācārya). Pār. gr. I. 8, Śān. gr. I. 14. 13–17 (both prescribe a cow as the fee in the case of
brāhmaṇas, a village in marriages of kings and nobles, a horse in marriages of vaiśyas &c.). Gobhila gr. II. 3, 23, Baud. gr. I. 4, 38 speak of only a cow.

Gṛhapraveśa: (entering the bride-groom’s house).


Dhruvārundhati-dārsana: (pointing out the Pole star and Arundhatī to the bride at night on the day of marriage). Āsv. gr. I. 7, 22 speaks of the seven sages in addition, Mānav gr. I. 14, 9 speaks of the same three and adds Jivanti, Bhār. gr. I. 19 speaks of Dhruva, Arundhatī and other nakṣatras, Āp. gr. VI. 12 (only Dhruva and Arundhatī), Pār. I. 8 (only Dhruva). According to Śān. gr. I. 17, 2, Hir. gr. I. 22, 10 both the bride and the bride-groom remain silent till night. According to Āsv. gr. only the bride does so. Gobhila gr. II. 3, 8–12 describes Dhruvārundhati-dārsana before gṛhapraveśa.


Trirātravatā: (keeping for three nights after marriage certain observances). Vide Āsv. above p. 530 for the observances which are enumerated by almost all sūtrakāras. Āp. gr. VIII. 8–10, Baud. gr. I. 5, 16–17 contain the interesting injunction that the newly married pair should sleep on the ground on the same bed for three nights, but should interpose between them a staff of udumbara wood anointed with perfumes and wrapped round with a garment or a thread and that on the fourth night it should be removed with the verses Rg. X. 85, 21–22 and thrown into water.

Caturthikarṇa: (rite on the fourth night after marriage). This has been described above (pp. 202–204).

In the medieval digests certain other ceremonies are mentioned and they are observed in modern times also. A few of them will be noted below. Here again the order is not the same in all works. The Dharmasindhu p. 265 refers to this divergence.

Simāntapūjana: (honouring the bride-groom and his party on their arrival at the bride’s village). This is done before vāgniścaya in modern times. Vide Śān. K. p. 768; Dharmasindhu III p. 261.
Gaurī-Hara-pūjā: (worship of Śiva and his consort Gaurī). Saṁ. K. p. 766, S. R. M. p. 534 and 544, Dharmasindhu p. 261 (notes that there are several views as to when kanyādāna takes place) describe this. Images of Gaurī and Hara are to be made of gold or silver or pictures of them on a wall &c. or on a piece of cloth or stone are to be drawn and worshipped by the intending bride after punyāhavācana and before kanyādāna. Vide Laghu-Āsvalāyana 15. 35.

Indrāṇī-pūjā: (worship of Indrāṇī, the consort of god Indra). Vide Saṁ. K. p. 756, S. R. M. p. 545. This seems to have comparatively an ancient practice as Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa VII. 3 seems to refer to it (‘there was absence of disturbers of svayamvara on account of the presence of Śacī’). Probably Śacī was worshipped before the svayamvara began.

Tālā-haṅdrāropāṇa: (Applying turmeric powder to the bride-groom’s body from what is left after the bride’s body has been so treated). Vide Saṁ. K. p. 757, Dharmasindhu III. p. 257.

Ardrākṣatāropāṇa: (mutual showering of wet unbroken rice grains by the bride and bride-groom). In a vessel of some metal like silver a little milk is poured and clarified butter is sprinkled over it and unbroken wet rice grains are poured therein. The bridegroom applies milk and ghee to the joined hands of the bride twice and thrice places rice grains in the joined hands of the bride so that her anjali becomes filled up and twice sprinkles ghee over her joined hands. Some other person does the same to the joined hands of the bride-groom and the bride’s father places a golden piece on the joined hands of both. Then the bride-groom places his joined hands on those of the bride whose father then repeats a mantra and raises her up; she then pours the rice over the head of the bridegroom who follows her in the same way. This is done thrice by each and then lastly by the bride (i.e., seven times in all). Then the priest sprinkles on their heads water with an udumbara twig together with dūrvā grass after reciting verses ‘Āpo hi ṣṭhā &c. (Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3)’. Then the couple make a tilaka mark on each other’s forehead, garland each other and tie a thread with a turmeric piece on each other’s hand (which is variously called ‘kaṅkara-bandhana’ or ‘kautuka-bandhana’). Vide Saṁ. Pr. pp. 828–829, S. R. M. p. 556. Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa VII describes ārdrākṣatā-ropāṇa as the last of the rites of marriage and in VIII. 1 speaks of the kautuka.
Maṅgalasūtra-bandhāna: (tying a string having golden and other beads on it round the neck of the bride). This is now regarded as the most important ornament which no woman will part with as long as her husband is alive. But the sūtras are entirely silent about it. Among the earliest references is one from Śaunaka sṛṃti (ms. in Bombay University Library, folio 39 b). The Laghu-Āśvalāyana sṛṃti 15. 33 also prescribes it and the mantra to be employed when doing so. Gadādhara on Pur. gr. I. 8 says that maṅgala-sūtra should be worn and garlands be placed round their necks by the bride and bride-groom, though the sūtra of Pāraskara is silent on the point. The Baud. gr. ṣeṣa sūtra V. 5 in describing ‘arkavivāha’ speaks of maṅgalya sūtra to be tied to the plant. It is not clear whether it means the same as the maṅgala-sūtra now tied by married women round their necks. About the nose-ring or nose ornament to which all women whose husbands are living attach the greatest importance in modern times, the sūtras, sṛṃtis and even the early digests are entirely silent. Dr. Altekar in his recent work ‘Position of Hindu women in Hindu Civilization’ pp. 362-64 holds from the evidence of the sculptures throughout India that the ‘nose-ring was unknown throughout the whole of India during the entire Hindu period’ (i.e. till about 1000 A. D.). Mr. P. K. Gode in Annals of B. O. R. I. vol. XIX (for 1939) pp. 313-34 adduces evidence to show that a nose-ornament was known to literary works from at least about 1000 A. D.;

Uttariyaprānta-bandhāna: (Tying turmeric pieces and betelnut on to the end of the upper garments of both and making a knot of their two garments together). Vide Sām. K. p. 799, S. Pr. p. 839.

Airinidāna: (Presenting the mother of the bride-groom with several gifts in a large wicker-work basket with lamps

1242. ततो मह्लनं च व्रतलालिनं च देवताम | चूँकि कः स्थायनाटी वर्मणमणि च सिद्धिः शास्त्रानि च | शास्त्रानि च सिद्धिः शास्त्रानि च सिद्धिः शास्त्रानि च सिद्धिः शास्त्रानि च सिद्धिः शास्त्रानि च सिद्धिः शास्त्रानि च सिद्धिः शास्त्रानि

1243. सर्वकलाकृतिनां दृष्ट्यां वर्तमानार्थसचिवालयमणि | रसिकायं संवर्त्यं प्रकाशं परिपुरुषसं | कर्ष्यं संवर्त्यं सूचिपत्री च समानजनो | तत्ततिचान्तरेऽकर्ष्यं संवर्त्यं सूचिपत्री च समानजनो | तत्ततिचान्तरेऽकर्ष्यं संवर्त्यं सूचिपत्री च समानजनो | तत्ततिचान्तरेऽकर्ष्यं संवर्त्यं सूचिपत्री च समानजनो | तत्ततिचान्तरेऽकर्ष्यं संवर्त्यं सूचिपत्री च समानजनो | तत्ततिचान्तरेऽकर्ष्यं संवर्त्यं सूचिपत्री च समानजनो | तत्ततिचान्तरेऽकर्ष्यं संवर्त्यं सूचिपत्री च समानजनो.

The request to show affection is made as follows ‘आकाशं स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं स्वरूपिं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरूपं का स्वरू
lighted and requesting her and the relatives of the bride-groom to treat the bride affectionately). Vide Sam. K. p. 811, Dharmasindhu p. 267. A basket of bamboo (vaṁśa) is used probably to symbolize the continuity of the family (vaṁśa) of the bride-groom. This is done when the bride is about to leave the father’s place to go to the bride-groom’s place after marriage.

Devakothāpana and Maṇḍapodvāsana: (taking leave of the deities that had been invoked before the ceremonies began and taking down the pandal). Sam. K. pp. 532–533, S. R. M. pp. 555–556.

Two interesting questions arise viz. when can a marriage be said to be final and irrevocable and what would happen if a marriage is brought about by force or fraud.

Manu says (VIII. 168) ‘what is given by force, what is enjoyed by force, also what has been caused to be written by force and all other transactions done by force, Manu has declared void;’ and in VIII. 165 he places fraudulent transactions on the same footing as those brought about by force. There is great difficulty in applying these dicta to marriages. We saw above that Vas. Dh. S. (17. 73) and Baud. Dh. S. declare that if a girl has been carried off by force and has not been wedded with the repetition of sacred texts she may be given to another man in marriage. Viśvarūpa (p. 74) and Aparārka (p. 79) add a gloss that this can be done only after she has undergone a prāyaścitta. From this it appears that if the marriage rites (like saptapadi) have been performed, the ancient law-givers would not have declared the marriage null and void even if the girl had been carried away by force or married by fraud. In modern works on Hindu Law the proposition is stated1244 that ‘a marriage, though performed with the necessary ceremonies, may be set aside by the court, if it was brought about by force or fraud.’ This opinion is based on what was said in some decided cases e. g. Aunjona Dasi v. Prahlada Chanda (6 Bengal L. R. 243 at p. 254), Venkalacharyulu v. Rangacharyulu I. L. R. 14 Mad. 316 at p. 320, Mulchand v. Bhudhia I. L. R. 22 Bom. 812. But in none of these cases was a marriage duly solemnized by the performance of the rites of pāṇigrahaṇa, going round the fire and saptapadi, set aside. There are mere

When is Marriage irrevocable?

obiter dicta in these cases to the effect that a marriage may be set aside by the court for force or fraud.

The Vas. Dh. S. (17. 72) goes so far as to observe ‘when a girl has been promised in marriage (and the promise has been confirmed) with water, if the intended bride-groom dies, but the Vedic mantras have not been recited, that girl still belongs to her father (and may be given to another)’. Kātyāyana\textsuperscript{1245} has a similar verse ‘if after choosing a girl as his bride, a man dies (or is unheard of) the girl after the lapse of three monthly periods may marry another’. And another verse of the same author says that if a person after giving a gratuity for a girl and stridhana to her goes abroad, the girl may be kept unmarried for a year and then may be given to another. Manu (VIII. 227) says ‘the Vedic mantras recited in the marriage rite are a sure indication of wife-hood; but their completion should be understood by the wise as occurring on taking the seventh step’. Aparārka p. 94 (on Yāj. I. 65) quotes a similar verse from Nārada (stripūrāsa v. 3). The Udvāhastattva p. 129 quotes Yama to the same effect. So it follows that the marriage becomes complete and irrevocable the moment the saptapadi rite is performed, but before that rite is gone through there is a locus paterentitice or a power to resile from what has been undertaken. Before the saptapadi is performed, if the bride-groom dies, the bride is still a maiden and not a widow and can be married again\textsuperscript{1246}. The most essential ceremonies of marriage are the homa and saptapadi. The Dronaparva\textsuperscript{1247} says that promise of a daughter and giving a daughter with water are not certain means of knowing wife-hood but saptapadi is known to be the completion of marriage. If any of the other ceremonies are wanting that would not vitiate the marriage. In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 140, it has been held that the vṛddhi-śrāddha is not an essential ceremony and its absence would not vitiate marriage.

\textsuperscript{1245} Nāraka p. 94; Kātyāyanapākṣa p. 737.

\textsuperscript{1246} Dronaparva I. p. 82 also.

\textsuperscript{1247} Nāraka p. 94.
Even the Kāmaśūtra\textsuperscript{1248} quotes the unanimous opinion of the śāśīras that marriages celebrated before fire as a witness cannot be revoked. In the case of śūdras there are no Vedic mantras and so in their case the completion of marriage will be determined according to custom. The digest like Gr. R. say (p. 57) that in the case of śūdras the marriage will be complete when the śūdra girl holds the fringe of the garment of the bridegroom.

Manu (IX. 47) declares ‘once is the partition of inheritance made, once is a maiden given in marriage’. This rule really means that once the ceremony of marriage is completed by saapadāpi, the marriage is irrevocable and the girl cannot thereafter be given to any one else. But if a girl is only promised in marriage and if a more worthy suitor subsequently presents himself, then the father may commit breach of promise and give her in marriage to another. Vide also Manu (IX. 71 and VIII. 98). Yāj. I. 65 states the rule and the exception ‘A girl is given only once; a person who after having promised to give, deprives that man of her, is liable to the punishment of a thief; but if a more worthy suitor approaches, the father may deprive the former (suitor) of her (hand) though promised’. The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 44. 35) says that up to pāṇigrahana any one may ask for the hand of a maiden (even though promised before to another). Nārada (strīpurūṣa vv. 30 and 32) contains similar provisions.\textsuperscript{1249} Conversely, if a man agrees to marry a girl and subsequently discovers defects in her or if she is diseased or already deflowered or given by practising fraud he may refuse to marry her. Vide Manu IX. 72. If a guardian gives away a girl without declaring the defects of a girl (and they are subsequently discovered) the guardian should be fined in the highest ammencement (according to Yāj. I. 66 and the lowest, according to Nārada, strīpurūṣa v. 33). Aparārka\textsuperscript{1250} (p. 95) and others add that the defects referred to must be latent and not apparent or patent to view. If a suitor repudiates a girl who is free from defects he should be fined in the highest ammencement and if he falsely accuses her of defects he should be fined one hundred paṇas (Yāj. I. 66

\textsuperscript{1248} अणिनाशिकाः हि सिद्धम् न निर्विन्नत हिद्वाचारायसमय... काम्ययूत III. 5. 13.

\textsuperscript{1249} कपाण वृत्तपुलाय ज्ञातिसिद्धं आचेतु। धम्मवक मानवर्त वाचिं तेजातु भवं। व्रउम्य क्षत्रियति तत्। \textsuperscript{1250} अणिनाशिका महात्म ब्रह्मचर्यमेतर्यम् तर्य श्रवणपरमपरमकाविवा भवि मयायति... अपराक ह p. 95.
and Nārada, stripuṇḍsa v. 34). Nārada adds that he who abandons a faultless girl should be punished and should be made to marry the same girl. 1251

Some of the smṛtis and digests are very much exercised over the question of the bride having menstruation while the marriage ceremonies are in progress and homa is about to be performed. Atri 1252 (Jivānanda part 1, p. 11, chap. V) prescribes that having made the girl bathe with the Havismati (with a verse in which the word havis occurs, probably Rg. X. 88. 1 or VIII. 72. 1) and to put on other garments and having offered an āhuti of clarified butter with the verse ‘Yuñjate manah’ (Rg. V. 81. 1) the ceremonies should be proceeded with. The Smṛtyarthasastra (p. 17) first quotes two verses (the same as Atri’s) and proposes an alternative method viz. that the bride and the bride-groom should stay separate from each other for three days and on the fourth day after ceremonially bathing themselves should perform the homa in the same fire.

1251. मदितुस्तुिः तु यात्‍ कर्मादुपदात्सुर्योऽसः। स विन्यासविकारोस्फि कर्पास वामेव चोदेव || नारद् (संसूति 35).

1252. विवाहे विवते तन्द्रे हिंकारां उपसिष्टे। कर्मादुपदात्सु दुहुः। कर्म अवर्तितं पालिका ॥ विविकार तस्मापिला अर्यवर्षमात्रं शुद्धितं कर्म। ततं कर्म अस्वाकथे आयोऽसः। विवाहे विकारोऽसः। भक्तं भक्तं आदित्य ॥ 714. This is quoted as वृद्धास्त्रयोऽसः in सं. 19. मा. p. 500 and सं. कौ. p. 714, while the बहूर्वस्त्रयः quotes (pp. 146–147) two verses (one of which is the same as विवाहे and the other very similar) from वृद्धास्त्रयः as quoted in the मुद्दत्तलालः.
CHAPTER X

MADHUPARKA AND OTHER USAGES

Madhuparka: (offering of honey by way of honour to a distinguished guest). The word literally means 'a ceremony in which honey is shed or poured' (on the hand of a person). The word occurs in the Jaiminiya Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa. The Nirukta (I. 16) also refers to the usage of offering madhuparka with the word madhuparka repeated thrice. It appears that the Alt. Br. III. 4 when it says that 'if the ruler of men comes as a guest or any one else desiring of honour comes, people kill a bull or a cow (that has contracted a habit of abortion)' refers to Madhuparka, though that word is not actually used. In all grhyā sūtras it is described at length. Most of the details are the same, the principal difference being that often different mantras are prescribed, though some (like the verse 'mātā rudrānām') are the same. The madhuparka is offered to rtvik (priests officiating at sacrifices) when they are chosen for a sacrifice, to a snātaka who has come to one's house, to the king (who rules one's country, when he comes to one's house), to one's ācārya, father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles. The Mānava gr. (I. 9. 1), Khādira gr. IV. 4. 21, Yāj. I. 110 say that six persons deserve arghya (madhuparka) viz. rtvik, ācārya, the bride-groom, the king, the snātaka and a person who is dear to one. Some like Baud. gr. I. 2. 65 add 'ātithi' (guest). Vide Gaut. V. 25, Āp. gr. 13. 19-20, Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 8. 5-6, Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 63-64.

1253. तं होराणं कि विद्यालो कृष्ण-प्राणानाय मधुपक्क विस्तारितः। औ. द. भा. 18. 4: जानके मधुपक्क माह। निश्चयः I 16.

1254. तद्भवानं मधुप्परशनां आचार्य-प्रियाचार्यां दृष्टां व वेदं वा कहुने। औ. भा. III. 4. This is quoted by नेत्र द. मधु III. 119 and by उद्धरण on भौग. 17. 30.

1255. आचार्य-स्वस्त मधुपक्ककर्मः। सन्तानोपमयितवाय। राज्ञिं च। आचार्यां स्वहृदयप्राप्तां च। आचार्य-भौगोपीप्राप्तां च। भौग. द. I. 24. I-4. The bride-groom, when he comes to the bride's house, is to be honoured with madhuparka, because he also is generally a snātaka. The ācārya is one who performs one's upanayana and teaches the Veda.

1256. तन्नेत्रात्मां अश्वीष्ठ क्षिप्रं प्रमुखं तरु-पत्रो माधु सन्तानो राजा वा सन्तानकं विन्यो चालित। औ. द. I. 2. 65.
Manu III. 119, Sahāparva 36. 23-24, Gobhila gr. IV. 10. 23-24. It is laid down that if the persons enumerated come to one's house within a year after madhuparka has been once offered, then it need not be offered again (in the same year), but when a marriage is being celebrated in one's house or a yajña is being performed, then madhuparka must be offered to those persons (even if one year has not elapsed since the madhuparka was previously offered). Vide Gaut. V. 26-27, Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 8. 6, Yāj. I. 110, Khādīra gr. IV. 4. 26, Gobhila gr. IV. 10. 26. Rtviks are to be honoured in each yajña, even though several yajñas are performed in the same year (Yāj. I. 110). Manu (III. 130) says that a king and a snātaka are to be honoured with madhuparka only when they visit one's house in a yajña. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 109) says that madhuparka is to be offered to the king only and not to any ksatriya. Madhātithi on Manu III. 119 says that when a king, whether a ksatriya or not, comes to one's place madhuparka was to be offered, but not to a śūdra king. According to grhya-pariśiṣṭa the madhuparka is to be performed according to the rites prescribed in the śākha of the receiver and not of the giver.1257

The procedure of madhuparka is set out from the Āśv. gr.1258 (I. 24. 5-26) “He pours honey into curds or clarified butter if no honey can be had. A seat,1259 water for washing the feet, arghyā water (i.e. water perfumed with flowers &c.), water for ācamana, honey mixture, a cow; every one of these they announce three times (to the person who has arrived). The person (to be honoured) should sit down on the seat made of northward pointed darbha grass with the verse1260 ‘I am the highest one among my kindred, as the sun among lights’ (lightnings). Here I tread on whomsoever bears enmity to me.’ Or he should repeat this verse after he has trodden on it. He should make (the host) wash his feet; the right foot he should

1257. 1257. नृवे या भवेच्छाया तन्चासाधुया चोदिता । मधुपर्कः मदनपरिनिधिपतिसाहिते पुराय इत्यस्माय स्त्रोते प. 823.
1258. Vide Appendix for text.
1259. A निद्रित is a seat with 25 वुर्मै. 'पर्कारिता भवेच्छाया तन्च्युणि तु विद्धम' पनिलित quoted by सं. प. 821. अर्ग्य is water for washing the hands, in which flowers and perfume (like sandal-wood paste) have been mixed up. मन्दानाचापिविधुतमधुपरिनिधिपतिसाहिते पार्श्वपर्काः सं. प. 1. 24. 11.
1260. अर्ग्यम् &c.—This occurs in पावा I. 3 and महाभारत I. 9. 8 with slight variations.
hold out first to a brähmana (for washing) and the left to a śūdra. When his feet have been washed, he receives the arghya water in his joined hands and then he performs ācamaṇa with the water for sipping with the formula ‘thou art the seat (or first layer) of ambrosia’. 1261 He should look at the madhuparka, when it is being brought to him, with the mantra ‘I look at thee with the eye of Mitra’. He accepts it (the madhuparka) in the joined hands with the formula ‘by the command (urging) of god Savitṛ, by the arms of Aśvins and the hands of Puṣan, I accept thee’ (Vāj S. I. 24). He looks at it with the three ṛk verses 1262 ‘the winds blow honey to the righteous man’ (Rg. I. 90. 6–8). He (takes it into his left hand), stirs it about thrice from left to right with the thumb and the finger next to the smallest and wipes (his fingers) towards the east with the formula ‘may the Vasus eat thee with the Gāyatrī metre’; with the formula ‘may the Rudras eat thee with the Tristubh metre’ (he wipes fingers) towards the south; with the formula ‘may the Ādityas eat thee with the Jagati metre’ towards the west; with the formula ‘may Viśve Devas eat thee with the Anuṣṭubh metre’ towards the north; with the formula ‘to the bhūtas (beings) thee’ he three times takes (some of the madhuparka materials) from out of the middle of it (and throws it up). He should partake of it for the first time with the formula 1263 ‘the milk of Virāj art thou’, for the second time with ‘may I obtain the milk of Virāj’, the third time with ‘in me may the milk of Padyā Virāj dwell’. He should not eat the whole madhuparka and should not eat to satiety. He should give the remainder (out of the madhuparka materials) to a brähmana towards the north; but if no brähmana is available he should throw it into water; or he may eat the whole. He then takes ācamaṇa with the water intended for it with the

1261. The words अधृतोपलस्तवामस्सिः occur in the description of मधुपक्क in अध. तत्त्व इ. 10. 3 and अध. न. 13. 13., मानवपत्र I. 9. 15.

1262. The three verses Rg. I. 90. 6–8 all begin with the word मधु ‘मधु चता भतायते मधु तदानिष्ठ सिद्धम्’ (6), ‘मधु नल्लुलोच्चिस्त’ (7), ‘मधुपक्कु वनपर्विति’ (8) and so are very appropriate to मधुपक्क. They occur in वाज. सं. 13. 27–29, are called मधुदिः verses and employed in पर. न. I. 3, also in मानवपत्र I. 9. 14.

1263. The three ॠत्र ‘चित्रं द्वाहिष्ठति &c.’ occur in पर. र. I. 3 (but at the time of receiving the arghya water), साह. ग्र. III. 7. 5, मानवा ग्र. I. 9. 7 &c. Some held that he should partake of the madhuparka at one time after repeating the three mantras at once.
formula 'thou art the cover of ambrosia.' He sips water a second time with the formula 'truth! fame! fortune! may Fortune resort to me.' When he has sipped water, they announce to him the cow. Having muttered the words 'destroyed is my sin, my sin is destroyed,' he says 'om, do it' if he desires to have the cow killed; if he is desirous of letting her go, he mutters the verse 'the mother of Rudras and daughter of Vasus' (Rg. VIII. 101. 15) and says 'let her go.' Let the madhuparka not be without flesh.'

A few small matters may be noted. Several grhyasūtras (such as the Mānava) describe madhuparka as a part of the marriage rite, while others like Āśv. describe it independently. Others like Hir. gr. (I. 12-13) describe it as part of Samāvartana. There is divergence about the substances mixed in offering madhuparka. Āśv. gr. and Āp. gr. (13. 10) prescribe a mixture of honey and curds or clarified butter and curds. Others like Pār. gr. I. 3 prescribe a mixture of three (curds, honey and butter). Āp. gr. (13. 11-12) states the view of some that these three may be mixed or five (those three with fried yava grain and barley). Hir. gr. I. 12. 10-12 gives the option of mixing three or five (curds, honey, ghee, water and ground grain). The Kauśika sūtra (92) speaks of nine kinds of mixtures viz. Brāhma (honey and curds), Aindra (of pāyasa), Saumya (curds and ghee), Pausa (ghee and mantha), Sāravata (milk and ghee), Mausala (wine and ghee, this being used only in Sautrāmāṇi and Rājasūya sacrifices), Vāruna (water and ghee), Śrāvaṇa (sesame oil and ghee), Pārivṛṣajaka (sesame oil and oil cake). The Mānava gr. I. 9. 22 says that the Veda declares that the madhuparka must not be without flesh and so it recommends that if the cow is let loose, goat's meat or pāyasa (rice cooked in milk) may be offered; the Hir. gr. I. 13. 14 says that other meat should be offered; Baud. gr. says (I. 2. 51-54) that when the cow is let off, the flesh of a goat or ram may be offered or some forest flesh (of a deer &c.) may be offered, as there can be no madhuparka without flesh or if one is unable to offer flesh one may cook ground grains. As the cow became sacred, it became unthinkable to kill her and so other flesh was

1264. अनुप्रद्यापितानाति–this सङ्ग्रह occurs also in आप्स. प. पा. II. 10. 4 and आप्स. प. 13. 13.

1264a. The verse माताः जयमि (referring to the cow) is mentioned in several वृहद्युग्म such as the तान्त्र (I. 9. 23), Pār. (I. 3), वै. प. I. 2. 50.

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offered. When even flesh-eating came to be abhorred, then only pāyasa and such other things were recommended. The Ādiparvā (60.13-14) refers to Janamejaya’s reception of Vyāsa with madhuparka and Vyāsa’s letting the cow loose. This abhorrence of flesh-eating will be dealt with later on. In modern times there is generally no madhuparka except in marriage and then too it is a simple matter and the elaborate procedure prescribed in some of the grhya sūtras is hardly ever followed.

Certain peculiar ceremonies relating to marriage may now be described very briefly. In order to avert early widowhood (which was judged from her horoscope) for the girl to be married, a ceremony called kumbha-vivāha was performed. It is described in Sans. Pr. (p. 868), Nirnayasindhu p. 310, Saṁ-K. (p. 746), S. R. M. (p. 528) and other works. On the day previous to the marriage a jar of water in which a golden image of Viṣṇu is dipped is decked with flowers &c. and the girl is surrounded in a network of threads, Varuṇa and Viṣṇu are worshipped and prayed to give long life to the intended bride-groom. Then the jar is taken out and broken in a pool of water and then water is sprinkled over the girl with five twigs and to the accompaniment of Rg. VII. 49 and then brāhmaṇas are fed.

The Sans. Pr. (pp. 868-869) speaks of Aśvattha-vivāha which is like kumbha-vivāha and performed for good luck to the bride and averting widowhood. Here the Aśvattha tree is substituted for the jar and a golden image of Viṣṇu is worshipped. The image is then given to a brāhmaṇa.

Arkanivāha: When a man has the misfortune to lose by death two wives one after another, before marrying a third wife he goes through a ceremony of marriage with the arka plant. This is described in Sans. Pr. pp. 876-889, Saṁ-K. p. 819, Nirnayasindhu, p. 328. It is described in Baud. gr. śeṣasūtra V. 5 also.

Another question which takes up much space in ancient works but which is now of hardly any importance is parivedana. When a male got married before his elder brother or where a person married a younger girl before her elder sister was married, this act was called parivedana and was severely condemned as a serious encroachment on the rights of seniority and as a sin. Gaut. 15. 18 and Ap. Dh. S. (II. 5. 12. 22) declare that a younger brother married before an elder brother, and an elder
brother married after a younger brother are sinners, and should not be invited at a śrāddha. Ap. adds that one who marries a younger sister before her elder sister is married, one who marries an elder sister after the younger sister has been married, one whose younger brother has kindled the sacred fires or offered a soma sacrifice before him (and a younger brother who kindles the sacred fires or offers soma sacrifice before his elder brother) are also equally sinful. Vas. Dh. S. I. 18, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 15–17 also have similar provisions and Vas. Dh. S. (20. 7–10) prescribes kṛcchra penance of twenty days for the husband of the younger sister married before her elder sister and for the husband of the elder sister married after the younger one, requires each of them to offer his wife to the other for the sake of form (to remove the slur) and then to wed her again with his assent. 1265 Vide Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 40 also. The younger brother who marries before the elder brother is called parivettā or parivividāna (Manu III. 171, Ap. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 22) or parivindaka (Yaś. I. 223), the elder brother before whom the younger brother marries is called parivitta or parivinna or parivitti (Manu III. 171), the younger sister who marries before the elder sister is called agredidhiśű (Gaut. 15. 15, Vas. I. 18) or parivedini, the elder sister before whom her younger sister marries is called didhiśű. The husband of these two last respectively bear the appellations agre-didhiśūpati and didhiśūpati. The father or other guardian who gives away the girl in any of these cases of parivedana is called paridāyī or paridātā. The younger brother who kindles the sacred fire before the elder is styled ‘pariyādhātr’ and the elder brother who is so treated is called ‘pariyāhita’ (Gaut. 15. 18). Manu III. 172 (which is almost the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 30 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 16) says that the parivettā, the parivitta, the girl whom the younger brother marries before the elder, the man who gives away the girl in marriage and the officiating priest—these five all fall into hell 1266 (and must perform the penance of Cāndrāyāṇa according to Viṣṇu). The Mit. on

1265. Vide Mit. on Yaś. III. 265 explaining Vas. Dh. S. ‘(परित्व) जप्तानित्वस्य चतुर्गयम तत्स्य रूपसा दुरसा; नस्तुन्महो भैरवयुज्ञितां मायेव द्विते पूजये। तमेव तदात्म भैरवनिर्वदन्तं तेन बालाह्वाचायतेऽद्।’

1266. The story of Jacob and the two sisters Leah (elder) and Rachel (younger) in Genesis XXIX shows that among the ancient Jews also there was a custom prohibiting the marriage of a younger sister before the elder sister.
Yāj. III. 265 quotes Harita-dharmasūtra on this topic to the same effect. Medhātithi on Manu III. 171 refers to the view of some that if a son kindles the sacred fire before his father, the same rule applies as between brothers and then refutes that view. Aparārka p. 446 quotes Uṣanas that a person may kindle sacred fires even before his father or grandfather with the latter’s consent. The Trīkāṇḍamaṇḍana (I. 76-77) says that there is no sin in taking agnīhotra and performing a sacrifice before an elder brother and the incurring of sin is only restricted to marriage, while the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 13) holds the opposite view that one should not kindle the Vedic fires before one’s father even with the latter’s consent. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (37. 15-17) enumerates parivedana among upapātakas. Gaut. (18. 18-19) prescribes that if an elder brother has gone to a foreign country his younger brother must wait twelve years before he takes a wife or kindles sacred fires or six years according to some. 1267 There is a similar text of Vas. quoted by Aparārka p. 445.

In certain cases marrying or kindling sacred fires before an elder brother is not condemned. Medhātithi on Manu III. 171 quotes a verse ‘One need not wait where the elder brother is a lunatic, or is a sinner, or leprous, impotent, or suffering from tuberculosis’ and remarks that this is only illustrative (i.e. one need not wait where the elder brother has no adhikāra for marriage or for kindling fires). 1268 Vide Atri v. 105 (Anan. ed.) for a similar verse. Another verse of Atri (v. 106) says that there is no blemish in marrying before the elder brother, if the latter is impotent or gone abroad, or patita or has become a recluse or is devoted to Yogaśāstra. 1269 Vide Gobhila smṛti (I. 72-74) for similar verses (which are quoted by the Gr. R. p. 90), Trīkāṇḍamaṇḍana I. 68-74, Smṛtyarthasāra p. 13 and Sam. Pr. pp. 760-766.

The ideas about the wrong committed by a younger brother or sister marrying before an elder one reach far back into Vedic antiquity. In the Tai. Br. (III. 2. 9) there is a story that the gods transferred (rubbed off) their sin to the Āpyas and then

1267. अय्यारि चैवं ज्ञापिसि तद्विषयां वाणक्राधवलयुवमेधु । पुष्पवेचे । नित 18. 18-19.
1268. ज्ञापिं चिन्तिनणी कुटि पतिता क्रीय एव । राज्यवधानविच च न योगः।
सयय अताक्षरितम | quoted by मेघाप. on महृ III. 174 and अस्वाक्ष. p. 445.
1269. क्रीय देशमन्त्रकस्य च पतिते असिद्धिपि च । गोमन्त्रालाभित्वोऽचि च न दोषः।
परिवेशनं | अयर्य 106. This is quoted as सातापन्य by अपस्वाक्ष. p. 445.
there is a succession of persons who are all guilty of blame or
sin and each preceding one among whom is said to have passed
it on to each succeeding one viz. sūryābhhyudita, sūryābhinnim-
rukta, kunakhin, śyāvadcit, agredidhiṣu, parivitta, virahan, brah-
mahan. The Vas. Dh. 1270 S. I. 18 arranges persons called sinners
(enasvin) almost in the same order as in the Tai. Br. Here (in
Tai. Br.) we have parivitta and agredidhiṣu. In another passage
of the Tai. Br. (III. 4. 4) while speaking of Puruṣamedha, it is
said that the parivitta is consigned as a victim to ill-luck
(nir-ṛti), the parivividāna to distress (ārti) and the didhiṣūpati
to non-success (arūddhi).

1270. စိုဝိိမ်ကိုးပြုဖရာဖိ: စိုးစမ်းဖိုဖို: စိုးစမ်းဖိုဖို: ပရာဝပါဖိ: ပရာဝပါဖိုဖိုဖိ-
ဒိဖရာဖိုဖိုအာရဴမ်းအာရဴမ်းအာရဴမ်းအာရဴမ်း: ယိုင်င်စီ I. 18.
CHAPTER XI

POLYGAMY, POLYANDRY AND RIGHTS
AND DUTIES ON MARRIAGE

Polygamy: Though monogamy seems to have been the ideal and was probably the rule, the Vedic literature is full of references to polygamy. Rg. X. 145 (same as Atharvaveda III. 18) is a hymn meant as a charm for weaning the husband’s affections from a co-wife. It occurs in Āp. M. P. (I. 15) and Āp. gr. IX. 6–8 prescribes it for winning over the husband to oneself and for causing estrangement between him and one’s co-wife. Rg. X. 159 is a hymn attributed to Śaṅk, wife of Indra, who claims to have vanquished and killed her co-wives and to rule supreme over Indra and all men. This hymn also occurs in Āp. M. P. (I. 16) and is prescribed by the Āp. gr. (IX. 9) as a charm always to be repeated by a wife for suppressing her co-wives. In a verse (Rg. I. 105. 8) Trīta who had fallen into a well declares ‘the rib-like sides (of the well) cause me pain all round as co-wives make it too hot (for the husband or for themselves)’. The Tai. S. (VI. 6. 4. 3) gives a dogmatic and somewhat picturesque explanation of polygamy that ‘on one sacrificial post he passes round two girdles, so one man secures two wives; that he does not pass one girdle round two posts, so one wife does not obtain two husbands’. The Ait. Br. (12. 11) similarly declares ‘therefore one man has many wives, but one wife has not many husbands at the

1271. Vide Rg. X. 85. 26 and 46. These are पूजा सेटो नर्ह तस्माद्यांना त्वा मनोहर स्येपनि। दूधानेव सुभल्लो शयासो भविति ले विद्वयना नुदासि ॥ ॥ तृतीय अवि देवता ॥ (last quoted above in n. 1229). The word dāmāti (which occurs very frequently in the Rg.) conveys in several places the idea of a monogamous marriage. Vide Rg. V. 3. 2, VIII. 31. 5, X. 68. 2.

1272. Vide Ait. Br. 159. 5–6. आय धर्म राजो अत्यन्तसामान्यां सममेगामिना। वर्षाकर्तव्य वीर्यस्य विवाहानि जनस्य च। रगु X. 159, 5–6. आप. म. प्र. reads differently.

1273. Сे मा तस्माद्यांना सप्तानि पवित्र। रगु I. 105. 8; vide Rg. X. 116. 10 (आयुद्धिचाच्यः सन्तानान्) where the Aśvins are said to have made ज्येष्ठ the husband of maidens.
same\textsuperscript{1274} time'. The Tai. Br. (III. 8. 4.) when speaking of the Aśva-
medha says 'the wives anoint (the horse); wives are indeed a
form of prosperity' \textsuperscript{1275}. In the Śat. Br. (XIII. 4. 1. 9., S. B. E.
vol. 44, p. 349) it is said, 'four \textsuperscript{1276} wives are in attendance viz.
the consecrated queen (mahīṣī), the favourite wife (vāvātā),
the discarded wife (parivrktā or parivrkti) and the pālāgali
(who is low-born)'. The Tai. S. I. 8. 9 refers to the mahīṣī
and parivrkti. In the Vāj. S. (23, 24, 26, 28) there are verses
which are addressed to the mahīṣī, vāvātā and parivrkti by the
brahmā, udgātā and hotā priests respectively. Hariscandra
is said to have had a hundred wives (Ait. Br. 33. 1). It is not to be
supposed that polygamy was confined only to kings and nobles.
The great philosopher Yājñavalkya had two wives, Kātyāyanī
who was worldly-minded and Maitreyī who thirsted for
the knowledge of brahma and immortality (Br. Up. IV. 5. 1–2 and
II. 4. 1).

In the times of the sūtras, some sages wanted to hold up a
high ideal. The Āp. Dh. 8. (II. 5. 11. 12–13) declares that when
a man has a wife who is endowed with dharma and progeny,
he shall not marry another wife; but if any one of the two
(dharma and progeny) is wanting (in the case of the wife),
he may marry another before he has consecrated the sacred
śrauta fires. In another place Āp. (I. 10. 28. 19) prescribes
that one who abandons his (faultless) wife should put on the
skin of an ass with the hair outside and should beg for alms
at seven houses for six months. \textsuperscript{1277} Nārada (stripurīsa v. 95)

\textsuperscript{1274} पञ्चवकालीपुष्पे: के रसने परिपरिपन तत्तत्तत्ततो है जाने निश्चेत वर्षकी
\textsuperscript{1275} एवं परिपरिपन तत्तत्तत्तत्ता है रसी निश्चेत वर्षकी। सने VI. 6. 4. 3; vide also है। सने
\textsuperscript{1276} VI. 5. 1. 4 'तत्तत्तत्तवं पञ्चवकालीपुष्पं निश्चयति;' तत्तत्तत्तत्तत्ते च जाने भविष्यमाने
\textsuperscript{1277} च भविष्यमाने: अन्याद्वितीय माताय मातायापरिधिरीपुष्पं पञ्चवकाली। भविष्य
XIII. 4. 1. 9. In ऋग्वेदम् 14. 35 the first three out of these four
are mentioned in connection with असमे आहारात्संयोजितस्तं ब्रह्मणं
अवस्था पञ्चवकालीपुष्पं च भविष्यमानं तथा।'. In Rg. X. 102. 11 the word
पञ्चवकाली occurs which probably means the discarded wife.

\textsuperscript{1277} वर्षकालीपुष्पस्य पुष्पाद्वै गत्वा गत्वा कुतोति। अस्य वर्षकालीपुष्पस्य चारी गत्वा गत्वा
अवस्था पञ्चवकालीपुष्पाद्वै गत्वा गत्वा कुतोति। अति च ब्राह्मणवत्स्य च चारी गत्वा गत्वा
अवस्था पञ्चवकालीपुष्पाद्वै गत्वा गत्वा कुतोति। अन्याद्वितीय माताय मातायापरिधिरीपुष्पं
पञ्चवकाली। भविष्यमाने: अन्याद्वितीय माताय मातायापरिधिरीपुष्पं पञ्चवकाली। भविष्य
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अवस्था पञ्चवकालीपुष्पाद्वै गत्वा गत्वा कुतोति। अन्याद्वितीय माताय मातायापरिधिरीपुष्पं
पञ्चवकाली। भविष्यमाने: अन्याद्वितीय माताय मातायापरिधिरीपुष्पं पञ्चवकाली। भविष्य
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अवस्था पञ्चवकालीपुष्पं च भविष्यमानं तथा।'. In Rg. X. 102. 11 the word
पञ्चवकाली occurs which probably means the discarded wife.
recommends that the king should bring round to the proper path by inflicting heavy fines a husband who abandons a wife that is obedient, not harsh of tongue, vigilant (in household work), chaste and endowed with sons. Even Kaut. (III. 2) prescribes that a husband should wait for eight years (before marrying another) if his wife gives birth to no child after one delivery or is sonless or is barren; he should wait for ten if she bears only still-born children, twelve years if she gives birth to daughters only. Then if he is anxious for a son he may marry another. If he violates these rules he must pay her gratuity, some wealth as stridhana and money (prescribed to be given) on supersession and besides a fine (to the king) of 24 paṇas. So far Kautilya appears to have only stated the ideal, because he follows up this remark by another statement which probably represented the commonly held popular view 'a man may marry several wives after giving śukka and stridhana to those to whom nothing had been given at the time of marriage and money on supersession (ādhivedanika) and suitable provision for livelihood; for women are (married) for procreating sons.' Though Āp. and others held up the ideal of monogamy and Nārada and others prescribed a fine for marrying a second wife without sufficient cause, it is extremely doubtful whether a man was ever punished by the king for so doing. Manu V. 80 and Yaj. I. 80 both say that a husband may supersede a wife (and marry another) if she drinks wine, suffers from a disease (of long standing), is deceitful, is extravagant in expenditure, speaks harsh words, and gives birth to female children only. Manu V. 81 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 65 allow a husband to marry another woman at once if the first is harsh of tongue. Devala quoted in the Gr. R. says that the śudra may have only one wife, a vaiśya two, a kṣatriya three and a brāhmaṇa four, but a king may have as many as he desires. This only reflected the prevailing practice of kings. The Ādiparva gravely remarks 'to have many wives is no adharma on the part of men, but to violate

1278. Vide Manu IX. 81 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 65 for similar periods of waiting. Vide Yaj. II. 148 for the amount of ādhivedanika to be given by the husband.

1279. एका शुद्रा द्वितीय ई तित्त: क्षत्रिय: च। येकोहऽक्षयनावः सुनवर्ष: रजो नवेणक:। \| वैरेख: quoted in सूर्यवंशावर्त p. 85.

1280. न दानव्यः। अभम्याय असुप्रोक्तात्मा दुष्टाः। श्रीमोहर्षयः। सुभद्राद्रमः। पुरवस्य तत्त: \| आदिपर्व 160. 36.
the duty owed to the first husband would be a great adharma in
the case of women.' The Mahābhārata (Mausala-parva V. 6)
tells us that Vāsudeva1281 (Krṣṇa) had sixteen thousand wives.
Several kings had in historic times as many as a hundred wives.
For example, the Cedi king Gāngayadeva alias Vikramāditya
is said to have obtained multī (salvation) at Prayāga with his
hundred wives1282 (vide Jabalpur plate of Yaśahkarnadeva dated
1122 A.D. in E. I. vol. II. p. 4 and the Khaira plates of the same
king in E. I. vol. XII. p. 205). In Bengal the evils of Kulinism
are well known. The reasons for this treatment of women were
many, such as the great spiritual importance of sons, early marri-
ages and consequent illiteracy of women, the spread of the idea
of the ceremonial impurity of women and their being equated with
śūdras and lastly the idea of the complete dependence of women
on men. One must not be carried away, however, by the notion that
marrying many wives was either very common or was not looked
down upon. Steele (in 'Law and Custom of Hindoo Castes,' first
published in 1826) who had the most unique opportunities for
observing the practices of numerous castes in the Dekhan in the
first decades of the 19th century writes (p. 168, ed. of 1868) 'a man
may marry as many wives as his inclination or circumstances
allow. Marriages in succession, in consequence of the death
of a former wife, are very common; but polygamy is not
usual except on account of the barrenness of the first wife. It is
practised in the Koonbee castes'. Vide also Imperial Gazetteer
of India, vol. I (ed. of 1907) p. 432 'Although in theory
polygamy is allowed, in practice a second wife is rarely taken
while the first is alive and in India as a whole there are only
1011 wives to every 1000 husbands so that even if no husbands
have more than two wives all but 11 per thousand must be
monogamous'. The state of the modern case law is unsatis-
factory. The Bombay High Court has held that the mere fact
that the husband has married a second wife would not entitle
the first wife to refuse to stay with the husband. Vide Motilal
Madras High Court Reports, p. 375, the court held that a Hindu
may marry any number of wives, although he may have a wife
or wives living. It is submitted with great respect that that is

1281. कोशा श्रीस्याच्या वायुवधपसिरतेः। राजसाधवेदानासेन दुरुपाविवर्तनामां
नामं नैसर्वपर्यये V. 6.

1282. पारे मध्यप्रदेशविवेशविया सार्यत लोने द्विविशेषतः द्विषिं। E. I,
vol. II. p. 4.

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not the ideal or the view of the best writers, nor is such a view held by the majority of Indian jurists of ancient and medieval times. Modern opinion of educated people is most favourable to making marriages monogamous and efforts are being made to secure absolute monogamy by legislative action. For example, the Madras Nambudri Act (Madras Act XXI of 1933) forbids a Nambudri brāhmaṇa from marrying a second wife when the first is living except in three cases viz. (1) when the first wife is afflicted with an incurable disease for over five years, (2) when she has not borne a child within ten years of marriage, and (3) when she becomes an outcast.

Polyandry

The passages cited above (note 1274) from the Ait. Br. and the Tai. S. that a woman cannot have several husbands at the same time make it clear that in those ancient times polyandry was unheard of. Not a single Vedic passage can be cited which clearly refers to the practice of polyandry. The most glaring example of polyandry in Sanskrit literature is that of Draupadi as the wife of the five Pāṇḍavas. Probably the tradition was too firmly rooted to allow the author to ignore it. The Mahābhārata shows that all were shocked by the resolve of Yudhiṣṭhira to make Draupadi the wife of the five brothers. Dhṛṣṭadyumna (Ādiparva 1284 195. 27–29) tries vehemently to dissuade Yudhiṣṭhira, who tries to justify his action on the ground of ancient practice and the agreement of the brothers to share everything that any one of them may secure. But Yudhiṣṭhira could 1285 ferret out (Ādi. chap. 196) only two instances (rather mythical) in support of the practice viz. of Jāṭilā Gautami (who had seven sages as husbands) and of Vārkiṣṭī who had ten Prācetas brothers as husbands. It is this fact that has led many scholars to regard the Pāṇḍus as a non-Aryan tribe somehow grafted on the Aryan stock and represented as relatives of the Kauravas by the editor of the


1284. एकस्य चक्रवती निवेदनं बलविज्ञ: कुष्ठेऽमवत्या न नैकौना वचनं: अज्ञातः पत्रः । वोक्षेतुविकासैः स नामभूर्विनिविष्यति । कामश्रयस्य वानीयाय कामसाधने भिन्निर- भूःत्वा \\n1285. नां इति 

1285. वृत्तिविषय उत्तराण गर्मा भवानां नाराय विचारं वर्षं गतगुप्ताम। पृविक्षामाहस्य- 
पुरोक्ष्याय पारं सत्मोहमातो॥
Mahābhārata. This too also sounds somewhat far-fetched. Kumārilabhaṭṭa in his Tantravārtika cuts this Gordian knot by putting forward three explanations, one of which boldly asserts that there were many Draupadis very similar to each other and so the epic figuratively speaks of one Draupadi only. 1286 There were really five Draupadis (and not one) married separately to the five Pāṇḍavas. In the Dharmaśāstra works there are traces of the knowledge of the practice of polyandry. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 10. 27. 2–4) refers to it ‘One shall not make over (his wife) to strangers (for a son by niṣyoga), but only to one who is a sāgohra; for they declare that a bride is given to the family (of brothers and not to one brother alone); that (niṣyoga) is forbidden on account of the weakness of men’s senses.’ Similarly Bṛhaspati, while illustrating the proposition that the king should not disturb popular usages even though they may be improper, cites several such practices among which he mentions ‘In some other countries there is the most reprehensible practice of a brother taking (as wife) the widow of his deceased brother, and the practice of delivering a maiden to a family; similarly among the Pārsaṅkas (Persians) matches with a mother are seen’. 1287 Dr. Jolly is wrong in thinking that Bṛhaspati refers to polyandry as practised in the south. Bṛhaspati first referred to the practice of marrying a maternal uncle’s daughter as prevalent amongst the southerners (dākṣinātyas) in his day and then adds that a practice of giving a girl to the family is in vogue in other countries. So he clearly means countries other than those of the dākṣinātyas. Prof. Keith appears to follow Dr. Jolly without any independent examination of the original passage (in E. R. E. vol. 8 on marriage, p. 453). Just as Bṛhaspati refers to the Pārsaṅkas, he speaks of polyandry as current among other countries (but not Aryan India). There are two types of polyandry, 1288 one matriarchal (where a woman forms simultaneous alliances with two or more men who are not necessarily relations of each other and therefore succession is

1286. अषतः बहुः एव ताः सहुश्चर्यः शौचः एकार्यनीन्यां निशाति। हृदि विश्वासायणे-पर्यया समन्ते। तत्रज्ञानोत्तरतीति।

1287. विचारः पनित्यत्वे वृजिवानि किम् सम्पन्ति। रत्नादुसोहोलो रत्नासुतपुर-वृजिता। कऽसे कार्ययुक्त च वेदेष्या-वृजिते।

traced through the female) and the other fraternal, where a woman becomes the wife of several brothers. The former practice once prevailed among the Nairs on the Malabar coast, but it has now died out. The latter form of polyandry is still to some extent found in Kumaon, Garhwal and among peoples in the Himalayan area up to Assam.\textsuperscript{1289} Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (I. A. vol. 8, p. 88) says that in Kumaun between the Tons and Jumna river about Kalsi, Rajputs, brâhmanas and śūdras all practise polyandry and the children are attributed to the eldest brother who is alive. Nilakantha,\textsuperscript{1290} the commentator of the Mahābhārata, raises (on Adiparva 104. 35) the question about Draupadi's marrying five husbands and refers to the practice among very low castes in his day of one woman having two or three husbands.

**Mutual rights and duties of husband and wife**

Manu (IX. 101–102) lays down in a concise form the obligations of husband and wife viz. 'they should not prove false to each other till death (as regards dharma, artha and kāma) and that their constant endeavour should be not to be separate from each other and not to break faith with each other (as to those three goals of human life)'. The detailed rights and duties of the husband and wife will be unfolded as we proceed.

The first duty of the husband and the privilege of the wife was to require and to give respectively her co-operation in all religious acts. This has been so from the most ancient times. In Rg. I. 72. 5 it is said\textsuperscript{1291} that 'they, accompanied by their wives, worshipped the fire who is worthy of worship'. In another place it is said 'when you make the husband and wife of one mind, they anoint thee with ghee like a well-placed friend'. In the Tai, Br. III. 7. 5 occurs a passage 'may the wife unite with her husband by means of the good deeds (done by

\textsuperscript{1289} Vide the authorities quoted in Jolly's Recht und Sitte (Eng. tr. p. 103 foot-notes).

\textsuperscript{1290} कर्म तर्क संधिक्ष रत्न पाण्डव भारतीयाम दुध्मा मात्यवृत्ता मुद्धानिन्दानं नौं गाँवाण धिनांत्वं तथा दीववतीति नरेष्मिति लब्धयति देवताकुलयथू परशुरामोपयोगात निवारण वुधुवाणमावासापव अन्वारीषवधमापव निर्भो- निस्थ | निंदकेश ओ आरूढः 104. 35.

\textsuperscript{1291} संजयानाम वज्राकृतिविनायक पाणिनिनो नस्यं नस्यवं | क्र. 1. 72. 5; अनुज्जन निवं दृष्टि मोहितधरस्ती समस्तल्ले गुणदी | क्र. 1. 73. 2; स प्रदश पव्व फूक- हेन गच्छमात्र | संजयानाम विजय तवस्वाभावी | विन्ध जयविन्ननस्ता- सामथाति | हि. क्र. III. 7. 5.
both), they two became yoked like oxen to the sacrifice; may the two be of one mind and destroy their foes; may they attain non-aging light in heaven'. The same verse with slight variations occurs in the Kāṭhaka Samā. V 4 and is relied upon by Śābara on Jaimini VI. 1.21. This indicates that they were supposed to enjoy the fruits of their actions together. We saw above (p. 551) how in the Āśvamedha the wife anoints the horse, how in marriage the bride offers handfuls of fried grain into fire. It has already been seen (note 1208) that the Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 17-19) requires that from the time of marriage the husband and wife work together in religious acts, that they share the reward of such acts together and that they both have dominion over the wealth of the family and that the wife can make gifts in the absence of the husband if occasion necessitates. The Āśv. gr. (I.8.5) prescribes that the fire kindled at marriage is carried by the married pair to their home (in a vessel) and that (I.9.1-8) since the day of marriage, the husband should worship the domestic fire himself or his wife or his son or his daughter or pupil (may offer worship in his absence), that if fire goes out, some teachers say that the wife should observe a fast, the domestic fire should be worshipped in the evening with an āhuti and the formula 'agnaye svāhā' and in the morning with an āhuti and the formula 'sūryāya svāhā' and there is to be a second oblation each time silently (to Prajāpati). According to the commentator some said that the wife and daughter could not perform the homa as they had no privilege to learn mantras, that they could only kindle the fire, while others said they could do so. In the gṛhya fire kindled at marriage one was to offer the daily mahāyajñas (Gaut. 5. 6-8) and as regards balihaaraṇa, Gobhila gr. (I. 4. 16-19) says that both husband and wife should offer balis, or a brāhmaṇa may offer for them, or the wife may offer in the evening and the husband in the morning. Manu (III. 121) says that from food cooked in the evening the wife should

1292. विनायककम्भनसि नवविनि। आभ. सू। I. 8. 5. वाणिज्यश्रावि पुरुष
परिवर्तनं वातवधि वा दुःखं कुर्मबहुवासिति वा। कैर च दुःखावत्तित्वसोखितविक्षिति।
...अवे स्वाहिति सार्य अन्त्यांवर्याय स्वाहिति शास्त्रयुक्तिः सत्त्वोदिशि। आभ। सू।
I. 9. 1, 3, 8.

1293. आभ। सू। was against allowing women to perform homa even in gṛhya fire except in the case of kāmya rites and bali. विनायककातेन
सार्यासार्यवित्वसर्वशर्सा च हृदयार्थवशे व पम्रे शास्त्रविनि शास्त्रविनि॥ आभ। सू।
8. 3-4.
offer balis, but without mantras. This shows that though gradually women began to lose the right to repeat Vedic mantras (as shown by Manu), still she had a hand in the religious rites. She had to perform many acts in sacrifices, such as unhusking grain in sthālpāka (vide Hir. gr. I. 23. 3), washing the slaughtered animal (compare Sat. Br. III. 8. 2 and Gobhila gr III. 10. 29), looking at the ājya in śrauta sacrifices. The Pūrvamāṁśa 1294 (VI. 1. 17–21) establishes that both husband and wife own property and should join together in performing sacrifices, but that the male sacrificer alone is ordinarily to do every act in all religious ceremonies except such matters as are expressly declared to be performed by the wife also or alone (as e.g. observing celibacy, uttering benediction &c.). It is on account of the necessity of associating the wife in all religious acts that the hero Rāma was compelled to celebrate sacrifices with a golden image of Sītā by his side. 1295 Pāṇini (IV. 1. 33) derives the word patni and says that it can be only applied to a wife who shares in the sacrifice (and its reward). It follows that wives who are not or cannot join with their husbands in yajñas are only jāyās or bhāryās (but not patnis). The Mahābhāṣya says 1296 that the wife of a sūdra is called patni only by analogy (as a sūdra himself has no adhikāra for yajña, his wife can much less have it). It is on account of this close association of the wife in all sacrifices (either śrauta or smārta) that the wife if she dies before her husband is burnt with the sacred fire or fires and with the sacrificial vessels and implements (Manu V. 167–168, Yāj. I. 89). The Tai. Br. III. 7. 1 says 'half of the sacrifice is destroyed in the case of that sacrificer whose wife is (in her monthly course and therefore) unavailable on the sacrificial day.' 1297

But the wife is not authorized to do religious acts independently of her husband or without his consent. Manu (V. 155 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25. 15) ordains 'there is no separate yajña for

1294. तत्तथा पर्वेननागकोशात् नस्यसत्यप्रचारः। वे VI. 1. 24.
1295. रामौपि ज्ञाता सावित्री सीतां पति न वशस्ती। इत्येक पर्वेननागकोशः। स ह आदु सहस्त्राणि। नागमिथिनिः सत्यप्रचारः। वे III. 10; 'कालिक | न निविषितम्' वेदभाष्यः VII. 91. 26.
1296. पत्नाणां प्रसंप्राप्ते पापा IV. 1. 33; 'सम्बधिति मुद्राकर्ष वशस्तीं न सिर्िति।' वेदभाष्यः। वे IV. 1. 33 (vol. II. p. 214).
1297. अर्थं वा एतत् व वादक्ष्यं सावित्रीक्ष्यं पति न पर्वेनैवाकारस्य भवति। वे मा III. 7. 1.
women (independently of the husband) nor vrata (vows) nor fasts (without his consent)." Similarly Kātyāyana propounded a sweeping rule 'whatever a woman does to secure spiritual benefit after death without the consent of her father (when she is unmarried), or her husband or her son, becomes fruitless for the purpose intended.' Vide also Veda-Vyāsa smṛti II. 19. The Nityācarapaddhati (p. 329) quotes Manu V. 155 and remarks that Manu's words are not to be taken literally but are only meant to extol the eminence of the husband.

Very detailed rules were laid down as to precedence among wives, if a man married several women. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (26.1-4) concisely gives all the rules. If all the wives are of the same caste, then the wife whose marriage took place first was to be associated with the husband in all religious acts; if a man had wives of different varṇas (when inter-caste marriages were allowed) the wife of the same varṇa with the husband had precedence, though her marriage might have been later in date. If there is no wife of the same varṇa as himself, the husband may associate with himself in religious rites even a wife of the varṇa immediately next to his own; but a dvijāti should never associate a śūdra wife with himself in religious ceremonies. Vide Madanapārijiṭā p. 134 for similar rules, Vas. Dh. S. 18.18 expressly says 'a woman belonging to the dark varṇa (i.e. śūdra) is meant only for pleasure and not for performance of religious rites'. Gobhila smṛti (I. 103–104) contains rules similar to those in Viṣṇu Dh. S., Yāj. I. 88 and Veda-Vyāsa II. 12 are to the same effect. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. remarks that though the eldest wife alone is entitled to take part in religious rites, all wives (except a śūdra wife) may be cremated with the śrauta fire. Vide Sm. C.I. p. 165. In the Pūrvamāṁsā (IX. 3. 20–21) Jaimini discusses the question whether the direction in the Darśa-pūrṇamāṁsā 'patnīm smānahya' (having girt up the wife) which employs the singular number

1298. नारी अवलंबनय्याब निप्रं मया भून वा । निमिषां न धर्मवेषसद्धं बृद्धिश्वरो यथेष्ठिनां कार्यार्था विशिष्टम्। प्रवचनम् विषयम् विवेचनाय यथेष्ठिनां अभ्याशायार्थं। समानवचनायामप्रति वैभवणार्थापि स । न तद्विष्ठमहेशस्य न जातथा विचित्रमयेषु । मस्त । 18. 18.
should be modified into the dual or plural when the sacrificer (in a model sacrifice or its modifications) has two or more wives and establishes that no change is required. The Trikāṇ-
damanḍana 1301 (I. 43-44) says that there were three views when a man had several wives viz. some said that all should be associated with him in religious rites, others held that only the eldest wife of the same varṇa should be associated and the third view was that the husband should never associate with himself a wife whom he married for pleasure after he kindled the sacred fires. Manu (IX. 86-87) lays down that the wife of the same caste with the husband should always have precedence not only in the obligatory religious rites, but also in ministering to the physical comfort of the husband and if a brāhmaṇa husband gets these done by a wife of another caste when the wife of the same caste is near, he becomes like a cāndāla.

From very ancient times one of the articles of faith was that a man was born with debts, that he owed three debts to sages, gods and pitṛs and that by brahmacarya (student-hood), by performing yajñīs and by procreating sons he freed himself from those three debts respectively. Vide 1302 Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5, Sat. Br. I. 7.2.11, Alt. Br. 33.1. The last very succinctly states the purposes served by a son viz. payment of the debt to ancestors, the securing of immortality and heaven. Rg, V. 4. 10 (prajābhīr-agnē amṛtatvam-aśyām) prays 'may I obtain immortality through progeny.' Vas. Dh. S. 17. 1-4 quotes these passages of the Tai. S., Alt. Br. and Rg. The Rg. X. 85. 45 invokes the blessing of ten sons on the newly married bride and the Rg. is full of the yearning for a son at every step. Vide Rg. I. 91. 20, I. 92. 13, III. 1. 23 &c. Jaimini (VI. 2. 31) 1303 discusses the passage of the Tai S. and arrives at the conclusion that the duties laid down in it are obligatory and not left to choice and Śabara adds another explanation that these duties are obligatory on all dvijātis and the word 'brāhmaṇa' is used in the

1301. आध्यात्मिकता माधवानियितम साधनिक्षे: सत्सर्ववत्सचदुर्ग्रु-प्नामविनि विनायि: विक्रमाशुराधन आध्यात्मिकता।
1302. आध्यात्मिकता माधवानियितम साधनिक्षे: सत्सर्ववत्सचदुर्ग्रु-प्नामविनि विनायि: विक्रमाशुराधन आध्यात्मिकता।
1303. आध्यात्मिकता माधवानियितम साधनिक्षे: सत्सर्ववत्सचदुर्ग्रु-प्नामविनि विनायि: विक्रमाशुराधन आध्यात्मिकता।
Tai. S. as illustrative only. Manu (VI. 35) enjoins upon a man that he should not think of mokṣa (release from saṃsāra) before he has paid off the three debts and (IX. 106) further says that by the very birth of the eldest son a man becomes free from the debt owed to ancestors. Manu (IX. 137), Vas. 17.5, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15.46 contain the same verse proclaiming that a man attains all (heavenly) worlds by means of a son and Manu IX. 138, Ādi. 129.14, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15.44 declare that a putra is so called because he saves his father from the hell called put. The Nirukta II. 11 also derives the word putra similarly. Further the water and pīṇḍas (balls of cooked rice) offered by the son to his father and other deceased ancestors were supposed to be of great efficacy for the peace of the souls of the departed. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 85.70, Vanaparva 84.97, Mātysyapurāṇa 207.39 contain a verse ‘one should desire to have many sons in the hope that one of them may repair to Gayā.’ On account of these several benefits conferred by a son, the highest importance was attached to the birth of a son. The wife helped a man to discharge two of his debts, to the gods by associating with him in sacrifices and to the pitṛs by procreating a son or sons. Therefore the goal of the life of women was declared to be to get married and procreate sons. This was so much the case from very ancient times that even the Sat. Br. (V. 3.2.2, S. B. E. vol. 41, p. 65) says that the sonless wife is possessed with Nir-ṛti (ill luck or Destruction). Manu (IX.96) says ‘women are created for procreation and men have to propagate (the race); therefore in the Veda it is declared that the wife shares in common (with the husband) the performance of religious duties’. Nārada (stripuṁsa v. 19) also declares that women are created for (procreating) children. It was on account of these ideas about the goal of woman’s life and the supreme importance of a son that the smṛtis and dharma-sūtras works recommended or allowed the husband to marry a second time even when the first wife was living.

All the smṛtis, purāṇas and the digests devote a great deal of space to the duties of a wife. It would be impossible to set them out in detail. A few striking passages alone will be cited. All are agreed that the foremost duty of a wife is to obey her

1304. युक्ता युक्त नान्के निशिमाहां मुखरकं वनाधायं हृति वा। निष्प्र ॥ ॥

1305. एवं यथा नान्के: युक्त निशिमाहां मुखरकं वनाधायं हृति वा। निष्प्र ॥ ॥ निष्प्र ॥ ॥

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husband and to honour him as her god. In the Śat. Br.\textsuperscript{1206} princess Sukanya when married to the old and decrepit sage Cyavana to mollify the sage who had been wronged by her brothers says 'I shall not forsake my husband, while he is alive, to whom my father gave me' (IV. 1. 5. 9). Śaṅkha-Likhita\textsuperscript{1207} say 'a wife should not hate her husband even if he be impotent (or have swollen testicles), \textit{patitu} (guilty of mahāparaśaka and so an outcast), devoid of a limb or diseased, since the husband is the god of women.' Manu declares (V. 154) 'a virtuous wife should serve her husband as if he were a god, whether he be of evil character, or lustful (loving another woman) or devoid of good qualities.' Yāj. I. 77 enjoins upon women 'this is the highest duty (dharma) of women that they should obey their husband's words; if he is guilty of some mortal sin, they should wait till he is purified (and thereafter be dependent on his words'). The Rāmāyana (Ayodhya-kānda 24. 26-27) remarks 'the husband is the god and the master of the wife, while she is alive and she obtains the highest heaven by serving her husband.' The Mahābhārata very frequently harps upon the duties of wives.\textsuperscript{1208} The Anuśāsana parva 146. 55 says 'the husband is the god of a woman, her (sole) relative, her goal'; the Aśvamedhikaparva 90. 51 declares 'the husband is the highest deity.' 'The father gives only what is limited, the brother and the son do the same; what woman would not worship the husband who gives what is unlimited or immeasurable!' (Śantiparva 148. 6-7). The Matsyapurāṇa 210. 18 contains this last verse and adds 'the husband is the god for women and is their highest goal.' This idea of the wife's entire submission to the

\textsuperscript{1206} प्रभृति मां पितानां वाचाहि ते जीवनं हस्तवामि। जलय स IV. 1. 5. 9. Vide Manu V. 151 for a paraphrase of this passage. निम्नतया on ya I. 69 makes an objector rely on this Śatapatha passage to show that it allows niyoga after the husband's death.

\textsuperscript{1207} य भाषार विवाहसङ्गीत: वैष्णवसांकोकिस्मो वैष्णवो च पावित्र देवता श्रीकृष्णः। श्रीभागवत: quoted in श्रीविष्णु (०२. प. २५१.), परम. मा. II. part 1 p. 38.

\textsuperscript{1208} पावित्र दूषो नारीणं पारिवर्त्योऽपि पावितरं। अववाहिनः 146. 55; सिंहं बुधादेव वि पिना। सिंहं भाषा सिंहं सुतः। अहिंसास्य वि चूँचा अतिरिक्त का न पुजयेत्॥ शास्त्रिपरं 148. 6; वारिकवि दूषं श्रीपुरं परिवर्तया। पावित्रविना 210. 17-18. वैष्णवादिर्मण महाभारतम् देशस्वतपितामहस्य गदेश। काठपुर IV, 1. 1. Compare St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians V. 22-24: 'wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord...Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything.'
husband is voiced even by poets like Kālidāsa,\textsuperscript{1309} who makes one of the pupils of Kanva say about Śākuntalā ‘this is your wife, abandon her or accept her, since all-round domination of the husband over the wife is proper.’ Manu V. 150–156, Yāj. I. 83–87, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25. 2 ff, Vanarṣappava 233. 19–58 (Draupadī as the speaker), Anuśāsana 123 (Śāndili declares the conduct of virtuous wives), Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti II. 20–32 (wife’s duties from morning till night), Vṛddha-Hārita XI. 84 ff (wife’s duties from morning), Sm. C. (vyāvalārā section) p. 249 ff, Madanapārījāta pp. 192–195 and other nbandhas dwell at length upon the duties of the wife. A few of such duties may be indicated here.

According to Manu V. 150 ‘a wife should always present a smiling face, should be alert and clever in her domestic duties, should keep domestic vessels well burnished and clean and should not be extravagant in spending.’ Manu IX. 11 asks the husband to set to his wife the task of conserving the wealth acquired and looking to its expenditure, of keeping things clean, of the performance of religious acts, of cooking food and of taking care of household paraphernalia. Manu (IX. 13) adds that drinking wine, company of bad people, staying away from the husband, wandering about (to tirthas or elsewhere), sleep (by day), staying in the house of strangers—these six spoil married women. Adiparva 74. 12 gives\textsuperscript{1310} expression to the popular notion that people do not like married women staying with their paternal relatives for a long time away from their husbands, since such a stay leads to loss of good name and character. The same sentiment is echoed by Kālidāsa in the Śākuntalā (V. 17). The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 77. 19 is to the same effect. Yāj. (I. 83 and 87) requires the wife to keep household utensils and furniture in their proper places, to be clever, to have a smiling face, to be unextravagant, to be devoted to doing what is agreeable and beneficial to the husband, to show respect to her father-in-law and mother-in-law by clasping their feet; to

\textsuperscript{1309} तदेन सचि कान्तर चेत तैना दक्ष प्रचार यत्र उपपत्तिः हि दृष्टि मय्या नर्सुधिष्ठी || साकुन्तलाः V.

\textsuperscript{1310} सतीवर्षी दि चित्तमत्सवी हि बाप्पेशु न रहेते। कृष्णलिखितंअर्थंतत्त्वाद्वमवि न चित्तन्॥ अद्विवर्ष ७४. १२; compare ‘सतीवर्षी ज्ञातिष्ठानंसञ्चरिष्य जगीत्या मरुनवी विक्षिप्िे। साकुन्तलाः V. 17.
conduct herself decently, to restrain her senses.' Śaṅkha lays down what is decent conduct for a wife—she should not go out of the house unless she is asked (by her husband or elders) nor without putting on an upper garment; she should not walk fast; she should not speak with a male who is unrelated to her, except a trader, a sannyāsin, an old man or a physician; she should not allow her navel to be seen; she should wear her garment (or sari) in such a way that it may reach down to her ankles; she should not expose her breasts, she should not laugh loudly without covering her mouth (with her hand or her garment); she should not hate her husband or his relatives; she should not be in the company of dancing girls, gambling women, women who make assignments to meet lovers, female ascetics, female fortune-tellers, women who live by tricks, magical and secret rites and who are of bad character; since (the wise declare that) the character of women of good family is spoilt by the company (they keep).’ The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25, 1–6 ordains ‘now then the duties of wives are declared; they should perform the same vratas (observances and vows) which the husband undertakes; they should honour the mother-in-law, the father-in-law, other elders, gods, guests and keep the household utensils well arranged; they should not be extravagant in giving to others; should keep the goods well guarded; they should have no liking for magical practices (to win love) and should be devoted to auspicious conduct.’ Vide also Viṣṇu Dh. S. chap. 99 last two verses (quoted by Aparārka p. 107). Draupadi (Vanaparva chap. 233) states ‘whatever my husband does not eat, drink or partake of, I avoid. I know the total wealth, the income and expenditure of the Pāṇḍavas’. The Kāmasūtra directs the wife to make expenditure that will be commensurate with the yearly income of the

1311. नाहोचा युगांरिीतयत्। नाहोचारण्या। न त्वरिी मोद। न पत्सुभाषामय। नाहोचारण्या विगतान्त्रितां विदेश्यन्त। न नाहोचे वृद्धयत्। आ हीनाकायि परिवर्धन्त। न तत्त्वं न तत्वं न तत्त्वं। न हर्मेश्वराप्रमा। मातीर तत्त्वत्वा न विदेश्य।। न मातायासुक्ताम्। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोपालीवहन्ते। सारियोisheru.
husband.\textsuperscript{1312} Manu (VIII. 361) prescribes the fine of a suvarṣa for a man speaking with a woman with whom he is forbidden to speak and Yāj. II. 285 prescribes a fine of one hundred pānas in the case of a woman who is forbidden to speak with a man (by her husband or father &c.) and a fine of two hundred pānas in the case of the man who speaks with a woman with whom he is forbidden to speak. Bhāsapatī\textsuperscript{1313} says that a wife should get up from bed before her husband and elders, should partake of food and condiments after they have eaten, should occupy a seat lower than that of the husband or elders. 'A wife can engage in vrataś, fasts, observances and worship (of god &c.) with the permission of her husband,' say Śaṅkha-Likhita.\textsuperscript{1314} The Purāṇas frequently descant on strīdharma. A few specimens may be noted here. The Bhāgavata VII. 11. 29 says that the wife who looks upon her husband as the god Hari dwells in the world of Hari and revels with her husband. The Skanda Purāṇa (Brahma-khaḍa, Dharmāranya section, chap. 7) has a long description of a pativrata 'she should not repeat the name of her husband, as such conduct leads to the increase of the husband’s life and should never take the name of another male (v. 18), even when she is loudly blamed (by the husband) she does not cry loudly, even when beaten she is smiling (v. 19). A pativrata should always use turmeric, kuṇkuma, sindūra, lamp black (for the eye), a bodice, tāmbūla, auspicious ornaments, and should braid her hair' (vv. 28–29). The Padma-purāṇa (Srṣṭi-khaḍa, chap. 47, v. 55) says that that wife is pativrata who in doing work is like a slave, like a hetaira in affording sexual pleasure, like a mother in offering food and like a counsellor in adversity.

Special rules of conduct were laid down for a wife whose husband was away from home on a journey. Śaṅkha-Likhita (quoted by Aparārka p. 108, Sm. C., vyavahāra p. 253) contain a long statement about what such a wife should not do ‘women whose husbands are away from home should avoid amusements of swing and dance, seeing pictures, applying unguals to the body, walking in parks, sleeping in open places (or uncovered).

\textsuperscript{1312} सांवलकामाय संख्याय तद्दृष्टं त्यर्थं कर्तवं। कामचुं तीव्रूर्व।

\textsuperscript{1313} पुनर्वधायमान्यं श्वस्वम्वती मौनाव्याप्तिः। अपनासनसिद्धिन्तः कर्म श्रीम:। श्रावास्तन।

\textsuperscript{1314} अद्भुतवात्प्रज्ञसहितमेतत्स्वाध्यायान्तः श्रीमः। सत्तुशिष्य।

\textsuperscript{1312} तर्काद्विषलखण्डः स्यूर्वलहेयः भुक्त्याय श्यमुक्ता। कामचुं तीव्रूर्व।

\textsuperscript{1313} पुनर्वधायमान्यं श्वस्वम्वती मौनाव्याप्तिः। अपनासनसिद्धिन्तः कर्म श्रीम:। श्रावास्तन।

\textsuperscript{1314} अद्भुतवात्प्रज्ञसहितमेतत्स्वाध्यायान्तः श्रीमः। सत्तुशिष्य।
partaking of sumptuous food and drink, playing with a ball, fragrant resins and perfumes, flowers, ornaments, ceremonial brushing of the teeth, collyrium (in the eyes). Yāj. (I. 84) puts these briefly 'a woman whose husband is gone to another country should give up play, the adornment of the body, visiting samājas (note 986 above) and festivals, laughing, going to the house of a stranger.' The Anuśāsana-parva\textsuperscript{1315} (123. 17) indicates that a wife whose husband is gone abroad does not apply eyesalve or rocanā (yellow pigment) to her body, does not take a ceremonial bath and does not use flowers, unguents or ornaments. Manu (IX. 74–75) requires the husband when going abroad to make provision for the wife's maintenance, since a woman without some means of livelihood, though originally virtuous, may go astray and adds 'when the husband goes abroad after providing for maintenance, the wife should live thereby and abide by the restrictions (laid down for such wives); if he goes away without making provision for her maintenance she should maintain herself by crafts (such as spinning) which are unblamable.' The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (25. 9–10) contains similar rules. The Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (II. 52) enjoins upon a wife whose husband is gone abroad 'her\textsuperscript{1316} face should look pale and distressed, she should not embellish her body, she should be devoted to her husband, should be without (full) meal, and should emaciate her body.' The Trikāṇḍamāṇḍana\textsuperscript{1317} (I. 80–81 and 85) says that when the husband is gone abroad the wife may with the help of a priest perform the daily duties of agnihotra, the obligatory iṣṭis and pitṛyajña, but should not perform soma sacrifices.

The rewards of the wife's single-minded devotion to her husband and her rigid observance of the rules of conduct prescribed for her are stated at great length in smṛti works. Manu (IX. 29–30 = Manu V. 165 and 164) says 'that woman who does not prove faithless to her husband in thought, word and deed (lit. body) secures the (heavenly) worlds together with her husband and is spoken of as a sādhvi' (a virtuous woman, a paliyālā); but by proving faithless to her husband a

\textsuperscript{1315} अनुसासन पर्व अनुसासन 123. 17.

\textsuperscript{1316} विष्णुधर्म 125 वेदव्यास स्मर्ति II. 52.

\textsuperscript{1317} त्रिकांडमाण्डन त्रिकांडमाण्डन I. 83.
woman incurs censure in this world, is born as a female jackal (in the next life) and is afflicted with very bad diseases.' Yāj. (I. 75 and 87) declares that the woman, who does not approach another while the husband is living or after his death and who is intent on doing what is agreeable and beneficial to her husband, who is of good conduct and has restrained her senses, attains glory in this world and plays with Umā (the wife of Śiva) in heaven. Brhaspati\textsuperscript{1318} defines a pativratā as one who is distressed when her husband is distressed, who is delighted when her husband is in delight, who is emaciated and wears dirty clothes when her husband has gone on a journey and who dies on the death of her husband.

In the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas hyperbolical descriptions of the power of the pativratā occur at every step. Vide Vana-parva 63 where we are told (vv. 38–39) that when Damayanti cursed by her faithfulness to her husband the young hunter who had evil designs on her, he fell down a dead man. In the Anuśāsanaparva 123 Śāndilya who\textsuperscript{1319} had attained heavenly worlds tells Sumanā Kalkeyi how she reached that state without wearing kāśāyas (dyed garments worn by sāmnyāsins) or bark garments and without having matted hair or without tonsuring her head (as ascetics do), but by strictly following the rules laid down for virtuous wives, such as not addressing harsh words to their husband, abandoning all food that the husband did not like. Anuśāsana (146. 4–6) names several pativratās of ancient times and the following verses dilate upon the rules of conduct for virtuous wives. The story of Sāvitri in the Vanaparva (293–299) illustrates the power of a pativratā, who wrung back even from Yāma, the dread god of Death, the life of her husband.\textsuperscript{1320} Sāvitri and Sītā have been held by the women of India for thousands of years as the

\textsuperscript{1318} आत्मिः कथिते द्वारा मार्श्वेदे माध्विना ज्ञाता ॥ इस्वे विस्वेत् या पतिः सा कृति ज्ञेः प्रतिवता ॥ कृत्वात स्वामी विद्यायाम ॥ अवच्चन्ते p. 109, by the नित्या. on या. I. 86 (४४ खर्चिन्) It is तुष्टात रीति XI. 199.

\textsuperscript{1319} नान्तवं कामप्रययं नानां परिप्रयोगी। न च कृता च अदिता प्रति कृता नवरत्रान्तराः \textsuperscript{2} अविकस्य च वाजीपती। संविप्पिति पवहरि च। अभायत। \textsuperscript{3} अवगाघिन्याकहस्यम् ननवस्य। \textsuperscript{4} अनुसारानां 123. 8–9, 14 &c.

\textsuperscript{1320} Vide also अनुबंधु याद 208–214 for the tale of Sāvitrī. साविनी शयं इन यापति 297. 63 'न फामये भोजिनाश्या सुखं न फामये भोजिनाश्या विस्थः। न फामये भोजिनाश्या विन्य न भोजिनाश्या अनवान्धाम् जातिरुद्ध ॥'

\textsuperscript{2} अविकस्य च वाजीपती। संविप्पिति पवहरि च। अभायत। \textsuperscript{3} अवगाघिन्याकहस्यम् ननवस्य। \textsuperscript{4} अनुसारानां 123. 8–9, 14 &c.
highest ideals of womanly virtue, to which they have always endeavoured to approach and one may say that Indian women generally have most successfully lived up to that high and ennobling ideal that was set before them. Vanaparva (205–206) tells the story of a learned brähmaṇa, who by his mere angry look made a female crane die when the latter voided its faeces on to the head of the brähmaṇa and who was rebuked by a pativrata that the latter was not a crane, when the brähmaṇa tried to frighten the virtuous woman for her tardiness in welcoming him as a guest and for looking only after her husband. The Śalyaparva (63) narrates how awful the power of a pativrata like Gándhāri is in that she can, if she choose, burn the world, she can stop even the motions of the sun and the moon. The Skanda-purāṇa III (Brahma-khaṇḍa, Brahmāranyā section chap. 7) first names (verses 14–15) several pativrataś like Arundhati, Anasūyā, Sāvitrī, Sāṇḍilyā, Satyā, Menā and then waxes eloquent over the tremendous spiritual power of a pativrata ‘just as a snake-charmer forcibly draws out from a hole a snake, so a pativrata snatches away her husband’s life from the messengers of Death and reaches heaven with her husband and the messengers of Death, on seeing the pativrata, beat a hasty retreat.’

As the foremost duty of the wife was to honour and serve the husband, she must always stay with him and she had a right of residence in the house. A wife was further entitled to be maintained in the house by the husband. A verse quoted by Medhātithi on Manu III. 62 and IV. 251 and by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 224 and II. 175 and which occurs in some MSs, as a spurious verse after Manu XI. 10 says ‘Manu declares that one must maintain one’s aged parents, a virtuous wife and a minor son by doing even a hundred bad acts.’ Dakṣa

1321. दक्ष ेदाया गातारी 'गाता गाती नदासी दुःखित ए चारा न परन्फुलिन अदुप्त तपसि च बनायस् ॥' सरस्वती 63. 21.

1322. वायालागिही वर्षा वार चालुचुंडी शिलानं। एवंतकम्य दूतमः पदिस्वरी अजेल्लीं ॥ चालुचुंडी यदयुरमूत्त्वप्रवतिताद्वम्। सत्त्वकपलम (नक्षत्रकपलम), यमाइयं। चालुचुंडी ष्ट्र 54–55. It will be noticed later on that the half verse 'वायालागिही' occurs in numerous works.

1323. दक्ष ेदाया गातारी गाती गाता निश्चितु नुतन। अदुप्तबाहरम दक्ष ेद्या निश्चितु नुतन।
II. 36 (= Laghu-Āśvalāyana 1324 I. 74) defines pasyavarga (persons whom every one, however poor, is bound to maintain) as follows: 'the parents, the guru, the wife, children and a helpless man who has taken shelter with one, a guest and fire constitute pasyavarga.' Manu VIII. 389 prescribes that the man who abandons and does not maintain his parents, wife, and son, when they are not outcasted, should be fined 600 pāpas by the king. Yāj. I. 74 requires the husband to maintain a wife whom he has superseded in the same way as before, otherwise he would be guilty of great sin. Yāj. I. 76 says that if a man abandoned a wife who was obedient, diligent, the mother of a son, and agreeable in speech, he was to be made to give one-third of his property to the wife, but if he had no property he had to maintain her. Nārada (stripuraśa 95) has a similar provision. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 163 made the husband punishable like a thief, if he abandoned his wife. The husband was required by Yāj. I. 81 to be devoted to his wife, since women are to be guarded (against falling into error). Vide Yāj. I. 78 also. Manu IV. 133 forbids adultery with another's wife and Manu IV. 134 (= Anuśāsana 104, 21 and Mārkandeya-purāṇa 34. 62–63) observes that there is nothing that harms one's life as much as adultery. Viṣvarūpa 1325 on Yāj. I. 80 points out that the guarding of a wife from evil can be secured only by being devoted to her and not by beating her, as, if the husband were to beat her, it might endanger her life. Manu (IX. 5–9) also calls upon men to guard women, and (in IX. 10–12) says that they cannot be guarded by imprisonment or force, but by engaging them in looking to the income and expenditure, the furniture, beauty and purity of the house and the cooking and by inculcating on them the value of a virtuous life. In spite of this the husband possessed certain powers of physical correction over the wife which were the same as those possessed by a teacher over a pupil or a father over a son, viz. he could administer beating with a rope or a thin piece of bamboo on the back but never on the head. Vide Manu VIII. 299–300 (cited above on p. 363) which are the same as Mātysapurāṇa 227. 152–154. It will be seen that about two thousand years ago Manu did not confer

1324. भार विदा यज्ञायम् भव भूमः परमाभिः। अयस्मात्सनिविषयाय: पलिनयः

1325. सर व जीवाः स्वदेशिनिरवर्ज्ञं न देव राजायिका। वया तामानन्धिः

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greater powers of correction and restraint of the wife on the husband than the Common Law of England allowed to husbands even in the 18th century.\textsuperscript{1226}

As it was the husband’s duty to provide residence and maintenance for the wife and as the wife was bound to stay with the husband, it follows that either party could after marriage enforce his or her rights in a court of law if the other party refused to perform her or his duties. In modern times a suit for restitution of conjugal rights can be brought and the decree can be executed against the wife by the attachment and sale of her property (if she has any), but not by detention in civil jail and against the husband by the court ordering the husband to make periodical payments of money for the maintenance of the wife and securing such payments by creating a charge on his property (vide Civil Procedure Code of 1908 Order 21 rules 32 and 33). To such a suit by the husband Indian Courts have recognised certain valid defences, such as desertion, cruelty or such conduct as endangers the health of the wife, change of religion, or keeping a concubine in the house or the husband’s being afflicted with a loathsome disease (like leprosy). Vide Bai Premkunwar v. Bhika 5 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) p. 209 (leprosy), Yamunabai v. Narayan 1 Bom. 164 (cruelty), Paigi v. Sheo Narain 8 All. 78, Dular Koer v. Dwarkanath 34 Cal. 971, Bai Jivi v. Narsingh 51 Bom. 329. Where the courts make the husband pay maintenance, they are in principle following Yaj. I. 76 and Nārada (p. 569). Vide Binda v. Kaunsilia 13 All. 126 where many original Sanskrit texts are cited.

Not only was the husband bound to maintain the wife, but he was called upon to cohabit with the wife and was supposed to incur the sin of embryo-murder if he refused without good cause to do so. On the other hand the husband had a right of

\textsuperscript{1226} Vide Blackstone’s commentaries on the laws of England (ed. of 1765, Oxford) Book I. chap. 15 pp. 432–433 ‘The husband also (by the old law) might give his wife moderate correction....the law thought it reasonable to entrust him with this power of restraining her by domestic chastisement in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his servants or children....Yet the lower rank of people still claim and exert their ancient privilege; and the courts of law will still permit a husband to restrain a wife of her liberty in case of any gross behaviour’. Vide also Lush on the law of ‘Husband and Wife’ (4th ed. 1933) pp. 24–29 about the husband’s power to beat his wife and restrain her in the past and now.


consortium i.e. the wife was not to refuse herself to the husband and if she did so her delinquency was to be proclaimed in the village and she was to be driven from the house.

The humane character of the legislation of the Indian sages is seen by the fact that even for adultery they do not allow the husband to drive the wife out of the house and to abandon her. Gaut. 22. 35 prescribes that a wife who violates her duty of chastity must undergo a penance, but she should be kept under guard and be given food. Yāj. (I. 70, 72) declares 'an adulterous woman should be deprived of her authority (over servants &c.), should be made to wear dirty clothes, should be given food just sufficient to enable her to live, should be treated with scorn and made to lie on the ground (not on a cot); a woman becomes pure from adultery when she has her monthly period after that, but if she conceives in adulterous intercourse she may be abandoned and also when she is guilty of the murder of her foetus or of her husband or of some sin that makes her an outcast'. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 72 draws attention to the text of Vasiṣṭha XXI. 12 'the wives of brāhmaṇas', ksatriyas and vaiśyas who commit adultery with a śūdra may be purified by a penance in case no child is born (of the intercourse), but not otherwise' and remarks that the words of Yājñavalkya are to be understood in the same sense i.e. a wife is to be abandoned only if she be in adultery with a śūdra; and further that the abandonment consists in not allowing her to participate in religious rites and conjugal matters, but she is not to be cast on the streets; she is to be kept apart guarded in a room and to be given food and raiment (as stated in Yāj. III. 297). Vasiṣṭha XXI. 10 says that only four (types of) wives are to be abandoned viz. one who has intercourse with the husband's pupil and with the husband's guru, and especially one who attempts to kill her husband and who commits

1327. भिन्न वर्षापट्टिनी सो मार्गी नाभिगच्छाति। स हर्य भृणादत्तायाः होक्त्वत्तथा। संस्यायं तु सो भार्याः लिनिकेष्यै। विद्वेष्यति नवनवस्य लिनिकेष्यै। भृणादत्तस्मात् भृणादत्तस्य निविष्णुः। निविष्णुवर्षापट्टियाः।

1328. भृणादत्तोन्निश्चित्ताः मार्गी ज्ञेयं संस्याः। अभभावाः विद्वेष्यति भृणादत्तेश्च। निविष्णुस्मात् निविष्णुकृत्यं विकुट्तम् नागवः। च। पद्याः च विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। निविष्णुकृत्यं च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभ�ावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः। च। विनिन्यिण्याम्। अभभावाः।
adultery with a man of degraded caste (like a leather-worker). Nārada\textsuperscript{1329} (strīpurusā v. 91) says ‘when a woman commits adultery her hair shall be shaven, she shall have to lie on a low bed, shall receive bad food and clothing and her occupation will be the removal of sweepings of the husband’s house’. Gaut. 23. 14, Śānti-parva 165. 64 and Manu VIII. 371 are more harsh on a woman who has intercourse with a low-caste man, i.e. she is to be punished by the king with being devoured by dogs. Veda-Vyāsa (II. 49-50) says that ‘a wife\textsuperscript{1330} who is guilty of adultery should be kept in the house but void of her rights of associating in religious and conjugal matters and of her rights over property, and should be treated with scorn; but when she has had monthly course after the act of adultery (and does not repeat it), the husband should allow her the usual rights of a wife as before.’ Manu XI. 177 asks the husband to confine an exceedingly corrupt wife to one room and compel her to perform the penance\textsuperscript{1331} prescribed for males in cases of adultery. Vide Atri V. 1-5, Parāśara IV. 20 and XI. 87 and Bṛhad-Yāma IV. 36.

Under the English law, if the wife commits adultery the husband’s obligation to maintain her ceases altogether unless he had connived at it or condoned it.\textsuperscript{1332}

The following propositions can be deduced from the texts cited above. (1) There is no absolute right of abandonment of wife in the husband on the ground of adultery; (2) Adultery is ordinarily an upapātaka (a minor sin) and can be atoned for by appropriate penance undergone by the wife; (3) the wife who has committed adultery but has undergone penance is to be restored to all the ordinary rights of wives (vide Vasi. XXI. 12, Yāj. I. 72, Mit. thereon and Aparārka p. 98); (4) as long as the adulteress has not undergone penance, she is to be given in the house itself starving maintenance and to be deprived of all her rights as wife (Yāj. I. 70, Śāntiparva 165. 63);

\textsuperscript{1329} वाणिज्य धर्मशास्त्र वेद रूपनाथ तृतीय अध्याय पाँचवी भाग (सदन २०७, 91).

\textsuperscript{1330} वाणिज्य नारद हृदय चतुर्वेदी योगप्रेक्षा च श्रीरामचरितम विरचित तत्र विद्यमानम् युधिष्ठिर वेदवाद्यादि नवनादि इति नवनादि इति.

\textsuperscript{1331} Penance will be lighter or heavier according to the caste of the adulterer. According to Maha XI. 60 adultery is an अपपातक and the ordinary penance for it is महान or आवर्धन (Maha XI. 118).

\textsuperscript{1332} Vide Halsbury’s Laws of England vol. 16 (Hailsham ed.) pp. 609-610.
(5) a wife, who commits adultery with a śūdra or has had a child thereby, who is guilty of killing her foetus or of attempt to kill the husband or guilty of one of the deadly sins (mahā-pātakas), is to be deprived of her right to participation in religious rites or conjugal matters and is to be kept confined in a room or in a hut near the house and to be given starving maintenance and poor apparel, even after she undergoes penance (Vas. XXI. 10, Manu XI. 177, Yāj. III. 297–98 and Mit. thereon); (6) that wives who are not guilty of acts mentioned in Yāj. I. 72, III. 297–298, Vas. 21. 10 or 28. 7 are to be given starving maintenance and residence near the house even if they do not perform penance (vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 298); (7) wives who are guilty of the acts mentioned in Yāj. I. 72, III. 297–298, if they refuse to perform penance, are to be refused even starving maintenance and residence near the husband’s house (Mit. on Yāj. III. 298). The propositions about maintenance set out here are accepted as the modern Hindu Law by the courts in India.1333

It has been shown above (p. 518) that Āp. postulated the identity of husband and wife in religious matters and Manu IX. 45 declares that the husband is one with his wife. But this identity of husband and wife was not accepted by the ancient sages for secular or legal purposes. The rights of husband and wife as to each other’s property and the liability of each for the debts of the other will be dealt with later on in detail. It may suffice here to point out that the wife was not ordinarily liable for the debts contracted by the husband nor was the husband liable for the debts contracted by the wife alone, unless the debt was for family purposes (Yāj. II. 46). Similarly the husband could exercise no dominion over the wife’s own property (her stridhana or peculium) except in a famine or for a necessary religious purpose, or in disease or when he was imprisoned (Yāj. II. 147). These rules prescribed centuries ago compare in their fairness or reasonableness most favourably with the rules of the English law1334 (as they prevailed before the Married Women’s Property Act of 1882, 45 and 46 Vict. chap. 75), whereby the husband by the mere fact of marriage acquired free-hold interest, during the joint lives of himself and


his wife, in all estates of inheritance and life estates of which she was seised at the marriage or became seised during coverture, and an absolute interest in all the wife’s personal chattels.

Nārada (stripumisa, v. 89) does not allow the husband or wife to lodge a complaint against one another with their relations or with the king. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 294 remarks ‘though a judicial proceeding between husband and wife as plaintiff and defendant before the king is forbidden, still, if the king comes to know personally or indirectly of wrong done by the one to the other, the king must bring round the husband or the wife to the path of duty by appropriate punishment, otherwise the king incurs sin’. There were certain matters of which the king could take cognisance without the complaint of anybody: they were called aparādhas (they are ten) among which were included the murder of a woman, varpaśāmkara, adultery, pregnancy of a widow from some person other than the husband, abortion &c. We have seen (p. 569) that Yāj. I. 76, Nārada (stripumisa, v. 95) make the husband liable to pay one-third of his estate or a fine for deserting a virtuous wife and there are many such provisions about the matters affecting the husband and wife in which the king interfered. In England at Common Law a wife could not sue her husband in tort (till the Married Women’s Property Act) nor could a husband sue the wife in tort.

We must now turn to the position of women in general and wives in particular and the estimate of their character and worth made by ancient India. It has already been seen (p. 428) how the wife was looked upon as half of the husband, how in Vedic times women composed hymns and learnt the Vedas and how they co-operated with their husbands in all religious acts. On the whole their social position was much better (except as to rights of property) than what it became in later times. But

1335. दांवुक्षपिस्सुल्लेतु संपर्वेः शायदुके। दमृती निधिरुवारा न काणिदु न राजसि न नातु (आजा v. 89).

1336. सयारि सयाबै: पुण्यामायितवत्या सप्तसागी मधुरीभयो निधित्ववस्माती मयाक्षापुरुषवत्या विनिव्रित्ति तवसि: मयाराविनिवरो युवादर्दिना मुखानी निग्रह्वर्मायें रङ्गां स्थापानीयो, दृष्टिया सुभाषितमयि। मिलावलरा.

1337. Vide सुविदानाक्र, १७२७ p. 28 quoting नारम, संपर्व तं मिनिन्दु for ten अप्रत्यय, २२ पञ्च, &c.

even in the Vedic times there was an under-current of opinion which was hostile to women, sneered at them and treated them with scorn. Some of the passages from Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature sullogising women and the wife have been set out above (pp. 423ff). The passages noted below may be read in this connection. Vide Baudh. Dh. S. II. 2. 63–64, Manu III. 55–62, Yāj. I. 71, 74, 78, 82, Vas. Dh. S. 28. 1–9, Atri vv. 140–141 and 193–198, Adiparva 74. 140–152, Śāntiparva 144. 6 and 12–17, Anuśāsana 46, Mārkandeyapurāṇa 21. 69–76. The Kāmasūtra III. 2 says that women are like flowers (kusumasadharmāṇo hi yosītah). It has been seen (pp. 146–147) how way was to be made by all for the bride and the pregnant woman and it will be shown that the general opinion was that no woman was to be killed on any account (with one or two exceptions in ancient writers). Some of the smṛtkāras like Atri and Devala were so liberal as to say that women who had intercourse with one not of the same caste or who had conceived by such intercourse did not become outcasts, but only impure till delivery or next period when they became pure again and could be associated with, the child born of the adulterous connection being handed over to some one else for being brought up. If a woman was raped she was not to be abandoned, but she became impure only till her next period (Atri 197–198) and Devala (48–49) prescribes purifications for a woman raped by mlecchas and conceiving thereby. In the Śāntiparva 267. 38 it is said that it is not the woman who is at fault, but it is the man who is at fault (when the woman goes astray). In the Varunaprāghiṣa.

1339. न यदृ भूतितंद्रतुपृष्ठभं गुप्तवच्चेते । यदृ यु गुत्तिन्द्रावलम्बस्यसु कपूरतः नवम ||
शास्त्रिः 144. 6; नान्तिक आपरायोम बप्सु: नान्तिक आपरायो बसिन्। नान्तिक आपरायो लोके सहस्रो परमाधितं। शास्त्रिः 144. 16; वदी भाषाः च बलाः च कर्क्कर्वसादवागी। तदार अवार्थायान्तानां अवार्थायास्य संसारम्। कव्वे सार्वसुदुः परंतपयो च युक्तं। सा सौरो अवार्थायान्तानां अवार्थायास्य संसारम्। कव्वे सार्वसुदुः परंतपयो च युक्तं। न संर्य निधनते। नायतेन 21. 69–71.

1340. Vide Gaur. 23. 14 and Manu VIII. 371 (both prescribe that a woman should be devoured by dogs if she had intercourse with a male of a lower varṇa), Vas. Dh. S. 21. 1–5. Even this was modified later and only परिवर्तन was allowed; vide Vas. 21. 10, Yāj. I. 72.

1341. अस्त्रधुन्ति द्वीपां श्रीणुं चोवीं नविनावत। अवृत्त या वर्देन चैव वर्णमिद्वृजलिः। न शुद्धिः || निषिद्धे हताः कतश: न धर्मार्थम। तदान हताः नाटन्तं निषिद्धे निधनुमं गर्भं। आवे वर्गे 195–196, which are almost the same as देवसं 50–51. अवृत्त वर्णो अभायेत। नंदोत्तर वर्णभाये। तदान हताः नाटन्तं निषिद्धे निधनुमं गर्भं। आवे वर्गे 197–198.

1342. पञ्चाः सन्त्या न प्रयुक्तायिं स्वातः प्रयुक्ताय। अस्ते मै च दिति निदितिते। त्रै. भ्र. 1. 6. 5.
(one of the cañurāyas) the sacrificer’s wife had to confess if she had a lover and even when she confessed she was allowed to co-operate with her husband in the sacrifice. Vide Tai. Br. I 6. 5, Śat. Br. II. 5. 2, 20, Kātyāyana Śr. V. 5. 6-10.

As against the high eulogy and considerate treatment of women a few passages unfavourable to women may be cited. We have already seen (p. 503) how woman was said to be ‘falsehood’ incarnate (Maitrīyanīya S. I. 10. 11). Rg. VIII. 33. 17 says ‘the mind of woman is uncontrollable’; Rg. X. 95. 15 and Śatapatha XI. 5. 1. 9 declare ‘there is no friendship with women and they have the hearts of hyænas’ (addressed to Purūravas about Urvaśī); Rg. V. 30. 9 ‘women are the weapons and army of the dāsa’. The Tai. S. VI. 5. 8. 2 Ṛṣṭ 7 says ‘therefore women are without strength, take no dāya (portion) and speak more weakly than even a wretched man’. This passage (which really refers to women not being entitled to a portion of Soma drink) is relied upon by Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 53) and 1244 by Manu IX. 18 for prescribing the entire dependence of women on men, for depriving them of a share on partition or inheritance and of the privilege of Vedic mantras. The Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 44. p. 446) says that woman, śūdra, a dog and a crow embody un-truth, sin and darkness (XIV. 1. 1. 31). The same Brāhmaṇa (IV. 4. 2. 13, S. B. E. vol. 26, p. 366) remarks ‘the wives being smitten (with ghee—the thunderbolt) and unmanned neither rule over themselves nor over dāya (share of property)’ 1245. Another passage of the Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 300) says ‘He thereby makes women to be dependent, whence women are sure to be attendant upon man’ (XIII. 2. 2. 4). These passages establish that even in Vedic times women were often looked down upon, had no share in property and were dependent. The passages about the character of women contain no more than what male cynics and critics of all times and in all countries have attributed to women such as ‘frailty, thy name is woman!’. In the Dharmaśāstra Literature the position of women became

1243. श्रीवि हि दृष्ट आयुद्धानि चन्ते विकि स कर्मकार्यो अत्य स्मानः। स्म. V. 39. 9; तस्सालानि नितिनिस्थिति अद्वायसीर्येपं पाभावक्त उपतितां वदितः। वै. सं. VI. 5. 8. 2.

1244. नितिनिस्थितः अद्वायाच्छियो मता इत्य श्रुतिः। गौ. घ. च. II. 2. 53; नारित विशेषाऽन्ति गान्ति इत्य वचनस्वतिः। नितिनिस्थितः अद्वायाल्यो दिन्योक्तः नितितिः। मधु. IX. 18.

1245. श्रीवि हि दृष्ट आयुद्धानि चन्ते विकि स कर्मकार्यो अत्य स्मानः। स्म. V. 39. 9; तस्सालानि नितिनिस्थिति अद्वायसीर्येपं पाभावक्त उपतितां वदितः। वै. सं. VI. 5. 8. 2.
worse and worse as time went on, except as to rights of property. Gaut. 13. 1, Vas. Dh. S. V. 1 and 3, Manu V. 146-148 and IX. 2-3, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 50-52, Nārada (dāyabhāga 31)—all declare 1346 that women are not independent, but dependent in all matters on men and that in childhood, after marriage and in old age they are to be guarded by the father, the husband and the son respectively. Manu (IX. 2-3) refers to rakṣā (i.e. protection against harm or calamity), while Manu V. 146-148 declare a woman’s dependence even in all domestic matters at all stages of her life on some male. Nārada (dāyabhāga vv. 23-30) adds 1347 when a widow is sonless, her husband’s relatives are the controlling authority as regards her maintenance, the application (of the husband’s property) and guarding her against harm; if there be no relative or sapinda of the husband, then a woman’s father’s family has control of her; the creator assigned dependence to women as women even of good family fall into ruin by independence”. It has been seen above (pp. 561-562) that a woman’s only concern was to serve her husband, and that she could perform other observances or undertake fasts and pilgrimages only with her husband’s permission. Vide Hemādri (Vrata-khanda, part i. p. 362 where several texts are quoted including Märkaṇḍeysapurāṇa 16. 61). 1348

In the Mahābhārata, in the Manu-smṛti, in other smṛtis and the purāṇas women are charged with serious moral lapses. A few typical and striking passages from the great epic are

1346. अत्वत्वत्वान घोरं क्री. नौतम 18. 1; अस्त्वत्वत्वान ग्री पुष्पमधवा। वचिक V. 1; अस्त्वत्वत्वान ग्री खिंचवनान हालयेन सैलिनानिष्ठए। ग्रीजेशु च सत्यं देहं संप्रदया अत्वत्वत्व ग्री।

1347. दूरे वर्त्युज्ञानो गतिप्रक्ष: प्रत्यक्षः ब्रह्म। ग्रीवियोगभिष्ञ्ज्यात्र भरणे स व इन्द्र: || प्रतिक्रियये परिष्कृते ग्रीवित्ते निग्रीवते ग्रीनिश्रे्य:। वर्त्युज्ञाने वानस्तु ग्रीविप्रक्षः प्रत्यक्षः ब्रह्म। राज्यः अस्त्वत्वत्ववायस्मात्त्र मातन्तिनिष्ठत्वः। नार्द्व (दायभागकारण) vv. 28-30. मेघाशिनीलोके मन्दूर V. 147 quote the half verse तत्वषीयं रितम्: and add another half verse “उक्तानव- चाकने तु राजा मद्य भिन्न मरे”, which makes the king the ultimate protector of all women who have no male guardians in the husband’s or father’s family.

1348. नार्द्व ब्रह्मणां दूर्गृहकहा न भाः नात्यनापिनितया। मर्दूत्मणायेता तोर्कानिष्टान भलिति हि। मर्दूत्मणाय 16. 61.

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cited below. The Sūtrakāra concludes that women are untruth (Anuśāsana 19. 6); 'there is nothing more wicked than women, who are the edge of a razor, poison, snake and fire in one' (Anuśāsana 38. 12 and 29); there may be at most one pativrata in hundreds of thousands of women (Anuśāsana 19. 93); 'women are really uncontrollable but remain within bounds as regards their husbands simply because other men do not woo them and because they are afraid of servants' (Anuśāsana 38. 16); vide also Anuśāsana chap. 38. 24–25, chap. 39. 6–7 (women have the tricks of the demons Śāmbara, Namuci and others). The Rāmāyaṇa is not behind the Great Epic in condemning women 'This is the character of women seen in the three worlds viz. they are renegades from Dharma, fickle, cruel and create estrangement' (Aranyakānda 45. 29–30). In an uncharitable mood Manu (IX. 14–15) gives to women the following character 'they are lascivious, fickle-minded, devoid of love and come to dislike their husbands and resort to another man, whether handsome or ugly, simply because he is a man,' 'It is the nature of women to tempt men; therefore the wise do not act heedlessly with young women, who are able to lead a man astray whether he be learned or not' (Manu II. 213–214 = Anuśāsana 48. 37–38). Brhat-Parāśara (Jīvānanda's Collection, part 2, p. 121) says that the passion of women is eightfold of that of men. In modern times old men, though they might not know much of the śāstras, are often in the habit of repeating a verse which contains a list of the faults of women 'falsehood, thoughtless action, trickery, folly, great greed, impurity—these are the natural faults of women.'

There are some writers who even in ancient times could not bear the undeserved censure of women and most vigorously

1349. Anuśāsana 20. 14 is a sharp angrily worded verse in Anuśāsana. Anuśāsana 20. 5–6 refers to Rāmāyaṇa 1. 2. 27 (Māyā is running away with the bow and arrow). Anuśāsana 19. 6–7 (the first half probably refers to Manu IX. 18 or Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 52–53) Anuśāsana 19. 12–29.

1350. Anuśāsana 38. 5–6 is almost the same as Rāmāyaṇa 14. 52–53. Anuśāsana 38. 5–6 is almost the same as Rāmāyaṇa 14. 52–53. Anuśāsana 19. 6–7.


protested against the injustice of these accusations. Varāhamihira (6th century A. D.) in his Bṛhat-Saṃhitā chap. 74 (ed. by Kern) makes a spirited defence of women and eulogises them highly. He first says that on women depend dharma and artha and from them man derives the pleasures of sense and the blessing of sons, that they are the Lakṣmī (goddess of Prosperity) of the house and should be always given honour and wealth. He then condemns those who following the path of asceticism and other-worldliness proclaim the demerits of women and are silent about their virtues and pertinently asks: 'tell me truly, what faults attributed to women have not been also practised by men? Men in their audacity treat women with contempt, but they really possess more virtues (than men).’ He then cites the dicta of Manu in support (verses 7–10). "One’s mother or one’s wife is a woman; men owe their birth to women; O ungrateful wretches, how can happiness be your lot when you condemn them? The śāstras declare that both husband and wife are equally sinful if they prove faithless to the marriage vow; men care very little for that śāstra (while women do care); therefore women are superior to men. Oh! how great is the audacity of wicked men who heap abuse on women that are pure and blameless, like robbers who while themselves stealing raise a hue and cry ‘stop, O thief!’ Man in privacy utters words of cajolry to woman, but there are no such words after the woman dies; while women, in gratitude, clasp the corpses of their husbands and enter the fire.” It may be said that, barring great poets like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti, in the classical period

1353. रुपवक्षनां अवविलक्तं दूषयार्थपंस्तकैर्य शुभां विद्याय। है कुल्लग्न मे भलो निरस्त। शुभार्धिकाठाना महत्तत स्त्रिया चोकन्त। आया संसार अनुभि त देवस्मनक्ति। क्रोधी च शुभाः। है कुल्लक्ष्यान्तिन्त्रुं कुत्ता व: कृत्यः शुभाः। अहो पात्रविनयपुर्वत निवृत्तमन्यिन्यमित्र। शुभांसमावित चार्याण्ऑ नित्य चैरिवितिः अवनाविः। शुभाचर्यान्तिनां कामिनीयं कुरु हानिचते न तानि प्रेमाय मूक्ष्या संतुष्टकाश्च अविितिस्त समाकिष्म। ॥ शुभांमित्र 74. 5, 6, 11, 15, 16. Verses 7 and 9 are the same as Band. gr. II. 2. 63–64 and verse 10 is Manu III. 58; verses 7–8 are almost the same as Vātis. 25. 4 and 9.

1354. फाल्तुक्ष in and सहर्षुति both depict in very delicate and romantic terms the relation between a loving husband and wife. "पुरुषो शर्यत्सहीनान् सीधा मित्रा वियक्तिका ग्राहते काव्यतिया। कथा विभक्तेऽर्थक्लेण शुभाः इत्यादि को हि न मे शुभाः। "पुस्तकूं शुष्कम दंडः शृङ्खला व ड्रात्गुणार्थं न व भासा ज्ञाना श्रेयाभिषेककिव या। श्रीवास तत्त्व-धाराय शुभाभिविधियों नल्लोपर्याक्ष नित्य नाल्लोपर्याक्ष IV. Vide also the well-known verse अद्वीतेः शृङ्खलानविषयां और्तिः शुष्कवः, which in the
Varāhamihira's was rather a solitary voice raised in defence of women and in the appreciation of their worth.

In the midst of this dark picture and undeserved condemnation of woman there is one very bright spot, viz. the high eulogy of and the reverence for the mother in all smṛti works. Gaut. (II. 56) first says that the acārya (one's teacher of the Veda) is the highest among gurus, while some teachers hold that the mother is the highest. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 10. 28. 9 prescribes that a son must always serve his mother even if she has been an outcast (for some great sin), since the mother undertakes for her son numerous (troublesome) actions. Baudh. Dh. S. (II. 2. 48) requires the son to maintain his mother, even though an outcast, without speaking to her. Vas. Dh. S. 13. 47 says 'a father who is an outcast may be abandoned, but a mother (though patita) is never an outcast to the son.' The acārya exceeds by his greatness ten upādhyāyas, the father exceeds a hundred acāryas, a mother exceeds a thousand fathers' says Manu II. 145 (= Vas. Dh. S. 13.48). Śaṅkha-Likhita1356 give a very salutary piece of advice 'the son should not take sides (in a quarrel) between his father and mother: indeed he may (if he chooses) speak on the side of the mother alone, since the mother bore him (in her womb) and nourished him; the son, while living, would never be free from the debt he owes to his mother except by the performance of the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice.' Yāj. I. 35 holds that the mother is superior to the guru, acārya and upādhyāya. The Anuśasana parva1357 (105. 14–16) says that 'the mother excels in her greatness ten fathers or even the whole earth; there is no guru like the mother.' Śāntiparva chap. 267 contains a very high eulogy of the mother. Atri 151 says that there is no guru higher than the mother. The great

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1355. आचार्यं अविरोधं सुख्यं नाबदेवे। सौ. II. 56। भावा युद्धवर्य सुपरमि
क्षणामयः संस्कृतं यथा स्वरूपं निर्माया पुरुसवरामिने। आप. ग. सू. I. 10. 28. 9। पति सत्तवमि हु
भार्तर्विन्दुस्वातानुभावमुमानम्। भाव. च. सू. II. 2. 48। पति सत्तव मित्रारि पारिसवरे। भावा तु
हुवे न पवित्तिः। विश्वे 13. 47।

1356. न मनाविविदात्तरं न मनोहसु। काम महाभासिकानुभासति विपारिता प्रवशी व।
न हुवे। मन्निरादिवृहत्तिन महाभासिकानुभासतानां। हुविविदात्तिन। निर्देशित। सं. म. प. 479। विदे रि. वि. 35।

1357. Vide Śāntiparva 108. 16–18 for verses very like अविदःसन।

105. 14–16। नासित महास्नम क्षयम् नासित मातस्मा मातस्मा। नासित महास्नम् वर्षे मातस्मा मातस्मा।
मातस्मा मिवास। शाल्वा 267. 31। 'भावा युद्धवर्य सुन्दे। वर्षे 313. 60। नासित वेदवर्य
काम मातस्मा मातस्मा परियुक्त। नासित स्वर्समन्वित स्वर्सम्बन्धी नासित मातस्मा। अभि 151। नासित
सर्देशिको चवो नासित मातस्मा। शाल्वा 343. 18।
Pāṇḍava heroes pay the highest honour to their mother Kuntī. The Adiparvā chap. 37 says that one may avert the consequences of all curses, but a mother’s curse can never be averted.¹³⁵⁸

Reading all that has been said in favour of and against women in ancient Sanskrit Literature it may be said that the higher minds of Hindu Society were quite aware of the worth of women, that they insisted on chastity as the highest virtue for them, that there was no doubt an undercurrent among common people of poor opinion about women, that those who valued an ascetic life and wanted to wean people away from worldly ties and attachments looked down upon women (‘vairāgyamārgaṇa’ as Varāhamihira happily puts it) and exaggerated their faults. It has to be borne in mind that many of the passages condemning women are put in the mouth of persons who were for some reason or other angry with women or wronged by them or dissatisfied with their conduct. Further in assessing passages disparaging the character of women one maxim of the Pūrvamāṁśa system must not be lost sight of. The maxim is stated by Śābara (on Jaimini II. 4. 21) as follows:¹³⁵⁹ the purpose of a text censoring anything is not censure pure and simple, but the purpose is to enjoin the performance of the opposite of what is censured and to praise such performance’. The object therefore of the authors that censured women was to inculcate the great value of chastity and obedience for women and not merely to paint a dark picture of them.

The rights of women as regards partition and inheritance will be discussed in detail later on. But a brief statement about them may be made here. Āp., Manu, and Nārada do not allow the widow of a sonless male to succeed as heir, while Gaut. 28. 19 appears to contemplate that she is an heir along with sapindas or sagotras. That the widow’s right to succeed as heir to her deceased husband was not recognised in ancient

¹³⁵⁸. सर्वसंतेष पत्नियां मिलितातो हि निधने। न हु साराभिषेकां सम्बोध्य कथन निधने। आदिनव 37. 4.
¹³⁵⁹. मुनायव यथापि निदुर्धाकिसिंहमालिनिवनाचि। जै. II. 4. 21; ‘य हि निदुर्धानिदुर्धानिदुर्धानि महुनते। किं ताहि। निदुर्धानिदुर्धानिदुर्धानिदुर्धानि तत्र न निदुर्धानिदुर्धानि मन्तिष्ठे किं किं निक्षत्रं निधने।’ सहर (p. 640); the tattvikika on जै. I. 2. 7. (p. 115) has ‘यथा वर्धाते न हि निदुर्धानिदुर्धानिदुर्धानि मन्तिष्ठे अपि तु निधने स्वासम्य।’ Vide आन्नाधिनी on बुद्धवार्तकम्मेणगारिक p. 808 for the same maxim.
times is clear from the Śākuntala (Act VI) where the minister writes to the king that the estate of a merchant dying at sea will escheat to the crown and will not go to his widow. Yāj. II. 135. mentions the widow as the first heir of a sonless man dying separate; Viṣṇu, Kātyāyana and others say the same. So in medieval times the rights of widows to property were better recognized than in the times of the early sūtra writers. In this respect the position of women improved in medieval times, though in the religious and other spheres their position became worse, as they were equated with śūdras. Yāska while explaining Rg. I. 124. 7 states that in the southern countries the widow of a sonless man goes to an assembly hall, stands upon a stool and when the members strike her with dice she gets the property of her deceased husband. This implies that in Northern India widows did not succeed to their husband’s property in Yāska’s time.

1360. अभावते िसंत एवंि मदानी परिवर्तिन सनखे धनाणां। नी. I. 124. 7; नर्ति रूढळिनीच पालवाच्य व्यासिनाघात। नर्ति: समार्थङ्गः शुभावः श्रुतिः। संपर्वभवो भवति। त सव या अहम। या अष्टिका सा अपोभाति वा तत्र अवेग आम्रणिता सा विषय हृदये। नित्यः III. 5.
CHAPTER XII

THE DUTIES OF A WIDOW, SOME PRIVILEGES OF WOMEN AND THE PURDA SYSTEM

Vidhavādharmāḥ

So far the social position and the duties and rights of a wife during her husband’s lifetime have been considered. We shall now consider the rules laid down for a wife if she has the heavy misfortune to become a widow. 1361

The word vidhavā occurs several times in the Rgveda (e.g. IV. 18. 12, X. 18. 7, X. 40. 2 and 8); but these passages contain very little that is indicative of their condition in society except Rg. X. 40. 2 (vide under niyoga). Rg. I. 87. 3 1362 says ‘in the rapid movements of the Maruts the earth trembles like a woman deprived of her husband.’ That shows that widows trembled either from sorrow or from fear of molestation and ill-treatment.

The Baud. Dh. S. 1363 II. 2. 66-68 prescribes that the widow of the departed should give up for one year honey, meat, wine and salt and should sleep on the ground; according to Maudgalya (she should so act) for six months; after that period, if she is sonless, she may procreate a son from her brother-in-law if the elders consent.’ Vas. Dh. S. (17. 55-56) contains similar provisions. Manu (V. 157-160) contains rules that have been repeated in almost all smṛtis ‘a woman when her husband is dead, may, if she chooses, emaciate her body by subsisting on flowers, roots and fruits, but she should not even take the name of a stranger male. Till her death she should be forbearing, observe vows, should be celibate and should hanker after that super-eminent code of conduct that is prescribed for women devoted to their husbands. On her husband’s death, if a virtuous woman abides by the rule of celibacy, she goes to heaven though she be sonless, as the ancient perpetual


1362. शैलेन्द्र्य-विन्ययार रक्तावरुण सुमृतमिनित्र परुसुपि थरे । श्र. I. 87. 3.

1363. संस्कृतमें आत्मनी मुहाकायमिहत्य यज्ञशैल्य: अपेतं । जपानविनिति मौलयः । अत अभिषुधोपक्षमन वेदर्ष जनपदमनुष्यम् । वी. प. सू. II. 2. 66-68.
students (like Sanaka) did'. Kātyāyana\textsuperscript{1364} similarly provides
'a sonless widow preserving the bed of her husband (unsullied)
and residing with her elders and being self-controlled (or
forbearing) should enjoy her husband's property till her death;
after her the heirs of her husband would get it. A widow
engrossed in religious observances and fasts, abiding by the
vow of celibacy, always bent on restraining her senses and
making gifts would go to heaven even though sonless.' Parāśara
IV. 31 is almost the same as Manu V. 160. Bṛhaspati\textsuperscript{1365} says
'the wife is declared to be half of a man's body, she participates
equally in the husband's merit and sin; a virtuous wife,
whether she burns herself on her husband's funeral fire or lives
after him, tends to the (spiritual) benefit of her husband'.
Vyādha-Hārīta (XI. 205-210) prescribes what a widow should
do all her life. 'She should give up adorning her hair, chewing
betel-nut, wearing perfumes, flowers, ornaments and dyed
clothes, taking food from a vessel of bronze, taking two meals
a day, applying collyrium to her eyes; she should wear a white
garment, should curb her senses and anger, she should not
resort to deceits and tricks, should be free from laziness and
sleep, should be pure and of good conduct, should always
worship Hari, should sleep on the ground at night on a mat of
kuśa grass, she should be intent on concentration of mind and
on the company of the good.' Bāṇa in his Harṣa-carīta (VI, last
para) indicates that widows did not apply eye-salve to their
eyes nor rocanā (yellow pigment) to their face and simply
tied their hair.\textsuperscript{1366} Pracetas\textsuperscript{1367} forbids to an ascetic and
a widow the chewing of betel leaves, ceremonial bath (with oil
&c.) and taking meal in a vessel of bell-metal. The Ādiparva
(160. 12) says 'just as birds flock to a piece of flesh left on
the ground, so all men woo (or try to seduce) a woman whose

\textsuperscript{1364.} अनुभव श्रवण समाह कालासहिती यस्य श्रवणम्। 
धर्मांशद्विजस्य नाथार्थर्भविष्यता 
वित्तीय नानाधनर्विवेकार्यां तथा विषयाय वस्त्रयिता।
\textsuperscript{1365.} कृतिराष्ट्र यजुर्वेद यजुर्वेदव्याख्या प्रणव।
अवधादात जीवितते तं साध्यं 
आधिज्ञातिः सति उदयवत्त्वा 
\textsuperscript{1366.} जनित्विदेश्याय दिक्ष्यन्ति विरदेश्याय विद्याविषयाय 
विद्याविस्तारी शिखरमधुमेधिष्विन्धुयाय 
\textsuperscript{1367.} ताम्भुसाधारणेऽस्त्रयो विनोदनम्। 
विभव नास्थाचारी विभवं विद्वान अ विनोदीतुः।
husband is dead"; while the Šāntiparva (148. 2) remarks "all widows are in sorrow even if they have many sons." The Skandapurāṇa (Kaśikhaṇḍa, chap. 4, vv. 71–106 and III Brahmāranyya section chap. 7, vv. 67–81) has long passages on the duties of widows, many verses from which are quoted in the Madanapārījata (pp. 202–203), the Nirṇayasindhu, Dharmasindhu and other nibandhas. A few striking verses may be translated here. The Skandapurāṇa (III, Brahmāranyya section chap. 7, verses 50–51) says 'The widow is more inauspicious than all other inauspicious things; at the sight of a widow no success can be had in any undertaking; excepting one's (widowed) mother all widows are void of auspiciousness; a wise man should avoid even their blessings like the poison of a snake.' The Kaśikhaṇḍa of the same purāṇa, chap. 4, delivers itself thus 'the tying up into a braid of the hair by the widow leads to the bondage of the husband; therefore a widow should always shave her head. She should always take one meal a day and never a second; or she may perform the observance of fast for a month or undergo the penance of cāndrāyana. A widow who sleeps on a cot would make her husband fall (in hell). A widow should never wash her body with fragrant unguents nor should enjoy the fragrance of sweet smelling things; she should everyday perform tarpāṇa with sesame, water and kuśa grass for her husband, his father and grandfather after repeating their names and gotra; she should not sit in a bulboc cart even when about to die, she should not put on a bodice, should not wear dyed garments and should observe special vows in Vaiśākha, Kartika and Māgha.' The verse 'vidhavā-kabari-bandho &c' (Skanda,
Kāśikhandā 4.74) is the only verse on which the medieval writers rely for prescribing continual tonsure of widows. That chapter begins by extolling the pativratā (Brhaspati does it with regard to Lopamudrā, the wife of Agastya). It passes one's understanding why when a pativratā whose husband is living is before Brhaspati he should wax eloquent over the duties of widows (verses 71-106). Therefore this portion appears to be an interpolation in the Skandapurāṇa itself. In Lakshmibai v. Rancandra I. L. R. 22 Bom. 590, it was held that the text 'vidhāvā-kabari-bandho' is of doubtful validity (p. 594). Besides 69 verses of this chapter 4 are common to chap. 7 of the Dharmārāṇya section of the Skandapurāṇa (III) which precedes it. There is no reason why they should have been repeated. The Nirṇayasindhu quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa as cited in the Pṛthvīcandrodaya to the effect that śrāddha food should not be got prepared by a widow belonging to another gotra.1371

The position of the Hindu widow was miserable and her lot was most unenviable. She was looked upon as inauspicious and so could take part in no festivities, such as those on marriage. She had not only to lead a life of perfect celibacy, even if she was a child widow, but she had to act like an ascetic, being poorly fed (only once a day) and poorly clad. Her rights to property were negligible. Even if the husband died sonless she did not originally succeed as shown above (p. 582). Later on her position as an heir was improved; but even then she could ordinarily enjoy only the income of the property and could transfer it only for the legal necessities of the family (including herself) or for the spiritual benefit of her husband. In a joint Hindu family a widow had only the right of maintenance (except in Bengal where she had more rights), which would be forfeited if she became unchaste and persisted in that course.1372 If she returned to a moral life then she may be entitled to bare starving maintenance (vide above p. 573). If her husband had separate property and left a son or sons, the widow was only entitled to maintenance. This was the law in British India till very recently. Recently the position of the

widow of a member in a joint Hindu family and of the widow of a person who leaves separate property has been improved by Act XVIII of 1937 as amended by Act XI of 1938.

One subject that arouses bitter controversies is the practice of tonsuring widows among brāhmanas and certain other castes. A few words must be said on this. It is clear from the verse (vidhavā-kabari-bandho &c.) of the Skandapurāṇa quoted in the Madanapārījāta and other nibandhas that for some time at least before the 14th century A. D. (when the Madanapārījāta was composed) tonsure of widows was in vogue. How and exactly when this practice arose cannot be established with certainty. That it is comparatively a later innovation can, however, be demonstrated. Two distinct propositions have to be made out, first, that widows were tonsured on the death of their husbands, just as sons were tonsured and secondly, that widows were required by the texts to tonsure themselves continually from time to time till their death, though sons who had to tonsure themselves on their father’s death are not required to do so afterwards. The advocates of this practice rely upon three Vedic passages, viz. Rg. X. 40. 2, Ṛg. M. Pātha I. 4. 9, and Atharvaveda 14.2. 60, Rg. X. 40. 2 (cited below p. 606) refers to vidhavā only and probably to niyoga, but there is nothing about tonsure in that verse. Some modern orthodox Pandits ingeniously argue from the explanation of the word ‘vidhavā’ in the Nirukta (III. 15 vidhāvanād-vā iti Carmaśirāḥ). Carmaśiras is the name of a former teacher according to all commentators of the Nirukta, but these pandits interpret it by a tour de force as a synonym of vidhavā (‘having only the bare skin on her head’). About this interpretation the less said the better. Ṛg. M. P. I. 5. 9 contains the word ‘vikeśi’ which is translated as the appellation of a female goblin in S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 187 ‘mayst thou not be beaten at thy breast by she goblin, the rough haired one’; Even taking ‘vikeśi’ as referring to the maiden who is being married the meaning is ‘mayst thou, with dishevelled hair, not beat thy breast (through grief)’. The word ‘vikeśi’ does not mean ‘a widow whose hair is tonsured’; it ordinarily means ‘a woman

1373. ना ते दक्षिण वीषाच तत्त्वज्ञानम् संस्कारद्। न ते समेकहु आ-
पदयाह जीवनात्मी परमांगे के विशाल ५२ रूपास्मि भाइ स्मार्तस्वस्मात्। आप. म. पत्र. I. 5. 9.
Vide आप. श्र. V. 1 where this श्रेष्ठ along with others is prescribed for offering śūlūṣas in the marriage rite. It is also employed for the same purpose in विशाल श्र. I. 19. 7, भारद्वाज श्र. I. 14.
with dishevelled hair'. The third passage is Atharvaveda\textsuperscript{1374} 14. 2. 60, that is a verse in a marriage hymn which means 'if this daughter of thine has bewailed with loosened hair in thy house, doing evil by her wailing, from that sin let Agni and Savitri release thees'. Here it is impossible to hold that 'vikēśi' means tonsured, as this mantra is part of the marriage hymn and Agni is asked to remove the blemish due to the girl's weeping at the approaching prospect of separation from her parents. There is no comment of Sāyaṇa on this passage but elsewhere in the Atharvaveda when that word occurs as in Atharva XI. 9. 14 he paraphrases it by 'vikīrṇakeśi' which does not mean 'with tonsured hair' but only 'having dishevelled hair'. Therefore there is no reference whatever to the tonsure of widows in the Veda, much less an injunction as to it. In the Baud. Pitṛmedhasūtra,\textsuperscript{1375} elaborate rules are laid down about the cremation of one who had kindled the sacred Vedic fires. In I. 4. 3 it is said 'his wives led by the youngest should follow the cortege with dishevelled hair and throwing dust on their shoulders' and this they have to repeat several times (vide I. 4. 12–13, I. 5. 5–7, I. 5. 12–14) on the way to the cemetery. It is also said that they go round (the corpse) thrice with their hair gathered together (I. 4. 13). Then in I. 12. 7 shaving of the hair and moustache is prescribed for the close relatives of the deceased (āmatyas) who are present, his wives are not mentioned in this connection and II. 3. 17 expressly forbids tonsure of wives.

Manu and Yāj. dilate on the duties of widows, but they are entirely silent about tonsure. Nor does any other ancient smṛti refer to it. On the contrary Vṛddha-Hārīta (XI. 206 quoted above p. 584) asks the widow not to deck her hair, among other things which she is not to do. This makes it clear that the widows kept their hair. The word 'keśaraṇājanam' is to be dissolved as 'keśāṇām raṇjanam' and not as 'keśāśca raṇjanam ca' (as Vṛddha-Hārīta XI. 103 makes it clear by employing 'keśāṇām raṇjanārtham vā'). It can be shown that

\textsuperscript{1374} यद्रां शुभिता तस्वि विनिधेष्यदुधेण्डे सेरतेन जन्त्रययथ। अमिन्द्र वन्म्यादेणसः क्षितात च भवतात् "अभावं 14. 2. 60.

\textsuperscript{1375} अत्र नाति: कसिद्धस्वर्गः प्रकरिष्ठस्वर्गो वेदेऽः पांशूपांश्यायानात्: ‘हलचर्धः सवायम् नो एवम्’ विद्विदा वै विवेदेष्य। 1. 4. 3; एवमाहम् एव विषय संस्कर्त शेषाज विगते विद्विदा माति परिवर्तिता। 1. 4. 13; एवमिकानित्वायामात्प्रवः केलेक्षुष्णो अवपिदे वै सन्नग्नाति: भवित्वादि 1. 12. 7; य स्मां देववेदयां विवेदेता व विविधिता हि उपनिधि पृथवीस्वर्गाः पांशूपनि वर्ततीति विद्विदाव। 1. 11. 17.
at least kṣatriya widows never tonsured their head. In the Mahābhārata whenever the widows of the fallen warriors are described they are always referred to as ‘having dishevelled hair’ and there is not a single reference to tonsure of widows. In the Harṣacarita, Harṣa in his soliloquy on the death of his father Prabhākaravardhana says ‘may the Glory of super-eminent man-hood tie up her hair in the way in which widows tie up their hair’. In the Pehoa praśasti of king Mahendrapāla of Kanoj (E. I. vol. 1. p. 246 verse 16) the widows of his enemies are spoken of as shedding tears on their cheeks and having long (not braided) and profuse tresses.

The orthodox pandits rely on a verse in Vedavyāsa-smṛti II. 53 ‘a brāhmaṇa woman should enter fire, clasping the dead body of her husband; if she lives (does not become sañj) she being tyaktakeṣā should emaciate her body by tapas’. The reading ‘brāhmaṇa’ for ‘jivantī’ is not good, as the word ‘brāhmaṇa’ is redundant having occurred in the first half and as the second half refers to the fact of her surviving after her husband. In this verse the injunction relates only to the emaciation of the body (soṣayet), the word ‘tyaktakeṣā’ being only an attribute of the subject is no part of the predicate, which alone is enjoined. The general rule laid down by the Mīmāṃsā is (III.1.13–15, the grahaikatvanyāya) that the attributes of a subject are no part

1376. e. g. ‘मृत्युक्तिः कौशल्याः कृष्णिकर्षिक्ष नायन। श्रीपुर्ण 16. 18 (तान्त्रिक describes her daughters-in-law); ‘मृत्युक्तिः मृत्युक्तिः कृष्णिकर्षिक्ष नायन।’

1377. वदसन ब्राह्मणिः ब्राह्मणिः। हर्षचरित V. (5th para from end); vide हर्षचरित VI. last para quoted above in note 1366.

1378. करलकोनिकर्षिकर्षिक्ष नायन। सिद्धिज्ञातार्थिकर्षिकर्षिक्ष नायन। (E. I. vol. 1. p. 246 verse 16).

1379. दुर्ग वर्णकर्षिके श्रमाध्याय शास्त्राध्याय जीवनी (v. I. नाथाई) जैव

1380. The grahaikatvanyaya is as follows: The text यदृ संसारं does not mean that a single sacrificial vessel is to be cleansed, but rather that all are to be cleansed. The singular number (in grahaḥ) is an attribute of the subject about which cleansing is predicated and so it is no part of the injunction. Vide my notes to the Vyāvahāra-mayūkha pp. 83–84,121–122, where examples of the application of this maxim are given. The Pandits try to apply the rules in Jaimini III. 3. 34 16, but those rules are inapplicable, since in the passage of Veda-Vyāsa there is a verb in the potential mood, while in the veda sentence interpreted in Jaimini III. 3. 34–46 there is no verb in the potential mood.
of the injunction. There is no injunction about keśa (hair) in the VedaVyāsa passage. Besides the word tyaktakeśā (who has given up hair) may possibly be made to yield three meanings, viz. (1) one who has given up or is unmindful of dressing or decking her hair, (2) one whose hair is given up in accordance with the prescription of some smṛtis that only two finger-breadths of tresses are to be cut off when doing penance for gowdaḥ &c. in the case of women (vide Parāśara IX. 54–55, Āṅgiras 163, Yama 54); (3) one whose head is tonsured. For the first meaning vide Raghuvamśa IX. 14 (where ‘analakām’ is explained by Mallinātha as ‘who have given up ornamenting the hair’). For this meaning of ‘tyakta’ vide Bhagavadgītā I. 33 ‘tyaktajjvitāh’. ‘Tyakta’ by itself never means tonsured. The third meaning will be only implied if at all, while the first two are the usual meanings. Further, the interpretation of the Veda-Vyāsa smṛti II. 53 given by the pandits is liable to the fault called vākyabheda (i.e. it lays down two injunctions in one and the same sentence), as they say that Veda-Vyāsa calls upon widows to tonsure themselves and to emaciate their body. Besides, if Veda-Vyāsa really meant to enjoin tonsure, the verse could easily have been made to read ‘jivantī ced vapat keśān tapasā &c.’ Lastly assuming that Veda-Vyāsa refers to tonsure, there is conflict among smṛtis, since Vṛddha-Hārīta (quoted above) allows her to keep her hair, and since an option results when two texts of equal authority conflict (Gaut. I. 5). 1381

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 325 quotes a text of Manu (not found in the printed Manu) ‘shaving of the hair is not desired in the case of learned men, the king and women, except in the case of one guilty of mahāpātaka or the killer of a cow and a brahma- cāri guilty of sexual intercourse.’ 1382 The Mit. nowhere refers to tonsure as one of the obligatory matters for widows.

The orthodox pandits further rely upon Ap. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 6, its explanation in the Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 and the explanation of the Mit. in the commentary, Bālamabhāṭṭi. Āpastamba’s sitra is delivered when the context is about cessation of Veda study (anadhvāya). Ap. says ‘(the student) shall cease studying Veda for 12 days if his mother, father or teacher dies. In the

1381. मुर्चमालीग्योध्व विकसिदि: नीतिम 1. 5.
1382. विद्विधधपपध्वायम नेप्ये केलवपमन:। कले सहीथवधि वोऽसुधारी। विशुन्ठिनयः।। इति अध्वपमन:। स्मितत । गा. पा. III. 325.
case of the death of these he must also bathe for the same number of days. Persons who are younger than (the relation deceased) must shave their hair. Some declare that students who have returned home on completion of brahmacarya shall never shave except when engaged in a śrauta sacrifice. In sattras even the top-lock must be shaved. In this there is no reference to women, much less to widows and lesser still to the tonsure of widows. The reference to śrauta sacrifices, sattas, and śikhā indicates that only males are in view. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 explains at length Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 6. It gives two senses of ‘anubhāvin’ viz. those who experience sorrow on the death of a person i. e. his sapinḍas (from the root ‘bhū’ with ‘anu,’ to experience) and those who are born after the deceased i. e. who are younger than the deceased (from ‘bhū’ with ‘anu’ to be born after). The Mit. then combines these and remarks ‘those sapinḍas of the deceased who are younger than the latter have to shave themselves on the death of a relative’. This is its own view. It then refers to the view of some that ‘anubhāvin’ in Āp. means ‘son’ and those latter rely on a restrictive text ‘shaving is declared on seven occasions only, viz. on the Ganges, in the Bhāskara-kṣetra, on the death of one’s parents or teacher, at the time of consecrating śrauta fires, and at the time of a soma sacrifice’. It is clear that the Mit. does not expressly mention the wife or widow here. Supposing that she is implied to refer to as a sapinḍa and as younger than her husband, this will at the most come to the requirement that on the death of the husband the wife had to undergo shaving, just as her son would have to do. But this passage cannot be used to support continual shaving of widows throughout life. Really ‘anubhāvinām’ in Āp. cannot include the wife; since if women were to be included by the rule of ekāśeṣa (vide Pāṇini I. 2. 67) the absurd conclusion would follow that the daughters of the deceased and his younger brother’s wives (who are all sapinḍas and younger) would have

1383. अनुभाविनाः च परिपावनतः। आप. प्र. त्रू. I. 3. 10. 6.

1384. वर्णं च केरालिनिस्यानुभाविनाः परिपावनाः। अनुभाविनाः च परिपावनम्। अपभिष्रोत। वर्णं कुशलाधिनीपरिपावनाः। परिपावनाः च परिपावनम्। अनुभाविनाः च परिपावनम्। अनुभाविनाः च परिपावनम्। अनुभाविनाः च परिपावनम्। अनुभाविनाः च परिपावनम्। अनुभाविनाः च परिपावनम्। अनुभाविनाः च परिपावनम्। अनुभाविनाः च परिपावनम्। अपभिष्रोत॥ आपाधारको लोको च वस्त्रं समास विचित्रम्। इति निवधंवर्तात॥ निला. सर. III. 17.
to be shaved. The Nirmayasindhu 1385 (composed in 1612 A. D.) and the Bālambhaṭṭī (composed towards the end of the 18th century) were both familiar with the tonsure of widows and so they interpret Āp. and the Mit. as requiring shaving for the wife on the 10th day after the death of the husband and rely on a text of Vyāsa quoted in Aparārka. The Bālambhaṭṭī says "the words 'on the death of the mother and father' are only illustrative and so the same rule applies to the husband's death." Even conceding all this far-fetched interpretation, there is no authority for the continual tonsure of widows throughout their lives in these passages. It may be noted that the Madanapārijāta 1386 which contains the verse (vidhavā-kabari-bandho &c. quoted above) does not include the widow among "anubhāvinām", but only male sapindas and sons.

The foregoing discussion leads to the following conclusions. There is no express Vedic authority for the tonsure of widows. The gṛhya or dharma sūtras do not refer to it; nor do important smṛtis like those of Manu and Yāj. If one or two smṛtis verses of doubtful import seem to refer to it, other smṛtis like Vyṛdda-Hārīta are to an opposite effect. Some of the smṛtis texts only refer, if at all, to one shaving on the husband's death, but there is no smṛti passage prescribing continual shaving for widows. There is only the Skandapurāṇa passage expressly requiring tonsure of widows. The Mit. and Aparārka are silent about it. It appears that the practice was gradually evolved after the 10th or 11th century. As widows were equated with gaitis for several injunctions (vide note 1367 above) and as the latter shaved themselves, widows were gradually required to do so. By rendering them ugly it might have been intended to keep them chaste. Probably the example of Buddhist and Jaina nuns may have also suggested the cruel practice. We find from the Cullavagga 1387 that Buddhist nuns

1385. अन्नवानिन: पुरुषवर्ण इवपेते। दुःख पन्ने च व पन्नं कुर्यवनरे भवानिगते। पिण्डपातनियोगिन्यां च कुर्यवन्यं समाहिता। तथेऽवरण्यो धारिते। (निर्वासिन्यः III, उत्तराण्यः 591; vide वाक-मन्त्री on भावविश्व (pp. 49-51 of Gharpure’s ed.)

1386. अत्र च परम् द्रवन्दानाविरिति सर्वं सामणोऽवै। दुःखवर्णसाधारण वर्णानुवधिः निवक्तवान्नैऽवै। श्रीगुरुविमुखकर्णां वर्णवीर्यः। दुःखवर्णसाधारण अनुसारिनोऽवै। निर्वासिन्यः प्रपतितम्। अनुसारिन्यः 415.

cut off their hair and put on orange-coloured robes. In Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇa widows a few years ago wore a garment that was reddish (and even now a few old widows do wear it). At all events the practice is not very old and hardly any digest before the Madanapārijāta (14th century) quotes the Skanda-purāṇa text. The practice is dying out and deserves to be suppressed at once, though strange insistence on it sometimes obtains public notoriety. Recently the worshippers in the famous shrine of Viṭhobā at Pandharpur in Mahārāṣṭra prevented an untensed brāhmaṇa widow from having darśana of the idol in the customary way i.e. by placing the head on the feet of the idol, while they were prepared to allow untensed widows of all castes (except the so-called untouchables), and even Hindu prostitutes in the keeping of Christians or Mahomedans to have darśana in that way. The matter came before a civil court, where it was decided in favour of the widow that no such discrimination could be allowed to prevail, but owing to certain unforeseen circumstances the case did not come before the Bombay High Court.

It would be of interest to many to learn that among one sect (the Tengalai) of the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas (followers of Rāma-nuṣa) tonsure of widows has been forbidden for centuries, though that sect is most orthodox in other matters.1388 The Śūrakalākara remarks that widows in Gauda keep their hair.1389

From very ancient times, it appears the idea was that women should not be killed on any account. The Śt. Br. (XI 4.3.2, S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 62) says1390 ‘people do not kill a woman, but rather take (anything) from her (leaving her) alive’. It was only the king who was authorised, according to Viṣvarūpa, to punish a woman to death for adultery with a man of a very low caste (vide Gaut. and Manu VIII 371 quoted above on p. 572), but the king had to undergo a slight penance for doing this (vide Yāj. III. 263). Manu XI.190 ordains that one who killed a woman was not to be associated with, even after he performed the requisite penance. Manu IX.232 calls

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1388. Vide Indian Antiquary vol. III pp. 136-137 for passages quoted from many works forbidding the tonsure of widows.
1389. अद एव मानकालाकान्ति विषवाय विषया, विषया हृदयेत। भूयां मया मानवं प्रतिव यथा विनविना एवमद्वेव त्रिव। सत्सर्वम् X1. 4. 3. 2.
1390. क्रीण नैरायण मन्त्राय विषयं प्रतिपद्यत्त ध्याय जीवव्यवं एवादृव्ये क्रिण। सत्सर्वम् XI. 4. 3. 2.
upon the king to punish with death those who murder women, children and brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhārata frequently refers to this chivalrous rule. Ādiparva\textsuperscript{1391} 158. 31 says 'those who know dharma declare that women are not to be killed'. The Sābhāparva 41. 13 prescribes 'one's weapons should not be directed against women, cows, brāhmaṇas, against one who gave livelihood or shelter'. In the Sāntiparva (135. 14) even thieves are instructed not to kill women. Vide also Ādi. 155. 2, 217. 4, Vanaprāra 206. 46. The Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakanda) also breathes this sentiment, when Rāma was called upon to kill the ogress Tātākā.

Even for the most serious offence of adultery with a man of a low caste Yāj. II. 286 prescribes for the woman the punishment of cutting the ear &c. Similarly Vṛddha-Hārīta VII. 192 prescribes the cutting of the nose, ear and lip for attempt to murder the husband or her foster. Vide Yāj. II. 278–279 for the sentence of death in the case of women for certain offences.

It has been seen how women gradually lost the privilege of upanayana, of studying the Veda, of having all the samākāras performed with Vedic mantras and how they came to be regarded as entirely dependent on men. Their position became assimilated to that of the śūdras\textsuperscript{1392} in many matters. A few examples will be cited here. All dvijātis were to sip water thrice (ācamana) for purifying their body, but women and śūdras were to sip water only once for that purpose (Manu V. 139, Yāj. I. 21). The dvijātis were\textsuperscript{1393} to take their bath to the accompaniment of Vedic mantras, while women and śūdras were to bathe silently. Śūdras and women were to perform what is called āmaśrāddha (i.e. śrāddha without cooked food).\textsuperscript{1394} The same penance was prescribed for killing a śūdra or a woman (Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 11–12, Parāśara VI. 16). Ordinarily women, children and very old men could not be witnesses (Yāj.

\textsuperscript{1391} अन्धन्व तिय दृष्टान्तोप्या तथापिभव परमसत्ताय। आदिपर्व 158. 31; सौरव भवन्ति न रक्षणी पात्रविना डाक्तकरूः च। गव्यां जायध्य भवति यज्ञ च शताप्तत्तिर्ययः। सबयार्य 41. 15.

\textsuperscript{1392} 'वियोदकम् समायना! हि द्वितीयाः' व्याय. म. प. 112; विज्ञानिक विद्यात्मकांतानांविद्यात्मकाः। वन्दित विद्यामिकाः श्रीविंद्रनाथां। विद्यापूर्व वीर्य प्रदर्शित, प. 231.

\textsuperscript{1393} अन्धन्व तिय दृष्टान्तोप्या तथापिभव परमसत्ताय। आदिपर्व 158. 31; सौरव भवन्ति न रक्षणी पात्रविना डाक्तकरूः च। गव्यां जायध्य भवति यज्ञ च शताप्तत्तिर्ययः। सबयार्य 41. 15.

\textsuperscript{1394} भवन्ति: वियोदकम् समायनां तथा शताप्तिष्ठानां। आदिपर्व 158. 31; सौरव भवन्ति न रक्षणी पात्रविना डाक्तकरूः च। गव्यां जायध्य भवति यज्ञ च शताप्तिष्ठानां। सबयार्य प्रदर्शित, प. 231.
II. 70, Nārada, ṛṇāda, vv. 178, 190, 191), but Manu VIII. 68, 70, Yāj. II. 72, and Nārada, ṛṇāda 155 allowed women to be witnesses in disputes between women or when no other witness could be had or in the cases of theft, adultery and other offences in which force was an element. Documents taken from or transactions (particularly gift, sale and mortgage of lands or houses) made with women were ordinarily to be treated as voidable like those brought about by force or fraud (vide Nārada, ṛṇāda 26, 137, Yāj. II. 31). But this instead of being regarded as a disability was rather a boon owing to the general illiteracy of women. The Tristhālīṣṭu (of Nārāyaṇa) quotes a passage of the Brāhman-Nārādiya purāṇa to the effect that women, those whose upanayana has not been performed and śūdras have no right to establish the images of Viṣṇu or Śiva. 1395

If there were many and heavy disabilities on women in certain matters, they enjoyed in certain directions more privileges than men. It has been already seen that women were not to be killed nor were they to be abandoned even when guilty of adultery. They also enjoyed the right of precedence on the road (vide p. 146 above). The daughter1396 of a pātita was not regarded as pātita, though the son of a pātita was regarded as pātita (vide Vas. 13. 51-53, Āp. Dh. S. II. 6, 13, 4, Yāj. III. 261). Women 1397 had to undergo only half of the prāyaścittā that men had to undergo for the same lapses (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 33, Devala 30, &c). Women received 1398 honour according to the ages of their husbands, whatever their own ages may be (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4, 14, 18). Just as brāhmanas learned in the Vedas were to be free from taxes, the women of all varnas (except those of pratiṣṭoma castes) had to pay no taxes, 1399 according to Āp. Dh.

1395. श्रीणामपत्नीनां अवदानं च नरेशर। स्वाधने नाधिकारांलित विचरणां संकरस्य च। इति इत्तदादृष्टि (quoted in अनुवादकार 19 p. 32).

1396. पति्रेनवधिश्च पतिवा सर्वेष विशिष्टस्य विद्या। सा हि परवानी। तत्सारि- द्वारा विशेष्टविद्वान्। वस्त्र 13. 51-53; कर्त्या समहस्तिवाक्यं साधनिपरिचितविद्वान्। या. III. 261. The निशान on या. III. 261 quotes Vas. and a passage from शतिकारायण to the same effect.

1397. आपस्तिकार्यभिमुखीर्षिवो रागिणि प्रजा च। नित्य 14. 33, देवल 30, quoted in नित्यान्रा on या. III. 293; वार्तालालश्रीपत्निर्बिचा। शवन्तर quoted by अवरका 19 p. 1199.


1399. अन्यं अन्यिन्तः सर्वप्रार्थों च शिशुः। आप. ग. छ. II. 10. 26. 10-11; अतः अत्र राज्यवाणनायामायांहितोपायामनायां। विश्व 19. 23.
S. II. 10. 26. 10-11). Vas. Dh. S. 19. 23 limits this exemption to women who are young or just delivered of a child. Pregnant women from the third month of pregnancy, forest hermits, sarīnyāsins and brahmanas and brahmacārins had to pay no tax at a ferry (Manu VIII. 407 and Visnu V. 132). According to Gaut. V. 23 and Yāj. I. 105 children, the daughters and sisters who are married and yet stay with their parents or brothers, pregnant women, unmarried daughters, guests and servants are to be fed before the master and mistress of the house; while Manu III. 114 and Visnu Dh. S. 67. 39 go a step further and say that freshly married girls of the family, unmarried girls, pregnant women are to be fed even before guests. A judicial proceeding in which a woman was a party, or which was heard at night or outside the village or inside a house (i.e. not in public) or before enemies was liable to be reviewed (Nārada 1103 I. 43). Ordinarily trial by ordeal did not apply to a woman, whether she was plaintiff or defendant, but if at all a woman had to prove her case by ordeal, only the ordeal of tūlā (balance) was prescribed for her (Yāj. II. 98 and Mit. thereon). In succession to strīdhana property, daughters were preferred to sons. Women did not lose their strīdhana by adverse possession (Yāj. II. 25, Nārada, ṛṇādāna 82-83). Women were always to be consulted about ācāra. Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 15 cites the view that rules not stated in the sūtra are, according to some teachers, to be understood from women and from men of all castes. Āp. gr. II. 15 prescribes that in marriage the usages to be followed are to be learnt from women. Vide also Āśv. gr. I. 11. 8, Manu II. 223, Vaik. III. 21. 1401

One interesting question is whether the practice of purda now in vogue among Moslems and also among Hindus in certain provinces of India prevailed in ancient times. Rg. X. 85. 33 (used in the marriage rite) expressly calls upon people to look at the bride. 'This bride is endowed with great auspiciousness; assemble together and see her; having given her blessings of good luck you may go to your house'. The Āśv. gr. I. 8. 7 prescribes that at each halting place when the bride-groom is returning to his village with his bride he should

1103. संहृत राजी विद्यार्थ्याला भवेश्वरस्वामितलिः । द्यवधार विद्वेषत: पुष्प वक्तव्यानि । संहृत: ॥ नारायणे I. 43.

1401. वेदवाचनानारूप विद्वेष्ठो श्रवणार्त मतिः मार्गमये वाच्यक्रेण चलितस्य गत्व चिर भावः पार्श्ववचनानि शिष्यानां वत्रतकोहलिः । वेदवाचनानारूप: III. 21.
look at the spectators with the verse Rg. X. 85. 33. This shows that no veil was worn by the bride and she appeared in public without one. Though in the marriage hymn there is a blessing (Rg. X. 85. 46) that the bride was to dominate over her father-in-law, mother-in-law, sister-in-law and brother-in-law, it appears that that was only a blessing and the heart’s wish, but the reality was somewhat different. The Ait. Br. (12. 11) says that the daughter-in-law is abashed in the presence of the father-in-law and goes away concealing herself from him. This indicates that there was some restraint for younger women when they were in the presence of elders. But in the grhyā and dharma sūtras there is no reference to any veil for women when moving in public. Pāṇini III. 2. 36 teaches the formation of ‘āsuryampaśāya’ (who do not see the sun) applied to queens. That only shows that royal ladies did not leave the precincts of the palace and come under public gaze. In the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa (33. 8) it is said ‘people walking on the public road see to-day Sītā who could not formerly be seen even by aerial beings’. Similarly it is stated in the same kāṇḍa (116. 28) ‘the appearance of a woman in public is not blamable in misfortunes, difficulties, in wars, in svayamvara, in a sacrifice, and in a marriage’. In the Sabhāpārvā 69. 9 Draupadī exclaims ‘we have heard that ancient people did not take married women to the public assembly-hall; that ancient and long-standing practice has been contravened by the Kauravas’. She says this after referring to the fact that, since she was seen at her svayamvara by the kings, she was never seen again by them till the day she
was brought to the assembly-hall when Yudhishṭhira gambled and lost everything. This shows that women, particularly high-born ladies, did not appear in public except on certain occasions, but it does not follow that they always wore the veil. When the Kauravas were routed the Śalyaparva (29. 74) laments that their ladies whom even the sun did not see in their palaces were seen by the common people who had come to the capital. Vide also Sahāparva 97. 4–7, Śalyaparva 19. 63, Stri-parva 9. 9–10, Āśrama-vāsi-parva 15. 13. In the Harṣacarita (IV) princess Rājaśṛi, whom the intended bride-groom Graha-varmā came to see just before marriage, is described as having her face covered with a veil of fine red cloth. In another place, while describing the country of Śtāṇviśāra (modern Thanesar) Bāna says ‘where bees drawn by the fragrance of the breaths of the ladies (and hovering round their faces) served as a charming veil for their faces and the veil actually worn by them became a mere redundancy worn because it was the practice of high-born ladies to wear one’. In the Kādambari also (para 99) Bāna describes Patralekhā as covering her face with a veil of red cloth. In the Śākuntala when Śākuntalā is taken to the court of Duṣyanta she is described as wearing a veil. So it must be conceded that ladies of high rank did not appear in public without a veil, but ordinarily women did not wear any veil. It is probably after the advent of the Moslems that the wearing of a veil, which was not quite unknown, became general among Hindu women in Northern and Eastern India. Vide Indian Antiquary for 1933 p. 15, where a passage is quoted from the Sāṅkhya-stattva-kaumudi of Vācaspatī (9th century A. D.) referring to ladies of good family not appearing in public without a veil and Pathak Commemoration vol. p. 72 for references from Buddhist works about the practice of purdā.

1406. तत्...सववाक्यवाचस्यन्तरवृत्तिः...नियुक्तकृतै। हर्षचरित्र IV, 4th para from end; यदि...विपश्चयस्यवृत्तिः लक्षण-विपश्चयस्यकालीनयोगार्यां वर्णितिः। तत्र सचिवालय III p. 44 of my edition; vide a similar conceit in ‘विनियमकोषम्...विनियमकोषम्...नियुक्तकृतम्। हर्षचरित्र I. p. 15 of my edition; ‘सचिवालयस्यतिवेर्षिकारणयोगार्यां विनियमकोषम्...अन्तरपृष्ठा एव।’ भक्ति, पुस्तक नाम p. 99; भक्तिवल्क्य समावेशार्यां विनियमकोषम्—प्रारूपम्। साहित्य V. 13.
CHAPTER XIII

NIYOGA

Niyoga—( appointment of a wife or widow to procreate a son from intercourse with an appointed male).

Great divergence of views prevails about the origin and purpose of this practice. It will be best first to begin by examining the most ancient smritis that permitted this practice. Gaut. 1407 18. 4–14 have great bearing on this point. Gaut. 18. 4–8 are: 'a woman whose husband is dead and who desires offspring may secure a son from her brother-in-law. She should obtain the permission of the elders and have intercourse only during the menstrual period (excluding the first four days). She may obtain a son from a sapindha, a sagotra, a sapravara or one who belongs to the same caste (when there is no brother-in-law). Some (hold that this practice is allowed) with nobody except a brother-in-law. She shall not bear more than two sons (by this practice)'. Gaut. 18. 11 says that a child begotten at the request of a living husband on his wife belongs to the husband. Gaut. (28. 32) says that such a son is called ksetraja. The wife is called ksetra (field), the husband of the wife or widow is called ksetrin or ksetrika (to whom the wife or widow belongs) and the person appointed to produce offspring is called bijin (one who sows the seed) or niyogin (Vas. 17. 64, one who is appointed).

1407. अयमात्मत्वात्मलक्ष्यमात्मकुरुति। । शुचिविधारा। विशुद्धतिमात्र। विशुद्धतिमात्र। विशुद्धतिमात्र। विशुद्धतिमात्र। विशुद्धतिमात्र।
1408. तत्परमात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मात्मातः...
The Vas. Dh. S. (17, 56-65) similarly prescribes 1410 that the father or brother of the widow (or widow’s husband) shall assemble the gurus who taught or sacrificed for the deceased husband and his relatives and shall appoint her (to raise issue for the deceased husband). Let him not appoint a widow who is mad, not master of herself (through grief &c.) or is diseased or is very old, (up to) sixteen years (after puberty is the period for appointing a widow) nor shall an appointment be made if the person who is to approach her is sickly. Let him approach the widow in the muhūrta sacred 1411 to Prajāpati like a husband, without dallying with her and without abusing or ill-treating her. No appointment shall be made through a desire to obtain 1412 the estate.” Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 17 (S. B. E. vol. 14, p. 226) defines a kṣetrajña son as one who is begotten by another man after permission on the wife of a deceased person or of a eunuch or of one who is suffering from (an incurable disease). Manu (IX. 59-61) says that a widow who is properly appointed may obtain offspring, in case there is total failure of issue, from her brother-in-law or a sapinda of her husband, that the person appointed should approach her in the dark and should be anointed with ghee and should procreate only one son and never two, while some say that he may procreate two. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 68-70, Yāj. I. 68-69 and Nārada (stripumśa, 80-83) lay down similar rules. Kauṭilya (I. 17, p. 35) says that a king who is old or suffering from (incurable) disease should procreate a son on his queen through a mātrbandhu or a feudatory chief endowed with qualities similar to his. In another place he says that if a brāhmaṇa dies without leaving a near heir, then a sagoṭra or mātrbandhu

1410. उच्चे .... विधायते १७ पोलित्सवास्तवं सत्तवतपिता वा विन्योः कार्ये। न सीतामुखवश्वारा प्राप्तियो वा विन्योऽकार्ये। द्वारक सत्तवत। न केशवाः प्राप्ति। न चेताशिात्वाः स्वामिन्यो च भोज्यस्य प्राप्ति। भव्यामेघवर्ज्जुन येव येव चेताशियो नियोश्ये। वर्षिण १७। ५६-६१, ६५।

1411. भारतेय शहुर्ति is the same as ब्रह्मण हूहर्ति viz. the last watch of the night (i.e. 3-4ths of an hour before sunrise). Vide वर्षिण १२। ४७; महा ४। ९२।

1412. The idea is that the widow must not be moved to the act by a mercenary motive. According to उपेश्वर whose views are cited in the ब्रह्मविष्णुद्विंशित्री (p. 633) the widow of a separated sonless man could get the property of her husband only if she submitted to niyoga, otherwise she was to get only maintenance. Dāṭhārāṇa apparently based his view on some ancient texts. Vas. in the last sentence negatives such ideas.
may be appointed to procreate a ksetraja son, who should get the inheritance. The conditions necessary to allow niyoga were: (1) the husband, whether living or dead, must have no son; (2) the gurus in a family council should decide to appoint the widow to raise issue for the husband; (3) the person appointed must be either the husband’s brother, or a sapinda or sagotra of the husband or (according to Gautama, a sapravara or a person of the same caste); (4) the person appointed and the widow must be actuated by no lust but only by a sense of duty; (5) the person appointed must be anointed with ghee or oil (Nārada, stripurīsa, 82), must not speak with or kiss her or engage in sportive dalliance with the woman; (6) this relationship was to last till one son was born (or two according to some); (7) the widow must be comparatively young, she should not be old or sterile or past child-bearing or sickly or unwilling or pregnant (Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 70, Nārada, stripurīsa 83–84); (8) after the birth of a son they were to regard themselves as father-in-law and daughter-in-law (Manu IX. 62). It is further made clear by the texts that if a brother-in-law has intercourse with his sister-in-law without appointment by elders or if he does so even when appointed by elders but the other circumstances do not exist (e.g. if the husband has a son), he would be guilty of the sin of incest (vide Manu IX. 58, 63, 143, 144 and Nārada, stripurīsa 85–86) and a son, born of such intercourse, would be a bastard and not entitled to any wealth (Nārada, stripurīsa 84–85) and that he would belong to the begetter (Vas. Dh. S. 17. 63). Nārada says that if a widow or a male acts contrary to the stringent provisions about niyoga, he or she should be severely punished by the king or otherwise there would be confusion. Yāj. II. 234 makes such a person liable to be sentenced to a fine of one hundred pānas. It will be seen from the above that even in the times of the Dharmasūtras, the practice of niyoga was hedged round with so many restric-

1413. त्र्यम् वाहितो वा रागा। माता० सुभुल्यणसमान्तातान्तायसत्तेन। श्रेयः वन्ध्र-हस्ताक्षरत्युद्धतः। कौशिकः (I. 17. p. 35); श्रेयः बा जनाचेतस्तिथाम्यः। श्रेयः चाक्षरः। माता० सुभुल्यणसमान्तातायसत्तेन। कौशिकः III. 6 (p. 163).

1414. दृष्टे० वर्ग गतार्घितं वैलेनाविक्षेपन। मक्कलः पैविरह गाँवार्गिन्यं-वसंसूक्तन नामुद्ध (आल्कूस) वर्ष 82। यिसकृष्टम् या वो। I. 68 यस्य दृष्टे० वर्ग वर्माः सामापुरिनिविनियोगिः। पर्यालोचकः कैवार्गिकलाभू। दुर्विवेतपकः।

1415. असुन्तं त्त या नारी जेवनसम्बन्धं-पुरुषं। जातात्मारिजियं। तरादुकृष्टं-पाकृष्टं। नासु श्रीतुल्य (84–85).

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tions that it must not have been very much prevalent and instances must have been rather rare.

While ancient Dharmasūtras like Gautama allowed niyoga, there were other dharmasūtras and writers almost as old as Gautama that condemned the practice and forbade it. Āp. Dh. S. II. 10. 27. 5-7 after referring to the view of some that a girl is given to a family in marriage and declaring that that practice (of polyandry) is forbidden adds a condemnation of niyoga ‘the hand (of a sāgotta is considered to be) that of a stranger; that if (the marriage vow) is transgressed, both (husband and wife) certainly go to hell and that the reward obtained from observing the restrictions of the law is preferable to offspring obtained in this manner (by niyoga).’ Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 38 refers to the view of Aupaṭāṅgāni that it is only the auras son that is to be recognized as a son and then quotes three verses (probably of the same ancient sage), which are also cited as quotations by Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 6) and which call upon husbands to guard their wives and not allow others to procreate sons on the latter, as the sons so procreated will benefit only the begetter. Manu, though at first he describes niyoga, ultimately condemns it in the strongest terms possible (IX. 64-68). He says that among dvijātis a widow should never be appointed to raise issue from another, for by doing so ancient dharma would be violated, that in the mantras relating to marriage there is no reference to niyoga nor is the remarriage of a widow spoken of in the procedure about marriage, that niyoga is a beastly way and was first brought into vogue by king Vena who thereby caused varna-sāmkara, and that since that time good men condemn him who through ignorance appoints a widow to produce offspring. Manu (IX. 69-70) explains the meaning of niyoga by saying that the rules and the ancient texts about niyoga apply or refer to that case only where, after a girl is promised as a bride, the intended bridegroom dies, the

1416. अविश्लिष्ट हि परस्तः पारेः । तदास्यतिक्रिया सत्यम् युक्तमयोऽवृत्तः । लियमार्गमणो तिर्यग्यांवेदनुवुप्त एवमार्गमणाःवेदवप्तः । आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 27. 5-7.

1417. An ओप्जन्यापि ओ-ब्र्जनिस is a teacher mentioned in the वार्ष at the end of Br. Up. II. 6 and IV. 6. इवामांनिमित्तम शिष्याणा अनक नो दुःसन। यहे वनस्प साठवे जनपिण्डुं युक्तायुद्धाः सैनिकाः सैवन नाथति वर्तियां वनस्पादने । सत्यम्ययं धश्चिहि निम्पति वर्तियां वर्तते । सत्यम्ययं अन्यत्र तथापेतेः मा सत्यं ग्रेग क्षेत्रस्य जात्यां वाचः । अन्यत्रिणुः युक्तायुद्धाः सैनिकाः सैवनेव कुर्वे कर्मुमेंनवत् । वै. ध. सू. II. 2. 39-41=आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 6 (with slight variations). नस्लद्वर्शम 49. 13 has the half verse सैनिकाः सैवनेव कुर्वे कर्मुमेंनवत् । The last verse occurs in Vas. 17. 9 also.
brother of the latter is called upon to marry the girl and to have intercourse with her only once during each period till she gives birth to a son who would be the son of the deceased. Though Manu condemned the ancient practice of niyoga, he had to make provision for the kṣetraja son as regards partition (IX.120–121, 145). It should be noticed that if the interpretation of Manu IX.69–70 be accepted, the word ‘vidhavā’ would have to be taken in two different senses in Manu and other texts e.g. in IX.60 where Manu speaks of niyoga, the word means a girl promised to a bridegroom who died before the marriage ceremony was gone through, while in Manu IX.64 ‘vidhavā’ means ‘a widow whose husband died after marriage was completed.’ To say the least, this contravenes the canon of Mīmāṁsā interpretation that the same word in the same passage or context should have only one meaning. Bṛhaspati 1418 refers to the fact that the Manusmṛti first described the ancient niyoga and then forbade it and adds that in former ages men possessed tapas and knowledge and could strictly carry out the rules while in dvāpara and kali ages there is great deterioration of power and so men of these times cannot now practise niyoga. The several kinds of sons will be dealt with under vyavahāra.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (15.3) contains an innovation which is not found in the sūtras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha viz. the ‘kṣetraja is one 1419 who is procreated on an appointed wife or widow by a śapiṇḍa of the husband or by a brāhmaṇa.’ The Mahābhārata is replete with cases of niyoga. Adiparva (95 and 103) narrates how Satyavatī pressed Bhiṣma to procreate sons for his younger brother Viśitravīrya (who was dead) from his queens and how (Ādi.105) when Bhiṣma refused Vyāsa ultimately was appointed by Vyāsa’s mother Satyavatī and procreated Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. Kumārīlabhaṭṭa 1420 replies to

1418. जो नियोधास बुद्धिस्तै निश्चितं जनमं न दश्यं । कृत्तिमहारक्षेत्रमेत्यं अनुशास्त्रविवादः ॥ तपोज्ञातासमाध्यं कुलनियोधस्ते न नास्ति । द्वारे च काले दूषां अधिवदिनकृष्णखं मूलमात्रां अनेकदायिकम् दुःचिता कृत्तिकृष्णखं नुस्तं । व न द्वारे शक्तिकेशवान् काली कृत्तिकृष्णखं नुस्तं ॥ ॥ 

1419. नििषष्यां मूलविदेशसारणिः होपविष्टा: प्रेमजो द्वितीयाः । विष्णुसम्बूद्ध 15.3.

1420. The objector says ‘कुशलहृदयस्य कृत्तिमाङ्करक्षेत्रप्रक्ष्यस्य निर्विपरीताविद्वारवधेः’ (तत्रत्वात ॥ प. 203 on लै. 3.7) and the reply is ‘विशिष्ठपारि कृत्तिमांग्लिकरक्षेत्रप्रक्ष्यस्य द्वारवधेः विष्णुसम्बूद्धसम्बूद्धाते मृत्तिकारक्षेत्रप्रक्ष्यस्य पारिप्रायवधेः’ (तत्रत्वातिक लै. 3.7)
the objector finding fault with Vyāsa by saying that Vyāsa followed Gaut. (18. 4–5) and the urgent request of his mother and besides his tapas saved him from the effects of violation of dharma. Pāṇḍu himself is said to have asked Kuntī to procreate sons for him by nīyoga from a brāhmaṇa endowed with great tapas (Ādi. 120) and tells her certain stories of nīyoga (Ādi. 120–123) and winds up by saying that three sons is the limit and that if a fourth or a fifth were procreated the woman would be svaiṛṇī (a wanton woman) and bandhakī (harlot). Adiparva (chap. 64 and 104) states that when Paraśurāma tried to exterminate the kṣatriyas thousands of kṣatriya widows approached brāhmaṇas for the procreation of sons. Vide Adiparva, chap. 104 and 177, Anuśāsana, chap. 44. 52–53, Śaṁti 72. 12 for other references and examples of nīyoga.

Owing to the bewildering and often conflicting rules about nīyoga in the smṛtis, commentators like Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, who wrote at a time when nīyoga was almost unheard of, made heroic though unsatisfactory efforts to bring order out of chaos. Viśvarūpa on Yaḻ. I. 69 states several views on the point. The first is that nīyoga is bad in the present age as opposed to smṛti texts (like Manu IX. 64 and 68) and to the usage of the śiṣṭas (respectable people). The second view was the same as Manu IX. 69 set out above. A third view was that there was an option (as nīyoga was both forbidden and allowed). A fourth view (which seems to be the view of Viśvarūpa himself) was that the smṛti texts about nīyoga refer to sūdras (Manu IX. 64 uses the word ‘dvijāti’) and it was also allowed to royal families, when there was no male to succeed (and only a brāhmaṇa was to be appointed) and Viśvarūpa relies upon two

1421. नातेश्वर्य सतमाधार्यस्य सांस्कृतिकता। अता वर्ष स्वरूपिनी सवानुसारे अनेते। आद्विप 123. 77.

1422. अन्वार्य श्रविता राजानु शुद्धित्वादिकविशिष्टं। अवमानि विश्वात व कामविश्वासूता तथा। तेन युव देहिने गमने श्रविता। शासनम्। आद्विप 64. 5–7; भगवान्वर सति सति वृद्धिता। श्रविता। आद्विप 104. 56; अद्विप 2. 6; नातेश्वर्य सतमाधार्य सांस्कृतिकतां। अद्विप 105. 2; पति सन्तोष स्वरूप व्रमणे जयसि। आद्विप 72. 12.


1424. एवं संवधानमा निधोपनिश्चाहलुः। विद्यया at the end of his com. on I. 69. A little above विद्यया remarks that there is a usage of निधोपनिश्चाहलु अन्तः ग्रामीण among sūdras.
verses of Vṛddhamanu and a gāthā of Vāyu. Viśvarūpa further says that the procreation of sons by Vyāsa from the queens of Vicitravirya should be paid no heed (i.e. is not to be relied on) like the marriage of Draupadi (to the five Pāṇḍavas). The Mahābhārata probably reflects what happened owing to the incessant internecine wars among the princes of India. Whole princely houses must have been slaughtered. If niyoga was prevalent among them, the males appointed, when they had to be of the same caste, would have been ordinary soldiers (ksatriyas). The proud princely families very likely thought it below their dignity to associate widowed queens with ordinary ksatriyas. It is possible to hold that they chose brāhmaṇas for appointment, as the latter were deemed to be higher than even kings in the spiritual domain. It is impossible to believe that brāhmaṇas, who had no-temporal power, could coerce the proud and warlike caste into choosing brāhmaṇas for niyoga, unless the teaching of the smṛtis fell in with the notions of the ruling houses to some extent at least.

There was difference of opinion as to whom the child of niyoga belonged. Vas. Dh. S. 17. 6 expressly refers to this divergence. The first view was that the child belonged to the begetter; this view would cut at the very root of the purpose for which niyoga was recommended. Nirukta III. 1-3 supports this view and relies on Rg. VII. 4. 7-8. Gaut. 18. 9 and Manu IX. 181 state the same rule. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 5 says that according to a Brāhmaṇa text the son belongs to the begetter. The second view was that if there was an agreement between the elders of a widow and the person appointed or between the husband himself and the begetter that the child should belong to the husband, then the son belonged to the latter. Vide Gaut. 18. 10-11, Vas. 17. 8, Ādiparva 104. 6.

A third view was that the son belonged to both the begetter and the owner of the wife. This is the view of Nārada (stripūrṇam 58), Yāj. II. 127, Manu IX. 53, Gaut. 18. 13.

1425. तथा च ज्ञेने। सुमहासिन रमि (स पर्यः वेदेष्वताः)। होमापूर्वकः निभवत्ताः किविन्देष्यं अर्जे। राज्ये परमेष्यं परमप्रश्नमादिष्यं। विन्दु सव नित्योनिर्मिति जो यथो न वेदेति न बौद्धेऽद न कृष्णासे अवकाशितविविधाय विवेच्या पार्श्विरुप्ये। तत्कते वा दूसरे वर्णे विशेषत:। विपर्ययः।

1426. ततथा जनविधिषत: नाहापविव रूपयाविवधिष्याय:। निर्देश III. 1.

1427. अथावाचित: दुष्ट द्वस्ति द्विसाधारान्। आप. ग. प्र. II. 6. 13. 5। पारिभाषैं "कृष्ण दृति वेदेति सन्न्यित्य। आदिपर्व 104. 6।
As shown above (in note 1418) niyoga was forbidden in the Kali age by Brhaspati and it was included among practices forbidden in the Kali age by several works. Vide the Mit. on Yaj. II. 117 and Aparārka p. 97 quoting Brahmapurāṇa. 1427a

The practice of raising issue from the widow of one's brother or marrying her was a widespread one. Vide Westermarck's 'History of Human Marriage' (1921) vol. III, pp. 207-220. In the Rgveda 1428 X. 40. 2 we read 'what sacrificer invites you (Āśvins) in his house as a widow invites a brother-in-law to her bed or as a young damsel her lover'. But it is not clear whether this refers to marrying the widow of a deceased brother or to the practice of niyoga. Viśvarūpa (on Yaj. I. 69) thinks that this refers to niyoga. The Nirukta (III. 15) explains Rg. X. 40. 2, where in some mss. the word 'devara' is explained as 'a second husband' (dvitiyo varaḥ). Medhātithi on Manu IX. 66 explains Rg. X. 40. 2 as applying to niyoga. According to the sūtras and smṛtis niyoga was entirely different from marriage. In many ancient societies, women were inherited like property. On the death of the eldest brother, his younger brother took the family property as well as his widow. But the Rgveda had reached a stage much beyond that. MacLennan thought that the practice of niyoga was due to polyandry. Westermarck combats this view and rightly so. When niyoga was allowed in the sūtras, polyandry had been either unheard of or forbidden. Jolly in Recht und Sitte (English translation, pp. 153-157) thinks that apart from the religious importance of a son economic motives were at the bottom of the long list of secondary sons, including the kṣetraja. This appears to be quite wrong. The practice of niyoga was a relic from the past and probably owed its origin to several causes, which are now obscure, but one of which was the great bankering for a son evisced by all in Vedic times. Vas. Dh.S. (17. 1-6) lends support to this view, since after quoting Vedic passages about the importance of a son for paying off the debt to ancestors and for securing heavenly worlds, he at once proceeds to the description of the kṣetraja. But the economic motive was never put forward by any of the sages, nor could it possibly have been the reason.

1427a. एवत च। वद्य नियोध्वर्ध्वमावो नास्ता-ध्व्वत्वोपि च। सा भार्व्वनिभवापि नैव संभाभ्वी पहले मूलि। निदा। तातै य न। ि यल । ि यल। ि यल। 1428. तस्मां शक्यम विषमेष भुवेश मयेन च शोभा। कक्षप संक्षः भाग। ॥ सुप्रे X. 40. 2.
and main-spring of the practice. If many secondary sons were desired for economic reasons, then the same man could have had any number of secondary sons. But the dharmasastra texts do not allow this. A man who has an aurasa son can have no ksetraaja or adopted son. If one kind of son was adopted, then another kind of son could not be adopted. So economic motives did not at all form the origin of this practice. Winternitz in J. R. A. S. for 1897 at p. 758 puts forward poverty, paucity of women and the joint family system as the causes of niyoga. There are no data to prove that there was paucity of women in India during historic times. There might have been a paucity of men owing to wars. Nor do the other two reasons bear close examination. It is better to say that niyoga was a survival from the remote past, that gradually it became rarer and rarer till in the first centuries of the Christian era it came to be totally prohibited.
CHAPTER XIV

REMMARRIAGE OF WIDOWS

Remarrriage of widows.—The word punarbhū is generally applied to a widow that has remarried. Before going into the detailed history of the remarriage of widows it is desirable to probe into the meaning of the word 'punarbhū'.\(^{1429}\) Nārada (stripūmśa, v. 45) says that there are seven sorts of wives (mentioned in order) who have been previously married to another man (parapār̥vā); among them, the punarbhū is of three kinds\(^{1430}\) and the svairīṇī (wanton woman) is of four kinds. The three punarbhūs are: (1) a maiden whose hand was taken in marriage but whose marriage was not consummated; in her case the marriage ceremony has to be performed once more; (2) a woman who first deserts the husband of her youth, betakes herself to another man and then returns to the house of her husband; (3) a woman who is given by the husband's relatives (when the husband dies) to a sapinda of the deceased husband or a person of the same caste, on failure of brothers-in-law (this is nigoya and no ceremony is to be performed). The four svairīṇīs are: (1) a woman, whether childless or not, who goes to live with another man through love while the husband is alive; (2) a woman who rejects after her husband's death his brothers and the like and unites herself with another through passion for him; (3) a woman, coming from a foreign country or purchased with money or oppressed by hunger or thirst, gives herself to a man saying 'I am yours'; (4) a woman who is given to a stranger by the elders relying on the usages of the


\(^{1430}\) Compare Manu IX. 176 and Viṣṇu 15. 8 for the first punarbhū, Manu IX. 176, Vas. Dh. S. 17.19 and Viṣṇu 15. 9 for the second punarbhū.
country, but who incurs the blame of wantoness \(^{1431}\) (as the smṛti rules about niyoga are not observed by them or her). Nārada says that each preceding one of the punarbhūs and svairīṇīs enumerated is inferior to the next in order. Yāj. (I. 67) does not give this elaborate classification; all he says is that a punarbhū is of two kinds, one whose marriage had not been consummated and another who has had sexual intercourse and that both have the marriage ceremony performed again (i.e., punarbhū is one who is ‘punāḥ saṁskṛtā’); a svairīṇī is one who forsakes the husband whom she married when a maiden and lives with another man of the same caste through love for the latter. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 67 remarks that the elaborate classification of Nārada and Saṅkha (3 punarbhūs and 4 svairīṇīs) is not of much use, that it only indicates the various degrees of blame (or sin) attaching to them and is also meant to discriminate among prāyāścittas to be performed by those women. It is the second husband and the son of the second marriage that bear the appellation ‘paunarbhaiva’ (pati or putra respectively) and not the first husband. Vide Saṁ. Pr. pp. 740–741. The Sm. C. (I. p. 75) quotes a passage from Baudhāyana and certain verses of Kaśyapa. According to Kaśyapa \(^{1432}\) the seven kinds of punarbhū are: (1) the girl who had been promised in marriage, (2) one who was intended to be given; (3) one on whose wrist the auspicious band was tied by the bridegroom, (4) whose gift had been made with water (by the father), (5) whose hand was held by the bridegroom, (6) who went round the fire, (7) who had given birth to a child after marriage. In the first five cases it is to be supposed that the bridegroom either immediately died or left the further prosecution of the marriage rites. Even such girls would be styled punarbhūs, when they married another person later on, though

\(^{1431}\) Dr. Jolly in his translation of Nārada (S. B. E. vol. 33 pp. 175–176) renders this verse of Nārada differently; but his rendering appears to me to be incorrect. The 3rd kind of punarbhū refers to the practice of niyoga; the 4th kind of svairīṇī is one who is allowed to have intercourse by her elders for procreating a son for her deceased husband but without observing the strict rules of niyoga laid down in the smṛtis. That is the difference between the two. The action of the smṛtis is described as ṭaṁśvaca, as it is no more than vyabhicāra, though with the elder’s permission.

\(^{1432}\) धर्मा व प्रमोदा जूकीतत्त्वाः। जूवेक्षयन्ति पि च य च व अवनि-धृतिकाः। अशैर्य परिपत्रा य च चुतं हस्यं सरसा च य च। हेत्वा: कर्तवेयं ज्ञाते वुष्ठिमि कुल-शिवाय। जयम् वलिन्य। I. 75.

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the first marriage was not complete because the saptapadi had not been performed. The sixth case is one of completed marriage (though it refers to only going round fire). Baudhāyana's seven varieties are slightly different, the first two being the same as Kaśyapa's: the others are (3) one who went round the fire (with the bridegroom); (4) one who took the seventh step; (5) one who has had sexual intercourse (either after marriage or even without it); (6) one who has conceived; (7) one who has borne a child. These meanings of the word punarbhū must be borne in mind when one meets with the word punarbhū in Vedic texts. That even the promise to give in marriage without the performance of any ceremonies was looked upon as tantamount in its consequences to marriage follows from the words of Sukanyā quoted above (in note 1306) from the Sat. Br., where she had been only offered to the sage Čyavana by her father, but where no ceremonies had been performed as none are described or referred to therein. Manu (IX. 69-70) confines the rules of niyoga to a girl who was only promised (vāgdattā); while Vas. Dh. S. XVII. 72 speaks of the vāgdattā and one given with water as still a maiden, if no Vedic mantras have been repeated.1434 Vas. Dh. S. XVII. 74 refers to the 4th variety of Baudhāyana. Vāj. I. 67 when he speaks of aksatā refers to all the six varieties of Kaśyapa or the first four varieties of Baudhāyana and when he speaks of kṣatā he refers to the seventh variety of Kaśyapa and the last three of Baudhāyana. Vas. Dh. S. 1435 17 19-20 describes paunarbhava as the son of a woman, who leaves the husband of her youth and after having lived with another person, re-enters the house of the husband or as the son of a woman who takes another husband after leaving an impotent, outcast or lunatic husband or after the death of the first husband. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 31 describes paunarbhava as the son of a woman who after abandoning an impotent or outcast husband goes to another husband. Nārada (stripurīsa, v. 97), Parāśara IV. 30 and Agnīpurāṇa 154. 5-6 have the same verse another husband

1433. नामदुर्गा नाम मलिनुर् भवेश्वर सदां प्रदोष निमो नामा युगी व युगी वर्षाः युगीमयमन्यां अष्टक्ष्ण चेति सर्वािष्णु इत्युत्तरसः। अन्तर्द्राक्ष्ण स न भवां योः च निन्देत। वीरप्रभु निजन्ति in स्कुराज्ञी प. 75, स. म. प. 755.

1434. अन्तर्भवान च दुसरात्म भवेश्वरो चतुर्थातो चतुर्थायोः। न च द्वितीय तमीराण स्वायनात्म निन्दित सा। पारिपार्थ तोऽः चतुर्थायो व द्वितीय तमीराण स्वायनः संज्ञायती। विनित 17. 72 and 74.

1435. पारिपार्थ तोऽः। वा तोऽः पारिपार्थ तोऽः। वा द्वितीय तमीराण स्वायनात्म 17. 18-20.
is ordained for women in five calamities viz. when the husband is lost (unheard of), is dead, has become a samnyāsin, is impotent or is patita. Great controversies have raged round this verse. Some like the Par. M. (II. part I. p. 53) give the easy explanation (always given about inconvenient texts) that this verse refers to the state of society in another yuga (age) and has no application to the Kali age. Others like Medhatithi (on Manu V. 157) explain that the word pati means only ‘pālaka’ (guardian). Medhatithi (on Manu III. 10 and V. 163) is not dead against niyoga, but he is opposed to the remarriage of widows. Even the Smityarthasāra (which belongs to about 1150 to 1200 A. D.) mentions several views viz. some hold that a girl may be married to another if the bride-groom dies before saaptapadi, others hold that she may be remarried if the first husband dies before consummating the marriage, while still others are of opinion that if after marriage the husband dies before she begins to menstruate she may be remarried and some hold that remarriage is allowed before conception.

Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 3–4 condemns remarriage ‘if one has intercourse with a woman who had already another husband, or with a woman on whom no marriage saṃskāra has taken place or who is of a different varna, then sin is incurred; in that case the son also is sinful’. Haradatta quotes Manu III. 174 and says that the son procreated on another’s wife is called kundra if the husband is living, and golaka if the husband is dead. Manu V. 162 is opposed to the remarriage of widows ‘nowhere is a second husband declared for virtuous women’; so also Manu IX. 1439 65

1436. नये युगे अवैधे स्त्रियाँ च पति के पति पति। प्रसारपात्मा निर्विशेष पति के विवेके ॥ नात्र (अङ्कु शमकर 97).
1437. युगे नये ... निवेदिते इति तत पौराणिकतमण्डलामिवेते सैरा रक्षकालिनां सम्मुचितमु। स्मयैतरिति यद मृत्यु V. 157; तथा यथा निवेदिता मातापातिनेतापुराणमतराजमदसिद्धि प्रतिविवेचनं नियोगाऊधार तथा तुष्यंत्युज्ञसते। वक्ष्यावताप्वा कपिलायामण्डलय्येति अल्पकर्मी ॥ सेवायं यद मृत्यु V. 163.
1438. मृत्युस्मले तथा इत्यः इत्यसाधिकारम। इति युगसंसारमाने दे श्रेष्ठे नेन्द्रिये ॥ नाताहूँ च चर्चाकर्मो इति यद V. 162। तथा इत्यसाधिकारमयाने इति यद नेन्द्रिये ॥ नाताहूँ च चर्चाकर्मो इति यद V. 162। तथा इत्यसाधिकारमयाने इति यद नेन्द्रिये ॥ नाताहूँ च चर्चाकर्मो इति यद V. 162।
1439. न विराज्यते सायना कर्मविवेचनार्थायेः। मृत्यु V. 162; न विवेचनार्थायेः मृत्यु निवेदिते ॥ मृत्यु IX. 65; सायना कर्मविवेचनार्थायेः। मृत्यु IX. 47; पाणिनीयोगो नरणां कर्मविवेचने महिस्तं ॥ मृत्यु VIII. 226. Vide आच. यु. 7. 13, आच. म. प. 1. 5. 7 &c for the मृत्यु ‘अवश्य मृत्यु हृदय कम्या अवब्रह्मव्ययं एव्’, where the word कम्या (a maiden) alone is used.
(‘in the procedure of marriage there is no declaration about the remarriage of widows), Manu IX. 47 ‘a maiden can be given only once’ and Manu VIII. 526 (the Vedic mantras used in pāñgrahana are applicable to maidens only) are opposed to the remarriage of widows. The Brahmapurāṇa and other purāṇas forbid remarriage of widows in the Kāli age (vide note 1427 a above). The Sam. Pr. quotes a text of Kātyāyana to the effect that a girl, who has gone through the ceremony of marriage with a sāgotra, may be married again and remarks that the text refers to the state of society in another yuga. This is the view of all the commentators and nibandha writers, Manu himself (in IX. 176) expressly allows the sāṁskāra of remarriage in the case of a girl, whose first marriage has not been consummated or who left the husband of her youth, went to live with another and returned to the first husband. In this the author of the Manusmṛti probably only reiterates popular usage which was too much for him in spite of his own view (in V. 162) denouncing remarriages. So it may be taken that Manu does not forbid the use of mantras in remarriage, but holds that even after the mantras are recited the remarriage of a widow is not dharmya (approved). It is said in the Mahābhārata (Ādiparva 104. 34–37) that Dirghatamas forbade remarriage and also niyoga. Manu himself speaks of the sāṁskāra of a pregnant girl (IX. 172–173). Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 18, Vas. Dh. S. 17. 74, Yāj. I. 167 speak of the sāṁskāra of remarriage (paunarbhava sāṁskāra). Manu III. 155 and Yāj. I. 222 include the paunarbhava (the son of a punarbhū) among brāhmaṇas that are not to be invited at a śrāddha. Aparārka (p. 97) quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa itself which speaks of a fresh sāṁskāra of marriage for a child widow or for one who was forcibly abandoned or carried away by somebody. 1441

Several smṛtis contain certain rules about what the wife was to do when the husband had gone abroad for many years after marriage. Nārada (strīpurūsa, verses 98–101) gives the

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1440. एक एक वैरोधार्य व्यवस्था प्रसादः वरुणः। सूक्ते वैशालिं वा वर्षिस्वार्यं भवेन्ति। ॥ अभिमन्यु परं नारी परिशिष्टम न संसारं। अवतीर्थां हि नारीविचक्षणमातृि पातकम्।॥

1441. पद्व तथा वातिकं च भद्दकार्यस्य कहिद्। तत्र दृष्टस्य सर्वस्य प्रसन्निः। वेदा जनविवेदां जननीति वैवेदविवेदी॥ अष्टांक्षण वेदो द्वितीय:। वैवेदविवेदी॥ द्वितीयम्। वेदो द्वितीय:। तत्र दृष्टस्य सर्वस्य प्रसन्निः। जनविवेदां वैवेदविवेदी॥ अष्टांक्षण वेदो द्वितीय:। वैवेदविवेदी॥
following directions. If the husband has gone to a foreign country a brāhmaṇa wife should wait for eight years, but four years if she has not given birth to a child; after that period (of 8 or 4 years) she may resort to another man (then Nārada lays down lesser number of years for kṣatriya and vaiśya wives). If the husband is known to be living then the periods are double of those stated above; this is the view of Prajāpati when no news can be had of persons and hence there is no sin if a woman resorts to another man (in such cases). Manu (IX. 76) says ‘If a man has gone to a foreign land for doing some religious duty the wife should wait for him for eight years, six years if he has gone for acquiring knowledge or fame, or three years if he has gone on a love affair (or for another wife).’ Manu does not state what the wife is to do after these years of waiting. Vas. (17. 75-76) requires that the wife of one who has gone to a foreign land should wait for five years and after five years she should go near her husband.’ This may be all right as far as it will go. But if the husband is unheard of, how is she to reach him? Viśvaśa says nothing on that point. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 69 says that the periods of waiting prescribed for the wife of an emigrant are meant not for permitting niyoga thereafter, but for calling upon her to repair to her husband. Kauṭilya (III. 4) prescribes some interesting rules: ‘the wife of one, who has long gone abroad, or who has become a recluse or who is dead, should wait for seven menstrual periods and for a year if she has a child already. Thereafter she may marry the full brother of her husband. If there be many brothers she should marry one who is near in age (to the first husband), who is virtuous, capable of maintaining her or who is the youngest or unmarried. If no such brother exists she may marry a sapinda of the husband or one of the same caste.’ The story of Damayanti suggests that when the husband was not heard of for many years, a wife could marry again. Damayanti is said to have sent a message to Rūpārāṇa that, as Nala was not heard of for many years, Damayanti was going to celebrate a svayamvara and Rūpārāṇa hurries for it and does not think it a strange thing (Vanaprastha 70. 24).

1442. अधी ॥ ब्रह्मणपुजानिः नागकारी मोदित परिवार ॥ अमृता तु अवसर न विहित सहस्रस्वादः ॥ जीववित्त वरारिना तु वरेष्व विमोहोपविचि ॥ अथवस्थिति तु भलनानि दरिंशा भज्यते। अंतर्यामने ब्रीणामेः दोषों न विकृते। नारदः (ब्रह्मस व्य. 98-101.)
One question¹⁴⁴³ raised by Dr. Banerjee is: what is to be regarded as the gotra of a widow when she is to be remarried (is it to be her father's gotra or of the first husband's?). There are hardly any indications in the ancient smṛtis or commentaries on this point. Viśvarūpa¹⁴⁴⁴ commenting on Yāj. I. 63 (on the word 'kanyāprada') observes that according to some the father gives away the bride even if she is not a virgin. So it appears that the father's gotra should be looked to in the remarriage of a widow. Vidyasagar, whom Dr. Banerjee follows, held the same opinion.

Certain passages of the Atharvaveda may be considered in connection with the question of the remarriage of widows. Atharva-Veda V. 17, 8-9 are¹⁴⁴⁵ 'when a woman has at first even ten husbands, who are not brāhmaṇas, if a brāhmaṇa takes hold of her hand (i.e. marries her), he alone is her (real) husband. A brāhmaṇa alone is (a real) husband, not a kṣatriya or a vāsya—the sun goes proclaiming this to the five (tribes of) men'. The first verse is not to be taken literally in the sense that a woman married ten persons in succession and that the 11th was a brāhmaṇa; the first verse contains rather what is called 'praudhivāda' (pompous assertion or boast) and this is indicated by the word 'uta'. The verse may at the most mean that if a woman has first a kṣatriya or vāsya as husband, and she marries on his death a brāhmaṇa, then the brāhmaṇa is the real husband. The word 'pati' may also have been used loosely and all that is meant may be that if a girl is promised to ten persons one after another and then lastly to a brāhmaṇa, the latter is to be accepted as the best. Another passage¹⁴⁴⁶ of the

¹⁴⁴³ Vide 'Marriage and Stridhana' (5th ed.) p. 309 'one of these rules of selection requires that the parties to marriage should be of different gotras; but what is to be regarded as the gotra of a widow—the gotra of her father in which she was born or that of her deceased husband to which she has been transferred by marriage?'

¹⁴⁴⁴. अयरण्ये इति वर्णनानुवाचारं एव नैतिकिकं व्रतं । विनिर्माणं वर्णासनम् मपि

¹⁴⁴⁵. न भवति वर्गेणु पूर्व लिखितं पूर्वेऽवाचारं । न भवति जैनलग्नाहितं एव पालनेऽपि ।

¹⁴⁴⁶. यद भवें पूर्वेऽवाचारं निष्क्रियायम् निष्क्रियादेवं हुस्तेऽवस्तुः । निष्क्रियायम् न यावे इति ।
Atharvaveda (IX. 5. 27-28) is 'whatever woman, having first married one husband, marries another, if they (two) offer a goat with five rice dishes they would not be separated (from each other). The second husband secures the same world with his remarried wife, when he offers a goat accompanied with five rice dishes and with the light of fees'. Here the word *punarbhū* occurs. It is possible to hold that this may refer to the promise of a girl in marriage, subsequent death of the intended bridegroom before the marriage ceremonies take place and then the bestowal of her on another. Whatever the meaning of *punarbhū* here may be, it is clear that some sort of sin or inferiority attached to her and that such sin or opprobrium had to be removed by sacrifices. Other passages are discussed later on. But it must be admitted that remarriage of women was not prohibited in the times of the Atharvaveda. In the Tai. S. III. 2. 4. 4 'daidhiśavya' (widow's son) occurs. The grhyasūtras are silent about remarriage; so probably by that time it had come to be prohibited generally, though sporadic instances might have occurred. Among the brāhmanas and castes similar to them and holding or endeavouring to hold a high place in the hierarchy of castes widow remarriage has been forbidden for centuries. One of the earliest historical instances is the remarriage of Dhruvadevi, queen of Rāmagupta, who was after Rāmagupta's death, married by her brother-in-law Candragupta (*vide* Journal Asiatique for 1923, pp. 201-208, Sanjan Plates in E. I. vol. 18, p. 255, 'Indian Culture' vol. 4, p. 216, Harṣacarita VI, penultimate para). Among śūdras and other lower castes widow remarriage has been allowed by custom, though it is held to be somewhat inferior to the marriage of a maiden. Among these castes remarriage is allowed after the death of the husband or during his life-time with the consent of the husband who gives a writing called *farkhat* or *sod-chitti* (a deed of release). Such marriages are called *pat* in Mahārāṣṭra, *natra* in Gujarāt, *udki* in the Canarese districts. In some cases the caste in a meeting assembled takes upon itself to bring to an end a marriage and allows the wife to re-marry. But the Bombay High Court does not recognize the authority of a caste to declare a marriage void or to permit a woman to remarry another person without the consent of the husband and have convicted of bigamy women re-marrying without the

consent of the first husband but with the permission of the caste. In modern times, the Hindu Widows’ Remarriage Act (XV of 1856) has been passed mainly through the efforts of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. That Act legalises the marriages of widows notwithstanding any custom or interpretation of the Hindu Law to the contrary and declares that the children of such marriages are legitimate. Owing to the sentiment of centuries widow remarriage is still looked down upon and during more than eighty years since the Act was passed not many widows have taken advantage of it. The Census of India for 1931 discloses certain appalling figures. Among infants of less than one year old there were in the whole of India as many as 796 males who were widowers and 1515 females who were widows, among children up to 5 years there were 12799 widowers and 30880 widows (out of these last the Hindus contributed 10266 as widowers and 23667 as widows). It is true that amongst the castes to which most of these must have belonged widow remarriage is allowed by custom, but there must be a certain number of females who are widows before five, who cannot remarry by the custom of the caste and who would not dare to take advantage of the Hindu Widows’ Remarriage Act. Between the ages of 5-10, 11-15, 16-20 the numbers of Hindu widows for the whole of India are respectively 83920, 145449, 404167. The age of marriage for girls is rapidly rising owing to economic causes, the spread of literacy among the masses, and the operation of the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929) and it may be hoped that these high figures of child widows will be substantially reduced in the near future. Persons finding fault with Hindu society for large numbers of child widows should not forget one thing. According to Hindu notions every girl must be married at any cost. Hence people rush into child marriages. But there has been no problem of old spinster in Hindu society, as there is in Western countries, though it appears that in the near future that problem will arise even in India. Apart from the considerations as to religious texts prohibiting widow remarriage and the great concern among women for preserving a high ideal of chastity and single-minded devotion to the husband, many Hindus feel that, each girl


1449. Vide Census of India 1931 vol. 1. part 2, Imperial Tables, pp. 120-122.
having been given one chance of marriage, if she becomes a widow, that is her ill-luck, but she should not be allowed to compete with unmarried girls in the marriage market, which is already overcrowded with girls waiting to be married.

Certain verses of the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda have given rise to various explanations and opinion is divided as to whether they refer to niyoga, to the remarriage of widows or to the practice of the immolation of widows. First the two verses Rg. X. 18. 7–8 which are part of a funeral hymn will be set out: ‘Let these women, who are not widows and who have good husbands, sit down with clarified butter used as collyrium; may the wives who are tearless, free from disease and wearing fine jewels (or clothes) occupy the seat in front (first). O woman! raise yourself towards the world of the living; you lie down near this departed (husband); come, this your wifehood of the husband who (formerly) held your hand and who loved you has (now) been fulfilled’. It is somewhat strange that Sayana understands the latter half as an invitation by the husband’s brother to the wife of the departed to remarry him. But that meaning is far-fetched and does not bring out the proper force of ‘hastagrābhasya’, ‘patyuh’ and ‘babhūtha’. The Āśv. gr. 1451 (IV. 6. 11–12) prescribes that (in the expiatory rite performed on the death of an elder) the young women relatives should salve their eyes with butter with their thumb and fourth finger and with tender darbha blades and then throw the blades away, when the performer of the rite should look at them while they are salving their eyes with the verse ‘imā nārīr &c.’. The same sūtra (IV. 2. 16–18) says that ‘(when a dead body is to

1450. दर्शन नारिस्विषयः तद्निर्मणिनः स्विषयः संविषयः। अनस्वेतबनविनः।

1451. दर्शन नारिस्विषयः तद्निर्मणिनः स्विषयः संविषयः। अनस्वेतबनविनः।
be cremated) they should place the wife to the north of the body and a bow for a kṣatriya (if he be the dead person) and then her brother-in-law or some one else who can be the representative of her husband or a pupil or an old servant should make her rise up with the mantra 'udirśva †袜'. The Śāń. Śr. S. IV. 16. 16 also directs that the verse Rg. X. 18. 7 is repeated when the eyes of women are touched with blades of kuśa grass and XVI. 13. 13 says that Rg. X. 18. 8 and Rg. X. 85. 21–22 are called 'uttāpīnayāḥ' (verses addressed for making one rise). There is another mantra in the Atharvaveda (18. 3. 1) and Tai. Ār. VI. 1 †袜 'Oh (dead) man! this woman choosing the world of the husband lies down by thee, the deceased, observing the old universal custom; bestow on her in this world offspring and wealth'. The first verse (i.e. Rg. X. 18. 7) contains nothing about niyoga or remarriage. It has been made use of for giving the Vedic authority to the practice of sālī (which will be dealt with later on). That verse refers to the practice that young women of the household of the departed used to go to the cemetery and applied clarified butter to their eyes (by way of purification and śānti); this practice continued to the days of the Āsv. gr., the Bhad-devatā (VII. 12) and the Baud. pitmedhasūtra (I.21.11). The two verses 'iyam nārī' and Rg. X. 18. 8 are employed by the Baudhāyana–Pitmedhasūtra 1452 in the funeral rites, the first to be repeated when the wife is made to sit near the corpse and the next for making her rise. It is to be noted that Baud. directs that the corpse is placed on the funeral pile after the wife is made to rise from the vicinity of the corpse; while the Bhad-devatā appears to suggest that the wife ascends the funeral pile after the corpse is placed thereon and then the younger brother forbids her with the verse 'udirśva &c.'. But the Bhad-devatā 1454 does not mean that the wife burns herself on the funeral pyre and the brother-in-law contents himself with only repeating a verse to dissuade her. The Rgvidhāna 1455 (III.8.4) says that the brother-in-law should call back the wife

1452. दूर्द मारी पतिनीलोकं दुर्भाना निधिवत उप लव अति वेदसा. पिनीय रुहानां वर्णस्माति तत्वेति वर्ण यस्य एवं वेधिन्. सै. आ. VI. 1; अध्ययां राजमतंसंस्कारिन्. दूर्द मारीः
......निधिवत तो गात्रं हि । पापं पिनीयपिनांपिखोपापापिख । रुहानां...चतुष्क इतिः । सै. पिनांपिख I. 8. 1-2.
1453. अत्यतं वानरसः सत्न विनिवासानुबलितः. चौ. पिनांपिख I. 8. 7.
1454. दूर्द मारी परिवर्तनं सूर्यं पल्लवस्यानीति. विद. कान्तकेश. वेदसा निधिवत आराधनीं दूर्देवता VII. 13.
1455. दूर्द मारी पल्लवस्य तपस्यां च दूर्द मारी विनिवासानुबलित निधिवत. चौ. कान्तकेश III. 8. 4 (ed. by Meyer).
of his sonless brother when she is about to ascend the funeral pyre for procreating a son on her with Rg. X. 18. 8. It appears that the verse Rg. X. 18. 8 symbolically describes what even in the days of the Rgveda was probably only a tradition viz. that in hoary antiquity a wife burnt herself with her husband. In the times of the Rgveda this practice had altogether ceased, but a symbolical imitation of it had come into vogue, viz. that the wife lay near the corpse in the cemetery and then she was asked to get up and was told that by following her husband to the very doors of death she had fulfilled all that was expected of her and that she should return. The same idea is referred to by the verse 'iyam nāri', but the latter half appears to refer to the practice of niyoga when it calls upon the departed to bestow on the wife offspring and wealth. It is possible to argue that Rg. X. 18. 8 also impliedly has niyoga in view. But both these verses do not expressly refer to the practice of sūti at all. They at the most might lead to the inference that the woman had either to marry the deceased husband's brother or go in for niyoga because the husband died sonless. The latter appears to me to be the more probable of the two hypotheses, if those are the only explanations. The symbolic use made in the grhyasūtras and in the Brhad-devatā of Rg. X. 18. 8 shows that they practically are against the burning of widows. It is probable that these authors knew of the custom of niyoga, that it was not then much approved of and so they are silent about it, while the Rgvidhāna which appears to be comparatively a late work takes the verse 'udīrśva' as referring to niyoga (which is most probably referred to in Rg. X. 40. 2 ko vāma śayyatri vidhaveva devarām). The consideration of the practice of widow burning naturally arises here from the above discussion and will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

Divorce

In the Vedic literature there are at least some texts capable of being interpreted as relating to the remarriage of widows and we have the word 'punarbhū'. But as regards divorce there is absolutely nothing in the Vedic texts nor is there much in post-vedic literature. The theory of dharma-sāstra writers is that marriage when completed by homa and saptapadi is indissoluble. Manu IX. 101 says 'Let mutual fidelity (between husband and wife) continue till death; this in brief may be understood to be the highest dharma of man and wife.' In another place Manu (IX. 46) declares 'neither by sale nor by
desertion is the wife released from the husband; we understand that this is the law ordained by the Creator in former times.' The position of the writers on dharmaśāstra is that marriage is a samāskāra, that the status of wife-hood arises from that samāskāra, that even if the husband or wife became patita, the samāskāra already performed is not annulled by that fact, that even if a wife committed adultery she still remains a wife and that when she performs a penance for her lapse, it is not necessary to have a fresh samāskāra of marriage performed on her. We have seen (pp. 552-553) that a man was allowed to supersede a wife and marry another or others or to abandon his wife altogether in certain circumstances. But that does not amount to divorce (i.e. dissolution of the marriage tie); the marriage is still there intact. It was also shown (at pp. 610-611) that according to Nārada, Parāśara and a few others a woman was allowed to remarry in case the husband died, or was unheard of &c.; but according to the digests and commentaries these rules apply to a former yuga (age). Therefore divorce in the ordinary sense of the word (i.e. divorce a vinculo matrimonii) has been unknown to the dharmaśāstras and to Hindu society for about two thousand years (except on the ground of custom among the lower castes). Even when the husband was allowed to abandon the wife for her lapse, still she was in most cases entitled to at least starving maintenance. Therefore tyāga (abandonment) was not only no divorce a vinculo at all but was not even a divorce a mensa et thoro (divorce from board and bed). Later smṛtis and medieval digests could hardly conceive of any ground for which the wife could desert her husband altogether, though Nārada and a few others allowed her to desert one husband and marry another if he was impotent, or became a sāmnyāsin or an outcast. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 77 says that a wife is not under the control of her husband as long as he remains patita (outcast or excommunicated) and that she should wait till he is purified by penance and restored to caste and that thereafter she again becomes dependent on him. The gravest sins can be expiated by penance (vide Manu XI. 89,

1455. Vide रिवेस्टम on या. III. 253-254 केवलिन परिवर्त्तकान्त पादरामयमिविश्न नेन्द्रणित संबंधितिविनिविताः प्राणाः सुसुदुः। तथा च सति विनाशसङ्गे पादरामयं न सुस्तुः। न च हस्तिना रामायनसङ्गाद्वयाः भवति संस्कारधिनितप्राणाः पुण्याः सोऽसुवर्ज य तत्थ च पाणेश्वरस्वयमानाः। अत्र एव पतिः पतितप्रविचारयात्रा पुण्यं संलिप्तं। अन्ययाः हु धार्मिकस्थितिः प्रविज्ञानकर्ता अभ्युदय! रक्तः। अतः स्विविज्ञानिषद्वर्पवर्य पाणेश्वरिः।
92, 101, 105-106); therefore it follows that a wife could not for ever desert even a patita husband. In modern times the Indian courts\(^\text{1457}\) have held that mere change of faith or apostasy by a Hindu wife or husband does not ipso facto dissolve the marriage and that if the wife changes her religion and then marries another while the first husband is still living, she would be guilty of bigamy. Mere desertion or separation for many years or even adultery does not dissolve a Hindu marriage (vide 42 Madras Law Journal 276). Only in cases where the husband or wife becomes a convert to Christianity, a special procedure is prescribed for the dissolution of the original Hindu marriage by the Native Converts’ Marriage Dissolution Act (XXI of 1866), which is not set out here as it is beyond the scope of this work to do so. Further, those Hindus who marry under the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872 as amended by Act XXX of 1923) can secure divorce under the Indian Divorce Act (IV of 1869). The Malabar Marriage Act (Madras Act IV of 1896) forbids polygamy if the first marriage is registered and allows divorce (sec. 19) among those who are governed by the Marumakkata-yam or Aliyasantana Law prevalent in Malabar.

The Arthasastra of Kaut\-ilya contains some interesting observations bearing on divorce.\(^\text{1458}\) ’A wife hating her husband cannot be released from the husband if he is unwilling (to let her go), nor can the husband release himself from the wife (if she is unwilling); but if there is mutual hatred then release is possible. If a man fearing danger (or injury) from his wife desires release from her, he shall return to her whatever was given to her (at the time of marriage). If a woman out of fear of danger (or injury) from the husband desires release, the latter need not return to her what was given to her (at the time of marriage); marriages in the approved form cannot be dissolved.’ Kaut\-ilya himself says (in III. 2) that the first four forms viz. brāhma, prājāpatya, ārṣa and daiva are dharmya (approved), since they are brought about under the authority of the father.\(^\text{1459}\) Therefore according to Kaut\-ilya there can

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1458. अन्नमय अड्डुकास्तु दियति भारी। मार्गितसास्व सर्व। ६२५५ व शेषालोकः
निवर्तनमात्र युजगांधारसंकान वेशणविद्युत्सनाते दुधारात्। युजगांधारसंकान प्री वेशयो-
मिष्टिक्षेत्रमें अदायः तृतीयतः दृवात्। अनोनो भद्रदर्शनानामिति। अर्थात्त्रम्भमें III. 3.

1459. विद्युत्सनात्तथेत दृवु घर्ममः। अर्थात्त्रमें III. 2.
be no dissolution of the marriage tie if the marriage was celebrated in one of the first four forms. But if the marriage was in the gāndharva, āsura or rākṣasa form, then the tie may be dissolved by mutual consent, if both have come to hate each other. But he seems to hold that there can be no release at the instance of only one party to the marriage who has begun to feel aversion to the other party in whatever form the marriage may have been performed. Even in this latter case he apparently makes an exception, where physical danger is apprehended by one party from the other.

It is beyond the scope of this work to compare the law of divorce in other countries or under other religious systems. It may be stated, however, that according to the strict theory of the Roman Catholic Church the marriage tie is indissoluble, though decrees of nullity of marriage were sometimes granted by that Church to those who could pay for them. In England after the Restoration divorce could be secured through the Parliament by a private Bill where a divorce a vinculo matrimonii was desired. But this method could be resorted to only by the rich, as the passage of a private Bill for divorce cost at least 500 £. The Ecclesiastical courts in England granted divorces a mensa et thoro on the ground of adultery, cruelty or unnatural offences, though such a divorce did not dissolve the marriage. But this procedure also was costly, as even an undefended suit for divorce a mensa et thoro would ordinarily cost from 300 to 500 £. Then came the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 (20 and 21 Vic. chap. 85) by sec. 27 of which a wife could petition for divorce only if she proved that since the celebration of marriage the husband was guilty of incestuous adultery, or of bigamy with adultery, or of adultery coupled with desertion. The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1923 (13 and 14 Geo. 5 chap. 19) placed women on an equality with men by allowing them to apply for divorce merely on the ground of adultery by the husband without having to prove anything more. Then the Act of 1937 known as A. P. Herbert's Act (1 Edw. 8 and 1 Geo. 6 chap. 57) allows the husband or wife to petition for divorce on four grounds. It will be noticed

1460. Vide the Gospels of Mark X. 2-12 and of Luke XVI. 18, which altogether forbid divorce.
from this that the absence of divorce and rigorous restrictions thereon are not a peculiarity of the Brahmanical religion or of the caste system, but existed even in so-called progressive, casteless and Christian countries up to very recent times. In modern times even in Roman Catholic countries divorce is allowed on various grounds; and in India too efforts are being made to enact legislation permitting divorce among Hindus for various reasons. And it may be admitted that some legal provision is necessary for securing divorce in hard cases even as to marriages celebrated under the ancient śāstric system on grounds similar to those in the English Act of 1937.
CHAPTER XV

SATĪ (Self-immolation of widows)

The word is often written as 'suttee' in English works and papers. This subject is now of academic interest in India, since for over a hundred years (i.e. from 1829) self-immolation of widows has been prohibited by law in British India and has been declared to be a crime. A portion of sec. 1 of the Regulation XVII of 1829 passed by the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck is set out below. We are now in a position to take a dispassionate view of the practice, to trace its origin and follow its working down to the date of its being declared illegal. It is not possible in the space available here to go into all details. Those interested may read the latest book on the subject by Mr. Edward Thomson.¹⁴⁶¹ The burning

¹⁴⁶¹ 'Suttee' (1928), which gives an account of it from the most ancient times, of the efforts made to suppress it by Raja Rama Mohan Roy and the British Government. In an appendix the author gives extracts from the accounts reported by those who witnessed widow burning from 317 B.C. to 1845 A.D. Vide also Max Muller's H. A. S. L. p. 48 for references to the custom of widow-burning among Greeks and Scythians; 'Die Frau' pp. 74-79 for accounts of travellers and eye witnesses; Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays vol. I (ed. of 1837) pp. 114-116 (for description of the rite), vol. II. chap. III. pp. 153-158; Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute vol. 14. p. 219. In the 'Travels of Peter Mundy' (1608-1669) published by the Hakluyt Society in 1914 vol. II. pp. 34-36, the author gives an account of the burning of a widow at Surat in 1650 with a sketch showing the widow having on her lap the head of her deceased husband. That writer also notes that the practice had in his time become rare, as under the Mogul rulers a special license from the Ruler or Governor was required. Similarly Barbosa (a Portuguese) describes the burning of a satī in the Vijayanagar kingdom (vide translation by M. L. Dames, vol. I. pp. 213-216).

Section 1 of Regulation XVII of 1829 which declared the practice of satī illegal and a crime punishable in the courts (and passed by the Governor-General in Council on 4th December 1829) is:

The practice of Suttee or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus is revolting to the feelings of human nature; it is nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindus as an imperative duty; on the contrary a life of

(Continued on next page)
of widows was not peculiar to Brahmanism, as many are prone to believe, but the custom owes its origin to the oldest religious views and superstitious practices of mankind in general. The practice of widow burning obtained among ancient Greeks, Germans, Slavs and other races (vide 'Die Frau' pp. 56, 82–83 and Schrader's 'Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan People,' English Translation of 1890, p. 391 and Westermarck's 'Origin and Development of Moral Ideas,' 1906, vol. I, pp. 472–476), but was generally confined to the great ones, the princes and nobles.

There is no Vedic passage which can be cited as incontrovertibly referring to widow-burning as then current, nor is there any mantra which could be said to have been repeated in very ancient times at such burning nor do the ancient gṛhya-sūtras contain any direction prescribing the procedure of widow burning. It therefore appears probable that the practice arose in Brahmanical India a few centuries before Christ. Whether it was indigenous or was copied from some non-Aryan or non-Indian tribes cannot be demonstrated. None of the dharmasūtras

(Continued from last page)

purity and retirement on the part of the widow is more especially and preferably inculcated and by a vast majority of that people throughout India the practice is not kept up or observed; in some extensive districts it does not exist; in those in which it has been most frequent, it is notorious that, in many instances, acts of atrocity have been perpetrated, which have been shocking to the Hindus themselves, and in their eyes unlawful and wicked. Actuated by these considerations the Governor-General in Council, without intending to depart from one of the first and most important principles of the system of British Government in India that all classes of the people be secure in the observance of their religious usages, so long as that system can be adhered to without violation of the paramount dictates of justice and humanity, has deemed it right to establish the following rules &c.

1462. Raja Radhakant Deva relied upon two verses which he found in the Aukhya Śākhā of the Tai. S. quoted in the 84th Anuvāka of the Nrāyaṇyāya Upaniṣad as the most explicit authority for widow burning: vide Prof. H. H. Wilson’s Works vol. II. pp. 293–305. The two so-called Vedic texts are: 

अः अः नातान नातार्तिसि पत्यवासस्माच वर्तिस्याति सृयां 

तनो भाष्यासि। इस्य ला अय शनिष्णि जिष्ण। ह्राक्षोत्स अय | 

अः अः नातान नातार्तिसि पत्यवासस्माच वर्तिस्याति (pp. 295–296). These, to say the least, are of doubtful authenticity.

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except Viṣṇu contains any reference to sāti. The Manusmṛti is entirely silent about it. It is stated in Strabo (XV. 1. 30 and 62) that the Greeks under Alexander found sāti practised among the Catheai in the Punjab and that that practice arose from the apprehension that wives would desert or poison their husbands (Hamilton and Falconer's Translation vol. III). The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra1463 says 'On her husband's death the widow should observe celibacy or should ascend the funeral pyre after him.' The Mahābhārata, though it is profuse in the descriptions of sanguinary fights, is very sparing in its references to widow burning. Mādri, the favourite wife of Pāṇḍu, burnt herself with her husband's body.1464 In the Viṣṇu-purāṇa Sairandhri is ordered to be burnt with Kīcaka,1465 just as in ancient times it is said there was a custom to bury a slave or slaves along with the deceased ruler. The Mausala parva (7. 18) says that four wives of Vasudeva, viz. Devaki, Bhadrā, Rohini and Madirā burnt themselves with him and (chap. 7. 73–74) that Rukmini, Gāndhrī, Śaibyā, Haimavati, Jambavatī among the consorts of Kṛṣṇa burnt themselves along with his body and other queens like Satyabhāmā went to a forest for tapas. The Viṣṇupurāṇa also says that eight queens of Kṛṣṇa, Rukmini and others, entered fire on the death of Kṛṣṇa.1466 The Śānti-parva (chap. 148) describes how a kapotī (female pigeon) entered fire on the death of her husband the bird.1467 In the Śrīparva (chap. 26) the Great Epic describes the death ceremonies performed for the fallen Kauravas, but no mention is made of any widow immolating herself on the funeral pyre though the chariots, clothes and weapons of the warriors are said to have been consigned to fire. From the above it appears

1463. सुते महर्षि बड्ठुवर्ष तत्त्वारोहया या। विष्णुभाष्य 25. 14 quoted by the लिखात्रि on या. I. 86.

1464. आदिपृ 95. 65 'तव इन नितिलिपि महाभरत समस्तवर्देश न। आदि 125. 29 'पर्वत सर्विन सह मायारथ छोडेदिष्टे। मुखर्य दृष्टिर्द्विवेगकृतवर्ष दिव्य कुषा।' 1465. देत्रे नात्रवाण सह दृष्टे विषाण पतिः। विष्णुभाष्य 23. 8.

1466. अद्री महर्षि: काविता षिद्वाचमणि सुकामुख्या या। वर्षक सर्वदर्षे विष्णुभाष्य। हुमायू नामम्॥ विष्णुभाष्य V. 38. 2.

1467. पवित्रता संवहुदी सत्यकारिनाम तु वाचार्य। काविता षिद्वाचमणि सुकामुख्या या। तत्त्व संवहु। विष्णुभाष्य 148. 10–12. This passage is quoted in the Mit. on Yāj. I. 86 in support of the plea that sāti is enjoined and leads to great bliss in the other world.
that the practice was originally confined to royal families and
great warriors even in India and that cases of widow burning
were rare. Several texts are cited by Aparārka from Paiṭhīnasī,
Āṅgiras, Vṛāghrapād which apparently forbid self-immolation
to brāhmaṇa widows.\textsuperscript{1468} The authors of digests explain away
these passages by saying that they only prohibit self-immola-
tion by a brāhmaṇa widow on a funeral pyre different from that
of the husband i.e. a brāhmaṇa widow can burn herself only
on the funeral pyre of her husband and if his body is cremated
elsewhere in a foreign land, his widow cannot, on hearing of
his death, burn herself later. They rely on the text of Uśanas
that a brāhmaṇa widow should not follow her husband on a
separate funeral pyre. The Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (II.53) says that
a brāhmaṇa wife should enter fire, clasping the dead body of
her husband; if she lives (after her husband) she should give
up adorning her hair and emaciate her body by austerities.\textsuperscript{1469}
In the Rāmayana,\textsuperscript{1470} (Uttarakanda 17.15) there is a reference
to the self-immolation of a brāhmaṇa woman (the wife of
a brahmārṣi and mother of Vedavati, who when molested
by Kāvana burnt herself in fire). The Mahābhārata (Strī-
parva 23.34 ff.) on the other hand describes how Krīḍa, the
wife of Drona, the brāhmaṇa commander-in-chief of the Kauravas,
appeared with dishevelled hair on the battle-field on the death
of her husband, but does not say that she burnt herself.\textsuperscript{1471} It
appears therefore that the burning of brāhmaṇa widows began
much later than that of kṣatriya widows.

The burning of a widow on the death of her husband is
called sahamarana or sahagamana or anvārohana (when she

\textsuperscript{1468} ब्राह्मण विद्वानो नासिष्क वानिधि वधिन हवासाधनात्। इतरां ते समांतां

\textsuperscript{1469} या श्री कान्ताण्याविधिः सुविस्तर विद्वानालयत्। सा स्वामिनाभूता

\textsuperscript{1470} स्थितं सर्वं भ्राता नासिष्क विधिकिलिता।

\textsuperscript{1471} अन्यायाय वै वै वासिष्क विधिकिलितं परं स्थितं व सत्यम्। वस्तूः

\textsuperscript{1469} मूलं भारतदासाः वासिष्की विधिवतिरेत। जीविती (५.२.५.

\textsuperscript{1470} अन्तर्भ। ते समांतां सर्वं भ्राता नासिष्क विधिकिलिता।

\textsuperscript{1471} तत् पञ्च वरुणार्णी सुस्वर्गेऽपि नासिष्की विधिकिलिता।

\textsuperscript{1469} प्रेमवत्रीतिः स्व सत्यम्। वस्तूः व वै वै वासिष्क विधिकिलित।

\textsuperscript{1469} स्वपन्नां समाते मयै विधिकिलिता। नासिष्क विधिकिलित।

\textsuperscript{1469} स्वपन्नां समाते मयै विधिकिलिता। नासिष्क विधिकिलित।

\textsuperscript{1469} स्वपन्नां समाते मयै विधिकिलिता। नासिष्क विधिकिलित।
ascends the funeral pyre of her husband and is burnt along with his corpse), but anumāraṇa occurs when, after her husband is cremated elsewhere and she learns of his death, the widow resolves upon death and is burnt with the husband's ashes or his pādukās (sandal) or even without any memento of his if none be available\textsuperscript{1472} (vide Aparārka p. 111 and Madanapārijitā p. 198). In the Kumārasambhava (IV. 34) of Kālidāsa, Rati, the wife of Kāma who was burnt by Śiva, speaks of throwing herself into fire, but is held back by a heavenly voice. In the Gāthāsaptāśati (VII. 33) there is a reference to a woman being decked for anumāraṇa (Nirn. ed.). The Kāmasūtra VI. 3.53 speaks of anumāraṇa. It has been shown (at p. 579) how Vaṟābamihira admires women for their courage in being burnt with their husbands. The Hārṣacarita (Ucchvāsa 5) describes how Yaśomati, the chief queen of king Prabhākaravardhana and mother of Harsa, consigned herself to fire when the king was dying. But this is not a proper case of sāti, as she burnt herself even before her husband died. In another passage of the Hārṣacarita (V, in the description of night) the glory of moon-lotuses is said to be laughing like a woman intent on anumāraṇa, who is decked with ear ornaments and wears garlands on her head.\textsuperscript{1473} Bāṇa in his Kādambari in a most eloquent and well-reasoned passage condemns anumāraṇa.\textsuperscript{1474} The Bhāgavatapurāṇa I. 13. 57 speaks of Gāndhārī's burning herself on the death of her husband, Dhṛtarāṣṭra. The

\textsuperscript{1472} Vide the passage beginning with 'धन्योनन्दन वनस्पतियाँ त्रिपुरोक्साम । निष्कम्बरनिग्रहिता वेशसम्पीदते । द्वितीयसप्ताशते कृती न संविर्योपाणि । तावधातौ प्रत्य तत्तव्येषु अर्थं अनालि हः भवते । संकुरुणं कृत्यं अव्यक्तेद्भवते कहस्ते।' quoted by Aparārka p. 111., where Aparārka tells us that Vedic verses which render self-immolation free from the sin of suicide are verses like 'िनमं निकरते' (Ṛg. X. 18. 7) quoted in note 1450.

\textsuperscript{1473} Vide the passage with 'पुराणमरमसाहित्याधिकाराय বাসামারাকালিত্রাশাহনানিতাশল্যাহ অহংপিঞ্চলাসাহ বিভিন্নতানেহ জ্যোতির্বিন্দুতা' quoted in paragraph 177 of my edition of the pūrvabhāṣga, which Candraśīpi addresses to Maheśvara, where he gives instances of famous women like Rati, Pṛthā, Uttarā, Duḥśalā that did not resort to sahasamana and winds up 'अर्नाय खं दुभूष्णिकुंभ-सिद्धशण्मवक्षणा असुःसिद्धिः सवहव्य विदुहयात्रि'.

\textsuperscript{1474} Vide the passage in his अद्विति (p. 242) quotes the passage of the नामस्त्रवाणि.
Rājatarangini cites in several places (e.g. VI. 107, 195; VII. 103, 478) examples of sati.

In numerous epigraphic records reference is made to the practice of sati. Among the earliest is the one in 191 of the Gupta era (510 A.D.) in the Gupta Inscriptions (ed. by Fleet) p. 91. Vide also the Eran posthumous stone pillar Inscription of Goparāja which says that his wife accompanied him on the funeral pyre when he was killed in battle; I. A. vol. IX. p. 164 (Nepal Inscription of 705 A.D., where Rājyavatī, widow of Dharmadeva, bids her son Mahādeva to take up the reins of government that she may follow her husband); the Belaturu Inscription of sāka 979 of the time of Rājendradeva Cola (E. I. vol. VI. p. 213) where a śūdra woman Dekabbe, on hearing of her husband’s death, burnt herself in spite of the strong opposition of her parents who then erected a stone monument to her; E. I. vol. 14 p. 265, 267 where a grant is made in sāka 1103 to a temple by Sinda Mahāmāndaleśvara Rācamalla on a request by two satis, widows of his general Bescirāja; E. I. vol. 20, p. 168 (of Cedi sañvat 919) which refers to three queens that became satis; E. I. vol X. p. 39 where the Temaragate stone inscription of sāka 1246 speaks of Māṇikyadevī as satī on the death of her husband Āmana who was an officer of king Hariścandra; E. I. vol. 20 p. 58 (Mistra Deoli Inscription in Jodhpur when two queens of a Gohila Rāṇā became satis); E. I. vol. 16, p. 10, n. 4 and p. 11, n. 2 for sati records of sāka 1365 and 1362. In an article on ‘Satī memorial stones’ in J. B. O. R. S. vol. 23, p. 435 ff. it is shown how the memorial stones usually bear the figure of the upraised arm and of the sun and the moon on either side and a group of stars. Among the well-known latest historical examples of satī is that of Ramābāī, wife of the Peshwa Madhavrao I, in 1772 A.D. The Jauhar practised by the Rajput ladies of Chitor and other places for saving themselves from unspeakable atrocities at the hands of the victorious Moslems are too well-known to need any lengthy notice.

In the Indian Antiquary vol. 35 p. 129 there is a paper on ‘Satī immolation which is not satī’, where several examples of men who killed themselves out of devotion to their masters or for other causes are cited and it is pointed out how stone monuments (called mūstikkal i.e. stone monument for mahīśatī a great satī, and ‘virakkal’ for brave and devoted men) are erected.
in memory of satis and men. The Harṣacarita (V. 3rd para from end) describes how many of the king’s friends, ministers, servants and favourites killed themselves on the death of Prabhākaravardhana. The Rājatarāṅgini VII. 481 narrates how when the queen of king Ananta became a sati on her husband’s death, her litter-carrier and some other men and three of her dāsis followed her in death. There is the example of a mother burning herself on the funeral pyre of her son (vide Rājatarāṅgini VII. 1380). We shall see later on that suicide at holy places like Prayāga was practised for attaining heavenly worlds and bliss. Life seems to have been deemed of small account in those ages and though the death of women or men on the funeral pyre of the husband or for their masters appears to us sophisticated people of modern days as very horrible, it did not so appear to the ancients. Sati was not in historic times a practice imposed by priests or men on unwilling women. It somehow grew and it is improper to say that men imposed it on women. It may be that examples of sati occurred because of the force of popular sentiment. It was first confined to kings and nobles, because the lot of the wives of conquered kings and warriors was most miserable in all countries as well as in India. Vengeance for the truculence of their husbands was wreaked on the-poor wives by carrying them as captives and making them work as slaves. Manu (VII. 96) allows a soldier to retain women (probably ‘slaves’) conquered by him along with other booty. When queen Yaśomati narrates to her son Harṣa the great honour and glory that was hers during the reign of her husband king Prabhākaravardhana, she refers to the fact that the wives of the enemies defeated by her husband waved chowries over her. 1476 From kings the practice spread among brāhmānas, though as shown above, several smṛtikāras disapproved of the practice among brāhmaṇa wives. Once it took root learned commentators and digest writers were found to support it with arguments and promises of future rewards. Even in modern times we can secure learned writers to support any pet theory of a coterie or clique. When Manchester and Liverpool were prosperous, English economists preached the doctrine of free trade and laissez faire to all nations, but in more difficult times we have now the apotheosis of Empire Preference and discriminating preference for home-made goods. Manu IV. 178 asks people to do whatever their forefathers did.

1476. आपीसी आपातिस: पूर्वमिन्निकर्तवयुक्तिपुनिखम भानिप्रजासत्िः आपि नरप्रमाणैः इति इति V.
The rewards promised to a *sati* were as follows: Śaṅkha and Āṅgiras say 'she who follows her husband in death, dwells in heaven for as many years as there are hair on the human body, viz. 3½ crores of years. Just as a snake-catcher draws out a snake from a hole by force, so such a woman draws her husband from (wherever he may be) and enjoys bliss together with him. In heaven she being solely devoted to her husband and praised by bevies of heavenly damsels sports with her husband for as long as fourteen Indras rule. Even if the husband be guilty of the murder of a brāhmaṇa or of a friend or be guilty of ingratitude, the wife who dies (in fire) clasping his body, purifies him (of the sin). That woman, who ascends (the funeral pyre) when the husband dies, is equal to Arundhatī in her character and is praised in heaven. As long as a woman does not burn herself in fire on the death of her husband she is never free from being born as a woman (in successive births). Harita says 'that woman who follows her husband in death purifies three families, viz. of her mother, of her father and of her husband'. The Mit. after quoting the above passages adds that this duty of anvārohana is common to the women of all castes from the brāhmaṇa to the cāndāla, provided they are not pregnant or they have no young children (at the husband's death).'

There were old commentators who were opposed to the practice of *sati*. Medhātithi on Manu V. 157 (Kāmam tu &c.) compares this practice to *ṣyenayāga* which a man performed by

1477. तिसरः कोशोपर्धकोभिः च वाटि ऋषिवानि नामसे तावत्मकां कर्मस्य भवरूपसदृशी || वास्तवातीते रथवा सर्वे चक्रुद्रस्ते विस्माद् तद्धुत्वम् सो नारी सत सतेव नाभुते तत्र सा भृष्टाणि पुनः मानानाति || कौशले पिताय सत्वं पाद्विपिण्यादिवर्धस् भवरूपो च कामो च भ्रात्रोव च भिन्नो वा भावतिः पुनर्बिपिण्या नारी तत्सादु च चतुर्व हि यहां सुना भावरूप च नारी च वार्दवीरदेवस्यामच म । सहाययो समस्यांतः सर्वस्तोके भृष्टोऽवलोकि । सत्तावरूपाः च वर्षो । पत्री च नामस्य भावरूपं || तावत्मकाः केनस्य सा हि क्रिश्चीरिववाचनम् || quoted by the मित्यादिष्टा on पा. I. 86, अन्तर्गत P. 110, हुद्यत्तम P. 234. The two verses तिसरः कोशो भाष. are also parāsa IV. 32 and 33 and आचार्य, ऋतिष्ठानम् chap. 10. 76 and 74.

1478. अर्थवतः सर्ववतः ऋषिवानामिनीऽवशंस्कवानात्तां श्रद्धां शुची वा च चालिवादवेरीपप्रिप्यादवात् विशालोऽव पात्रे I. 86; vide the same words in मद्य. पा. P. 196 and शुचिप्र. (संस्कृत p. 162), in which latter they are expressly quoted from विशालोऽव.
way of black magic to kill his enemy. He says\(^1479\) that though Angiras allowed ‘anumaraṇa’ it is suicide and is really forbidden to women. Just as the Veda says ‘syenābhicaran yajet’ and yet syenayāga is not looked upon as dharma, but rather as adharma (vide Śabara on Jaimini I. 1. 2), so, though Angiras speaks of it, it is really adharma; and that a woman who is in a hurry and extremely anxious to secure heaven quickly for herself and her husband might act according to Angiras, still her action is asāstriya (not in accordance with the sāstras); besides anvārohana is opposed to the Vedic text ‘one should not leave this world before one has finished one’s allotted span of life’.” The Mit. on Yāj. I. 86 combats these arguments. It says that syenayāga is no doubt undesirable and therefore adharma, but that is so because the object of syenayāga is injury to another. Anugamana on the other hand is not so; there the result promised is heaven which is a desirable result and which is enjoined by śruti in such sentences as ‘one should sacrifice a white goat to Vāyu if one desires prosperity’. Similarly the smṛti about anugamana is not opposed to the śruti quoted, the meaning of which is different; that śruti means ‘one should not waste one’s life for securing heavenly bliss which is fleeting and insignificant as compared with the supreme bliss of Brahma knowledge’. As the woman in anumaraṇa desires only heaven, she is not doing anything contrary to the śruti texts. This is the reasoning of the Mitākṣara which looks like special pleading. Aparārka p. 111, the Madanapārijāta p. 199, Par. M. II. part I pp. 55–56 follow the reasoning of the Mit and add that the Vedic text about the allotted span of life is a general rule, while the smṛti about anumaraṇa is a special or exceptional sāstra and so there is no contradiction as the rule applies to all cases outside the excepted one. The Madanapārijāta (p. 200) further explains that the texts about purifying a husband guilty of brāhmaṇa murder are not to be taken literally but only as hyperbolically extolling anvārohana.

\(^{1479}\) दुःखीमायि वर्तिष्ठ सामथवानो चाकृत्यां परमामात्रिको विद्युं नमूनयां निर्विश्वास्यब्रह्मांक । दशायं वनमात्रिको तत्कालाकारामिहनेतस्मायुक्ततः स्वामस्म अन्तो न परस्तंकू, वर्षक किं अभिसूनाल्वहितविधानम्। सर्वार्के वर्तिष्ठे तत्कालाकारर नर्त्यो अवनुपयोगोऽस्मां । अवस्मातप्रत्ययम् परनिर्विश्वास्याश्चव अवस्मातप्रतिविद्यां अवस्मात । किं च तत्कालाकारर न युपनुपयेः मेधातः । इति अवस्मातप्रतिविद्यां नेषाः। मेधाः । येष व्य । ॥ ॥ ॥ किं च तत्कालाकारर न युपनुपयेः मेधातः । येषांनामिनिभवनेति हि सामान्यां नाममिश्रितामिनीति । येषांनामिनिभवनेति हि सामान्यां नाममिश्रितामिनीति ।
The Sm. C. also expressly says that anvārohāna,⁴⁸⁰ though recommended by the Visnu Dh. S. (25. 14) and Āṅgiras, is inferior to brahmacarya (leading a celibate life), since the rewards of anvārohāna are inferior to those of brahmacarya. As against this may be cited the extreme view of Āṅgiras 'for all women there is no other duty except falling into the funeral pyre, when the husband dies.'⁴⁸¹ The Śuddhitattva remarks that this extreme or sweeping statement is made by way of belauding sahamarāṇa.

We saw above that brāhmaṇa widows were only allowed anvārohāna, but not anumaraṇa. There were other restrictions enjoined by the smṛtis on all widows 'wives who have a child of tender years, who are pregnant, who have not attained puberty and who are in their monthly course do not mount the funeral pyre of their husbands'⁴⁸²—from the Bṛha-Nārādiya purāṇa. There is a similar verse of Bṛhaspati. The wife who was in her course was allowed to burn herself after she bathed on the fourth day.

Apastamba (verse) prescribes the Prājapatyā penance for a woman who having first resolved to burn herself on the funeral pyre turns back from it at the last moment.⁴⁸³ The Rājatarāṅgiṇī (VI. 196) refers to a queen who having pretended to have resolved on becoming sati ultimately regretted the step and turned back.

The Śuddhitattva sets out the procedure of widow burning.⁴⁸⁴ The widow bathes and puts on two white garments, takes kuṣa blades in her hands, faces the east or north, performs ācamana (sipping water); when the brāhmaṇas say 'om, tat sat' she remembers the God Nārāyaṇa and refers to the time (month, fortnight,

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⁴⁸⁰...⁴⁸¹...⁴⁸²...⁴⁸³...⁴⁸⁴...
tithi) and then makes the samkalpa (declaration of resolve) set out below. She then calls upon the eight lokapālas (guardians of the quarters), the sun, the moon, the fire &c. to become witnesses to her act of following her husband on the funeral pyre, she then goes round the fire thrice, then the brāhmaṇa recites the Vedic verse 'imā nārīr &c.' (Rg. X. 18.7) and a Purāṇa verse 'may these very good and holy women who are devoted to their husbands enter fire together with the body of the husband,' the woman utters 'namo nāmaḥ' and ascends the kindled pyre. The long-winded preamble of the samkalpa 'arundhati...patipūtavakāmā' is based upon the verses of Āṅgiras quoted above (in n. 1477). The Śuddhitattva as printed is corrupt but it appears that it read the last quarter of Rg. X. 18.7 as 'ārohantu jalayonim-agne' (let them ascend the watery seat or origin, O fire!) meaning probably 'may fire be to them as cool as water'. Some writers have charged the brāhmaṇa priest-hood (or Raghunandana) with having purposely changed the reading of the verse Rg. X. 18.7 in order to make it suit the rite of immolating oneself in fire (i.e. 'agne' or 'agneḥ' was substituted for 'agre'). But this charge is not sustainable. That the verse Rg. X. 18.7 as it actually is was held to refer to widow burning centuries before Raghunandana follows from the fact that even the Brahmapurāṇa and Aparārka (quoted above on p. 628) take it in that sense. It was therefore not necessary to alter the reading. Further even if some priests or Raghunandana had changed it that fact would have been detected in no time, as in those days there were thousands of people who knew every syllable of the Ṛgveda by heart. Therefore it must be admitted that either the Mss. are corrupt or Raghunandana committed an innocent slip. That mantra was not addressed to widows at all, but to ladies of the deceased man's household whose husbands were living and the gṛhyasūtra of Āśv. made use of it with that meaning. Raghunandana, a profound student of dharmaśāstras and śūrītas (and often styled Śāmba-bhaṭṭa-cārya), could not have been ignorant of what Āśv. said. The procedure as prescribed in the Nīrṇaya-sindhu of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, whose mother became a sārī
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1485. अज्ञिनव (p. 235) itself quotes the गृहसूत्र text 'अस्वेद्वादृश सामीश्री'।
1486. Vide विनिवेशस्वरूप III, विनिवेश p. 623 and ब्रह्मवीर्य pp. 483-484. The ब्रह्मवीर्य expressly refers to the Gauda procedure as different from his "वीर्यस्वरूप 'वा गृहसूत्रविशेष' विन 'अस्वेद्वादृश विनिवेशस्वरूप' सति च विनिवेश पूर्विवेशाः।"
and who pays a very tender and touching reverence to her memory in his works, is somewhat different and it is followed by the Dharmasindhu.

It appears from all accounts of travellers and others that widow-burning prevailed more in Bengal during the centuries immediately preceding its abolition than anywhere else in India. If that was so, there were certain good reasons for that state of things. In the whole of India, except Bengal, the widows of members in a joint Hindu family are only entitled to maintenance and have no other rights over the property of the family. In Bengal, wherever the Dāyabhāga prevails, the widow of a sonless member even in a joint Hindu family is entitled to practically the same rights over joint family property which her deceased husband would have had. This must have frequently induced the surviving members to get rid of the widow by appealing at a most distressing hour to her devotion to and love for her husband. This rule of the widow's right was not for the first time propounded by Jīmatāvāhana; he makes it clear that he followed a predecessor called Jitendriya. The figures given above lend support to the view expressed here, since Benares, where the rights of widows were insignificant, was responsible for a small number of satis only. It is impossible, however, to believe that the number of widows in ordinary stations of life burning themselves was very large at any time or that most of the widows that did so were coerced into doing it. There is a good deal of epigraphic and other evidence particularly in other parts of India that relatives tried to dissuade the widow from taking the step. Even in Bengal the number of satis must never have been very

1487. Thomson in his book on 'Suttee' (pp. 69, 72) gives the figures for satis reported from the Bengal Presidency (which then included Bihar and extended up to Benares) during 1815–1828. The lowest figure was 378 in 1815 and the highest 839 in 1818. Out of the total of 2366 cases during the four years 1815–1818, the Calcutta division alone contributed 1485, the Benares division, the seat of orthodoxy, contributed only 343. Vide H. H. Wilson's 'History of India' (ed. of 1858), vol. III (for 1805–1835 A. D.), pp 185–192. At p. 189 a table of the number of satis for 1815–1828 is given, from which it appears that in 1828 there were 463 cases of satis out of whom 420 came from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, out of which 287 were from the Calcutta division alone.

1488. Vide वृङ्कमाण (ed. by Jivāṇanda, 1893) 'अनेविशिष्टमेव विभक्तायथे सक्षम अव्यवहारिनी विनिमित्ते विशेष्येष्ठितौ आवृत्तमयो' (p. 46); 'पत्नी जा नातुन ज्ञातिवर्ण न दुःतर्व व्यभिचारनिकिष्ठार्याबुद्धिः' (p. 56).
large. Colebrooke, who had spent the best part of his life in Bengal and who was a profound Sanskrit scholar, observes in a paper written about 1795 A. D. 'Happily the martyrs of this superstition have never been numerous. It is certain that the instances of the widow's sacrifices are now rare.'\textsuperscript{1489} The very fact that there was no disturbance of peace or ebullition of popular feeling or even any great verbal protest from the vast Hindu population (except a petition to the Privy Council) against Bentinck's sweeping measure indicates two things, viz. that the burning of widows was a rare occurrence and that people were not very keen on observing the practice nor had they any very deep-seated convictions about its absolute religious necessity.\textsuperscript{1490}

Modern India does not justify the practice of 	extit{sati}, but it is a warped mentality that rebukes modern Indians for expressing admiration and reverence for the cool and unaltering courage of Indian women in becoming 	extit{satis} or performing the 	extit{jauhar} for cherishing their ideals of womanly conduct. If Englishmen can feel pride in their ancestors who grabbed one fourth of the world's surface or if Frenchmen can feel pride in the deeds of their Emperor Napoleon who tried to enslave the whole of Europe and yet are not held up to ridicule or rebuke, there is no reason why poor Indians cannot express admiration for the sacrifices which their women made in the past, though they may condemn the institution itself which demanded such terrible sacrifice and suffering.

\textsuperscript{1489} Vide Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays (ed. of 1837) vol. I. p. 122.

\textsuperscript{1490} Vide Fitz-Edward Hall's paper in J. R. A. S. vol. III New Series (1868) pp. 190-191, footnote, where he quotes extracts from the writings of Prof. Wilson, Marshman and others that show how fears of violent resistance to Bentinck's measure were singularly falsified.
CHAPTER XVI

VESYÄ

VESYÄ—(Courtezan.). This work dealing among other matters with the position of women and marriage in India would be incomplete if nothing were said about prostitutes and concubines. Prostitution has existed from the dawn of history in all countries and in the absence of statistics it is difficult to say whether it flourished more in one country than in another or whether it existed to a greater or lesser extent in ancient days as compared with modern times. The article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica on prostitution will be an eye-opener to many who will be inclined to turn their nose at Indian conditions.

From the Rigveda we find that there were women who were common to several men i.e. who were courtezans or prostitutes. In Rg. I. 167. 4 the bright Maruts (storm gods) are said to have become associated with the young (lightning), just as men become associated with a young courtezan. It has already been seen how in Rg. II. 29. 1 reference is made to a woman who gives birth in secret to a child and leaves it aside. In Rg. I. 66. 4, I. 117. 18, I. 134. 3 and other places jūra (paramour or secret lover) is spoken of. In Gaut. XXII. 27 it is said that for killing a woman who is a brāhmaṇī by birth only and who subsists by harlotry no prāyāscīta is necessary but eight handfuls of corn may be gifted. Manu IV. 209 forbids a brāhmaṇa from taking food offered by harlots (vide also IV. 219); and Manu IX. 259 requires the king to punish clever (or deceitful) harlots. In the Mahābhārata courtezans are an established institution. The Ādi-parva (115. 39) narrates how a vēṣyā waited upon Dhrētarāṣṭra when his wife Gāndhari was pregnant. In the Udyogaparva (30. 38) Yudhīśṭhīra sends greetings to the vēṣyās of the Kauravas. Courtezans are described as going out to welcome Kṛṣṇa when he came on a mission of peace to the Kaurava court (Udyoga 86. 15). When the Pāṇḍava armies are described as about to start for battle it

1491. परा खुशा अपनातो वषा साधारणेष्व नवतो निखिलां। श्री. I. 167. 4.
1492. वाष्पां ज्ञि च भाषा वाजनसुवर्षिता। पुराणं सहारं वेषा पर्यंचर-विकासं॥ अधि I. 115. 39.
is said that cart, markets and courtesans also accompanied them (Udyoga 151. 58). Vide also Vanaparva 239. 37, Karnaparva 94. 26, Yaj.1493 II. 290 divides concubines into two sorts, avaruddhā (one who is kept in the house itself and forbidden to have intercourse with any other male) and bhujisya (concubine who is not kept in the house, but elsewhere and is in the special keeping of a person) and prescribes a fine of fifty papas against another person having intercourse with them. Ārada1494 (stripumāsa, 78-79) says 'intercourse is permitted with wanton women (svairipi) who are not brāhmaṇa by caste, with a prostitute, a female slave, or a female not restrained by her master, if these belong to a caste lower than oneself; but it is forbidden with women of superior caste. But when these very women are the kept mistresses (of a person) intercourse with them by a stranger is as much a crime as intercourse with another's wife. Such women must not be approached, though intercourse with them is not forbidden (on the ground of caste &c.), since they belong to another.' On Yāj. II. 290 the Mit., after quoting the Skandapurāṇa to the effect that prostitutes constitute a separate caste being sprung from certain Apsaras (heavenly nymphs) called pāncacuḍās, states that such courtesans as are not kept specially by a person do not incur any sin, nor punishment at the hands of the king, if they have intercourse with men of the same or a superior caste, nor do men approaching them incur any penalty if they are not avaruddhā. But the men who visit them incur sin (which is an unseen result), since the smṛtis ordain that men should be devoted to their wives (vide Yāj. I. 81) and the prājapatiya penance is prescribed for him who has intercourse with a vṛtyā (vide Atri v. 271). Ārada1495 (vētasāyānapākarma 18) lays down that if a public woman after getting her fee refuses to receive the customer, she shall pay twice the amount of the fee and the same fine shall be imposed on a man who does not pay the (stipulated) fee, after having had intercourse with a vṛtyā. Vide Yāj. II. 292 and Matsyapurāṇa 227. 144-145 for

1493. अवधानां वृत्तिः साधनां वदिः च। ग्रामपालयां वृत्तिः साधनां वदिः प्रालालयमिः 

1494. सीनिन्द्राणां वदिः दानी विकल्पानिः च या। ग्रामः कुशाकोन्येन वदिः दानी विकल्पानिः । आद्वे दु: तु कुशाकोन्येन वदिः स्थतंवादैः। ग्रामः आवे विकल्पानिः च परिवर्तनाय नातृते विकल्पानिः। नाना, वास्तुः 78-79. 

1495. सूक्तिः वृत्तिः वदिः ता: तन्नां विकल्पानिः च या। विन्दुः कुशाकोन्येन वदिः ता: तन्नां विकल्पानिः। अवधानां वृत्तिः साधनां वदिः प्रालालयमिः। नाना, वास्तुः (वेदानांकसाकार) 18.
similar provisions. The Matsyapurāṇa chap. 70 dilates upon veṣyādharma. The Kāmasūtra I. 3. 20 defines a gazikā as a veṣyā who is most accomplished and proficient in the 64 kalās. Aparārka (p. 800, on Yāj. II. 198) quotes Nārada (cited above) and several verses of the Matsyapurāṇa about veṣyās.

Concupines being recognized by society, the smṛtis provided for their maintenance. During the life-time of a person keeping a concubine, the latter has no legal right to proceed against the former. Nārada (dāyabhāga 1496-52) and Kātyāyana lay down that even when the property of a deceased person eschews to the king for want of heirs (except in the case of the deceased being a brāhmaṇa) the king has first to provide for the maintenance of the concubines of the deceased, of his slaves and for his sṛāddhas. The Mit. says that the concubines here referred to are those called avaruddhā (and not bhūjīṣyā) and that even the kept mistresses of a deceased brāhmaṇa are entitled to maintenance from his property. The Privy Council in Bai Nagubai v. Bai Monghibai have gone beyond the Mit. and have held that all concubines (whether kept in the house practically as members of the family i.e. avaruddhā or not so kept i.e. bhūjīṣyā) within the exclusive keeping of a Hindu till his death are entitled to maintenance from his property after his death, provided they are continuously chaste thereafter. 1497

The rights of the illegitimate children of concubines to inheritance or maintenance will be dealt with later on under inheritance.

Out of the sāmkāras enumerated above (pp. 195-197), the Mahāyajñas, Utsarjana and Upākarma will be described under the next chapter, viz. āhnikā and antyeṣṭi under āśauca.

1496. अभिनिः परेक्षाम बाहिरम् प्रवोधितापि अविश्वेतः
अपार्य अविश्वेतम् अविश्वेते
प्रोज्यसि नावक्कासीति वीरस्थितिः
काश्चर्योऽपि वाणिज्यितस्य
श्रुतिः अपार्यम्

CHAPTER XVII

ĀHNIKA AND ĀCĀRA

(Daily and periodical duties and ceremonies)

This forms a very important topic of dharmaśāstra. The daily duties of the brahmaśārin have been already described above and those of the vānaprastha and yati will be spoken of later on. Under this section we are concerned principally with the duties of the snātaka (the would-be householder) and the grhaṣṭha (the householder).

Before the āhnikā duties are described a few remarks about the importance of the stage of householder would not be out of place. It has already been shown (pp. 424-425) how one school of dharmaśāstra writers represented by Gautama and Baudhāyana looked upon the stage of householder as the only āśrama. The eulogies of the householder are sung in numerous passages of the Dharmaśāstra works. Gaut. 1498 (III. 3) declares that the householder is the source (support) of all the other āśramas, because the other three do not produce offspring. Manu (III 77-78) states that as all creatures live by receiving support from the air, so other āśramas subsist by relying for support on the householder and that as men belonging to all the three other orders (āśramas) are supported from day to day by the householder alone with (gifts of) food and sacred knowledge, the householder’s is therefore the most excellent āśrama. Manu (VI. 89-90) reiterates the same sentiments under a different figure ‘just as all big and small rivers find a resting place in the ocean, so men of all āśramas find support in the householder and the householder is declared to be the most excellent of all the āśramas by the precepts of the Veda and smṛtis, since he supports the other three’. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (59. 27-29) contains almost the same remarks as Manu. Vide Vas. VIII. 14-16 (15 being identical with Manu VI. 50). Vas. VII. 17 (and X. 31), Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 1, Udyogaparva 40. 25 say that a householder observing the rules laid down for him does not fall

1498. तेन खसस्यो भोगिरभूतनांशावितरोषाम्। मृ. III. 3.
away from the world of Brahma. In the Mahābhārata also the eulogy of the order of householder is frequent. Sāntiparva 296. 39 is the same as Manu VI. 90. Śānti 270. 6–7 states "as all beings live on the support given by their mothers, so other āśramas subsist on the support of the order of householders." In the same chapter (verses 10–11) Kapila condemns those who hold that mokṣa (final release from saṃsāra) is not possible for him who remains a householder. Śānti 12. 12 holds that, if weighed in the balance, the order of householders is equal to all the other three put together. Vide also Śānti 11. 15, 23. 2–5, Vanaparva chap. 2. The Ayodhyākāṇḍa 106. 22 also says that the stage of householder is the most excellent of all āśramas.

The brāhmaṇa householder is again divided into several varieties from different points of view. Baudh. Dh. S. III. 1. 1, Devala (quoted in the Mit. on Yaj. I. 128) and other works divide a householder into two varieties viz. śālina and yaśāvara, the latter being superior to the former. The śālina

1499. निर्माणरिति निर्मित्रवृहिमि निर्मित्रस्वाभाविक परितङ्गमनाति। सततं सन्तर्प्ति-

1500. निर्मितिः तत्र वस्तुधारेण वस्तुधाराः परितङ्गमनाति। सततं सन्तर्प्ति-

1501. सततं सन्तर्प्ति वस्तुधारिणां वस्तुधारिणां वस्तुधारिणां वस्तुधारिणां। सततं सन्तर्प्ति-

1502. सततं सन्तर्प्ति वस्तुधारिणां वस्तुधारिणां वस्तुधारिणां वस्तुधारिणां। सततं सन्तर्प्ति-

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is one who dwells in a house, is possessed of servants and cattle, has a fixed place and a fixed village and has grain and wealth and follows the life of worldly people; the yāyāvara is one who subsists by the best of livelihood, viz. picking up grains that fall down when the corn that is reaped is taken to the house or threshing floor by the owner and who does not accumulate wealth or who does not earn his livelihood by officiating as priest, or by teaching or by accepting gifts. Manu (IV. 7) appears to divide brāhmaṇa householders into four varieties, viz. one who possesses enough to fill a granary or a store filling a corn jar, one who collects as much as will satisfy his needs for three days, or one who makes no provision for the morrow. Vide Śāntiparva 244.1–4 and Laghu-Viṣṇu II.17 for similar statements. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 128 says that ‘śālina is of four varieties viz. (1) one who maintains himself by officiating as a priest, teaching Veda, accepting gifts, agriculture, trade and breeding cattle, (2) one who subsists by the first three out of the above six, (3) one who subsists by officiating as a priest and by teaching, (4) one who subsists by teaching alone. Manu IV. 9 (as interpreted by the Mit.) refers to these four varieties. The Āp. Śr. (V. 3. 22) distinguishes between śālina and yāyāvara. The Baud. gr. III. 5. 4 refers to yāyāvara. The word ‘yāyāvara’ occurs in the Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 7 therefore the active man lords it over one who is easy-going; but here the word has not probably any technical sense.

In the Vaik. VIII. 5 (= Vaik. Dh. S. I. 5) householders are divided into four classes. The first class (called vārtāvṛtti)

1503. चूँवसाय शालीन आचरणात्मवन्वसाय पालयति: अप. श्री. V. 3. 22.
The com. चूँवतु एक्स्प्लैन्स पालयति एव पालव पालयति चतुष्क वार्ताव्रति.

1504. तन्माध्यायान: केल्पवर्ती। तै. सं. V. 2. 1. 7.

1505. शुद्धाधिकारिका चतुरंतक: शालीनविशेषायाणों पोरासांरक्षनेत्यति। चतुराधिकारिका चतुराधिकारिका: पालयति। शालीनविशेषायाणों पोरासांरक्षनेत्यति। चतुराधिकारिका चतुराधिकारिका: पालयति। शालीनविशेषायाणों पोरासांरक्षनेत्यति। चतुराधिकारिका चतुराधिकारिका: पालयति। शालीनविशेषायाणों पोरासांरक्षनेत्यति। चतुराधिकारिका चतुराधिकारिका: पालयति। शालीनविशेषायाणों पोरासांरक्षनेत्यति। चतुराधिकारिका चतुराधिकारिका: पालयति। शालीनविशेषायाणों पोरासांरक्षनेत्यति। चतुराधिकारिका चतुराधिकारिका: पालयति। शालीनविशेषायाणों पोरासांरक्षनेत्यति। चतुराधिकारिका चतुराधिकारिका: पालयति। शालीनविशेषायाणों पोरासांरक्षनेत्यति। चतुराधिकारिका चतुराधिकारिका: पालयति। शालीनविशेषायाणों पोरासांरक्षनेत्यति। चतुराधिकारिका चतुराधिकारिका: पालयति। शालीनविशेषायाणों पोरासांरक्षनेत्यति। चतुराधिकारिका चतुराधिकारिका: पालयति। शालीनविशेषायाणों पोरासांरक्षनेत्यति। चतुराधिकारिका चतुराधिकारिका: पालयति। शालीनविशेषायाणों पोरासांरक्षनेत्यति। चतुराधिकारिका चतुराधिकारिका: पालयति। शालीनविशेषायाणों पोरासांरक्षनेत्यति। चतुराधिकारिका चतुराधिकारिका: पालयति।

The com. consists in standing in water for tapas in शालीन and in the midst of five fires in यायाव्रत. The यायाव्रत is differently defined in other works. Vide शीतलसिद्धां केतुरि verse 64 (Telinga's ed.) 'सबलं वच्चनं-विज्ञानविधायाँशास्त्रादियुक्तुः.'
maintains itself by agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade; the second (śālīna) observes various niyamas (vide Yāj. III. 313), offers pākayajñas (sacrifices of cooked food), kindles the śrāuta fires, offers the dāraś and pūrṇamāsa sacrifices each half month, offers cāturmāsyas, in each half year offers an animal sacrifice and each year the soma sacrifice; the third (yāyāvara) is engaged in the six actions viz. offering sacrifices of havis and soma, officiating as priest at such sacrifices, studying the Veda and teaching it, making gifts and receiving them, constantly attends his fires (śrāuta and smārta), and gives food to guests that come to him; the fourth (called ghorācārika, one whose rules are awfully difficult to observe) is observant of niyamas, offers sacrifices but does not officiate at others' sacrifices, studies the Veda but does not teach it, makes gifts but does not receive them, maintains himself on corn fallen in the fields &c., is absorbed in Nārāyaṇa, performs agnihotra in the morning and evening, in Mārgaśīra and Jyeṣṭha performs observances that are like the edge of a sword and attends upon his fires with herbs from a forest. These four names occur also in Brhat-Parāśara p. 290 (Jivāṇanda's ed.).

In numerous smṛtis, purāṇas and digests the duties of householders have been described in detail. For example, vide Gaut. V and IX, Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 1-II. 4. 9, Vas. Dh. S. VIII. 1-17 and XI. 1-48, Manu IV, Yāj. I. 96-127, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60-71, Daksā II, Vedavyāsa III, Mārkandeya-purāṇa 29-30 and 34, Nṛṣimha-purāṇa 58, 45-106, Kūrmapurāṇa (uttarārdha chap. 15-16), Laghu-Hārīta IV. p. 183 ff (Jivāṇanda), Droṇapañcā 32, Vanaparva 2. 53-63, Āśvamedhika 45. 16-25, Anuśāsanaparva 97. Among the digests may be mentioned the Sm. C. (I. pp. 88-232), the Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 18-48), the Madanapārijāta (pp. 204-345), the Grāhasthārnānakara, the Āhnikatattva of Raghunandana, the Viramitrodaya (Āhnikapradā), the Smṛtimuktapāhala (Āhnikakānda). It would be impossible to present in the space at our disposal all the details of the duties of the householder contained in the vast sources indicated above. Some of the usual, outstanding or important matters alone can be dealt with here. Some of the works contain moral exhortations to the householder. For example, the Anuśāsanaparva1508 (141. 25-26)

1506. अहिर्सा सत्यवचनं सत्यवर्तकमन्थम्। सत्यो दुःख गुर्वास्तिकि गद्यस्यभयं यत्र॥
पतिवेदिकिं संभवः नातिश्रीविदिरस्वयं। अवृत्तार्कियायेन महावासस्य चर्चनम्॥
एव एवार्थियो द्रम्यो नासास्त्राय पुल्लुष्ठोऽ॥ अछलानवभः 141. 25-26.
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says "ahimsā, truthfulness, compassion towards all beings, quiescence, charity according to one’s ability—this is the best dharma for a grhaśṭha (householder). Non-contact with the wives of others, guarding one’s wife and deposit (made by another), abstaining from taking what is not given (by the owner), avoiding honey and meat—this five-fold dharma has many branches and gives rise to happiness." Dakṣa (II. 66-67) also has similar provisions. But such moral exhortations (called sādhāraṇa dharmas) have already been discussed above (pp. 3-11).

From very ancient times there were several ways of dividing the day. Sometimes the word ‘ahāḥ’ is distinguished from night and sometimes it stands for the period from sunrise to sunrise (and includes day and night). For example, in Rg. VI. 9. 1 we have\textsuperscript{1507} the dark day (i.e. night) and the bright day (i.e. the period when there is light). This part (viz. the period of sunlight) is divided some times into two parts viz. pūrवाह (period before noon) and aparāह (the time after noon) Vide Rg. X. 34. 11, Manu III. 278. Day time is also divided into three parts, morning, midday and evening, which correspond to the three libations of Soma juice in prāṭahsavana, mādhyaandina-savana and tṛtiya-savanas. Vide Rg. III. 53. 8 where these three parts of the day are mentioned when Indra comes to drink Soma for a mukūrtra each time and III. 28. 1, 4 and 5 (where all three savanas are named) and III. 32. 1, III. 52. 5-6. The day (of 12 hours) was often divided into five parts,\textsuperscript{1508} viz. prāṭah or udaya (sunrise), sāṅgava, mādhyaandina or madhyāhna (mid-day), aparāhna (afternoon) and sāyāhna or astagamana or sāyam (evening). Each of these five parts of day time will be equal to three mukūrtas. In some smṛtis and purāṇas these five parts are mentioned and defined; e.g. in the Prajāpatismṛti,

\textsuperscript{1507} अहृतः कुमारहृदयं च निरवदेश्य सभजसी वेदानि। श्रेष्ठानां ज्ञायतानां न धावापृवेष्णवेष्णानी। स्रोत. VI. 9. 1. This verse is explained in the nīṣṭhit II. 21 ‘अहृताम् कुमारशास्त्रां सऽक्षरं च अनुभवन्ति। &c.

\textsuperscript{1508} उनका पारं वस्त्र सम्बन्धमें माछादन महाविद्या सर्वप्लवः महा. स्रोत. V. 76. 3. Here माछा, संक्षर and भावनाम् are expressly named. संक्षर is the time of milking the cows after they return from grazing pastures to which they were taken at dawn. Vide आद्य. आश. III. 12. 1-2 महाविद्या महाविद्या संबन्धः सांवांतः माछा: on which the com. says 'पूवितानां सांवांतः वने: सांवास्ते संवांतः कालः गाभ्यायमें महाविद्याशास्त्रः'. तथासु त्रिघोष्णाः देवस्याः संवांतः सर्वातः महाविद्या। महाविद्या उद्वक्षमताः । महाविद्या उद्वक्षमताः। अथातः उत्तक्षमताः । अविद्या न संवातो विद्या। आश. IX. 5. 4-5.
vv. 156–157, Matsyasapurāṇa 22, 32-34, 124, 88-90, Vāyu 50. 170–174. Vide Aparārka p. 465 (on Yāj. I. 226) where a śrutī passage and verses from Vyāsa are quoted about these five parts. 1509 The whole day of twenty-four hours was divided into thirty mūhūrtas; vide Śat. Br. XII. 3. 2. 5, S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 169 where the year is said to have 10800 mūhūrtas (360 × 30). The Tai. Br. III. 10. 1 gives the names of the fifteen mūhūrtas of day-time, such as Citra, Ketu &c.

The Madanaprījāta p. 496 quotes Vyāsa for the fifteen parts of the day.

The smṛtis however generally divide day-time into eight parts. Dākṣa II. 4–5 divides the day into eight parts and then treats at length about the duties to be performed during those eight parts. Kātyāyana divides day-time into eight parts and asks the king to assign three parts after the first to the investigation of judicial proceedings. 1510 That this was a very ancient division follows from several considerations. Kauṭilya 1511 divides the day and night each into eight parts and prescribes what the king is to do in the eight parts of the day and also in the eight parts of the night. Vas. XI. 36, Laghu-Hārīta 99, Laghu-Sūtātapa v. 108 say ‘the sun becomes mild-rayed in the 8th part of the day and that time is called kutapa’. 1512 The Kādambarī of Bāṇa (para 24) speaks of the light of the sun becoming clear and bright in the first eighth part of the day. 1513 In the Mahābhārata frequent reference is made to the sixth part of the day as a somewhat late hour for taking one’s meal (and as making one hungry). Vide Vanaparva 179. 16, 180. 16, 293. 9, Āsvidaṃśhika parva 90. 26–27. 1514

1509. अतःकालो तत्त्वस्वतस्वपनः तु। सम्रूप 22. 82; रेखामाल्यादिविषेष्ये नित्यां जाते सर्वं। भवतित्तम: सहि। कालो भरत:। तत्सप्त सप्ताहः। \( \text{विजयानम्} \) quoted by \( \text{कुसुम} \) on मात्र 3. 280.

1510. अर्थात् हितादिमानादिपुराणादिभीष्टो। स कालो यवहेषप्राप्ताय अस्त्रादिभीष्टो। \( \text{मनीषिनि} \) कालोभाषण quoted by \( \text{अमराव} \) p. 601 (on Yaj. II. 1.)

1511. नादिकाहिनिभ्रद्धा शास्त्र वेददत्ते शास्त्रमहामानः वा। विद्वानो पौरोज-पद्धारान्न कार्यशास्त्र वेदः। अर्थात् भीष्म इं 19. According to the भीष्मपथ, two नादिकाहिनित् are equal to a शङ्खम् ‘नादिकाहिनिन्याय द्वायं हूयते लिङ्गसमां concoct’. The भूपकारणम् (संस्कृतमायिनृ v. 12) has ‘नादिकाहिनिन्त् हु नादिकाहिनिन्त् महामानः महामानः’

1512 द्विपक्षविधिनः सम्य स्थलभूतिः भास्कर:। स कार्यः कुतपां लोकः विद्वानो सम्य-कार्यः। \( \text{विशिष्ट} \) XI. 36.

1513. न विधानविधिविद्वादनांवाणात्ती सहाय्यी मार्गस्वरः। कार्यस्वरः para 24.

1514. षाड़े कालो अन्त्यवाच्छ: मातोरध्वजळतन। \( \text{वनपर्व} \) 180. 16; षाड़े षाड़े तदृः कार्ये। अस्वासं स्त्रीमहादन:। \( \text{वनपर्व} \) 293. 9.
The principal matters to be discussed under āhnikā are:
getting up from bed, śauca (bodily purity), dantadhāvana
(bathing the teeth), snāna (bath), saṁdhyā, tarpana, the five
mahāyajñas (including brahmayajña and honouring guests),
attending on fire, bhojana (mid-day meal), obtaining wealth,
studying and teaching, evening saṁdhyā, gifts, going to bed,
performing sacrifices at certain stated times. The Parāśara
smṛti I. 39 summarises the most important daily duties as
bathing, performing the saṁdhyā prayers, japa, homa, worship
of gods and honouring of guests, and vaiśvadeva are the six
(principal) daily actions.1515 Manu (IV. 152 = Anuśāsana
parva 104. 23) also enumerates in one place the principal daily
actions that must be got through in the morning viz. answering
calls of nature, toilet, bathing, brushing the teeth, applying
collyrium to the eyes and worship of the gods1516.

Although as stated in the Śūryasiddhānta1517 the day was
calculated from sunrise, daytime for practical purposes
was extended for a short time before sunrise and after sunrise.
According to the Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa the four nādīs (or
ghatikās) before sunrise and the four nādīs after sunset are
included in daytime (dīna) i.e. when a man takes his bath
before sunrise on a particular day that bath is one for the
day that is to begin after he takes his bath1518. Several smṛtis like
Manu IV. 92, Yāj. I. 115 enjoin that a man should get up from
bed at the brāhma muhūrta,1519 should reflect over dharma and
artha that he would seek to attain that day and over the bodily
efforts that he would have to undergo for securing his object
and think out the real meaning of Vedic injunctions. Kullūka
and others say that the word muhūrta in Manu IV. 92 means

1515. संघवा स्थान जोधो संवादसमाधिमुक्तनादः। आतिविच मेघवनेव च श्रान
कर्माणि दीर्घे दीर्घे। प्रात: १. ३९।।

1516. शैवं मसाण्य स्थान दुन्दिश्वणस्य मजनः। कुरैव एव कृपात्वा दुन्दिश्वण च दुर्गणः।
सूर्य: IV. 152. शैव् is the presiding deity over the anus and smaitra means
mitrapurūkṣaṅga.

1517. चकुषाकावुन्य शस्वाप्पम्यस्य सचत्सनायाम:। सुपरिद्वान्तः (सन्तव्याधिकार प. 36.)

1518. मित्रामि रत्ने शस्वाप्पम्यस्य सचत्सनायामः। नासिनी नासिनी संयं दिव्यसाधारणा-
संयंका। नासिनी वेत्राः quoted in the आदिवृत्तवाद प. 327 and से. प. 81.

1519. शतोर्णुष्मण युधस्य पर्यावर्त्यां भानिन्यातः। कामिन्यां तेषां भानिन्यातः।
सूर्य IV. 92; शतोर्णुष्मण युधस्य पर्यावर्त्यां भानिन्यातः। कामिन्यां
वानानां वानानां वानानां वानानां। The first half also occurs in आदिवृत्तवाद प. 104.

16. नासिनी ११. १७, सा मित्र पुसिन्य ३४. १७. The चकुषाकावुन्य as quoted in पराक
सा. I. १. प. २२०-२२१ has almost the same verse as मित्र. Compare 'वर्णवाजा-
सन्तव्याधिकार प. २२४। भानिन्यात:। मित्रवाद प. ११. ६।
only time generally and not a period of two ghaṭīkās and that it is called brāhma because that is a time when one’s intelligence and one’s power to compose a literary work are at their best. The Par. M. (I. 1. p. 220) \textsuperscript{1520} says that there are two muhūrtas in the half watch before sunrise, the first of the two is called brāhma and the second raudra. Pitāmaha quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 88) says that the last watch of the night is called ‘brāhma muhūrtā’. From very early times getting up before sunrise was prescribed specially for a student and generally for everyone. Gaut. 23. 21 says that if the sun rose while a brahmaśārin was asleep he should stand up the whole day without food and mutter the Gāyatrī throughout the day (as a penance) and if the sun set while he was asleep he should sit up the whole night engaged in muttering the Gāyatrī. Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 13–14 and Manu II. 220–221 contain similar rules and they employ the word ‘abhinirmukta\textsuperscript{1521} (or abhinirnukta) to denote one who is asleep when the sun sets. The Gobhila-sūtra (in verse) I. 139 says that on getting up one should wash one’s eyes. In the Rgvedāṇa it is ordained that on getting up one should wipe one’s eyes with water after reciting Rg. X. 73. 11 the latter half of which says ‘remove away from us darkness, fulfil our eyes and release us who are as if bound with snares’.

The Sm. C. (I. p. 88) quotes the Kūrmapurāṇa to the effect that on getting up from sleep some time before sunrise one should contemplate on God. The Āhnika-prakāśa (p. 16) quotes five verses from the Vāmanapurāṇa (14. 23–27) which are to be recited on getting up as a morning hymn, one of which is quoted below.\textsuperscript{1522} These verses are repeated even now by some

\textsuperscript{1520} सुप्रभातमार्गिये हे श्रुति तत्ततो नासो विरीये सूर्य। पर भूतमार्गिये परं नासो विरीये सूर्यास्। स नासो निमित्तान विचित्रोत् समसयोऽनि।

\textsuperscript{1521} सुप्रभातां नासो च चारी विशेषामार्गियोऽवेदनानिद्रायणिः पावनं वधिप्रसन्नम्।

\textsuperscript{1522} नासो सुप्रभातामार्गियोऽवेदनानिद्रायणिः हृदश्रुतिः सुनिश्चलः। सुप्रभातां नासो च चारी विशेषामार्गियोऽवेदनानिद्रायणिः हृदश्रुतिः सुनिश्चलः।
old people. Some works say that he who repeats the four verses
called Bhāratasāvitrī in the morning obtains the reward of hearing
the whole Mahābhārata and attains the highest Brahma.1523 The
Ānikatatattva (p. 327) quotes a verse to be repeated on getting up
from bed in which the serpent Karkotaka, Damayanti, king Nala
and Rūpavarna are remembered for removing the effects of Kali,1524
and the Śrīsmuktākāhāra quotes a verse about Nala, Yudhi-
śthira, Sītā and Kṛṣṇa as punyaśloka (singing of whose glory is
holy). The Ācārāratna (p. 10 a) states that one should
repeat the names of certain famous and long-lived (cīrājīvins)
personages viz. Aśvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsā, Hanūmān, Bibhī-
saṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Paraśurāma and Mārkaṇḍeya and also the names
of five holy women, Ahalyā, Draupadi, Sītā, Tārā and Mando-
dari. Even now old men brought up in the orthodox ways
repeat these names on getting up.

In some works it is said that if one gets up a man sees a
brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda, a lady whose husband is living,
a cow, an altar where fire is kindled, he becomes free from
adversities and that if a man sees on getting up in the morning
a very sinful man, a widow, an untouchable, one naked, one
whose nose is cut off, that is an indication of kali (misfortune
or strife).1525 Parāśara XII. 47 says that one who has built
the fire altar (for Vedic sacrifices), a dark-brown cow, one
who is engaged in a sattra (or performed it), the king, an ascetic,
the ocean—these purify a man the moment they are seen, so
one should see them always.

Then the next act is to answer the calls of nature. Very
detailed rules are laid down about these even in the most
ancient sūtras and smṛtis. Many of the rules are simply
hygienic, but as religion, rules of law, of morality, of health and

1523. Vide नियाचार्यनृत्यम् pp. 15-16, अधिकारसामस p. 21. These
verses viz. महाभारत, स्वप्नारूपमाणिक एवं 5. 60-63, are called अत्तमानिनी (in
verse 64). Their first प्रदास are अतनामप्रदासाणि, हिनयानादकाणि, कर्नेभो
उपरिव्याप्ति, न आत भाकान मयात लोकान्.

1524. कर्मविवर्धण समस्तं द्रव्यमंग्लं नरस्वं ज. सत्त्वपुर्ववप्य राजस्वं किन्तु तीनाः काल
उपायम् न महानामं, वनवध 79. 10, quoted in आद्विकतत्त्व p. 327 and स्वरितिः.
(आध्यात्म) p. 211.

1525. खुप्पको नलो राजा खुप्पको खुपिन्द्र। खुप्पको च खेड़ी खुप्प-
कोजनात्र्यम् II महानां, जनवध 79. 10, quoted in आद्विकतत्त्व p. 327 and स्वरितिः.
(आध्यात्म) p. 210, आध्यात्मपुस्त p. 6.

1526. These verses are from श्रीमन्मथुम्नम् II. 163 and 165 (called
कामाश्रय also) quoted in आद्विकतत्त्व p. 327, आध्यात्म, p. 22, स्वरितिः.
(आध्यात्म) p. 211. I read पश्चिम द्वारयानत्यं (and not मयं or नयं as these do).
hygiene are mixed up in the ancient works, they are given in works on dharma. Even in the Atharvaveda (XIII. 1. 56) it is said 'I cut off thy root who kick a cow with the foot or who urinate opposite the sun (facing the sun); thou shall not further cast a shadow.' Urinating while standing seems to have been condemned in the time of the Atharvaveda; vide VII. 102 (107). 1 'I shall urinate standing erect; let not the lords harm me.' Gaut. IX. 13, 15, 37-43, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 15-30 and I. 11. 31. 1-3, Vas. Dh. S. VI. 10-19 and XII. 11-13, Manu IV. 45-52, 56, 151, Yaj. I. 16-17, 134, 154, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60. 1-26, Śāṅkha, Vāyupurāṇa 78. 59-64 and 79. 25-31, Vāmanapurāṇa 14. 30-32 may be summarised as follows: one should not void urine or ordure on the road, on ashes, on cow-dung, in ploughed or sown fields, under the shade of trees, in rivers or water, on grassy or beautiful spots, on bricks made ready for erecting altars, on mountain-tops, near dilapidated shrines or cowpens, on ant-hills, in cemeteries or in holes, on threshing floors, on sandy shores. Nor should one answer calls of nature looking at or facing fire, the sun, the moon, a brāhmaṇa, water, the image of some god, cow, wind. Nor should one do these acts on the bare ground, but on ground covered with dry twigs or leaves or grass or loose earth. One should cover one's head and should face the north by day or when there is twilight and face the south at night, but when there is a danger one may face any direction. One should not urinate while standing or walking (Manu. IV. 47) nor should one speak while doing so. One should answer calls of nature away from a human habitation towards the south or southwest. Manu V. 126 and Yaj. I. 17 prescribe that, after answering calls of nature, one should perform cleansing the parts with water held in a pot and lumps of earth to such an extent that no smell or filth will stick. According to Manu V. 136 and 137 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60. 25-26 one lump of earth is to be applied to the penis, three to the arms, ten to the left hand.
and seven to both hands, three to both feet together. This is the extent of sauka required for householders, and for brahma-
carin, forest hermit and samnyasin, twice, thrice and four times as much is required. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 17 remarks that for all áśramas the cleansing required is only as much as will remove foul smell and filth and the several numbers of lumps of earth prescribed in different smṛtis are only prescribed for unseen (or spiritual) results. Gaut. I. 45–46, Vas. III. 48 and Manu V. 134 say that cleansing of the body is to be so effected first with water and then with earth that foul smell and filth will be totally removed. Devala (quoted in the Gr. R. p. 147) says that respectable people do not emphasize the number of times mentioned in the smṛtis, but they say that cleansing should be carried on till one feels that it is all right. 1530 The Smṛtyarthāsāra 1531 (p. 19) following Dakṣa V. 12 says that at night only half of the sauka prescribed for the day is required, only one-fourth of it is prescribed for the ailing and only one-eighth when a man is on a journey and that no special number of lumps of earth are prescribed for women, südres, boys whose upanayana has not been performed. In cleansing one is not to employ stones, clods of earth, and green twigs cut off for the purpose from herbs and trees (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 30, Gaut. IX. 15) nor is one to use earth from inside a river or water reservoir or from a temple, from an ant-hill or from the hiding places of rats or from dung-hills or what is left after being used for a prior cleansing (Vas. Dh. S. VI. 17) nor what is taken from a road or cemetery, nor should one use earth that has worms, coals, or bones or gravel in it. Dakṣa V. 7 prescribes that for the first time as much earth as will fill half of the outstretched hand and for the second time half of that is to be taken and so on. 1532 The lump of earth should not be bigger than a myrobalan fruit (Kūrmapurāṇa in Sm. C. I. p. 182). One is not to answer calls of nature with the shoes on (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 18) and one’s yajñopavita should be suspended from the right ear or he should throw it on his

1530. वाश्वपालिनि अनिवा तापनां विशिष्टे । समाये शौचालयांनं न सिद्धं विविखते ॥ द्रुक्तं व युत्कर्षणं उपाय र. प. 147 और स्थवरिष्ठ । प. 93।.

1531. Vide विवेकथिन् यव. I. 17 वनीका-सुष्मीता वा शालाय भवि भन्ति जया । सुसोभ्यां नित्य न विनयते ॥; also मधुकेर्ष्यम्-34. 65–66, रुपयशंसिनं प. 19।.

1532. अथाष्टदुत्तीहत्र दु व्यस्ताय युक्तिका स्वयम् । विनयन्ति च दृश्यन्ति च शवावृष्णो यमात्तिनि ॥ वृक्षं V. 7. The first half is quoted even by विवेकथिन् on यव. I. 17।
back in the nivīla form. According to Yāj. I. 16 the yajñopavīta should be suspended from the right ear only. Vanaparva 59. 2 describes that kāli (the principle of evil and strife) entered Nala when the latter did not wash his feet after urinating.

This cleansing of the body in the morning is only a part of general saucā. Saucā is according to Gaut. VIII. 24 one of the ātmagunas. Even the Rg. (in VII. 56. 12 and other verses) appears to emphasize cleanliness (śucītva). According to Hārīta 'saucā is the first path to dharma, it is the resting place of brahma (Veda), the abode of ēri (prosperity), the means of clearing (or soothing) the mind, the favourite of gods, the means of realizing the Ātmā and the awakener of intelligence.' According to Baud. Dh. S. III. 1. 26, Hārīta, Dakṣa V. 3 and Vyāghrapāḍa (quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 93) saucā is of two kinds, bāhya (outward) and āntara or abhyantara (inward), the first being effected by water and loose earth and the latter is the purity of one's sentiments. Hārīta divides the first into three, that of kula (being free from impurity due to birth or death in the family), of ārtha (i.e. of the vessels and things to be used in all matters) and of sarīra (of one's body); Hārīta divides abhyantara into five, mānas (mental), cākṣuṭa (of the eye i.e. not looking at things that should not be looked at), ghrāṇya (of the nose), vācya (of speech), svādyā (of the tongue). According to a verse quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. VIII. 24 saucā is of four kinds, viz. of dravya (the vessels and things employed by one), of the mind, of speech and of the body. Vṛddha-Gautama (Jīvānanda p. 632) speaks of five kinds of saucā viz. of the mind, of actions, of kula (family), of the body and of speech. According to Manu V. 135, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 81, Aṭrī v. 31 and others there are twelve malas (filthy exudations or impurities) of the human body, viz. fat, semen, blood, marrow, urine, fæces, mucus of the nose, ear-wax, phlegm, tears,
rheum of eyes, sweat; and the first six of these are removed by water and earth and the latter six by water (Atri v. 32).

After preforming śauca one has to rinse the mouth with twelve mouthfuls (gaṇḍūṣa) of water (vide Smṛtimukta-phala, Āhṇika p. 220). When one finishes the purification of the body by washing the hands and feet and by rinsing the mouth one has to engage in ācamaṇa. A good deal has been said about ācamaṇa above (pp. 315–316) under upanayana. Ācamaṇa (sipping water) is to be done after tying the top-knot and tucking up the garment from behind; the water is to be poured in the hollowed palm of the hand in such a quantity that a grain of māṣa (bean) will be plunged in it and the three fingers except the thumb and the small one are to be joined together and the water is to be drunk from that part of the hand which is called brāhma tirtha described above (n. 750). The word tirtha means that part of the right hand by which water is taken in or poured in religious rites and the parts are given the names of deities for lauding them, as Viśvarūpa says. In most smṛtis their number is four, viz. prājāpatya or kāya, pitrya, brāhma, and daiva (for example in Manu II. 59, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 62. 1–4, Yāj. I. 19, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 34. 103–109, Daksā II. 18). Some works like the Śatyayana-kalpa and Vydhava-Vasiṣṭha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 19 name five tirthas viz. daiva (when a brāhmaṇa faces the east, the front part of his hand), pitrya (the right portion of the right hand), brāhma (the portion of the hand opposite the fingers), prājāpatya (the portion of the hand near the small finger) and pārāmeṣṭhya (the centre of the right palm). The Pār. gr. pariśiṣṭa names the above five, except that it substitutes the name āghnaya for pārāmeṣṭhya. The Sāṅkha-smṛti (in verse, X. 1–2) distinguishes kāya and prājāpatya and omits the name of brāhma altogether which is called prājāpatya by it. Vaik. I. 5 has six, the usual four, the fifth being āghnaya (centre of the palm) and the sixth being ārṣa (the roots and tips of all fingers together). According to some, daiva tirtha means the tips of the fingers and the centre of the palm is either saumya or āghnaya. According to Harita the

1537. तत्र हस्ती पाठो संसारम् पञ्चपिठो गुरु दूसरी पाठो पञ्चमित्रम् पञ्चकंथिकम् वृत्तिकारणिविद्येऽति सूत्तनां गुरुवाशिष्य भेणमुद्धुवाहिं संवैक्षेत्रविष्णुविनिवेशम् वृत्तान्तं विद्धिं क्यों कस्य निर्देशं विद्वानं समाधितं विनेत। स्वत्वपर्यं दृष्टं ।

1538. हस्तविद्वान् ब्रम्हक्षेत्रीयः प्रज्ञाति सूत्तनाः पञ्चपिठो गुरु दूसरी पाठो पञ्चमित्रम् पञ्चकंथिकम् वृत्तिकारणिविद्येऽति क्यों कस्य निर्देशं विद्वानं समाधितं विनेत। स्वत्वपर्यं दृष्टं ।
daiva tīrtha is to be used in mārjana, worship of gods, offering of bāli and in bhojana; the kāya tīrtha is to be employed in lājā-homa (homa of fried grain) and daily homa, the pitrya in all rites for dead ancestors. Touching the kamba (water jar), eating curds and fresh products of the fields (navānna) are to be done with the saumya tīrtha (Smṛtyarthasastra p. 20). When there is difficulty of getting water and an occasion for purification by ācamana arises, one should touch one’s right ear. Very elaborate rules are laid down in the digests on the subject of ācamana (e.g. Sm. C. I. pp. 95–104), Smṛtimuktāphala, Āhnikā-prakāśa pp. 221–240, Āhnikā-tattva pp. 333–344. Gr. R. pp. 150–172 &c., which have to be all passed over for want of space. One matter to be noticed is that according to the Āpastamba-smṛti (in verse) the procedure of ācamana is of four kinds, viz. paurāṇika (in which each sipping of water is accompanied by the names, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava &c.); smārta (as laid down in the smṛtis like Manu II. 60 ff.), āgama (i.e. taught in the sacred books of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sectarians) and śrauta (laid down in the Śrautasūtras for Vedic sacrifices). The first of these four is the method usually followed now by most brāhmaṇas.

**Danta-dhāvana (brushing the teeth).**

Danta-dhāvana comes after śauca and ācamana and before snāna (bath). Vide Yaj. I. 98 and Dakṣa II. 6. The practice of daily danta-dhāvana has existed in India from the most ancient times. The Tai. S. (II. 5. 1. 7) when enumerating the actions which a rajasvala (a woman in her monthly period) was to avoid mentions dantadhāvana among them and remarks that if she indulges in it during that period, she gives birth to a son whose teeth are naturally black. Dantadhāvana is an independent act by itself performed for rendering the body (here the mouth) clean and it is not an ānga (a subordinate

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1539. तत्र वर्तित: मार्जनात्मकं काव्यमिति वैदिक वीर्यं युग्मम्। इति। चैव निषेधकं कुण्डलिनी । स्पृश्यते:। I. p. 226.

1540. आयूर्वेदो नैतिरसिद्धान्तो नानाप्रतिवेदर्शनं रविज्ञानमात्र यथा । स्यूर्यविद्यार्थी॥ ॥ प्रवर्तक ॥ ॥ ॥ पं 21.

1541. आयूर्वेदसूत्रसूत्रसृजनितं श्रावणमालमधवेश्वरी । सौराष्ट्रियं श्रावणमालकमथ श्रावणविन्दुः अनुपालितः समाधानोपस्मायीति नामस्मिर्मा॥ अन्धाना सत्वमानं कुंवरितकसागरम अनं। स्पृश्यते। (आयूर्वेद) p. 221.

1542. यादूषी काः तत्स्य समानविद्। तै. सं. II. 5. 1. 7.
constituent part) of bath or morning prayer.\textsuperscript{1542} Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 5 forbids\textsuperscript{1544} one who has returned from his teacher’s home after finishing his studies to engage in the sight of his teacher in such acts of pleasure as cleansing the teeth, shampooing the body and combing the hair and also forbids the study of the Veda while such actions are going on (\textit{ibid.} I. 3. 11. 10–12).\textsuperscript{1545} The brahmaśarīra was not to engage in the leisurely actions of brushing the teeth (but was to rinse his mouth) according to Gaut. II. 19 and Vas. Dh. S. VII. 15.

In dantadhāvanā one has to take the twig (with its bark) of certain trees, crush the end of the twig with his teeth so as to make a brush of it and then to cleanse his teeth with the brush-like end. According to Gobhilasūtri\textsuperscript{1546} (which is also called Chandogaparīśiṣṭa in some works) if a man only rinses his mouth with river water or at home, he has not to repeat a mantra, but if he uses a twig he has to repeat a mantra ‘Oh tree, bestow on me long life, strength, fame, brilliance, offspring, cattle, wealth, brahma (Veda), memory and intelligence.’ In the Pār. gr. II. 6 and Āp. gr. 12. 6 brushing of the teeth with an udumbara twig is prescribed in Samāvartana with a mantra ‘may you be ready for food; here comes the king Soma; may he clean my mouth with glory and good luck.’\textsuperscript{1547} Therefore the same mantra is to be employed every day after samāvartana. In some of the digests (like the Āhnikaprapakāsa

\textsuperscript{1543} Āhnikaprapakāsa p. 121; the verse itself is Samāvatana 74.

\textsuperscript{1544} Švetāśtrā I. 2. 8. 4–5; vide Āp. v. 4. I. 3. 11. 10–11 for the same words followed by tāvārahītālakālakālaśāpa.

\textsuperscript{1545} Āhnikaprapakāsa p. 121; the verse itself is Samāvatana 74.

\textsuperscript{1546} Vaiśeṣikā I. 2. 8. 4–5; vide Āp. v. 4. I. 3. 11. 10–11 for the same words followed by tāvārahītālakālakālaśāpa.

\textsuperscript{1547} Vaiśeṣikā I. 2. 8. 4–5; vide Āp. v. 4. I. 3. 11. 10–11 for the same words followed by tāvārahītālakālakālaśāpa.
It is stated that that mantra may be employed by the students of the Śukla Yajurveda, while those who study the Gobhila grhyas may use the mantra ‘āyurbalam &c’.

Very detailed rules are laid down about the length of the twig, about the trees the twigs of which are allowed or forbidden, about the days or occasions or times on which there is to be no dantadhāvana. A few of these details are given below. Trees having thorns on their trunk or from which a milky fluid oozes out when a twig is broken off are allowed and so are vata, asana, arka, khadira, karṇa, badara, sarja, nimba, arimeda, apāmārga, mālati, kakubha, bilva, āmra (mango), punnaga, śīrṣa and further the twig must be astringent, pungent or bitter in taste and not sweet or sour. Vide Brhat-Samhitā of Varāhamihira chap. 85, Laghu-Hārīta (Jivāṇanda part I. p. 183), Laghu-Vyāsa I. 17-18, Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa 58. 47.

Before the advent of the modern dentrifrices people in India followed these directions and even now many even in the cities still follow them and brush their teeth with twigs of various trees. Among the trees which are not to be used for dantadhāvana are palāsa, śleṣmātaka, arīṣṭa, vibhitaka, dhava, bandhāka, nirgūḍ, śīrṣa, tilva, tinduka, inguda, guggulu, śāmi, pīlā, pippala, kovidāra &c. (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 61. 1-5). The twig may be undried or dried, but one dried on the tree itself is not to be taken (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 61. 8, Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa 58. 46).

One must brush the teeth facing north or east, but not west or south (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 61. 12-13). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (61. 16-17) prescribes that the twig should be as big as the end of one’s small finger and twelve aṅgulas in length and it should be washed before its use and after using it should not be cast off in an impure place. There are various opinions about the length of the twig employed. The Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa (58. 49. 50) says that it may be of eight aṅgulas in length or a

1548. वाल्मीकिकाः शास्त्रधारकाः स गत वासुदेवविनिविवाहानिशायनमालकानिविवाहानिशायनसमकाः कन्याकन्यामायाकन्यामाया नामितात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्।

1549. वाल्मीकिकाः पार्थनायविनिविवाहानिशायनामनामितात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्। यहरिमण्डलोपलकाः कन्याकन्यामायानि नामीतात्।
span in length (prādesa); Garga (quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 105) says that the twig should be 10, 9, 8, 7 or 4 angulas in length respectively for the four varṇas and women. One was not to cleanse one’s teeth with pieces of brick or with clods of earth or with stones or with the bare fingers (except the thumb and the finger next to the small finger). 1550

According to Lāghu-Hārīta (Jivānanda I. p. 183) and Nṛśīma-
hapuraṇā 58, 50-52 there is to be no brushing of the teeth with a twig on the 1st tithi, the parva tithis (i.e. new moon, full moon, 8th day, 14th day and the day on which the Sun enters a new zodiacal sign, according to Viṣṇu-puraṇa III. 11. 118), on the 6th tithi and 9th tithi and on those days when twigs are not available one may rinse one’s mouth with twelve mouthfuls of water 1551. Pāiṭānasi (quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 106) says ‘one may brush one’s teeth with grass, leaves and water and with the fingers except the 4th finger.’ One may also cleanse with mouthfuls of water when one has no teeth (Āhnikaprakāśa, p. 127). One may also rub one’s tongue with these or with a twig on the days on which it is allowed. There is to be no dantadhāvana on śrāddha day (for the performer), on the day of a sacrifice, when one is observing niyama, when the husband has gone to another country, when there is indigestion, on marriage day, on a fast or a vrata (Smṛtyarthaśāra p. 25). Viṣṇu 1552 D Ś. 61. 16 prescribes dantadhāvana not only in the morning but also after taking one’s meal. This, as stated by Devala, is intended for removing particles of food sticking to the teeth or the gums.

Snāna.—After dantadhāvana comes snāna. As ācamana, snāna (bath), japa (muttering of holy Vedic texts), homa and

1550. प्रदेशं कुमारावेव: । श्‍रोतायेववाक्षितावेतवैविचित्रत: । प्रवेशं आनानिशताः । कुमारावेतस्यपरमानृताः । स्पष्टिः । वाचकृते। I. p. 106; vide श्‍रोतामार्फत 73.

1551. श्रवणेयं वर्षां नवम्बां सौभाग्यं। द्राक्षा कालनियावशेषाः सवानां सुभद्राः। अभावे द्राक्षानां सानां श्रवणेऽ श्रवणे वर्षां। अर्थात् द्राक्षानां विकल्प्युत्तर्क्ति समाचारे। । सारांसिद्धार्थस्यद्वितीयस्य। द्राक्षा। पुराणाभ्यासां 58. 50-52; vide कालाकारपण्डितां I. 14-15, स्तर्यकं 25; आदिकृत 127. 4 condemns the use of a twig on the new moon day.

1552. विनाशकात् एव द्राक्षमहीनेन हल्लं यथार्थालस्य । ब्राह्मणकृते। 61. 16; दुन भवनात । अथवा अनुसा द्राक्षमहीनेन विनाशकात् एव द्राक्षानां सिद्धार्थस्य अर्थात् द्राक्षानां सिद्धार्थस्य। आदिकृत 125. The अध्यायसंख्या I. 3 also recommends this. एव द्राक्षमहीनेन ब्राह्मणकृते। Vide Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 52 (for 1932) p. 163 ff for references to the twigs used for brushing teeth from ancient Buddhist works and Fa Hien’s ‘Record of Buddhist kingdoms’ (Legge p. 54) for the dantakāśha of Buddha.
other rites are to be performed after holding kuśa grass in the right hand some remarks must be offered on kuśas. The Kūrmapurāṇa says ‘whatever action is done without darbha or without yajñopavita, it becomes useless and brings no reward here or in the next world’ (quoted in Kṛtyaratnākara p. 47). Śātāpata 1553 says ‘in japa, homa, dāna, svādhyāya (study of the Veda) or in pīṭtarpaṇa one should have in his hand gold, silver and kuśa’. One should have at the time of ācāmana &c. a pavitra (a ring-like loop) of darbhas in his right hand or in both his hands on the finger next to the small one or have kuśa in his right hand. There were several views about wearing a pavitra or darbhas, as stated in note 1553. The darbha grass is to be collected on the dārta day (new moon) in the month of Śrāvāṇa and the darbhas so collected are never stale and may be used again and again 1554. The pavitra of the four varṇas should be made with 4 darbhas or with 3, 2, or 1 respectively or it should be made with two darbhas for all (Śrīyarthasāra pp. 36-37). Those darbha blades from which no further blades shoot forth are called simply darbhas, blades from which fresh ones sprout forth are called kuśas, blades with their roots are called kutapās and those the tips of which are cut off are called tīṇa 1555 (grass). The darbha grass growing in a field of sesame and having seven blades is very auspicious.

The darbhas to be used in yajñas should be green in colour, yellowish for use in pāka[yajñas], they should be with roots when used in rites for the pitra and variegated when used in vaiśvadeva. Those darbhas that were held in the hand at the time of offering pīḍas to the dead or in śrāddhas or in pīṭtarpaṇa or at the time of urination or voiding faeces should be thrown away (Śrīyarthasāra p. 37). If kuśa grass is not available, then kāśa or dūrvā may be employed instead.

1553.  

1554.  

1555.  

H. D. 83
The subject of snāna can be treated from various points of view. Snāna\textsuperscript{1556} is either mukhya (principal) or gauna (secondary), the first being a bath with water and the second being without water. Each of these is again subdivided into various kinds. According to Dakṣa II. 48 snāna is nitya (obligatory every day), naimittika (to be performed on certain occasions), and kāmya (to be performed only if one desires certain rewards). All the varṇas\textsuperscript{1557} have to bathe in or with water every day the whole body together with the head also (Baudh. Dh. S. II. 4. 4, Manu II. 176 and IV. 82) and dvijātis have to do it with Vedic mantras. This is nitya. This\textsuperscript{1558} is required to be done, because a man who has not bathed is not entitled to perform homa, japa and other rites (Śaṅkha VIII. 2, Dakṣa II. 9). The body is dirty and from it ooze various exudations day and night and a bath in the morning cleanses and purifies the body. In this way snāna has been seen and unseen (i.e. spiritual) results\textsuperscript{1559}.

Some works (Yāj. I. 95, 100, Laghu-Āśvalāyana I. 16, 75, Dakṣa II. 9 and 43 &c.), prescribe two baths a day for brāhmaṇa house-holders, one before day-break and another at noon. There is only one bath a day for brahmācārins, two for forest hermits (Manu VI. 6). According to Manu VI. 22 and Yāj. III. 48 the forest hermit has to bathe thrice (in the morning, at noon and in the evening) and a yati has also to bathe thrice\textsuperscript{1560}. Though even now some orthodox brāhmaṇa householders do perform two baths a day, the usual rule for all Hindus (including even the so-called untouchables) is to bathe once a day, which also has

\textsuperscript{1556} snāna तु हिरिङ्गा मीले मभण्डिक-पभण्डिकता। तथेऽथैषय वाचन स्वांतं कधुः प्रहृति बोधेन ॥ निष्ठू वैविचिक कार्यं शिष्येषु मद्यक्षणम। शिल्पाल्यम् तत्च विका सर्वा snāna स्वातितिः ॥ quoted by अववापन p. 127, मद्व. पा. 236, सूत्रिचतव. I. p. 110, यू. र. pp. 200–201, वर्ण. मा. I. 1. p. 268. The 2nd verse is स्त्रुकुला VIII. 1.

\textsuperscript{1557} अववापन च भ्रात विशिष्टं कार्येण विगुणिते॥ सन्नवार्तकं वाहि यज्ञाभिषेक-विहितस्तेषां ॥ वृ. पाद. II. 4. 4; राज. च सर्वेदांशिं कार्यं स्वकुलभाषाय । सर्वनामं विविधार्थं स्वातितिः स्वातितिः स्वातितिः ॥ सूत्रिचतव. p. 26.

\textsuperscript{1558} अपवापन धेरास्यात् अपवापिन्वविविविविविविविवि। मात्राशंक च वार्तिकां च नित्यवापन मात्राशंकाय ॥ सूत्रिचतव. VIII. 2 quoted in अववापन p. 127.

\textsuperscript{1559} अववापनं कार्यं विगुणितं समिरितविभिन्नं। सन्नवार्तकं यज्ञाभिषेकं सन्नवार्तकं सन्नवार्तकं सन्नवार्तकं॥ सववापनं षड्यन्तं मात्राशंकाय ॥ सूत्रिचतव. II. 7 and 9 quoted in अववापन p. 125 and सूत्रिचतव. I. p. 111.

\textsuperscript{1560} मात्राशंकाय यज्ञाय परिमार्जनाः ॥ कमथितम विविधं यज्ञायम् विविधाति ॥ कृतिकम् यज्ञाय अस्याः ॥ मात्राशंकाय ॥ kṛtiv in सूत्रिचतव. I. p. 181 and सूत्रिचतव. p. 26; उसे संत्त यज्ञाय स्नानाय स्नानाय ॥ मात्राशंकाय ॥ kṛtiv quoted in यू. र. p. 191.
been the general rule for centuries (vide Smṛtyarthasāra p. 26 ‘sarve vāpi sakṛt kuryur’). Snāna is usually done now before noon, that in the early morning being done only by a yati, one observing a vrata, a brahmācārin, sacrificial priests, students of the Veda and those engaged in austerities (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 27). The morning bath is to be taken immediately after brushing the teeth before day-break when one sees the eastern direction lit up by the morning rays of the rising sun (Viṣṇu 1581 Dh. S. 64. 8). Gobhila-smṛti (II. 24) says that one should not lengthen out the process of taking the morning bath (by repeating too many mantras) as it would come in the way of performing the morning homa at the proper time, which is between the first appearance of light and the sun’s reaching about one cubit above the eastern horizon (Gobhila I. 122–123).

Vide Manu II. 15 also. The mādhyaṁhna (midday) bath is to be performed in the fourth part of the day-time divided into eight parts (Dakṣa II. 43, Laghu-Vyāsa II. 9) and one has to bring together loose earth, cow-dung, flowers, whole rice grains, kuṣas, sesame and sandalwood paste. This midday bath is not to be performed by one who is ill. The third bath (in the case of forest hermits and yatis) is to be performed before sunset, but not after sun-set or at night. No bathing is allowed for any one at night except when there is an eclipse or the sun passes into the zodiacal signs of Cancer and Capricorn (at night), a marriage, a birth or death or when a vrata is undertaken with some object. Night means specially the two middle watches (Manu IV. 129, Kullūka thereon and Parāśara XII. 27).

1561. माद्यामक्रमाक्षारे कर्मणि सन्नावः। विभिन्नस्त्र. ्स्. 64. 8; पद्महस्तिदिवमार्गां संप्रभुभविभिन्नति च। मा नामान्तो तदुपपत्तं सर्वावपिवा नामान्तो च भविन्वयेत। both quoted by the सुविधा I. p. 111.

1562. अनवस्यां भवति च बड्यां बहुवल्यां निर्विभिन्नस्त्र. ्स्. 64. 24, quoted in सुविधा I. p. 111.

1563. जिंद्विराज्यो मोंग सन्नावः पुस्तिनाहवः। ति विभिन्नश्चाः कालान्तान्तम्ये। विभिन्नश्च नासनाहवः। मम ववशीतर्ववविभिन्नस्त्र. ्स्. 64. 9 (Jīvaṇanda, part 2). The first is quoted in सुविधा I. p. 181 and by अवरंग p. 128 and the 2nd in पर. मा. I. 1. p. 269.

1564. अनमस्यते च अनानं जयेण्यये। II अपा. ्स्. I. 11. 32. 8; श्री. ्स्. II. 3. 29; गहवरसुन्दरान्तस्मिन्निविभिन्नपदितः। अनानमस्यते कृतीलिङ्गे कामपदितु च। धृतिष्ठयो pp. 135, 229; सुविधा I. pp. 120, 229; vide परासर XII. 26 to the same effect.
The obligatory (nitya) bath is to be taken with cold water and ordinarily hot water is not allowed. Śaṅkha (VIII. 9-10) says that if one bathes with heated water or in water belonging to another individual, he may effect the cleansing of the body but he would not secure the unseen spiritual result of a bath. Dakṣa II. 64 is to the same effect. Naimittika and kṣaṇya baths must be performed with cold water, there is an option only as to nitya (daily obligatory) bath (Garga quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 123).

Manu IV. 203, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 1-2 and 15-16, Yāj. I. 159, Dakṣa II. 43, Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti III. 7-8, Śaṅkha VIII. 11 and others say that one must daily bathe in natural water, i.e., in rivers, in tanks connected with temples, in lakes, in deep reservoirs and in mountain springs. One should not bathe in water belonging to an individual (i.e., a well or reservoir dug or dammed by him &c.) but if no water is otherwise available one may bathe with such water after removing three or five lumps of clay (from the bottom of the reservoir) or three or five jars from the well. The idea is that either the private owner would participate in the merit of the bath (as Baudh. Dh. S. II. 3. 7 remarks) or that the bather incurs a fourth part of the sin of the owner of the water (Manu IV. 201-202). If no such water is available or one is unable to go to a river &c., for a bath one may bathe in the court-yard of one’s house with water drawn in a vessel (from a well &c.) till his clothes are wetted. The words ‘nadi’ and ‘garta’ (used in Manu IV. 203) are defined as follows: a nadi (river) is one that has a stream of water at least 8000 bows in length, while all other streams are called garta (a pool). As in the months of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada all rivers are full of mud (rajasvālā is used in a double sense) one should not bathe in them in those months, except in rivers that

1565. Śaṅkha V. V. 9-10; Yāj. I. 159; Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. The first is quoted in p. 128.

directly reach the sea. But even in these months one may bathe in muddy rivers at the time of upākṣaṁ or utsaṅga, or on the death of a person or on the eclipse of the sun or the moon. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 17 which says that out of water drawn in a pot, water standing in a reservoir, a spring, a river, water in which noble men of the past bathed, Ganges water, each succeeding one is holier than each preceding one for a bath.

The actual bath is described differently in different sūtras, smṛtis and digests. Gobhila-smṛti (I. 137) says that the morning bath contains the same procedure as the mid-day bath. The morning bath has to be brief, as already stated, in the case of one who has consecrated the śrauta fires. The procedure of bathing will be indicated by a few brief extracts. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (64. 18–22) says 'having removed the dirt from his body with water and loose earth, he should plunge in water, he should invoke the water with the three verses 'āpo hi śṭāṁ' (Rg. X. 9. 1–3), with the four verses 'hiranyavarnāh' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 1–2) and with the verse 'idamāpaḥ pravahatu' (Rg. I. 23. 22 or X. 9. 8). Then while still plunged in water he should thrice mutter the Ahamāraṁaṇa hymn (Rg. X. 190. 1–3, ṭham ca satyam &c.) or he may mutter 'tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam' (Rg. I. 22. 20) or the Drupada Savitri verse (Vāj. S. 20. 20) or the anuvāka beginning with 'yuñjate mana' (Rg. V. 81. 1–5) or the Puruṣasukta (Rg. X. 90. 1–16).

'Having bathed he should, with his garment still wet, perform tarpana of gods and Manes while still in the water. But if he has changed his clothes, then he may do it (tarpana) after

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1567. असत्रयं अवार्दः सर्वं दलो रस्ते। वायु सारं व युधितं बर्षाणिः साह्यवनः।

1568. अधृतोत्सर्वाधिकरणं वृष्णमयादननं तत्सारएवं तत्सारां व युधितं साह्यवनं साह्यवनं।

1569. पथाति सन्धी वायुवनं। चतुर्थंधिनं नादस्वमुद्धवरं। पाडङ्गकारं नाधवस्।

1570. हुः तदावधिकरणं निर्ममरणं तथा निर्ममरणं अवार्दं नादस्वं। तातः च वायुस्वं।

विष्णुपरच्चर 64. 18–24.
coming out of the water’. Even now many brahmans mutter the Puruṣasūkta while bathing. Śaṅkha-smṛti (IX) has a brief description of snāna which consists in invoking water, then mārjana with the three verses (āpo hi śthā), then repeating certain Vedic verses like ‘hiranyā-varnaḥ’, ‘śan-no devir’, ‘śaṃ na āpah’ (Atharvaveda I. 6. 1 and 4) and thrice repeating Agha-mārgaṇa. Vide Madanapārījāta pp. 270–271, Gr. R. pp. 206–208 and Par. M. 1. 1. pp. 274–275 where the whole of Śaṅkha (IX) is quoted. The Śaṅkasaṃhitā1571 of Kātyāyana says “Now then will be treated the daily obligatory bath in a river and the like. Having fetched loose earth, cow dung, sesame, kuśas and flowers, having approached the water side, having placed (the above) materials on a pure spot, having washed one’s hands and feet, holding kuśa blades (or pavitra) in his hand, tying up his top knot and wearing the yajnopavīta, he should perform ācamana and invoke the water with the verse ‘urum hi’ (Ṛg. 1. 24. 8 = Vaiṣ. S. 3. 8, 23), stir it (with his thumb) with the verses ‘ye te śatam’ (vide Par. gr. 1. 2). He should fill his joined hands with water with the verse ‘sumitriyā nah’ (Vaiṣ. S. 6. 22) and should cast it on the ground with the verse ‘durmitriyā’ (Vaiṣ. S. 6. 22) in the direction of his enemy. He should apply loose earth thrice to each of the limbs, viz. the waist, the abdomen, thighs, feet and hands, then perform ācamana, should do obeisance to the water and should-swear his body with loose earth. Facing the sun with the verse ‘Idam viṣṇur’ (Ṛg. I. 22. 17 = Vaiṣ. S. 5. 15), he should dive into the water and bathe with the verse ‘āpo asmān’ (Ṛg. X. 17. 10 = Vaiṣ. S. IV. 2), then raise up his body with the mantra ‘ud-id-ābhyaḥ’ (Vaiṣ. S. IV. 2), again dip into water and again raise his head out of the water, perform ācamana and smear his body with cow dung with the mantra ‘mā nāstoke’. (Ṛg. I. 114. 1 = Vaiṣ. S. 16. 16). Then he should bathe with the

1571.’s (pp. 208–211) quotes this and explains some portion and differs from a Bṛhaspata thereon.
four mantras 'imam me Varuna' (Vāj. S. 21. 1-4), and with the verses 'mā āpo', 'uduttamam' (Vāj. S. 12. 12), 'muñcantu', (Rg. X. 97. 16 = Vāj. S. 12. 90), 'avabhṛtha' (Vāj. S. III. 48). At the end of these mantras he should dive into the water and then rise up out of it, perform ācāmana and sprinkle with darbha blades his body with the nine verses, viz. the three beginning with 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3 = Vāj. S. 11. 50-52), 'idam-āpah' (Vāj. S. VI. 17), with the two verses 'havismati' (Vāj. S. VI. 23) and 'devīrāpah' (Vāj. S. I. 12), 'apo devā' (Vāj. S. X. 1), 'drupadād-iva' (Vāj. S. 20. 20), 'śan-no devir' (Vāj. S. 36. 12), 'apām rasam' (Vāj. S. 9. 3), 'āpo devā', and 'punantu ma'. Then he should repeat thrice, while diving in water, the Aghamarṣana hymn (Rg. X. 190. 1-3) preceded by the mantra 'cit paṭir-ma' (Vāj. S. 4. 4), by the syllable om, by the vyāhṛtis, by the Gāyatrī and followed by the same; or he may repeat the verse 'drupadād-iva' (Vāj. S. 20. 20) or the three verses 'āyam gauḥ' (Rg. X. 189. 1-3 = Vāj. S. 3. 5) or he should perform prāṇāyāma with the śīras (viz. āpo iveda raso smṛtam brahma &c. cited above on p. 304 from Tai. Ā. X. 15) or he should repeat simply 'om' thrice or he should only contemplate on Viṣṇu. Having come out of the water, he should put on two washed garments, should wash his hands and thighs with loose earth, should perform ācāmana and then prāṇāyāma thrice'.

Yogi-Yājñavalkya quoted by Aparārka and other works says that when a man is unable to perform the elaborate snāṇa described by himself and others, he should engage only in this; he should invoke the water, then perform ācāmana, then mārjana (sprinkling water on body with kuśa blades) and then snāṇa and muttering of Aghamarṣana (Rg. X. 190.1-3) thrice. The Gṛ. R. (pp. 215-217) quotes the method of snāṇa according to the Padmapurāṇa and the Nṛśimhapurāṇa and remarks that the procedure in the Padmapurāṇa may be observed by all varṇas and by men following all the different Vedic schools (except the Vedic mantras in the case of śūdras). The Śrīyārthavāra (p. 28) also gives a brief procedure of snāṇa.

1572. यथीयः वै वातसी परिवार सूनाव फरी कशालापनम् विराज्यापर नि चालाप्यापर प्रयायाप्राप्तान्।

कालापनकालापान 2।

1573 योक्तेऽऽिल्लिकता ओकः स्नानस्व विषिष्टत्वः अस्मार्थकृ कृचितद्राव्यं विषिष्ट

करन्ते न्यायेन्नद्य बृह भाष्यान्तर्पीत तथा। ज्ञानमित्रां बृह तत्वात् परिश्वरणन्।

अध्यात्मवादार्थम् विराज्यापर नि निल्लिकाः। सनातनस्वार्थस्वार्थसुत्स्वम् भवानामात्रे ॥ पोषिताष्ट्र

वर्षकोटिष्ट्र विषिष्टकोटिष्ट्रणुमेकं भवानामात्रे ॥ पोषिताष्ट्र

स्नायुः कोष्ट्रकोष्ट्र स्नायुः कोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्र।

स्नायुः कोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्र।

स्नायुः कोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्र।

स्नायुः कोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्र।

स्नायुः कोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्र।

स्नायुः कोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रकोष्ट्रको�
There are certain rules to be observed when bathing. One was not to bathe naked (Gaut. IX. 61 and Manu IV. 45), nor with all clothes on (but only with the lower garment) nor after taking one's meal (Manu 4. 29); one was not to rub the body in water but outside on the bank, one should not strike the water with one's foot or hand or dash a portion of the water against the rest.\textsuperscript{1574}

The earth to be employed (like soap) for cleansing the body was to be obtained from a pure place and not from an\textsuperscript{1575} ant-hill or from places infested by mice, nor from under water, nor from the public road, nor from the bottom of a tree, nor from near temples, nor out of what was left by some person after using a portion for his own śauca and is to be invoked with two verses 'āsvakrānte\textsuperscript{1576} &c.' Laghu-Hārīta (v. 70–71) says 'earth secured after digging eight angulas from the surface should be used, all earth is pure which is taken from a place not frequented by people and that ten kinds of earth should not be used at the time of bathing' (verses 72–73).

The brahmacārin was not to bathe in a leisurely or sporting manner but to dive in water motionless like a stick.

The Mahābhārata, Dakṣa and others say that ten good consequences follow from snāna viz. strength, beauty, clearness of complexion and voice, (pleasant) touch and odour (of the body), purity, prosperity, delicacy and fine women.\textsuperscript{1577}

Bathing with water is divided into six varieties by Śaṅkha-smṛti (VIII. 1–11), Agnipurāṇa 155. 3–4 and others, viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, kriyāṅga, malāpakarṣaṇa (or abhyaṅga-snāna),

\textsuperscript{1574} । अनुभवम् अनवम् स्नायाजनेऽविपूर्वे कुर्ष्या पात्रभाविना वा अतिलिङ्ग्य-कान्त्यकालोपि स पर्यं देत्वा। सूर्यदेशलीकर पं । १९१-१९२ । विद्य विशेष VI. ३६-३७ न पात्रधे भाविना वा अतिलिङ्ग्यकालोपि न जेति अविद् ।

\textsuperscript{1575} । ऋषिकास सो न माना वल्लिकाषुपदवस्य । अतिलिंग्यमानवादु वायुमुपवत्तायादव । परमात्र देशलीकर्त्स व अज्ञकायोऽस्मिन्तो निन्धु । लघुपरमायिता साभार ऋषिकास राजवेशावे । वृष II. ४४-४५ । विद्य आर्य विद्युत्तितियोऽधिकृति ॥

\textsuperscript{1576} । विद्य आर्य विद्युत्तितियोऽधिकृति ॥ वृष II. ४४-४५ । विद्य आर्य विद्युत्तितियोऽधिकृति ॥

\textsuperscript{1577} । विद्य आर्य विद्युत्तितियोऽधिकृति ॥ वृष II. १८ ।
Kriyāsnāna. Nitya snāna (daily bath) has been described above. A few observations are made below on each of the others. On certain occasions or on coming in contact with certain persons or things one has to bathe, although one may have already bathed that day. This is called naimittika (due to some occasion or cause) snāna. For example, on the birth of a son, in a sacrifice (at the end), on the passing away of a relative, in eclipses, one has to bathe and even at night 1578 (Parāśara XII. 26 and Devala quoted above). Similarly a man has to bathe with all his clothes on if he touches an outcast (who is guilty of one of the mortal sins), a cāndāla, a woman who has recently delivered, a woman in her monthly course, a corpse, or one who has touched a corpse or one who has touched another that has come in contact with a corpse or when a man follows a corpse 1579 (Gaut. 14. 28-29, Vas. 4. 33, Manu V. 85 and 103, Yāj. III. 30, Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20. 24). According to Manu V. 144, Śaṅkha-sūtra VIII. 3, Mārka. purāṇa 34. 82-83, Brahmapurāṇa 113. 79, Parāśara XII. 28, if a man vomits or has many purges (ten or more), if he has a shave or has a bad dream, has had sexual intercourse, if he repairs to a cemetery, or is covered with smoke from a funeral pyre or touches a sacrificial post or a human bone, he has to undergo a bath to purify himself 1580. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 16 prescribes a bath if a man is bitten by a dog and Gaut. 14. 30 prescribes it even for touching it. If a man touches Baudhās, Pāśupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, atheists, dvijāṭis living by condemned actions and śūdras he should bathe with his clothes 1581 on. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 30, the Sm. C. I. pp. 117-119 and other digests speak of snāna being necessary on coming in contact with

1578. Ṛgveda 1. 44. 1. 1579. Āranyakaparāṣānti 3. 4. 1580. Āranyakaparāṣānti 4. 1. 1581. Āranyakaparāṣānti 4. 1. 118 quotes वादित्वात् cit. in चित्रम्.]
several birds (like the crow) and animals (like the cock and village hog), which are passed over for want of space.

Kāmya-snāna (bath for some desired object) is that which is taken when one goes to a tīrtha (a sacred place) or when there is some astrological conjunction like the moon being in the constellation of puṣya (vide Śaṅkhasmṛti VIII. 4) or when one bathes in the morning in the two months of Māgha and Pālguna for securing abundant pleasures. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 122-123 for numerous examples.

When a man has to take a bath as a part of the religious rite such as the rite of dedicating a well, a temple, a park to the public, that is called kriyāṅga-snāna.

When a man applies oil to his body, uses myrobalans and engages in a bath solely for cleaning the body (and with no idea of performing an obligatory duty or securing religious merit) that is called malāpakarasaka or abhyaṅga-snāna. The Sm. C. I. p. 125, Aparārka pp. 195-196 and other works lay down elaborate rules about this snāna. One rule is that on certain tīthi like parva (vide Manu IV 128 and Yāj I. 79 above on p. 204) there is to be no bath with oil &c. It is said that one desiring prosperity should use dried myrobalan (āmalaka) at the time of bath except on the 7th and 9th tīthi and on parva days. Vide Vāmanapurāṇa 14. 49 ff. (quoted in Sm. C. I., p. 125) for astrological rules.

When a man regards bathing at a sacred place the reward of his pilgrimage and engages in the procedure prescribed by Śaṅkhasmṛti IX. that is called kriyā-snāna.

A person who is ill may bathe with hot water or he may, if he cannot bear that, only wash his body except the head or his body may be rubbed with a wet piece of cloth. This last method

1582. Śaṅkhasmṛti VIII. 4.
1583. Pṛthivīdhyādhiṣṭhānāḥ p. 27; Dr. R. pp. 206-8, Par. M. I. part 1 p. 274.
is called *kāpila-smāna*. There is another method where a man is ill and something happens on which it is absolutely necessary for him to bathe; in this case one who is not ill should touch him and then bathe himself and then again touch him and bathe; when this is repeated ten times the person who is ill is deemed to have become pure as if he had bathed. In the case of a woman in her monthly course, if on the fourth day she has high fever, she is not to be bathed, but another woman is to touch her and bathe with all her clothes on and perform ācamana and touch her and bathe again; this is to be carried out ten or twelve times and in the end the clothes worn by the ailing woman are to be taken off and new ones to be given to her and she becomes clean.

The bath with water is called Vāruṇa (as Varuna is the lord of waters, according to Rg. VII. 49. 3 ‘yāsāṁ rājā Varuṇo’ &c.) and Vāruṇa is the principal kind of bath. There are six kinds of *gauna smānas* which may be employed when one is either ill and so unable as to undergo a regular bath or when there is no time or room to take a regular bath. These six (with Vāruṇa as the seventh) are enumerated and defined in Yogayājñavalkya and other works and they are: mantrasmāna, bhauma, āgneya, vāyavya, divya, mānasā. Dakṣa II. 15–16 and Parāśara XII. 9–11 mention these except bhauma and mānasā and employ the word brāhma in place of mantrasmāna. The Vaik., gr. (I. 2 and 5) employs both words ‘mantra’ and ‘gurvanujjā’ as synonymous. Garga and Bṛhaspati omit bhauma and mānasā and speak of *sūrasvata-smāna* instead, which consists in the blessing pronounced by a learned man in the case of a dvijāti, or a pupil or his son ‘may you have a bath with golden jars of Ganges water and of other sacred waters’ (vide Āhnikā-prakāṣa

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1586. अभिसंव कथेत स्वास्त स्माराकासौ कार्यनाशक. अर्द्धै वास्तं वाष्टि अर्धैं
1587. वास्तां वाष्टिन्क रिभरं बन्धुजै। चालया स्माराकासौ सुभोविन्त तता भावेश
1588. चालया वाष्टिन्क समासौ यतो विपुला।... प्रायर्गेरत स्वास्तं सुभोभूमि तु
1589. चालया वाष्टि विद्वानं चालया स्माराकासौ ज्ञातु। अर्द्धै वास्तां वाष्टिन्क समासौ सौ।
pp. 196-197). The mantrasanāna\(^{1589}\) consists in sprinkling water with the verses ‘āpo hi śtha’ (Rg. X. 9. 1-3), the bhauma (or pārthīva) in smearing the body with loose earth, āgniya in smearing the body with holy ashes, vaivṛtva in taking on the body the dust raised by the hoofs of cows, divya in wetting one’s body with a shower of rain accompanied with sunshine and mānasā in reflecting on God Viṣṇu.

Tarpaṇa (offering water to gods, sages and Manes) is an aṅga (a subsidiary constituent part) of snāna, just as it is an aṅga in brahma-yajña. When a person plunges his whole body in water including the head, he has to perform tarpaṇa while still standing in the water. Vide Manu II. 176, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 23-24 (quoted above in n.1570), Parāśara XI. 12-13 for this. He joins his two hands together, takes water in the joined hands and casts the water into the stream in which he is standing. If he changes his clothes, then he may perform the tarpaṇa on the bank of the river. There was a difference of opinion about tarpaṇa. Some said\(^{1590}\) that a man had to perform tarpaṇa as an aṅga of snāna immediately after it and before samāhya prayer and then again on the same day as an aṅga of brahma-yajña; while others held that tarpaṇa was to be performed only once in the day after samāhya prayer. One has to perform tarpaṇa according to the procedure prescribed in one’s sākhā (Vedic school) but Śaṅkha prescribes a brief tarpaṇa which consists in the words ‘may the universe from Brahma down to a bunch of grass be satisfied’ (or satiated) and offering three aṅjalīs (joined hands) of water. When he performs tarpaṇa

\(^{1589}\) अत्यंतरां यस्ते तेन फलोपयोलखेक्या। सन्तरसास्त्रिष्ठः सत वेदांवर्णितवर्धिति कृपाः। नामं मौरीयं तपस्यं वापनं दिवमेव बृहच्छतः। पाँचं आनं जैव सर्वमानां धुक्कासत्॥ अवं दिवसिभिरं सुभुवासं पायथितेः। अवं विश्वसनं सतं वापनं गोर्जेर वित्तस्तथा। सुनयं॥ यसुः आकाशवेच्छा वापनं स्वायत्वते। वाच्यं बालभासतः सतं वापनं दिक्ष्वतैः। वेदांवर्णया विक्ष्रेण वापनं पुरुषं॥ नामस्च गंगायं नामस्च यथा बालभासतः। वेदांवर्ण्या विक्ष्रेण। वेदांवर्ण्या विक्ष्रेण।

\(^{1590}\) हीरे च सन्तरसास्त्रिष्ठ राजामरावतेतस्मयेत। कृपाः सेवलोकान्तिः सातिगुणानुसारस्तयपरिवर्तन्त। अवं विश्वसनं तेन सन्तरसास्त्रिष्ठः। वेदांवर्णया विक्ष्रेण। वेदांवर्णया विक्ष्रेण। वेदांवर्णया विक्ष्रेण।
standing in water, he should not wring the water from the ends of his garment until he has finished it. He should then wring the ends of his garment and the water so falling down is deemed to be meant for the sonless deceased persons born in the family of the bather and he has to repeat a verse to that effect. Further details of *tarpana* are set out under *brahmayajña* below.

After one takes a bath one was not to shake one's head (for getting rid of the water), nor should one rub off the water on one's body with one's hand or with the garment already worn by one; one has to cover one's head with a turban (to dry the hair) and wear two fresh garments already washed and dried (*Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 9-13*).

What clothes the *brahmaśarin* was to wear has already been stated (pp. 278-279). A few words must be said about the clothes to be worn by a householder.

Weaving and woven cloth are frequently referred to in the Veda, generally in a metaphorical sense or in similes. *Vide* Rg. I. 115. 4, II. 3. 6, V. 29. 15, X. 106. 1. In Rg. VI. 9. 2-3, both warp (*tantu*) and woof (*otu*) are mentioned. The words used for garment are 'vāsaś' or 'vastra'. In the Tai. S. (VI. 11. 3) it is said that *kṣauna* (linen) cloth is worn when a person takes the dīkṣā (initiatory rite) for a Vedic sacrifice. In the Kāthaka Sām. XV. 1 *kṣauna* cloth is said to be the fee in a certain rite. In the Atharvaveda VIII. 2. 16 we have the two words 'vāsaś' (outer garment) and 'nivi' (under garment) used with reference to the same man. In the Rg. the word 'adhivāsa' is also used with reference to a garment which must have been somewhat like a mantle or toga (Rg. I. 162. 16). In the Tai. S. II. 4. 9. 2, the skin of the black deer is mentioned. In the Śat. Br. V. 2. 1. 8 it is said that when the Nestr priest is about to lead up the sacrificer's wife he makes her put on a kuśa upper garment (vāsaś) or a kuśa skirt next to the cloth that

1591. संगति: | आनानुस्मरणपरं आयुर्यस्वविविधिः बुद्ध। वांडकीविविभागेन धनोपतिषिद्धताः। आधिकारिकं प्र. 145। भूर्त संबंधस वांववीच रावण निपक्षिप भूतने। विङ्ग के अानंतरस के राज उदयन राजन ान ा हिमोविविभागिनीयः। विङ्ग के अानंतरस के राज उदयन राजन ा हिमोविविभागिनीयः। विङ्ग के अानंतरस के राज उदयन राजन ा हिमोविविभागिनीयः। कुष्ठा। (आधिकं) प्र. 250।
1592. कैसे कार्यः परिदर्शन या नीर्मि: जुड़े उपः। अण्वेष्य VIII. 2. 16।
1593. कृत्योऽद्भवं पनप्रथन्तु चक्षुषां विंगः परिभाषिति कौशी गायिका तत्त्वानुवां द्विविविभागिनस्य। सत्यवस्था: V. 2. 1. 8. कौशी मई में में 'मैं निर्माण करें निर्माण करें कुष्ठा ग्रास'।
one who is initiated for the sacrifice wears. In the Br. Up. II. 3. 6. there is a reference to cloth dyed red with safflower or woollen cloth that is whitish in colour. Rg. IV. 22. 2 and Rg. V. 52. 9 are interpreted by Western scholars as referring to wool on the Paruṣṇi river being the best, but the sense is rather obscure. It appears from the above that cloth was either woollen or linen, that silken (or kuśa) cloth was worn on very solemn occasions, that deer-skin was also employed as covering and that cloth was also dyed red. Whether cotton cloth was known in the earliest Vedic period is not certain. It is clear that in the sūtras (Vishu Dhr. S. 71. 15 and 63. 24) and in Manu (8. 326 and 12. 64) cotton cloth is known and so its use must have reached several centuries before the times of the sūtras. Arrian (tr. by MacCrindle) says that Indian dress was made of cotton (p. 219).

The Ap. Dh. S. (II. 2. 42–23) requires that a householder should always wear an upper garment (besides the lower one) but allows him to have only the sacred thread instead (if he be poor &c.). Vaa. Dh. S. XII. 14 says that snātakas (those who have returned from the stage of student-hood) should always wear a lower garment and an upper one, two yajñopavitas &c. The Baud. Dh. S. I. 3. 2. says the same and adds that a snātaka should wear a turban, a deer-skin as upper garment, shoes and have an umbrella. Aparārka (pp. 133–134) quotes verses from Vyāghra and Yogayājñavalkya to the same effect, the latter remarking that if one cannot procure a second washed garment one may wear a blanket of wool, or hempen or linen cloth. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 6. 5–6, 10–11) says ‘among garments the one that has not been worn is pure and therefore everything connected with sacrifice and worship should be done with fresh (or unblemished) clothes. The sacrificer, his wife and the priests should wear garments that have been washed, dried in the wind and are not worn out by use; but in sacrifices performed for abhicūra (harm to one’s enemies) the priests should wear clothes and turbans dyed red. In consecrating the Vedic fires one should wear clothes made

1594. हस्तवीर्म वुज्जज्व १८८ यथा विषाण सर्वर्ज्ञ वासो यथा वद्यज्ञानिक &c. वृह. रघ. II. 3. 6.

1595. अय रन्तलवसां अन्वर्थेत ऊँचायसु। वैनं वुज्ज्व यथेषु। तोषुक्त न कर्तारं नुस। किं विश्वेषणान्ती विश्वेषणां दुष्टसुनुस्तादी। यसे घ. रघ. I. 3. 1–6. Compare for red clothes and turban in magic rites अष्ट on येन. III. 8. 12 ‘वेंने सुसंत तोषुक्तानि। विश्वेषणां दुष्टसुनुस्तानि: सम्यकतीति।'
of flax or if they are not available cotton or woollen ones. Šabara on Jaimini X. 4. 13 quotes śrutipassages to the effect that the sacrificer and his wife wear fresh unused clothes in the model sacrifice and in the Mahāvrata the sacrificer wears in addition a tārpya (silk garment) and his wife wears one made of kuśagrass. 1596 Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 66 requires that one must wear an upper garment in five acts viz. study of the Veda, dedication of a well or a tank &c. to the public, making gifts, taking one’s meal or ācamana. Similarly the Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 12. 20) requires that a man must not, with only one garment on, begin homa, the worship of gods and similar rites, study of the Veda, ācamana and japa. 1597 Gaut. 9. 4–5, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 10–13, Manu IV. 34–35, Yāj. I. 131 and others enjoin that a smālaka and a householder should wear white garments and they must not be worn out or dirty if he has enough (means) and should not wear dyed garments or garments of high price (or gaudy ones) or those worn by another. 1598 Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 24 remarks ‘what a man, while wearing reddish garments, does such as japa, homa, receiving gifts, offerings made to gods and Maṅes, does not reach the gods.’ 1599 Cloth dyed in indigo is also forbidden and a male has to undergo a fast and take paṇcagavya for wearing such cloth. The Āpastamba smṛti (in verse) chap. VI has several verses on cloth dyed in indigo. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 quotes verses 1–5 of Āpastamba. Vide Aparārka p. 1186 for quotation of the same verses and also of Āṅgiras, verses 32–39 (which are almost the same as Āpastamba’s). Gaut. 9. 5–7, Manu IV. 66, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 47, Mārk. purāṇa 1600 34. 42–43 prescribe that one should not wear the shoes, garments

1596. क्रान्ते शुद्धता वानस्पतिस्वरूपम् शायरया तथा। तात्विकम् वात्सर्यम् भाष्यमी जये।

1597. श्रीब्रजायामीत्रको निपक्ष वेदने वनम्।

1598. कालिनिलिङ्गस्तेसाः श्रीवरणाय श्रीवरणाय स्वायः।

1599. कालिनिलिङ्गस्तेसाः श्रीवरणाय श्रीवरणाय स्वायः।

1600. श्रीवरणीत्रियोऽपासाय श्रीवरणाय श्रीवरणाय स्वायः।
yajnopavita, ornament, garland, or water-jar used by another but if a man is unable to secure one for himself, he may wear another's garment or shoes or garland after cleansing it. According to Garga quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 113) a brāhmaṇa should wear white garments, a ksatriya red and brilliant ones, a vaiśya yellow ones, a śūdra should wear a dark one that is dirty. The Mahābhārata says that one has to wear garments at the time of worshipping gods that are different from those that one wears while walking on a road or when one is in bed. Prajñāpati quoted by Par. M. states that in tarpāṇa one should wear silk cloth having a hem or one that is orange-coloured, but never one that is gaudy. Probably it is requirements like these that led to the practice of wearing silken garments at the time of meals and worship, which practice is observed even now in many parts of India. Manu IV. 18 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 5–6 prescribe that one must dress, speak and entertain thoughts that would be in keeping with one's age, occupation, monetary affairs, learning, family and country. The garments to be worn by the vāṇaprastha and sarīnyāsin will be discussed below. The śruti contain rules about tucking up the lower garment. A garment should be tucked in three places i. e. when it is tucked near the navel, on the left side and behind on the back. A brāhmaṇa is said to be a śūdra as long as he has not tucked his garment behind or allows one corner of it to hang down from behind like a tail, or has tucked it in the wrong way or side, or has wound part of it round his waist or has covered the upper part of the body with a portion of the lower garment. Vide Sm. M. (āgniṇika pp. 351–353) and Sm. C. I. pp. 113–114 for these and other rules about wearing garments.

After one bathes, one has to sip water (Dakṣa II. 20. ff) and make marks on his forehead (variously called tilaka, ūrdh vapundra, tripundra &c.) according to one's caste or sect. In the Āhnikapratīṣṭha (pp. 248–252), in the Smṛtimuktāphala (āgniṇika pp. 292–310) elaborate rules are laid down on this subject. In the Brahmapānaprāṇa it is stated that for making

1601. अनाचेतु वेदांस: षड्षार्षिकमेव व ह। अते क्षणबाहु वेदाञ्चां वर्षातमावेदेव स्व।
     अखचितम् 104. 46, quoted by Agrahārya p. 173 and Śukr. R. p. 501. अतस्वमे
     बहव्यति। ते वर्षां वर्षस्ते मस्तिष्की दर्शन सहवस्ते तथा। तावानम् वाद्यकामेण बा भान्ति व भुए
     कारौचिदि। आचार्यपन्ते p. 353.

1602. पर्वमाने परिवारं यस्य क्षेत्रे विरोधरे। सिद्धवानं इदं वं वानीके तुम वाप्पामात्रांते
     स्वै च वर्षस्ते संहितान वर्षावद्वितिकां। अन्याख्यातां जयंतीम् जयंतीम् भुतपोषन॥
     विदे ज्ञात्यावनप्राणी pp. 42–43.
ardhavapundra (vertical mark of a line or lines on the forehead) one may select earth from the top of mountains or from banks of holy rivers like the Indus and the Ganges, from places sacred to Viṣṇu, from ant-hills and from the root of the tulasī plant. The thumb, the middle finger and the finger next to the small finger are to be used in making the mark, but the nails should not come in contact with the earth employed. The mark may be of the form of a lamp and its wick, or of the form of bamboo leaves or a lotus bud, or of a fish or tortoise or a conch and the mark may be in length from two to ten fingers. The marks are to be made on the forehead, the chest, the throat and its pit, on the abdomen, the right and left sides, the arms, the ears, the back, the back of the neck, after taking the twelve names of Viṣṇu (viz. Keśava, Nārāyaṇa &c.) for each of the above twelve parts of the body. The tri-[punda] mark (three oblique lines) is to be made with holy ashes (bhasman) and the tilaka with sandalwood paste. According to the Brahmana, the ardha-vapundra is made after a bath with loose earth in such a way that it resembles the outline of the foot (of Hari), the tripundra with holy ashes after homa, and the tilaka (a circular mark) with sandalwood paste on worshipping gods (devapujā). The Sm. M. (āhīka p. 292) quotes Viṣṇudevopaniṣad for making the ardha-vapundra mark on the forehead and other places with Gopīcandana (magnesian or calcareous clay) or in its absence with earth from the roots of the tulasī plant. Sacrifice, gifts, japa, homa, study of the Veda, tarpana of the Manes, if done without the ardha-vapundra mark, become fruitless (according to Viṣṇu quoted in Sm. M. āhīka p. 292). The Vṛddha-Hārita smṛti (II. 58–72) has a long note on ardha-vapundra. The Sm. M. (āhīka p. 296) notes that some texts of the Pāṣupata and other Śaiva sectarians run down ardha-vapundra and highly extol the tripundra mark, while Pāñcarātra texts enjoin the marking of the body with sāṅkha, cakra and other weapons of Viṣṇu and condemn tripundra. Devout worshippers of Viṣṇu who are followers of Mahāvācārya brand the weapons of

1603. कर्त्तव्यम् पूजा कुष्ठार्थं समस्ता सदा। शिष्यं देव दिशा कुष्ठार्थवेषे दुष्कर्मण् पूजयते। श्रीकुष्ठम् समुक्ष: समन्वतं अयुक्तत: मदद्वस्य। सत्य-विनिवेशस्यां भवानि कुष्ठी॥ अन्यत: उत्तर रेषा। निम्न-विनोभाषणीतः॥।

1604. दर्शयन्त तथा सोपीवर्देन वेद्योपसये। सात्परां सक्तानि दृष्टं दशिवर्तः कर्तितं आत्माने भविष्यं कर्तव्यं तथा। आधिकारिकम् VIII. 67–68.
Visṇu such as the conch on their arms and bodies with heated metal pieces, just as early Christians stamped the cross on the forehead with red-hot iron (vide Wilson’s ‘Religious Sects of the Hindus’, vol. I. p. 42). Works like Vyḍḍha-Haṛita II. 44-45, the Prthvi-candrodaya condemn the practice of branding the body with marks of the conch &c. with red-hot iron as fit only for śūdras. The Smṛtyartha-sāgara of Chalārī quotes passages of the Vāyupurāṇa and Viṣṇupurāṇa supporting branding. In the Kālagnirudopanisad the procedure of the triṇḍra mark is laid down. Holy ashes are taken from the sacred fire with the five mantras ‘sadyo jātam’ (Tai. Ār. 10. 43-47) and they are then invoked with the mantras ‘agniriti bhasma’; part of the ashes is then taken in the palm of one’s hand with the mantra ‘mā nastoke’, (Rg. I. 114. 8) and mixed with water and therewith lines are made on the head, the forehead up to the (middle of the) eyebrows and eyes, on the chest and shoulders, after repeating ‘tryāyuṣam Jamadagnier’ when applying the ashes to the forehead, ‘kaśyapasya tryāyuṣam’ when applying to the navel (or chest) and so on (the head coming last). The Sāṅkhyaṇa gr. says 1605 “He makes the triṇḍra mark with ashes with the five formulas ‘tryāyuṣam’ &c. on his forehead, chest, right and left shoulders and then on the back; (by doing this) he studies these Vedas, one, two, three or all.” The Smṛtimuktāphala 1607 (āhnika p. 301) quotes a passage from Baudhāyana in which the words of the exhortation to the pupil returning home ‘bhūtyai na pramaditavyam’ occurring in the Tai. Up. I. 11 are interpreted as referring to the making

1605. Vide Sm. M. p. 301 for all details. Even now parts of a mantra are used in applying holy ashes to the forehead, to the navel, to the right and left shoulders and the head. The mantra occurs in आप. म. वि. II. 7. 2 ‘वाणुप जामुने फ़ार्यक। वेदेधारा वाणुप तयां अस्तु वाणुपम्।’ III. 62 has the same mantra with slight variations. About the ashes the following are repeated ‘अविनिति भस्म वाणुपिति भस्म जालिति भस्म स्तूलिति भस्म सस्म सवा वा दृष्टि अभ्य,’ quoted in नानासाध्य दृष्टिका on kālamārga Upaniṣad.

1606. वाणुपिति प्रक्षतित्वे ते दृष्टित्वे वे दृष्टित्वे वे च ततः च च च च च च च च च च च च च च.

1607. Vide S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 76 where this passage is said to be a late addition.
of the tripundra mark with ashes (bhūti). This is a fine example of how sectarianists twist the words of ancient texts to bolster up their practices and dogmas. In the Kādambarī (para 34) Hārīta is described as ornamented by the tripundra mark of ashes. The Ācāramayūkha quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa of him who does not bear the tripundra mark, truthfulness, śauca, japa, homa, pilgrimage and worship of gods—all this becomes futile and a verse from the Smṛṭiratnāvali as to the parts of the body that are to be smeared with holy ashes, viz. the forehead, the region of the heart, navel, throat, shoulders, the joints of the arms, the back and the head. The Smṛṭimuktāphala (āhnikā p. 310) gives the following sage advice to the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sectarian writers that were guilty of running down the practices of each other: 'As one God appears in the form of various deities, all should worship their (favourite) god, whether Śiva, Viṣṇu or any other, without indulging in the calumnies of other deities and they should wear the pundra mark that is deemed to be pleasing to any deity without calumniating other sect marks.'

The Nīrṇayāsindhu (II pariccheda) when dealing with the 11th day of Āsāḍha sets out from the Rāmārāṇa-candrikā passages about the marking of the body with conch figure by means of heated metal pieces and also quotes the Pṛthvīcandrodaya and other works that condemn such practices and remarks that one may follow the śiṣṭas. The Ācāraratna (p. 37 a) states that votaries are of several kinds, viz. Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas who are purely followers of the Vedic cult, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas who follow both Vaidika and Tāntrika practices and the same two following purely the Tāntric cult.

After bath comes saṁdhya (Yaj. I. 98). This subject has been dealt with above (pp. 312–321) under Upanayana.

After saṁdhya comes homa (Daksā II. 28 and Yaj. I. 98–99). If a brāhmaṇa took a bath in the early morning and engaged in a lengthy saṁdhya prayer he may not be able to perform homa in the morning at the proper time. Homa was performed in the morning before sunrise according to one view (anudite juhoti) and after sunrise, according to another (udite juhoti); but even on the latter view, homa must be performed before the
sun rises one cubit above the horizon (Gobhila-smṛti I. 123). The evening homa is to be performed at a time when the stars clearly appear in the sky and the ruddy colour has left the western horizon (Gobhila-smṛti I. 124). Āṣv. Śr. II. 2 and Āṣv. gr. I. 9. 5 state the time for morning homa to be up to the end of the period of saṅgava (i.e. the second of the five periods of day time). Therefore some said that in order to perform homa in time one may perform the morning saṁdhya prayer even after homa. It has been shown above (p. 425) that the belief was that a man owed three debts one of which, viz. that to the gods, was discharged by performance of sacrifices and that a man had to perform agnihotra (fire worship) to the end of his life. The fire to be tended was either śrauta or smārta. As to the first there were certain rules. Only a person that had attained a certain age was to kindle the śrauta fires, viz. one who had a son or had reached an age when he could have a son and whose hair was still black (i.e. who had not become middle-aged or old). There were two views on the necessity of kindling the śrauta fires. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 45–48 says "a brāhmaṇa must necessarily kindle the three śrauta fires and offer (in them) the Darśa-Pūrnamāsa (new moon and full moon sacrifices), the Āgṛayana isti, the Cāturmāyas, the animal and soma sacrifices. For this is enjoined as an observance and has been lauded as a debt. For it is declared (in the Veda) ‘a brāhmaṇa is born

1609. संवत्सरानांवसाने सूर्य होमे विधयते । दूरा II. 25; आद्वशयस्मानी
मा भासास्त्र च दूराला । हस्तवेढ़ी विद्वांवायरे हिरवा न गतिविति । वाद्वशयस्माना
हुष्ठान नामभेद्नायुवाहिन्नम । भासास्त्रस्य आद्वशयस्मानी I. 122–123. Mani II. 15 refers to
the several views about दूराला; समवाच्य कित्य कित्य कित्य in Manu is explained as the
time before the sun’s disc appears after the stars have become invisible.
Vide निर्विविजना I. p. 161 and वी. श. श. निन्दिकेय I. 72 for explanation of उद्वात,
समवाच्य कित्य कित्य कित्य इत्या. The स्वतंत्रतापारं p. 35 शय गातिनि समवाच्य कित्य कित्य कित्य
tेता | तार्किकातादिकाप न नागिना: इि।

1610. होमै वैदिकिको दूरा भारा बुध पार्श्वपार्श्व पार्श्वपार्श्व:। सूर्यमुखै मेवद्वृत्तवस्त्रादिकै वेदिने
रुद्रा भिक्षु:। मात्रण नियतमि कृत्व नितियिता I. p. 163; vide विन्यासाधारणमित्र p. 314
संवत्सराचारमित्र p. 890.

1611. अव्यय आद्वशयस्मानाय विना । दूराला पुराणास्त्रम वेदां गातिनि समवाच्य
स्मार्कं वेदां गाति विन्यासाधारणमित्र आद्वशयस्मानि निर्विविजना:। नैपायिकै वेदां
गातिनि समवाच्य कित्य कित्य कित्य कित्य आद्वशयस्मानि निर्विविजना:। वृहदि XI. 45–48;
vid सयात्मकमित्र p. 59, 4–9 for similar provisions. Manu IV. 26 explains
that the Āgṛayana isti is to be performed with the new grain that is
brought in at the end of the rainy season (in sarad) after the old grain
is consumed, that an animal sacrifice is to be performed at the
beginning of the uttarāṣaya and of dakṣipāyana (i.e. twice a year) and a Soma
sacrifice once a year at its beginning. Vide also Yaj. I. 125–126.
indebted in three debts, in sacrifice to the gods &c." Šabara on Jaimini V. 4. 16 expressly says that there is no particular time fixed for kindling the sacred fires and that a person may do so the very day on which the pious desire to do so arises in his mind. The Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana I. 6-7 refers to the two views that ādhāna (kindling of śrauta fires) is nītya (obligatory) and the other view (discussed by Bāndhāyana) that it is merely kāmya (to be performed only if one desires the fulfilment of certain objects). The person who had kindled the sacred fires offered his daily oblations in them. It is clear that even in very ancient times not many kindled the sacred Vedic fires. The Grhyas and Dharmasūtras often contain rules referring to those who had kindled the sacred fires and to those who had not. For example, the Āśv. gr. I. 1. 4 quotes Rg. VIII. 19. 5 ‘the person who lays a fuel stick on fire, or throws an oblation on it or offers it the study of the Veda, or who pays adoration to Agni, (in substance) offers a good sacrifice.’ Āśv. gr. then quotes a brāhmaṇa passage explaining Rg. VIII. 19. 5 in which reliance is also placed on two more Rk verses (viz. Rg. VIII. 24. 20 and VI. 16. 47). The purpose of all this is to show that even the study of the Veda, the performing of namaskāra and offering of a samidh in the fire are equivalent to a real sacrifice. That shows that it was not obligatory on everybody to kindle the three sacred fires. But it must be said that agnihotra was highly thought of in ancient India. Vide Chāndogya Up. V. 24. 5 for a verse extolling it.

The three fires (often called Tretā) are the Āhavanīya, Gārhapatya and Dakṣināgni. The Āhavanīya fire-place is a square, Gārhapatya is round (as the earth is round) and Dakṣināgni is in the form of half the orb of the moon (vide Vṛddha-Gautama p. 604, Jivānanda). In the Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras elaborate discussions are held about the kindling of fires (agnyādhāna), about the several sacrifices and the various details connected therewith. It has been decided, in view of the vastness of the subject of śrāuta rites and the academic nature for modern times of the treatment of most of those rites, to pass them over.

1612. वेदाध्येये कामिण्यान्तिप्रमिति। पद्य्धर्मैनं अन्योपनमेवदवदुर्धारीत इति । समम ०० अध्ययो वधानशिव सर्वपालाय ि। वै. २. १६।

1613. यद गमिति यात्र। यो नाम सर्वस्य तत्तथात तत्तथा । यो नाम वं शितायाय तथस्य तत्तथस्य मुक्तित्व वस्ति । न तत्त्वो वेदान्तं ज्ञातव्य न अर्थार्थात् निर्माण । वै. VIII. 19. 5-6.
in this work and to give in a separate chapter at the end of this volume only some information about the śrāuta sacrifices. For about two thousand years hardly any animal or some sacrifices have been performed (except rarely by kings, nobles and rich people). In medieval times there were many brāhmaṇas who performed the New and Full moon sacrifices, the Āgrayāpana Īṣṭi and the Cāturmāśyas. But in modern times even such agniho- trins have become very rare and in certain parts of India one can hardly find a single agnihotrin keeping śrāuta fires even among thousands of brāhmaṇas.

Every one who has kindled the sacred fires has to offer every morning and evening the Agnihotra (oblations of clarified butter) in the śrāuta fires. Not only has one who has consecrated the three sacred fires to offer agnihotra everyday, but also every householder has to do so every day twice, in the morning and in the evening. Vide Manu IV. 25, Yāj. I. 99, Ap. Dh. S. I. 4. 13. 22 and I. 4. 14. 1. ‘For when a man is married, there are daily observances declared for him such as agnihotra, (honouring) guests and such other proper actions’ (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 1). The rules about the proper time of kindling fire and offering oblations and about the material of the oblations are the same for grhya rites as in śrāuta agnihotra (Āsv. gr. I. 9. 4–6). The fire in which these daily offerings are made by one who has not kindled the three śrāuta fires is called aupāsana, āvasathya, aupasada, vaivahika or (-hana), śmāra or grhya or sālāgni. There are various views about the time from which this fire is to be maintained. The view of the vast majority of writers is that the grhya fire is the nuptial fire which is kindled on the day of marriage by the newly married pair. We saw above (pp. 530, 557) that the Āsv. gr. (I. 8. 5) directs that when the bridegroom starts after marriage from the bride’s house for his own house (whether in the same village or in

1614. अनिश्चितं च स्त्रयादयतने चुनिन्देर: सदृश:। महात् ४. २५।

1615. निश्चितम् च पाणी स्त्रयादयतने चुनिन्देर: सदृशः। खाद्रविपुच्छ ते । ५. १। vide गोमिन्दव. I. 1. 20–21; पाणिनिदिग्विद्वाकृतिस्मृतिसांविलासस्वामित्वाचार्य सतिन्द्रामाणी कस्तो। विश्वचनेशु. I. 26. 1–2; आवश्ययायां दुरवसाते दृष्ठावसाता प्रेऱकाः। पार. सु. I. 2; उद्यययायामध्ययाभवन्त्य परिवर्त्येऽपि सु. I. 9; वैयक्तिके क्रियान्तिः सु: इदम् द्वारा चिरि पाणिज्ञानम् च परिपरेऽवाचार्यां शृद्ध:। महात् III. 67। vide या इ. 97 for the word विश्वचने। एवं अधितेदिग्वमेदि यत:। भाष्यपाठायाना:। कालसूचना ४७. १–२। अनुवाद p. 490 explains ओऽस्मवाः मृत्यूपि। Vide आय. घ. सु. II. 2. 3. 16 (for आय. सू. II. 2. 5. इत्यदि on भु. XI. 17 distinguishes सतिन्द्रा from ओऽस्मवाः and says it has a wider application.
another village) the nuptial fire is continually carried in a vessel (called ukha) in front till he reaches his house. Vide also Ap. gr. V. 14-15. The Āṣv. gr. I. 9. 1-3 says 'beginning from the holding of the hand (i.e. marriage) he should worship the domestic fire himself or his wife, also his son or his daughter or pupil. The worship of fire should be constantly kept up'. A man's nuptial fire may go out and he may not re-instate it through neglect or other cause or his wife may be dead and he may remain a widower. In such cases he has to offer his daily offerings in the ordinary fire on which he cooks his food (laukika or pacana fire); so that so far five kinds of fires (viz. the three śrauta ones, aupāsana or grhya and the laukika) are spoken of. There is another fire called 'sabhya' (which is the sixth). According to Medhātithi on Manu III. 185 the sabhya fire is that which is kept burning in the hall of a rich man for the removal of cold and for the diffusion of warmth. Vide Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 12, p. 302 n 1), where the translator says that the sabhya fire was kept only by ksatriyas. The Kātyāyana Śrauta sūtra IV. 9. 20 prescribes that the sabhya fire also is generated by friction like the Gārhapatya fire. Āp. Śr. sūtra IV. 4. 7 says that the sabhya fire is to be kindled in the hall (of gambling, according to the comm.) to the east of the place of the āhavaniya fire. The Śrītyarthaśāra (p. 14) says that a householder should maintain six fires, five, four, three, two or one, but should never remain without fire. When he keeps the tretā, aupāsana, sabhya and ordinary fire he will have six; when he maintains the tretā, aupāsana and sabhya he is called pañcagni, who is among the brāhmaṇas that are pañktipaṇanas (i.e. that sanctify the company at dinner). Vide Gaut. 15. 29, Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 23, Vas. Dh. S. III. 19, Manu III. 185, Yāj. I. 221. He who maintains tretā and aupāsana will have only four, he who maintains only tretā.

1616. निवालिनिनितंदन्र्यति। आयूण. स. I. 8. 5; समाचायविनिविनिनितं। निविनिनितं। अयूण. स. V. 14-15.


will have three, he who maintains aupāsana and the ordinary fire will have two and one may only maintain the ordinary fire. The rites prescribed in the grhyasātra of a person's sākha were to be performed in the aupāsana; other rites prescribed in the smṛtis were to be performed in the ordinary fire. But if one has no fire other than the ordinary one, every rite has to performed in it. The under-lying idea of this emphasis on the worship of Agni seems to be that the oblations thrown into the fire reach the sun, that sends rain, from which springs corn, that is the sustenance of all beings. Vide Manu III. 76 (=Śāntiparva 264. 11) and Sm. C. I. p. 155, Par. M. I, part I, p. 130 for the eulogy of agnihotra.

There were other views about the time from which one was to begin keeping one's grhya fire. Gaut. V. 6, Yāṣ. I. 97, Pār. gr. I. 2 and others refer to an optional course viz. setting up the grhya fire at the time when one separates from other members of the family. The Sāṅ. gr. I. 2–5 refers to four alternatives in all (including the two already referred to); the other two are: When a pupil is about to return from his teacher's home, he may keep as his grhya fire that fire on which he puts the last samidh; or a person may, if he is the eldest son, keep the fire of his father on the latter's death or of his eldest brother on the latter's death (if there is no division and the family continues joint). Baud. gr. II. 6. 17 says that the grhya fire for a person is one by which his upanayana is performed, that from upanayana to marriage with vyāhṛtis and clarified butter, and from marriage onwards with offerings of boiled rice or barley.

1620. भार्तौ मौलास् ने कुर्यासर्वदायानि हु ताकिके। सारै च ताकिके चार्य शौरी देवाय- निवारितम् ॥ सुधर्ययासर्वादायं पुजा नदव। सार्वो नियोगन शूदवलितनिर्णेके ॥ वेदुप्राप्तसूत्रिः III. 31–32

1621. भार्तौ शूदवलितसूत्रिः। सौ. V. 6. अविनाशयत्वायार्य व्यात्स्य सार्व- चक्षुद्रवादस्त्रीविनिर्धारितां वेदाय च। दर्शयर्यां एके। एते वा शूदवलितसूत्रिः व्यात्से। श्रृ. सौ. I. 1. 2–5; compare मीमांसा: I. 1. 12.

1622. भार्तौ मौलास्न्दपवाती तस्मि न व्यात्से तस्मात्यवात्से तास्मात्य मार्गाः तास्मात सार्ववाताः तास्मात परिश्रापति निवारितम मूलस्य दिधिः कार्योऽपि किपर्न: ... स एव धर्मावासर्ववृत्ति भाषातोष्टि सार्व- दिधिः आ सार्ववाताः। सार्ववातामर्गात्यार्य भाषातोष्टि आ पारिश्रापति। परिश्रापति शूदर्यात्मिना वैवर्य हस्तायं आहुति उपहरति अर्थे स्वाहा मनोहार्येष स्वामि सार्ववात: ६ १७, २१–२३; अर्थे स्वामि सार्ववातस्य स्वाहित अल्पस्य विनिर्धारित ६। श्रृ. सौ. II. 6, 17, 19–21; अर्थे स्वामि सार्ववातस्य स्वाहित अल्पस्य विनिर्धारित ६। आम्बू. सौ. I. 9. 8.
The deities to whom agnihotra is offered in the morning and evening are Agni and Prajjapati (to the latter inaudibly). According to some in the morning the sun takes the place of Agni (vide Baud. gr. II. 7. 21 quoted in n. 1623 Hir. gr. I. 26. 9, Bhār. gr. III. 3, Āp. gr. VII. 21).

The oblations are to be made in the morning and evening of cooked food, but only such corn as is fit to be offered to fire as havīs is to be used (Āsv. gr. I. 2. 1). It is either boiled rice or barley (Āp. gr. VII. 19).<sup>1623</sup> Gobhila-smṛti (I. 131 and III. 114) says<sup>1624</sup> that among havīsas the foremost are yavas (barley), then comes rice, but one should eschew māsa, kodrava and gaura among corns even if nothing else is available, that if rice and barley are not available one may employ curds or milk or in their absence, yavāgū (gruel) or water. According to a verse quoted by Nārāyana on Āsv. gr. I. 9. 6 ten materials can be offered as havīs into fire viz. milk, curds, yavāgū, clarified butter, boiled rice, husked rice, soma, flesh, sesame oil and water.<sup>1625</sup> Manu III. 257 specifies some articles as naturally fit for being employed as havīs. Vide also Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 12–14. Though flesh is allowed as offering in some sacrifices it cannot be employed in the morning and evening homa (vide Āsv. gr. I. 9. 6). The general rule is that when no particular material is specified for homa into fire, clarified butter is to be used as offering, and when no particular deity is mentioned, then the deity is to be Prajjapati<sup>1626</sup>. There is another rule that fluid materials are to be offered into fire with the srava ladle, while solid havīs is to be offered with the right hand.<sup>1627</sup>

1623. अध्याय माता सिद्धान्तविधिनक्षयं रूपवर्धनं अल्पवाद। आय्य. स. I. 2. 1; सार्व गोवर्धन ऊर्ज्जवल वेदंश्च अन्यान्तर। आय्य. र. VII. 19.

1624. हविवेदिके धनवेदं, यज्ञवेदं सर्ववर्धनम्। नाभिन्नामनवर्तिनै वर्तिष्ठम्भे नजाल न। अध्याय वासिके हविवेदिक। धनवेदं यज्ञवेदं क्षेत्रं वर्तिष्ठम्भे न। नै महंतम्भूतपीतिः। आय्य. I. 131 and III. 114; the first is quoted by अध्याय प. 142 and the second by रासायनिक प. 163.

1625. एवं वासिके यज्ञवेदं सर्विष्ठं वर्तिष्ठम्भं। सचो मांसं तथा वैदेश्वासदानिः। नै महंतम्भूतपीतिः। अध्याय प. 142 and by रासायनिक प. 320; vide रासायनिक प. 35 for a similar verse.

1626. अध्याय हुद्वाकरसमगीते धर्मविद्या ग्रहिताय। सदाय (?) देखि माता शास्तितिरती निर्देशितिः। नै महंतम्भूतपीतिः। आय्य. I. 131.

1627. यज्ञवेदिके रूपं वासिके महंतम्भूतपीतिः। रासायनिक प. 35. आय्य. सर्ववर्धन सार्वोपदेशं अध्याय वासिके हविवेदिक। अध्याय प. 35. अध्याय वासिके हविवेदिक। आय्य. र. नै महंतम्भूतपीतिः। आय्य. I. 3. 8.

H. D. 86.
The Gobhila gr. (I. 1.15–19) lays down that ‘one is to kindle one’s grhya fire (originally or if it goes out) by bringing it from the house of a vaishya or from a frying pan or he may bring it from the house of a person who performs many sacrifices, whether he be a brahma or rajanya or vaishya or one may produce it by attrition; this last is holy, but does not bring prosperity. One may do as one likes’. There are similar provisions in Sañ. gr. I. 1. 8, Par. gr. I. 2, Ap. gr. V. 16–17. If the grhya fire goes out, the husband or the wife has to observe a fast that day as a penance (Ap. gr. V. 19).

The fire in which oblations are to be offered must be fed by plenty of dry wood, must be well kindled and smokeless, the cinders must be red-hot and it must be flaming up. The Chân. Up. V. 24, 1 indicates that oblations were to be offered only on red hot coals. The Mundaka Up. I. 2, 2 says the same. Ap. Dh. S. (I. 5. 15. 18–21), Manu IV. 55 and others lay down that one should not come very near fire when one is not pure, one should not blow on fire with the mouth (to kindle it), nor should one place it under a cot &c., one should not throw anything impure in fire, nor should one warm one’s feet over it, nor should one place it towards one’s feet (when one is sleeping). Gobhilasamrāti I. 135–136 says that one should not blow on fire with the hand or a winnowing basket or a darvī (ladle), but one may use a fan; some blow on fire with the mouth because fire was produced from the mouth and construe the words (of Manu IV. 53) ‘one should not blow on fire with the mouth’ as applicable to ordinary fire (i.e. one may blow with the mouth on śrauta fires).

1628. वैद्यानाम मुद्याविद्याय नागापारिखाय नागामयाय आपि या नववनिसिन युक्तां नामेन। अवि का वानमुनिसिन, वानं तथा नामामयाय आपि या नववनिसिन। कालोपधेवानिसिन नामामयाय आपि या नववनिसिन। वानं तथा। मानसंहारम् I. 1.15–19; नामामयाय आपि या नववनिसिन VIII.12.12 हस्। ‘सो नववनिसिन नामामयाय आपि या नववनिसिन।’

1629. नक्षत्रधर्मतिष्ठ विहार न्यायविद्याय विवश्वप्रदेशाय मानसंहारम् सत्योपज्ञानम् परमार्थाय मानसंहारम् II. 31 सम्बन्धित। इति। प्रस्तुतिं सम्बन्धितं उपलब्धिः। सदागीरे विभिन्न विभिन्न विद्याय। मानसंहारम् मानसंहारम् प्रस्तुतिः I. p. 168; सम्बन्धितम् यथा। मानसंहारम् प्रस्तुतिः I. p. 135–134.

1630. The Kṣemavatī (Rg. X. 90. 13) says ‘केसमवतिः केसमवतिः केसमवतिः विनाशयनं भाज्यं।’ The Kṣemavatī (2. D. M. G. vol. 35 p. 541) I. 70 requires that the blowing should be with the mouth ‘केसमवतिः केसमवतिः केसमवतिः भाज्यं’ and not with a piece of cloth nor with the hand nor with a winnowing basket. Vide Kṣemavatī on Anv. I. 5. 1. 20 for several explanations about blowing with the mouth on fire.
The daily homa must be offered by the man himself and Dakṣa says that the merit secured by performing homa by oneself cannot be secured by getting it performed through another, but he adds that homa performed on one's behalf by a priest, by one's son, teacher, brother, sister's son, or son-in-law is equivalent to homa made by oneself.\(^{1631}\) We saw above (n. 1617) that the Āṣv. gr. (I. 9. 1) allows the wife, a son, an unmarried daughter or a pupil of the householder to attend to the worship of the householder's grhya fire. Śān. gr. II. 17. 3 is to the same effect. The Śrīyārthāsāra (p. 34) adds that the wife and the daughter should perform all the acts in homa except paryukṣana. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 15–16\(^{1632}\) and Manu XI. 36–37 lay down that the wife, an unmarried daughter, a young married daughter, one who has studied little, a stupid person, a diseased person or one whose upanayana has not been performed should not offer agnihotra (on behalf of the householder); if they do so, they and he both fall into hell; therefore the person to offer agnihotra for another should be one proficient in śrauta sacrifices and master of the Vedas. These passages have been explained by the Sm. C. (I. p. 161) and other writers as applicable to the performance of śrauta sacrifices only; while as regards the daily homa in the grhya fire the wife and others specified by Āṣv. are held to be competent if the sacrificer is ill or has gone abroad. Haradatta (on Āṣv. gr. I. 9. 1–2) says that either the husband or the wife must always be near the grhya fire.\(^{1633}\) Lāghu-Āśvālayana (I. 69) says that one who has kindled the grhya fire should not leave the boundary of his village without his wife, as the texts lay down that homa is to be performed in the place where the wife stays. A brāhmaṇa\(^{1634}\) may go abroad on business, leaving his fire in charge of his wife and after appointing a priest; but he should not stay away long without cause. A priest should not offer homa on behalf of a householder, when both the spouses are absent, because such homa by him in the

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1631. सम होते सार वस्त्राद नवर्षण जाते हे वाक्षुशः दुरोबाहो मातिर्वनव विद्यते। तत्कारणे दुर्दुः कते तुदुः कर्म्येत् तु सुकु र्दुः II. 28–29, quoted by Ayuśvāra p. 125.

1632. पर्वतस्य वर्षीयादिव्यावसायाः पुराणमप्य P. 34. न की अहुः नागः। महासेवा। काम्प. यु. II. 6. 15. 15–16.

1633. अत्यथामात्रविभिन्नम् निषेत। नোন সহ অনুসন্নিধিত্বঃ। इतरं पदम्। आध्य. यु. I. 9. 1–2.

1634. सौरीप्राणि स्वरूपोपसनविना नार्तकिर्तिन् तथा। प्रवेश्यायां विशं द्वेष्य न चिं। कैलिर। निषेध | quoted in the यज्ञसूत्रम् I. p. 161.
absence of both is useless.\textsuperscript{1635} If an householder has several wives of the same caste or wives of different castes, the texts lay down who is to be associated with him in religious rites. These rules have already been set out above (pp. 559–90). ‘When a householder’s wife dies he should not give up his Vedic fires, but that (i.e. the Agnihotra) should be performed till one’s life by means of an upādī (i.e. by marrying another savarṇa wife or by associating with himself an asavarṇa wife)’ says Gobhila smṛti\textsuperscript{1636} III. 9. Gobhila then refers to the story of Rāma, who performed sacrifices with a golden image of his discarded wife Sītā kept by his side. In spite of Gobhila’s dictum, allowing a golden image or a kuśa representative of an absent or dead wife, Aparārka condemns the practice as opposed to the rule laid down by Satyāgādha in his śrauta sūtra, ‘there\textsuperscript{1637} is no pratiṇidhi (representative or substitute) in the case of the owner (i.e. yajamāna), the wife, the son, the (proper) place and time (for an act), fire, the deity (to be invoked), of a rite and of a text (directed to be employed in a rite).’ His argument is that the wife’s co-operation is required in such actions as looking at the clarified butter, in unhusking grains &c, and as an image of kuśa or gold cannot perform these acts, the image cannot be employed in place of the wife. The Sm. C. replies to this argument by saying that the words of Satyāgādha have reference only to a human substitute for a wife and that other smṛtis allow a substitute made of gold or kuśa. For example, Vṛddha-Hārita\textsuperscript{1638} expressly prescribes that a man may perform agnihotra and the offering of the five daily sacrifices throughout his life in the company of his wife’s image made of kuśa grass (if the wife be dead &c.). If a person loses his wife or if he goes abroad or

\textsuperscript{1635} Asamanāh tu dvarṣāvyābartatī parivārī\textsuperscript{1636} III, 1, quoted in sūtrādāra I. p. 161.

\textsuperscript{1636} Sutāpārtha parivārtī vādikārī \textsuperscript{1637} III, 9–10. These are explained at length by Asantarēppāpāya I. pp. 114–15 and the sūtrārtha I. p. 167.

\textsuperscript{1637} Sūtrārtha III. 1.; compare ‘sūtrārtha’ VI. 3. 18–21.

\textsuperscript{1638} Kṛṣṇa kumārī vartā parivārī. Kṛṣṇa kumārī vartā parivārī XI. 214.
becomes *patita* his agnihotra may be continued by his son $^{1639}$ (Atri, verse 103). The Ait. Br. (32. 8) also says that even one who has lost his wife (or who has no wife) should perform agnihotra, as the Veda orders a man to offer sacrifice. $^{1640}$

Not kindling Vedic fires when one was competent to do so and giving up śrauta and smārta fires were looked upon as upapātakas by Yāj. III. 234, 239, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37, 28 and 54. 13. The Vas. Dh. S. III. 1 says $^{1641}$ that those who do not study or teach the Veda or who do not maintain the sacred fires become equal to śūdras. Gārgya as quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 156) avers that if a *dvija* remains after marriage without fires even for a moment (when he has the power and authority to maintain them) he becomes a *vrūya* and *patita*. The *Mundaka Up. I. 2. 3* declares that if a person fails to perform the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa and other sacrifices and Vaiśvadeva, his seven holy worlds are destroyed. The Tai. S. I. 5. 2. 1 and the Kāṭhaka S. IX. 2, declare 'He who makes the (sacred) fires go out (be extinguished) is indeed a killer of a hero in the eyes of the gods and brāhmaṇas who are anxiously devoted to rta (righteousness or correct order) did not formerly eat food at his house'.

The texts (such as Yāj. I. 99) prescribe *japa* (muttering of Gāyatrī and other holy Vedic mantras) as part of samādhyā adoration. This has been already referred to above (p. 313). Yāj. I. 99 speaks of *japa* (of verses addressed to the Sun) after morning homa and then in I. 101 again prescribes *japa* after the midday bath of philosophical texts (like the Upaniṣads, as stated in Gaut. 19, 12 and Vas. Dh. S. 22. 9). Vas. Dh. S. 28, 10–15 are verses which mention several hymns principally of the Ṛgveda, by reciting which (inaudibly) several times a man becomes pure. These verses occur in Śaṅkhāsmṛti chap. XI (with some variations) and in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 56 (in prose). Some

$^{1639}$ आर्थिकाः प्रेश्यतन्त्रस्याः पातकसंवर्ये $^{108}$

$^{1640}$ तत्त्वादद्विनिष्ठकायो अन्त्रोज्यात्तत्त्राय $^{12}$

$^{1641}$ अतन्त्रितयिनां अन्तक्षरद्विनिष्ठकायो अतन्त्रितयिनां $^{32}$
of these Vedic texts are well known, such as Aghanarṣaṇa (Rg. X. 190. 1–3), Pāvamāṇi verses (Rg. IX), Ṣatarudriya (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1–11), Trisuparṇa (Tai. Ṭ. X. 48–50) &c. Manu II. 87, Vas. 26. 11, Saṅkhāsmṛti XII. 28, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 21 say that a brāhmaṇa attains the highest perfection by japa alone, even if he does not do anything else. Gobhila smṛti II. 17 says that one should inaudibly repeat as much of the Veda from the beginning as one can and that japa may be performed before tarpana or after the morning homa or at the end of vaiśvadeva and that it constitutes brahmasyajña (II. 28–29). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (64. 36–39) avers that japa should comprise sacred hymns, particularly the Gāyatrī and Puruṣasūkta, as nothing else is superior to these.\textsuperscript{1642} Japa is of three kinds, vucika (audibly uttered), upāṁśu (inaudibly uttered) and mānasā (mentally revolved), each succeeding one being ten times superior to each preceding one (Laṅgu-Hārīta\textsuperscript{1643} chap. IV, p. 186, Jivānanda I). Vide Manu II. 85 (= Vas. 26. 9, Saṅkha XII. 29). Japa is one of the removers of sin (Gaut. 19. 11). Japa is to be performed sitting on a seat of kuśa grass, either in the house, or on a river bank, or in a cowpen, or in a fire room or at tirthas or before images of gods or before an image of Viṣṇu, each succeeding place being many times superior to each preceding one.\textsuperscript{1644} One is not to speak while engaged in japa. A brahmacāri or a householder who has consecrated sacred fires should utter the Gāyatrī 108 times, while a vānaprastha and yati should repeat it more than 1000 times. Vide Manu II. 101 also about the extent of the time to be devoted to japa. When in the middle ages Vedic learning declined and Purāṇas came to the fore, the writers of the digests stated that one who has studied the whole Veda should repeat daily from the beginning of the Veda as much as he could; if one has studied only a portion of the Veda, then one should recite in his japa the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90) and similar hymns and a brāhmaṇa who knows only the


\textsuperscript{1643} The verses of Laṅgu-Hārīta about three kinds of japa are quoted in the Smṛticandrika I. p. 149 from Nyāsaṃhārapurāṇa (chap. 58. 78–81).

\textsuperscript{1644} Vide Sūtrīcak I. p. 150 मुद्र. Ṛ. p. 241 quoting the verses सुहे वेदकृतम ज्ञदेः &c.
Gāyatri should repeat the texts of the purāṇas. Vṛddha-Hārīta (VI. 33, 45, 163, 213) prescribes that the mantra of 6 letters (om namo Viṣṇuḥ) or 8 letters (om nameḥ Viṣṇuḥ) or of twelve letters (om namo bhagavate Viṣṇudevaḥ) should be repeated 1008 or 108 times. The counting of the mantra as repeated so many times has to be done by means of one's fingers (except the thumb) or by drawing lines (on the ground, or walls &c.), or by telling the beads of a rosary, as japa without counting the number is fruitless. Śaṅkha-smṛti (chap. XII. in prose) lays down that the rosary should have beads of gold or precious stones or pearls or crystal or rudrākṣa, padmākṣa (lotus seed) or putrajvaka or a man may count by knots of kuśa grass or by bending the fingers of the left hand. Bṛhat-Parāsāra V. p. 85 and Laghu-Vyāsa (Jīvaṇandāra part II. p. 375) contain similar provisions about akṣamālā and counting of japa. They add ‘indrākṣa’ to the different kinds of beads. The rosary should have 108 beads (this is the best) or 54 (middling) or 27 (this is the lowest number of beads in a rosary). Kālidāsa (in his Raghuvirāsa XI. 66) mentions that the hero Parāśurāma had on his right ear a rosary of akṣa seeds. Bāṇa (Kādambarī para 37) speaks of counting by means of rings of rudrākṣas. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 152-153, Par. M. I. part I, pp. 308-311, Madanapārījāta p. 80, Āhnikaprakāśa pp. 326-328 for further details about the rosary.

After homa and japa one may spend some time in attending to or looking at auspicious things, such as seeing one's elders, looking at a mirror or in clarified butter, arranging and decorating his hair, applying collyrium to the eye, touching

1645. अनूदि च समस्तदेवांनुष्ठानसाहि आदिवसाय नमूनः दस्यामाया कार्यमया।

1646. असुंद्यात् तु वचनसि सर्व संज्ञाय अवेदते। अड्कार्तिरि वाटितानि महेन्द्रिते।

1647. कुलाक्षणादिनीमां कृतस्वरीयवत् कामप्रकाशिनः माः सृष्टः समस्तमीतादी वाक्यमाणयात् वाक्यातायायि जये कुमारः। कुलाक्षणादिनीमां कृतस्वरीयवत् कामप्रकाशिनः माः सृष्टः समस्तमीतादी वाक्यमाणयात् वाक्यातायायि जये कुमारः।

1648. अनूदि च समस्तदेवांनुष्ठानसाहि आदिवसाय नमूनः दस्यामाया कार्यमया।
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dūrvā\footnote{1649} &c. Vide Manu IV. 152 quoted above (p. 646). What objects a man should see on getting up has already been stated (p. 648). According to Nārada (prakīrnaka vv. 54–55) there are eight maṅgala objects viz. a brāhmaṇa, a cow, fire, gold, clarified butter, the sun, water and the king and if one sees, bows to or circumambulates these, one’s life is lengthened.\footnote{1650} The Vāmanapurāṇa (14. 35–37) mentions numerous objects that are auspicious and that one should touch or see before going out.\footnote{1651} The Matsyapurāṇa 243 enumerates in 26 verses numerous auspicious and inauspicious objects (these are quoted in Gṛ. R. pp. 553–554). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 58 enumerates six objects derived from the cow as auspicious. Vide Ādivarṇa 29. 34, Dronāparva 127. 14 (for touching eight maṅgalaś), Sānti 40. 7, Anuśāsana 126. 18 and 131. 8. According to the Viṣṇu Dh. S. 63. 26 one should start on a journey after seeing such objects as fire, a brāhmaṇa, hetaera, a jar full of water, a mirror, a banner, a parasol, palaces, fans, crowns &c. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 63. 27–31 states that when, on leaving one’s house, one sees certain persons or objects one should return to the house and then restart viz. a drunkard, a lunatic, a cripple, one who has vomited or has undergone a purge, one who is completely shaved, one with dirty clothes, one having matted hair, a dwarf, one wearing orange-coloured clothes, an ascetic &c.

The performance of the duties of śaucha, dantadhāvana, snāna, saṁdhya, homa, japa would occupy the first of the eight parts of the day. In the second\footnote{1652} part of the day a brāhmaṇa householder was to go over and to revise his Vedic studies and to collect fuel sticks, flowers, kuśa &c. (Dakṣa II. 33, 35, Yāj. I. 99). This subject of Veda study has already been dealt with above (pp. 351–354). In the third part of the day the

\footnote{1649} Dvīpakārata 25. 248. Dvīpa II. 30; Adaśyānava hukkāna 25. 25; Kṛṣṇa 37. 7; Anuvakalpadruma 3. 39; Viṣṇu Dh. S. 63. 26 quoted in Śrīn. 2. 133.

\footnote{1650} Ārkaśastra 29. 34, Dronāparva 127. 14 (for touching eight maṅgalaś), Sānti 40. 7, Anuśāsana 126. 18 and 131. 8. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 63. 26 quoted in Śrīn. 2. 133.

\footnote{1651} Dvīpakārata 25. 248. Dvīpa II. 30; Adaśyānava hukkāna 25. 25; Kṛṣṇa 37. 7; Anuvakalpadruma 3. 39; Viṣṇu Dh. S. 63. 26 quoted in Śrīn. 2. 133.

\footnote{1652} Viṣṇu Dh. S. 63. 27–31. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 63. 26 quoted in Śrīn. 2. 133.
householder was to work and find out the means of maintaining those dependent on him (Dakṣa II. 35). The different ways of maintaining oneself in the case of brāhmaṇas have already been spoken of above (pp. 105–134). Gaut. IX. 63, Yāj. I. 100, Manu IV. 33, Viśṇu 63. 1 and others say that a brāhmaṇa householder should approach a king or other rich person for the wherewithal to maintain his family. The persons whom every one must maintain have already been pointed out on p. 569 (Dakṣa II. 36). In the case of the well-to-do, there are other persons who should be maintained viz. agnates and cognates, one who is without means, helpless or has taken shelter. In this world only that man may be said to live on whom many depend for their livelihood; other men who only fill their own belly are really dead, though living (Dakṣa II. 40).

In the fourth part of the day (i.e. before noon) one was to have the mid-day bath (with tarpaṇa) and then the mid-day saṁdhya prayer and deva-pūjā &c. (Dakṣa II. 43 and Yāj. I. 100). Those who bathe twice (in the morning and at noon) will strictly follow the routine sketched above in Dakṣa, Yāj. and others. But most of the brāhmaṇas bathe only once either in the morning or before noon. The principal matters to be described in connection with the bath before noon are tarpaṇa of gods, sages and pitrās; deva-pūjā and the five daily yajñās. These will now be described in detail.

Tarpaṇa—(satiating by offering water). As stated in Manu II. 176, every day one has to perform tarpaṇa of gods, sages and pitrās. The water to be offered to gods is poured by that part of the right hand which is called deva-tirthā and that for the pitrās by the pitṛ-tirtha. A person was to perform tarpaṇa according to the gṛhya-sūtra of the Vedī sākhā which he or his ancestors studied. There is a good deal of divergence among the several gṛhya-sūtras. Here the procedure of tarpaṇa prescribed

1653. सत्तिनिर्मितज्ञ मीतस्तपाय: समाधिस: अन्योपि धनुस्कर्म पीढ़िवर्ष

1654. चतुर्थशारप: सत्तिनिर्मिति द्वादशेष:।। तित्तिर्निर्मितिः क्षमायेन नामाश्चाय।

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by the Āsv. gr. (III. 4. 1-5) will be first set out. In the
Devatātarpāna the following deities are enumerated and one
has to add the words ‘trpyatu’, ‘trpyetām’, or ‘trpyantu’ with
each devatā according as it is one deity, two deities or more
and offer water to each (e. g. ‘Prajāpati-trpyatu, Brahmā
trpyatu, ...... Dyāvāprthivī trpyetām’ &c.). The deities are 31
viz. Prajāpati, Brahmā, Vedas, devas, rśis, all metres, omkāra,
vāsaṭkāra, vyāhṛtis, the Gāyatri, sacrifices (yajñās), heaven
and earth, the air (antarikṣa), days and nights, the Sāṅkhyaśas,
siddhas, oceans, the rivers, the mountains, the fields, herbs,
trees, Gandharvas and Apsaras, snakes, birds, cows, sādhyas,
vipras, yaksas, the rakṣas, the bhūtas (beings) that have
these (rakṣas) at the end. In modern times the fields, herbs,
trees, Gandharvas and Apsaras are put in one compound word
and form only one devatā, while after bhūtas there is a separate
deity ‘evam-antāṇī trpyantu’. Haradatta on Āsv. gr. III. 3. 2
refers to the view of some that take ‘evam-antāṇi’ as a separate
mantra but his opinion was that the phrase ‘evam-antāṇi’ only
described the preceding devatās and that the devatās stopped
at ‘rakṣāṃsi’. He further adds that the tarpāṇa to these was
done by the prajāpatya tīrtha (of the hand).

The sages to whom water is offered are divided into two
groups. The first group contains twelve sages and when offer-
ing water to these the sacred thread is worn in the nivita form.
The twelve sages are those of the hundred ṛks, the middle ṛsis
(i. e. of maṇḍalas 2 to 9 of the Rgveda), Grīhsmadā, Viśvāmitra,
Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, Vasiṣṭha, Pragāthas, the Pāvamāṇi
hymns, sages of the short hymns and those of the long
hymns (the tarpāṇa formula will be ‘śatarcīnas-trpyantu,
māḍhyamās-trpyantu, Grīhsmadās-trpyantu &c.). It will be
noticed that the sages from Grīhsmada to Vasiṣṭha are the seers
of maṇḍalas 2 to 7 of the Rgveda. The Pragāthas stand for the
eighth maṇḍala of which the first hymn is ascribed in the
Anukramani to Pragātha of the Kanva gotra and the rest of
the eighth maṇḍala is ascribed to various scions of the Kanva
gotra. The verses of the ninth maṇḍala are called Pāvamāṇyah;
but as it is a tarpapa of sages, we rather expect the form pāva-
maṇāḥ as in the Sāṅkhyaśāṇa gṛhya IV. 10. ‘Śatarcaīnāḥ’ refers
to the sages of the first maṇḍala, and ‘kṣudrasūktāḥ’ and
‘mahāsūktāḥ’ to sages of the tenth maṇḍala. Water is offered to
these sages by the daiva tīrtha. Then there is a second group of
sages to whom water is offered by a person who wears his sacred
thread in the prācināvīta form (i.e. it is suspended over the right shoulder and under the left arm). There are two sub-groups here. In the first the verbal forms ‘trpyantu’ or ‘trpyatu’ are used with the nominative of the words for the sage; i.e. ‘Sumantu-Jaimini-Vaiśampāyana-Paila-sūtra-bhāṣya-Bhārata-Mahābhārata-Dharma-cāryās trpyantu’;1655 ‘Jānanti-Bāhavi-Gārgya-Gautama-Sākalya-Bābhrravya-Māṇḍavya-Māṇḍūkeyas trpyantu’; ‘Gārgi-Vāsaknavi trpyatu, Vadavā-Prātimītya trpyatu, Sula-bhā-Maitreyi trpyato’. These together are five sentences. It is remarkable that in this list three women are mentioned as sages (Gārgi, Vadavā and Sula-bhā). Among the other sages the first four are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata as the pupils of Vyāsa who taught them the Vedas (videSabhāparva 4.11 and Śānti 328.26-27 where all four are named). For chronological purposes it is important to note that the Āsv. gr. knew teachers of sūtras, bhāṣyas, of the Bhārata and also the Mahābhārata and of Dharma. In the second sub-group there are 17 single sages and the 18th is a miscellaneous offering to all other ācāryas. The names of the 17 sages occur in the accusative and after each the word ‘tarpayāmi’ is to be uttered (i.e. Kahōlam tarpayāmi, Kauśitakam tarpayāmi..... Āsvalāyanam tarpayāmi). These 17 sages are: Kahōla, Kauśitaka, Mahākauśitaka, Paimnya, Mahāpaingya, Sugajña, Sāṅkhya-yana, Aitareya, Mahaitareya, Śākala, Bāskala, Sujāsavaktra, Audavaḥi, Mahaudavāhi, Saujāmi, Saunaka, Āsvalāyan. The 18th is ‘may all the other ācāryas be satiated’ (ye cānyasya ācārya-sti sarve trpyantu). All these sages are connected with the Rgveda, its Brāhmaṇas, its Āraṇyakas and other related works like the Prātiśākhya sūtra (of which Saunaka is said to be the author). It is interesting to note that Āsvalāyan himself is named as the last teacher in tarpāna, Saunaka is said to be the teacher of Āsvalāyan.1656 In modern times in the Deccan water is offered twice to each sage or group of sages.

Āsv. gr. III. 4. 5 is very brief as to pitṛtarpāna, ‘after satiating the pitṛs with water, each generation separately, he returns to his house and whatever he gives then becomes the fee’ (of the

1655 The Śāntiparva (350.11-12) shows that Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana and Paila were along with Suka, the son of Vyāsa, the pupils of Vyāsa.

1656 Vide Introduction to Āsvalāyan grhya in S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 153 ff.
Brahmayajña of which tarpana is a constituent part. In modern times the deceased ancestors and relatives to whom water is offered are stated below. Water is offered to each thrice (except to women ancestors other than the mother, grand-mother and the great-grandmother) by the pitr-tirtha and the relationship, the gotra and the name of each are recited when doing so. For example, water is offered to the deceased father in the form, 'I offer svadhā and bow to and satiate my father, so and so by name, whose gotra was so and so and who has attained the form of Vasu' (asmatpitaram amukaśarmānām amuka-gotram vasurūpam svadhānāmās tarpayāmi). The ancestors and relatives to whom water is offered, if they are dead, are in order:—father, maternal grandfather and great-grandfather; mother, paternal grand-mother and great-grandmother; step-mother; maternal grand-father (with maternal grand-mother, sapatnikam being used with 'mātāmahan'); maternal great-grand-father and maternal great-great-grand-father (with their wives); one's wife; one's son (or sons, if several are dead already and with his wife or their wives that are dead); daughter (with her husband, if both are dead); uncle (with his wife, if dead); maternal uncle (with his wife, if dead); brother (with wife); paternal aunt (with husband); maternal aunt (with husband); sister (with husband); father-in-law (with his wife and son, if they are dead); guru (father as teacher of the Gāyatrī and Veda); pupil. In the case of grand-fathers and grand-mothers they are described as ‘rudrarūpa’ and the great-grand-fathers and great-grand-mothers as ‘ādityarūpa’. The three ancestors of the mother with their wives are respectively vasurūpa, rudrarūpa and ādityarūpa. The names of women ancestors have the affix ‘dā’ added and all persons both male and female other than those specified above are described as ‘vasurūpa’.

A few points of divergence will be noticed. Haradatta on Āsv. gr. III. 3. 6 notes that some do not include the mother and maternal relations in the daily tarpana, and that according to the established practice in his day the tarpana formulae did not include the names and the gotra of the relatives. Most sūtras

1657. Vide Manu III. 284 for the terms Vasurūpa, Rudrarūpa and Ādityarūpa. वरुण on आस्व. ग्र. III. 3. 6 says ‘श्रुतिः आस्वास्त्रिवाचाः आस्वास्त्रिवाचाः मयात् वरुणे तर्पणनिध्याति। कैविन्दिनाशुकिनां मातं तर्पणनिध्याति। वरुणधर्म भवतुपदित विश्वमित्रिप्रख्याति। एवं आस्वास्त्रिवाचाः मयात् तर्पणनिध्याति।’
do not say that the names and gotras of the relatives are to be repeated in daily tarpana. The words 'svadhā namas' do not occur in many sūtras, but some do contain them (e.g. Baud. Dh. S. II. 5, 184 ff., Vaik. I. 4). The devās of tarpana differ in each sūtra. The Śān. gr. (IV. 9) which belongs to the Rgveda just as Ásvalāyana's does, enumerates the deities differently in the beginning (it has Agni, Vāyu, Śārya, Viṣṇu, Prajāpati, Viṁpākṣa, Sahasrākṣa &c.). Its order of sages is somewhat different and it adds some names such as Sākapūṇi, Gautami &c. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 5 contains the most elaborate tarpana of all sūtras. It puts 'om' before each devā, rṣi and pītṛ. It includes not only many more deities than elsewhere, but includes several names of the same deity (e.g. Vināyaka, Vaṅkratuṇḍa, Hastimukha, Ekadanta; Yama, Yamārāja, Dharma, Dharmarāja, Kāla, Nila, Vaivasvata &c.). Among rṣis it includes many sūtrakāras like Kaṇva, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Satyāśadhā, and also Yājuṇavalkya, Vyāsa. The Hir. gr. II. 19, 20, Baud. gr. III. 9, Bhāradvāja gr. III. 9–11 contain long and interesting lists of deities and particularly of sages.

If a man has no time for this lengthy tarpana the Dharmasindhu and other digests prescribe an extremely brief one, viz. he repeats two verses and offers water thrice. The verses are 'may the gods, sages, pītṛs, human beings, from Brahmā up to a blade of grass, be satiated and also all the pītṛs, the mother and the maternal grand-father and the rest, may this water mixed with sesame be for the crores of families of bygone ages residing in the seven dvīpas from the world of Brahmā downwards'.

The Snānasūtra (3rd kandikā) of Kātyāyana attached to the Pār. gr. contains a description of tarpana. Like the Baud. Dh. S. it lays down that 'om' is to be uttered before the name of every deity (devā) and 'tṛpyatām' (or tṛpyantām if the word denoting the deity is in the plural) is the verbal form employed. The deities are only 28 and slightly differ from those of Ásv. The group of sages is made up of only Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vodhu, and Pañcasikha (Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcasikha are according to the Sāṅkhya-kārikā the names of the founders of the Sāṅkhya philosophy and stand in the relation of teacher and pupil). Then (after the rṣītarpana), the householder is to mix sesame in water and wear the sacred thread under the left arm and suspend it from the right shoulder and offer the water to Kavyavādā Anala.
(fire), Soma, Yama, Aryaman, Agniśvattas, Somapas, Barhiśads. Offerings of water mixed with sesame are to be made thrice to each of the above with joined hands (jālānjali) and this is to be done by all householders even if the father be living. The remaining part of tarpana (viz. pitṛtarpana) is to be done only by him whose father is dead. Gobhila-sūrti II. 18-20, Matsyapurāṇa 102. 14-21 are very similar to the Snānasūtra. According to Āśvalāyana and others water is offered with the right hand only while according to Kātyāyana and others water is offered with both hands. The Sm. C. I. p. 191 says that the householder should follow his grhyasūtra and if there is nothing in it on this point there is an option. Kārṣṇajini prescribes that in śrāddha and marriage only the right hand is employed in making an offering or gift, but in tarpana both hands (made into an aṅjali) are employed. One aṅjali of water is offered to each of the gods, two to Sanaka and other sages and three to each of the pitrs. When tarpana is performed while the householder is still in the water with his wet clothes on, he offers the water in the stream itself; but when he wears dry clothes and performs tarpana, then he is to let fall the handfuls of water in a pure vessel of gold, silver, copper, bronze, but not in an earthen one; or he may let the water fall on the ground covered with kuṇas (Sm. C. I. p. 192). There were several views on this point (vide Gr. R. pp. 263-264). In modern times daily tarpana has become very rare. Only a few even among the orthodox or priestly brāhmaṇas and among those who have studied the several śāstras (such as grammar

1658. Yoga-Yāṣāvalkya quoted by Aparārka pp. 138-139 gives the same names of devatas and of the divine pītra as the Snānasūtra. Vide Manu III. 195-199 for अमिष, ललित, रोमणिक and विधिक that are all pītras of various kinds. डुर्बलकार 3rd chap. p. 74 (Jivānanda, part 2) says that all from Kavyavād Anala to Barhiśads are divine pītras (divyastī pitarah). Vide Sabhāparva 11. 45 for seven groups (gaṇas) of pītras, four of whom are said to be corporeal and three disembodied. Kārṣṇajini quoted by Aparārka p. 138 says that the seven sages from Sanaka to Paścāstikha are the sons of Brahma.

1659. असवि सिन्धकालसु तु पाणिनिनित्रितीये तत्र दृवत्तेन सिद्धिनिह गुरुन: || कार्यविश्व वाक्यो । रामचरितमहर्षी । अधर्मक: पृ. 132, स्मृतिशास्त्रो इ. व. 191; यदि र. 99 यथा यद्यवनसे च दुर्बलकारने पाणिनः। उपनिशदमण्डितम् द्वार्मणाय समाधिबिन्दुः। देशवच इः अश्रावश्च पुु । इद निति बन्धु: नारायणो दृवत्तेन पारिषमुनिनः। अयोध्ये तन्त्रविश्वासामिः पारिषमुनिनः। अयोध्ये अनायातपारिषमुनिनः। कार्यविश्व ॥

1660. एवमां चाय दी हृदिती निम्नसुप्रकृतसमालिकाः । अर्थात् तत्त्वज्ञ विश्वविद्या विद्वानः । भारतम् भागम् । भ. 95; vide also ध्रुवनिहारी । लक्षितसंह । इ. 191.
&c.) do it daily, but generally most brähmanas perform tarpāṇa as part of brahmayajñā on one day in the year in the month of Śrāvaṇa.

A special tarpāṇa was offered to Yama on the 14th of the dark half of a month if it was a Tuesday or on the 14th of the dark half. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 197-198, Madanapārijāta p. 296, Par. M. I. part I. p. 361. Dakṣa (II. 52-55) prescribes that Yama-tarpāṇa is specially performed in the Jumna on the days specified above and gives the several names under which Yama is invoked. Vide also Mātsyapurāṇa 213. 2-8. The Tai. Ār. VI. 5 speaks of a yajña or bali (offering) in honour of Yama every month. There is also tarpāṇa in honour of the great epic hero Bhīṣma offered on the 8th of the bright half of Māgha. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 198.

Gobhila-smṛti (II. 22-23) emphasizes the importance of tarpāṇa by remarking that, as all beings, animate or inanimate, desire water from the brähmana who brings prosperity to all, tarpāṇa should always be done by him and that if he does not do it he would incur great sin and that if he does it he would support this world. The idea underlying tarpāṇa seems to be indicated even by the Tai. S. V. 4. 4. 1.

It has already been seen (at pp. 668-669) that tarpāṇa was prescribed as an appendage of the early morning bath and that some required it to be done twice daily while others said that it was to be done only once. As Āsv. gr. places tarpāṇa immediately after svāḍhyāya (or brahmayajñā) it follows that he treated it as a constituent though subordinate part of it. The Gobhilasmṛti (II. 29) says that brahmayajñā which consists in inaudibly muttering Vedic texts (japa) should be performed before tarpāṇa or after the morning homa or at the end of Vaiśvadeva and at no other time unless there is some special reason.

The Āhnikaprakāśa (pp. 336-377) gives summaries of tarpāṇa according to Kātyāyana, Saṅkha, Baudhāyana, Viśnupurāṇa, Yogiyaśāvvalkya, Āsvalāyana, Gobhilagṛhya.

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1661. तर्पण समानी सत्यार्थी स्थानां यस्मात् च च विन्यासार्थी सन्तानसंबंधस्मायस्मात्। वृक्षयदिने निदासविनयनस्मादस्मात् शृङ्खलार्थी निदासविनयनस्मादस्मात्।

1662. अतिक्रमिते परिक्रियाति साधनार्थनाश्च स एवं दुःखाधर्मिते सोऽज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च ज्ञात्वश्च

1663. यद्य प्रकरणम् भाषा न नर्पाणसंबंध संप्रेक्षये। स कार्यार्थवित्ततृप्ति कार्यः पथाय। महाभाषणः वैद्यकालिकसम्बंधे वा नामत्वमिथितापरं सर्वसमिति II. 26-29, quoted in अद्वितीय रूप p. 273, आदिकालायम् p. 335.
CHAPTER XVIII

PAṆCA MAḤĀYAJṆĀS

PaṆca Mahāyajñās:—(the five daily great observances or sacrifices).

From early Vedic times five daily observances called mahāyajñās were prescribed. The Śat. Br. (XI. 5. 6. I.)\(^{1664}\) says 'there are only five mahāyajñās, they are like great sacrificial sessions, viz. the sacrifice to beings, the sacrifice to men, the sacrifice to the Fathers, the sacrifice to the gods, the sacrifice to brahman (Veda)'. These are then briefly defined. In the Tai. Ār. II. 10 we read 'these five mahāyajñās indeed are spread out continuously, viz. devayajña, pitṛyajña, bhūtayajña, manusya-yajña, brahmayajña. That is fulfilled as devayajña when one makes an offering in fire, even if it be a mere fuel-stick; when one offers svadha (śrāddha repast) to the fathers, even if it be mere water, that becomes pitṛyajña; when a man offers a bali (a ball of food) to the beings it becomes bhūtayajña, when he gives food to brāhmaṇas that becomes manusya-yajña. When one studies svādhyāya even if it be a single ākṣa or yajus formula or a sāman, it becomes brahmayajña'.\(^{1665}\)

The Āśv. gr. (III 1. 1-4) speaks of the five mahāyajñās and defines them in practically the same words as the Tai. Ār. II. 10 and enjoins that those yajñās must be performed every-day. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gr. III 1. 2 expressly asserts that the

\(^{1664}\) Pañca Mahāyajñās:—tattvacāya mahāsāvāni śrutajñāṇo saṃvappanā: pīṭhayajña đēvajña mahāyajña hiti. Śatapatha Br. XI. 5. 6. 1. These words are quoted by विवेचनाः on भा. I. 101. The śatapatha proceeds to define these 'अद्वद्रोहैम्या बालिन्द्रीति'. तपस्य युथेऽस सहाययो श्रवणीयो श्रवणीयो सनमावत्रसः स्वयं श्रवणीयो वामत्रसः सनमावत्रसः स्वयं श्रवणीयो वामत्रसः सनमावत्रसः. अय श्रवणीयोऽय श्रवणीयोऽय सनमावत्रसः.'

\(^{1665}\) Pañca Mahāyajñās:—सति अताय अतिशय महायसी सन्मित्वसे देवयज्ञं: पितृयज्ञं सुस्तयज्ञं महायज्ञं हिति. पद्मते अशोरायः सम्विशेषे वेदायस्मे सन्विशेषे. यादृ पितृयज्ञं भवं वर्षयोपययो सन्मित्वसे. पशुज्ञयाः सन्य दर्शनी तदृ श्रवणीयं सन्ति हते. पशु सामायो संविशेषे तमस्य यज्ञं सन्ति हते. पवित्रायायासस्यप्रभेदनत्वसदूते अनु: साम वा तदृ महायज्ञं सन्तिहते॥ भा. II. 10.
basis of the five yajñas is the Tai. Ar. The Ap. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 13-15 and I. 4. 13. 1) names and explains them similarly and states that they are called (in the Tai. Ar. II. 10) 'great yajñas' and 'great sacrificial sessions' by way of laudation. The word 'yajña' applied to these five daily duties is figurative and the adjective 'great' is applied only for belauding them. Gaut. V. 8 and VIII. 17, Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 1-8, Gobhilasmrīti II. 26 and numerous smṛti texts speak of the same five yajñas. Gaut. VIII. 17 includes them among saṁskāras as stated above (p. 193).

It will be noticed from the description of the five yajñas given below that they are distinguished from the solemn śrauta sacrifices in two respects. In these five the chief agent is the householder himself, he does not need the help and ministration of a professional priest, while in the śrauta sacrifices the priests occupy the most prominent place and the householder is more or less a passive spectator or agent in the hands of the priests who direct everything. In the second place, in the five yajñas the central point is the discharge of duties to the Creator, to the ancient sages, to the Manes, and to the whole universe with myriads of creatures of various grades of intelligence. In the śrauta sacrifices the main-spring of action is the desire to secure Heaven or some object such as prosperity, a son &c. Therefore the institution of the five sacrifices is morally and spiritually more progressive and more ennobling than that of the śrauta sacrifices.

The sentiments that prompted the performance of these five observances appear to have been as follows: Every man could not afford to celebrate the solemn śrauta rites prescribed in the Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta sūtras. But every one could offer a fuel-stick to fire that was deemed to be the mouth of the

1666. अवलोकनः पद्म वस्त्रं। दृष्टव्यं शृवणं: पिन्दुपल्लो अक्षयस्य अनुक्षयति। आप्तः घ. III. 1. 1-2; दृढव्या नि तिरिमपरिवर्त्तय अवृत्तां पद्म यथा ऐत्यमहार्स्य। प्रश्लायितः। नागार्जुनः आप्तः घ. III. 1. 3. The verse. Ma. I. part 1 p. 11 also notes that the five yajñas are prescribed in the Tai. Ar. and draws therefrom the sweeping generalization that all smṛti rules were known to smṛti.

1667. अय वाक्पाय: विषयं। तेषाः महार्स्य। भास्कर्यानां च संस्कृतः। अवलोकनः पद्म वस्त्रं। दृष्टव्यं। साधारण आवासस्तयाम: साधृवियां अवृत्तां वाक्पाय: साधृवियां हृदिः। आप्तः घ. ि. 4. 12. 13-1. 4. 13. 1. Vide Baudh. Dh. S. II. 6. 1-8 for very similar words.

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great Gods\(^{1668}\) of Heaven and thus show his reverence and devotion to them. Similarly everyone could show his reverence and gratitude to the great sages that had bequeathed a glorious heritage of sacred literature by repeating at least one verse and one could propitiate his deceased ancestors by offering in loving memory and filial devotion a mere handful or vessel-ful of water (which costs nothing). The whole world human and non-human is one creation and there must be a spirit of live and let live or give and take. Therefore one must offer what one can afford to a guest and also have something for all beings (including even such shunned animals as dogs, crows and insects). These feelings of devotion, gratitude, reverence, loving memory, kindliness and tolerance seem to have been the springs that prompted the Aryans of old to emphasize the importance of the five daily yajñās and to have led śūtra writers like Gautama and legislators like Manu (II.28) to look upon them as saṁskāras, as ennobling the soul by freeing it from mere selfishness and elevating the body to become a fit vehicle for higher things.\(^{1669}\) Later on it appears that other purposes came to be attributed to the institution of the five daily yajñās. According to Manu III.68-71, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 59. 19-20; Saṅkha V. 1-2, Hārīta, Matsyapurāṇa 52. 15-16 and others every householder causes injury or death to sentient beings every day in five places, viz. the hearth, the grinding mill, broomstick, winnowing basket and similar household gear, mortar and pestle, and water-jar. The five daily yajñās were devised by the great sages as atonements for the sins arising from these five sources of injury to life. These five are: brahma-yajña which consists in the study and teaching of the Veda, pīṭhya-yajña which consists of tarpara, daivaya-yajña which consists in offerings made into fire, bhūtayajña which is offering oblations to beings and manusya-yajña which consists in honouring guests. He who performs these daily according to his means is never tainted by the sin of the injuries arising from the five places mentioned above. Manu (III.73-74) further\(^{1670}\) says that former sages had a different nomenclature for the five

\(^{1668}\) स्वयंत्रे आदि दिशा आदि दिशा लिखत तथा ग्रहण। क्र. II. 1. 13; ते अद्वैत अनुपातं अभूत आतं तेन विद्विद्रूपातिदातुम। क्र. II. 1. 14.

\(^{1669}\) सत्त्वप्रेमना तत्त्वादिन्द्रियोत्तमसौ छेति। मेधाविलाश परमेश्वरा माधविश किप्यते तथा। महा II. 28.

\(^{1670}\) आयुष्य सु. I. 1. 2-3 supports महा ' तथ: भक्त: भक्तः हुता अद्वैत हवानां। अर्धमोहता महात्मा मातापादनो महाभि हुताः।
yajñas i.e. ahuta, huta, prahuta, brāhmaṇya-huta and prāśita, which were the same respectively as japa (or brahmayajña), homa (devayajña), bhūtayajña, manusyaayajña and pitṛtarpaṇa (pitṛyajña). In the Atharvaveda VI. 71. 2 four out of these seem to be alluded to 'what came to me as huta or ahuta or given by ptirs and assented to by men'.

1671 Huta and prahuta in the sense of homa to gods and bali to bhūtas occur in Br. Up. I. 5.2. But in some gṛhyasūtras different meanings are attached to these very words e.g. Śān. gr. I. 5 and Par. gr. I. 4 say that there are four pākayajñas viz. huta, ahuta, prahuta and prāśita and Śān. gr. I. 10. 7 explains that they are respectively the same as agnihotra (or daivayajña), bali (bhūtayajña), pitṛyajña and brāhmaṇya-huta (or manusyaayajña). The Hārīta-dharma-sūtra has a very interesting passage on this point. 'We shall now explain the sūnās (places of injury) which are so called because they kill moving and immovable sentient beings. They are five. The first (sūnā) is caused by actions like sudden entrance in water, plunging into water, whirling water, splashing it in various directions, taking water without straining it through a piece of cloth and driving vehicles; the second by walking about in the dark or away from the beaten path or in quick jerks or by treading upon insects &c.; the third by striking (a tree with an axe &c.), by plucking flowers &c., by tying with a rope &c., by crushing (in a mortar), by splitting (wood &c.); the fourth by cutting crops, by rubbing or grinding; and the fifth by ignition (of fire-wood), heating (of water), by roasting, frying and cooking. These five injuries that lead to Hell are committed every day by people. Brahmacārins get rid of the first three by attending on fire and on their teacher and by the study of the Veda; householders and forest hermits purify themselves from these five by performing the five yajñas; ascetics get rid of the first two injuries by sacred knowledge and contemplation, but the injury caused by crushing uncooked seeds under the teeth cannot be removed by any of these'.

1672 Although in the Āp. Dh. S. and others the five yajñas are enumerated in the order of bhūta-yajña, manusya-yajña,

1671. यज्ञ प्रवृत्तयज्ञयज्ञादिगति । प्रशिक्षणे मन नवन विद्व सत्स्थितयज्ञविकरणे सुरस्त मनोयन्ति । अध्यात्मानय विद्व भिक्षु। अत्र एवं०।

1672. हृदययज्ञयज्ञयज्ञादिगति । प्रशिक्षणे मन नवन विद्व सत्स्थितयज्ञविकरणे सुरस्त मनोयन्ति । अत्र एवं०।

1673. Vide Appendix under note 1673.
devayajña, pīṭḥa and svādhyāya, still the proper order from the point of view of the times of performance is first brahmayajña (japa &c.), then devayajña, then bhūtayajña, then pīṭṛyajña, and lastly manusyayajña. Therefore they will be dealt with in the same order here. But some matters have first to be noted. Various views were entertained about the time and nature of brahmayajña and pīṭṛyajña. According to Gobhila-smṛti II. 28–29 quoted above (n. 1663), japa prescribed in samādhyā adoration may be looked upon as brahmayajña, that the latter may be performed before tarpana and after the morning homa or after vaiśvadeva. Nārāyaṇa on Āṣv. gr. III. 2. 1 says that brahmayajña may be performed before or after vaiśvadeva. According to the Snānasūtra of Kātyāyana, brahmayajña precedes tarpana and Āṣv. gr. as stated above (p. 695) appears to regard tarpana as part of it. Manu III. 82 (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 67. 23–25) enjoins upon a man the performance of daily śrāddha with food or water or with milk, roots and fruits and thus to propitiate and please the Manes of his deceased ancestors; while Manu (III. 70 and 283) says that tarpana (done after bath) constitutes pīṭṛyajña. Therefore Gobhila says that śrāddha, tarpana and the bali offered to pīṭṛ constitute pīṭṛyajña and even when one of them is gone through, the performance of pīṭṛyajña is effected and it is not necessary to perform all three. In the bali-haraṇa (described below) the remnants of bali are offered to pīṭṛ (Āṣv. gr. I. 2. 11, Manu III. 91).

Brahma-yajña. Probably the earliest description of this is to be found in the Śat. Br. XI. 5. 6. 3–8. That Brāhma-pa, after stating that brahmayajña is one's own daily study of the Veda, compares several elements required in the ordinary sacrifice to certain elements of brahmayajña, viz. the juhū spoon, upabhrī, dhruvā, sruva, avabhrītha (the solemn bath at the end of a sacrifice) and heaven are said to be represented by the speech, the mind, the eye, mental power, truth and the conclusion (that

1674. न व अवधवतेऽवकोन्वतमः च अवधवते। अवधवनं व महावर्तो वेदश्रीः पुरवः। विदुर्वद्वा महति प्रकरः। ्हा ो च आप. घु. I. 4. 13. 1.

1675. अवधवहृद्धिः सूर्यवत्सलिनि मनं महावर्तो मधुवं मधुवश्वासः। परः मे तेषां स्वप्नः च तेषां तपस्याणां महेन्द्रवत्सलिनः च। निरूत्तिनिः। (आध्यात्मिक) p. 366.

1676. आपव च विदुर्वद्वां वेदां विद्याभिमलाया। विदुर्वद्वां वेदां विद्याभिमलायाः। तत्र विद्यासिद्धिः। (सीताकोन्वतम्) II. 28; विदुर्वद्वां वेदां विद्याभिमलायाः। तत्र विद्यासिद्धिः। (सीताकोन्वतम्) II. 28; विदुर्वद्वां वेदां विद्याभिमलायाः। (आध्यात्मिक) p. 391.
are present inbrahmayajña). Then it says that whoever studies day by day his Vedic lessons gains an imperishable world which is thrice or more of the world that one may secure by making a gift to priests of the whole earth replete with wealth. Then 4—7 compare ṛk, yajus, sāman and Atharvāṅgiras (Atharvaveda) texts respectively to offerings to gods of milk, ghee, soma and fat and it is stated that the gods being delighted and satisfied with these, bestow on the man who performs brahmayajña affluence and security, life-breath, seed, his whole self and all auspicious blessings and streams of ghee and honey flow for his departed pitha. The Śat. Br. XI. 5. 6. 8 enumerates other works that may be recited in brahmayajña, the recital of which is like honey offerings to gods who being delighted and gratified bestow on the reciter the boon stated above, the works being Anuṣāsanas (Vedāṅgas), vidyās (such as sarpa and devajana vidyā mentioned in Chāndogya VII. 1. 1), vākovākyas (theological discourses called brahmodya, as in Vāj. S. 23. 9—12 and 45—62), Itihāsapurāṇa (traditional history and legends), Gāthās, Nārāyānīs (i.e. stanzas in praise of heroes). The Tai. Ār. (II. 10—13) has a more lengthy passage on brahmayajña; Tai. Ār. II. 10 is almost the same as Śat. Br. except in two respects, viz. in the Tai. Ār. Atharvāṅgirasah are said to be honey offerings and brahmaṇa texts, itihāsas, purāṇas, kalpas (works on śrauta ritual) and Gāthā Nārāyānīs are said to be fat offerings and the rewards, bestowed by the gods when delighted by the brahmayajña, are long life, brilliance, lustre, prosperity, glory, spiritual eminence and food. Tai. Ār. II. 11 describes how and where brahmayajña is to be performed: one who desires to offer brahmayajña should repair to a place so far away to the east, north or north-east of his village that the thatch covering houses is not visible and when the sun rises he should wear his sacred thread (in the upavita form) under his right arm, should sit down (on a pure spot), should wash both his hands with water, should sip water thrice, should wipe his hand twice with water, should

1677. Jūbū, upabhṛt, dhruvā and aruva are sacrificial ladies and will be described later under śrauta sacrifices.

1678. According to the Tai. Br. II. 7. 5 ‘अपवित्रा वै नागिकः’, vide śatapatha-brāhmaṇa II. 16. 11 where many lists of नागिक hymns occur, Rg. I. 125 being one hymn of that kind. अद्व 127. 1 has the word नागिक and या V. 18. 5. is नागिकाः.

1679. Vide Appendix under note 1679.
once sprinkle his lips with water, and touch his head, eyes, nostrils, ears and heart; he should spread out a large seat of darbhas, should be seated facing the east with his legs crossed over each other (the left foot being underneath and the right foot on the left thigh) and then should repeat his Veda; (it is said that) the darbhas are indeed the flavour (or sweetness) of waters and herbs; he (by sitting on darbhas) makes his Veda full of sweetness. Placing his left hand on the right knee with the palm turned up and covering it with the right hand the palm of which is turned down and placing pavitras (blades of darbha) between both hands, he should begin with the syllable 'om' which is a yajus, which is the representative of the three Vedas, which is all speech, and is the highest syllable; this has been declared by a ṛk (Ṛg. I. 164. 39 is quoted). He recites the syllables bhūḥ, bhuvah, svah; he thereby (by repeating the vyāhṛtis) employs the three Vedas. This is the truth (quintessence) of speech; he thereby has employed the truth of speech. Then he recites thrice the Gāyatrī verse, which is addressed to Saviṭy, by its feet separately, then by half of it, then the whole verse without stopping. The sun is the creator of glory, he secures glory itself; then he begins (the next day) the repetition of the Vedic texts from that point which he had noted (the previous day).

1680 Tai. Ār. II. 12 states that if a man is unable to go out of the village he may perform brahmaṣṭa by revolving in his mind in the village itself the Veda by day or even by night; or if he cannot seat himself, then he may perform the brahmaṣṭa even standing or lying down, since the principal matter is the recitation of the Veda (time and place being quite subordinate). Tai. Ār. II. 13 says that he should conclude the brahmaṣṭa by repeating thrice the verse 'Adoration to Brahma (Veda or Prajāpati), to Agni, to the Earth, to herbs, to speech, to the Lord of speech (Bṛhaspati), I offer adoration to

1680. The idea is that one is not to begin to recite Vedic texts at random. When a man has recited a portion of any Veda one day, he should note where he stopped and continue his recitation next day from that point. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 19 also prescribes that one should go every day to the water-side before taking his morning meal and recite in a pure place a portion of the Veda in succession (i.e. one day he should begin where he stopped the previous day and so on). Vide Åśv. gr. III. 4. 6 where the Tai. Ār. allowing recitation of the Veda even while standing or lying down is quoted.
the great Viṣṇu'. Then he should sip water and return home; thereafter whatever he gives becomes the fee of the sacrifice (i.e. of brahmayajña).

The procedure of svādhyāya (or brahmayajña) in Āśv. gr. III. 2. 2–III. 3. 4 is practically in the same words as in the Tai. Ār. quoted above. One or two points may be noted. The Āśv. gr. prescribes that one should recite gazing at the horizon or one may close one's eyes or one may look in such a way that one feels that one can concentrate one's mind. According to the Āśv. gr. the shortest brahmayajña would be: om bhūr bhuvaḥ svah; the Gāyatri verse repeated thrice; then at least one ṛk verse and then the verse 'nāmo brahmaṁ' (quoted above) repeated thrice. The Āhnikaprankāsa p. 329 says that one who knows only a portion of the Veda should recite as brahmayajña the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) and other hymns and one who knows only the Gāyatri should repeat 'om' as brahmayajña every day. Āśv. gr. (III. 3. 1) mentions the following works for svādhyāya, Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmeveda, Atharvāṅgirasah, Brāhmaṇas, Kalpaḥ, Gāthās Nārāyaṇas, Itihāsas, and Purāṇas. But it adds that one may recite only as much as one feels that one can afford to do with a concentrated mind.

The Śāi. gr. I. 4 prescribes several hymns and verses of the Ṛgveda for reciting in brahmayajña. Others following different Vedas and Śākhās differ as to the content of the brahmayajña. Vide Āhnikaprankāsa pp. 328–336 for brahmayajña according to Kātyāyana and according to the followers of Sāmeveda. Yaj. I. 101 prescribes that as time and ability allow one may include in brahmayajña the Vedas together with the Atharvaveda, Itihāsa and philosophical texts.

Brahmayajña is very rarely performed every day (except by the most orthodox vaidikas and śāstris) in modern times and a fixed formula of brahmayajña has been decided upon, which is recited once a year in Śravaṇa by most brahmaṇas in the Deccan. The formula for students of the Ṛgveda is as follows:

1681. नमो ब्रह्मेऽनन्तरेऽन्नाभ्यः नमः पुराणां सम् आचरणसः। नमो वाचे नमो
वर्ष्णतः नमो विनार्यो खुरसे करोऽग सहै त। आ। व। 13। यह इ। आ। व। 3। 4। यह इ। आ। व। 3। 4।

1682. संस्कृतविषयम् तात्पर्यविषयविषयम् परिविषयविषयम्। नमो ब्रह्मे। वर्ष्णतः। आ। व। व। 3। 4। यह इ।
नरः परायं ब्रह्मे। यह इ।। नरः परायं ब्रह्मे। यह इ।।
नरः परायं ब्रह्मे। यह इ।।

1683. भक्तिलीलाविषये नुसूकु रक्षितात नामस्य शुभारम्भविषयः। इव इ।।
आचार्याराम्भाराविषयः। आ। आ। 329।
After reciting 'om bhūr bhuvah svah' and the sacred Gayatri, he recites Rig. I. 1.1-9, then the first sentence of the Ait. Br., the first sentences of the five sections of the Ait. Ār.; the first sentences of the Black and White Yajurveda, of the Sāmaveda, of the Atharvaveda; the first sentences of the Nighantu and the six Vedāṅgas viz. Āsv. śrauta, Nirukta, Chandas, Nighantu, Jyotisha, Siksæ, Panini's grammar in order; the first 'pāda' of Yaj. I. 1 and of the Mahābharata (I.1.1), the first sūtra of the Nyāya, Pūrvamīmāsā and Uttaramīmāsā; then a benedictory formula ('taccharīyor... catuspade') and lastly the verse 'namo brahmae' is repeated thrice. After this brhamayajña, tarpāṇa of devas, sages and pitṛs follows.

The Dharmasindhu (III. pūrvārdha p. 299) says that brhamayajña is to be performed once either after morning homa or after midday samdhya or after Vāṣvadeva, but those who study the Āsvālāyanasūtra should perform it only after midday samdhya. After ācāmanā and praṇāyāma one should make the samkalpa (āśparamāsvaprāprthītham brhamayajñam kariṣye tadāṅgatayā devaśya-caārya-tarpāṇam kariṣye) and if one's father is dead one should add in the samkalpa (pitṛtarpaṇam ca kariṣye). It then sets out how it is to be performed by various people, such as those who have studied all vedas or one veda or only a portion or when one has no time. It says that the followers of the Taṭṭṭhirīya sākhā repeat the words 'vidyud-āsi vidya me pāṃnānam-ṛtāt satyam-upaimi' at the commencement and the words 'vīśṭhiraś vṛṣa me pāṃnānam-ṛtāt satyam-upāgām' at the end. If a man is unable to repeat brhamayajña sitting he may do it even when lying down.

The Dharmasindhu notes that according to the followers of the Taṭṭṭhirīya sākhā and of the Vājaśaneya Samhitā tarpāṇa is not a part of brhamayajña and so tarpāṇa may be performed by them either before brhamayajña or even some time after brhamayajña.

1684. After Rig. I. 1.1-9 the following are repeated अर्थेऽवेदः- सवनं भिन्नं पदम! अयं महावन्तं! एव पद्यं दत्तकम्। अथवा संविधायते द्विनिष्ठं। निष्ठा मववन्तं। महाशक्तम् पञ्चविषय सामस्येयं। इत्ये तद्यथे। अयं आयामः पद्यम्। हि नो भविष्यते। अयस्य भवानान्यं। समार्थेऽवेदं। समाप्त्य भवानान्यं। सामस्येऽवेदं। समाप्त्यात्। समप्रचारत्वमस्यसमान्तित्वं। हि: भवान। पञ्चविषय समस्यं। अयं भिन्नं भवानान्त्व। इत्यादी। यथैव द्विनिष्ठं। सामान्येऽवेदं। अयस्य सप्तित्वम्। अयस्य भवानान्त्व। भवानान्त्व। तत्त्वेऽवेदं। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादित्वम्। इत्यादि (वी): Vide Appendix under note 1684.